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REPORT
of
COMMITTEE ON THESIS

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THE undersigned, acting as a committee of
the Graduate School, have read the accompanying
thesis submitted by Gladys A. Harrison
for the degree of Master of Arts.
They approve it as a thesis meeting the require-
ments of the Graduate School of the University of
Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

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The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, deciphered, for the
period Jan.1622-April,1624; with an index
and introduction, and with notes
for the year 1622.

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Minnesota

by

Gladys A. Harrison

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of
Master of Arts

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INTRODUCTION

In the Harleian collection in the British Museum are preserved the writings and documents of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, one of the most laborious workers in that group of seventeenth-century antiquarians and scholars which includes Sir Robert Cotton and Anthony á Wood. These manuscripts, which represent practically the entire life-work of a scholar noted among his contemporaries for his unflagging industry, are listed under some eighty-six headings or codices; and as in some cases as many as one hundred and six papers are catalogued under a single heading, the bulk of the collection is easily appreciated. The collection is as miscellaneous as it is voluminous. It includes accounts of sermons and speeches, geneological tables, diaries, correspondence, and a great mass of notes on many phases of English history; even D'Ewes's school exercises and youthful invocations of the Muse are not omitted. Out of this heterogeneous mass of

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material, a few documents have been rescued and published; notably the "Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Elizabeth," long recognized by historians as an invaluable and authoritative source, and the "Autobiography," published, with some of the letters, in 1845. D'Ewes's diaries which deal with his student-life in Cambridge and in the Middle Temple and with the memorable days when he sat in the Long Parliament as member for Sudbury, are now beginning to attract the attention of historical students.

The reasons for the tardy recognition of these diaries are not far to seek. A very obvious one is that they are written for the most part in Latin or in a cipher of D'Ewes's own invention. Such a superficial difficulty, however, would probably have been overcome much earlier had it not been for the fact that, even from the viewpoint of the historian, the diaries are lacking in some of the most ordinary elements of interest. In the first place, they suffer from the misfortune of having been

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written by a man whose personality has become obscure. ^{Although} D'Ewes in his own day enjoyed considerable prominence, as much perhaps as some of his contemporaries whose names still awaken lively associations in the mind, and ^{although} he was a man of decisive and interesting personality who studied the affairs of the past laboriously, played an eager and conspicuous part in the affairs of his own time, and kept in mind always the ideal of making his industry do service both to his own reputation and to posterity; ^{nevertheless} but the decree of time is capricious and to-day the name of D'Ewes is but an empty advertisement of his works. Moreover, his writings lack a certain richness and brilliance of color which other chronicles of the time possess in rare measure. A busy observer, D'Ewes was no Clarendon to watch the march of events with the eye of a statesman and recount them with the pen of an historian; rather he was simply the recorder whose duty to history is done when he has noted the fact and set it down, unglowing, in diary or journal-book. We have the truest

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picture of him in the scene of his first entry into the House of Commons when, having been introduced to the Speaker and having acknowledged the salutations of a few friends, he takes his seat close to the Speaker's chair "and then, drawing out pen, ink, and paper, commences Note-taking." And although D'Ewes was to rise from his place to take an aggressive part in the fiery debates which resounded through St. Stephen's Chapel in the days of that most famous of parliaments, his heart remained with his notes, and with them he continued to employ himself even after humiliating experiences in the political arena had caused his interest in the proceedings of the House to wane.

The part which D' Ewes set for himself may seem to us poor and mean; it was one for which he was pre-eminently fitted. He possessed those two essential qualities for the man who aspires faithfully to transmit facts from one generation to another:- an energy that never tires and a passion for accuracy that never flags. If his

writings are not history they may be classed with those documents which are useful to place beside the pages of history as a sort of measuring-stick of its soundness and authenticity; and since we are now so insistent that the historian submit his work to such a test, we cannot graciously deny the value of the tools he must use for it. But even beyond this, when the measuring process is done, the truth revealed as nearly as it may be, and the finished history presented to an admiring world, there will always be some, of roving and inconsequent fancy, to pick up the measuring-sticks where they have fallen from the master's hand and examine them for possible elements of interest intrinsic in themselves.

The seventeenth century in England was remarkable in many respects; among others, as an age of antiquarians. ^{It was} At a time when stenography had not yet been worked out in a scientific manner, when the few newspapers which existed were pitifully limited and irregular, when many of the precious records of the political

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life of the nation lay scattered and neglected, their very existence forgotten, and ~~at~~ a time, moreover, when men had become conscious of the memorable character of the events developing so rapidly around them and, with a full sense of their responsibility for the issue, began to look to the past for precedents and instruction. The appreciation of exactness of knowledge and the impulse to record events were ^{accordingly} ~~tremendously~~ stimulated. Many circumstances combined to produce and bring into prominence the motley host of scribes, copyists, note-takers, diarists, letter writers, autobiographers, and scholars so characteristic of the century. Among all these the antiquarian moved like a sun among lesser luminaries. He passed most of his life searching, studying, noting, and compiling the records of past events, often giving up all the luxuries and amenities of life in pursuance of his task; yet he was privileged to use his accumulating knowledge to speak with greater authority in the events of his own time. To be sure Anthony á Wood shut himself

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up in a garret prison and seldom emerged except in search of more manuscripts; we have another type in D'Ewes, who used to rush from the House of Commons to look up precedents applicable to the question under discussion, returning to the House with "the full-blown dignity of exclusive information."

The life of Sir Simonds D'Ewes represents a most perfect example of the true antiquarian spirit, which is perhaps one of the most curious that can animate the human mind. He was born, so he informs us with the unmistakable accents of authority, "through the mercy and providence of my gracious God ... at Coxden, in the parish of Chardstock, in the county of Dorset, upon Saturday, the 18th day of December, about five o'clock in the morning, in the year of our Lord, 1602, and in the forty-fifth year of that inestimable virgin monarch, Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, who died about four months after, to the exceeding grief of her dear subjects at home and her faithful allies abroad." This very explicit state-

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ment with which D'Ewes begins his autobiography is so characteristic that it is difficult to pass it without comment. Here we have the first ~~smack~~ of the pedant who, trained to consider an untold multitude of facts noteworthy and memorable provided they are well authenticated, neglects not to number his own existence among them, and therefor begins his life-story with a tremendous flourish of "Enter Myself!" The mention of his Creator is an invariable custom of D'Ewes in the recounting of either his good or evil fortunes, and the seemingly incidental manner in which it is often introduced is by no means to be taken as a sign of perfunctory piety. We may safely say that people in that time were more conscious of the shaping hand of a Divine Power on the ordinary events of their lives than they are today; and every record of D'Ewes's life leads to the conviction that his participation in that consciousness was earnest and sincere. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this opening statement, however, is the reference to Queen Elizabeth. It is natural

for anyone who studies history to pick out certain characters for particular admiration, often enough without any clear comprehension of the motives which prompt such worship, and D'Ewes's attachment to the memory of the "inestimable virgin monarch" bears the stamp of belonging to this Quixotic variety. The great work which he compiled on the parliaments of her reign has already been mentioned; the present diary shows him undertaking a crushing reply to an idle "railing" pamphlet which had abused her character. We know that later in life he became so inflamed at words which passed in the House of Commons and which he fancied contained some reflection on the late Queen that he brought upon himself the censure of the House for his violent language.

D'Ewes had a propensity for forming shy but enduring attachments. As a boy he persuaded his family to allow him to spend most of his time at Coxden with his maternal grandparents to whom he was deeply and touchingly devoted, so much so in fact that he could not be happy

when separated from them. His relations with his father, who was a strict and parsimonious parent, were never very happy; and so disconsolate was the boy after the death of both his grandparents that he pleaded to be allowed to attend a school near Coxden, where they had lived, instead of remaining in his father's household at Welshall. The permission was granted and D'Ewes entered the school of Mr. Christopher Malaker near Coxden. This was his third school. He had already studied at Coxden under Mr. Richard White where, says D'Ewes, "the chief thing I learned was the exact spelling and reading of English", and had paid a rather irregular attendance at a school in Lavenham. Mr. Malaker was a man whose merits as a teacher of the classics D'Ewes is willing to concede, but he was much to blame in that he had no regard to the souls of his scholars, though he himself were a minister, never caring them to take notes of his sermons in writing, or so much as to repeat any one note they had learned out of them.

a state of affairs which D'Ewes can only describe as one of "desperate atheism." Two years later, however, he entered a school in London where he was taught "to take notes in writing at sermons and so to become a rational hearer; whereas before I differed little from the brute creatures that were in church with me, never regarding any part of the divine service." We have his own statement that it was at this London school that he first began to make use of his cipher: "I joined with one of my schoolfellows, and invented a strange handwriting consisting of an alphabet of strange letters, which afterwards I altered to mine own use, and penned several particulars of moment or secrecy in it, at all times to this present, upon any occasion that offered itself."

By this time Paul D'Ewes, his father, had bought Stow Hall in Suffolk which, being a "goodly and pleasant seat", caused Simonds to fix his "love on these southern parts of this realm and to forget wholly Coxden and the western." The boy began now to wish to be nearer to his

family, and was accordingly placed at Bury School situated only five miles from Stow Hall. For the master of this school, John Dickenson, D'Ewes always entertained the warmest admiration and affection, and though he remained with him only a year and a half reports that he "profited more in this short space under his mild and loving government, beginning also myself to love and prize learning, than I had done at four other schools in divers years before." Whether D'Ewes was popular with his fellow-students is another question. Vanity and undue seriousness are some of the less agreeable marks of the pedant which were already stamped upon him. On the occasion of the visit of a Master of Arts from Cambridge, D'Ewes did not hesitate to take the opportunity of tripping him up in false Latin before the whole school, which so nettled the visitor that he shortly afterward departed in great annoyance. D'Ewes's taste for the study of divinity, carefully encouraged by his "most dear and religious mother" whom he now had many opportunities to visit, was doubtless

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heartfelt and sincere, but it is hardly probable that the other boys appreciated the zeal which prompted D'Ewes, after he had left the school, to write back to the master on the value of sermon-noting with the result that Mr. Dickenson "constantly afterwards caused all his scholars to take notes in writing of the sermons they heard."

D'Ewes's entrance at Cambridge was delayed by the death of his mother which occurred only a few days after he settled at the University. The blow was a heavy one for D'Ewes whose love for his mother was accompanied by a newly-awakened sense of thorough understanding and companionship, and the fact that before his return to Cambridge he had a wretched dispute with his father about the funds necessary to maintain him at the University could only have increased the dreariness of his bereavement. The allowance which was finally determined upon was quite inadequate. That D'Ewes smarted under his father's niggardly treatment of him is revealed when

he writes: "I was also familiarly acquainted with the Lord Wriothsesley, son and heir of the Earl of Southampton, and with Sir Dudley North, son and heir of the Lord North, both fellow-commoners in our college, which made me sensible of some wants which otherwise perhaps I should not so easily have taken notice of." But "the want of outward comforts gave me just occasion more to prize and seek after those which were of a diviner and excellent nature and more permanent." Here, also, on the twenty-seventh day of February, 1619, he began noting down "each particular day's passages.....which were most memorable." The diary which he kept at Cambridge has been used by Mr. Marsden as the basis for his little book "College Life at the Time of James I."

The moral standard of the Universities at this time was lamentably low; speaking of his own college, St. John's, D'Ewes writes "that swearing, drinking, rioting, and hatred of all piety and virtue under false and adulterate nicknames did abound there, and generally in all the Univer-

sity." During his brief residence at Cambridge, D'Ewes seems to have been continually divided between abhorrence of the immorality he was compelled to witness and a loving appreciation of the many opportunities for fruitful study and ennobling friendships. In September, 1620, when he left the University to study law at the Middle Temple, the scholar in him triumphed over the Puritan, and he took his leave with a sad heart, lamenting the shortness of his stay. Throughout his life D'Ewes maintained a loyalty for his alma mater so zealous as to border on the ludicrous, as passages in the present diary will testify.

This diary is the record of his student-life at the Temple, and marks the final stages of his development into the full-blown antiquarian. It was in 1623 that D'Ewes began those researches which soon led to the conclusion that "records, and the exotic monuments of antiquity were the most ravishing and satisfying part of human knowledge." As the discovery is not related with

due emphasis in the brief pages of the diary, I shall quote freely from his autobiography.

"On Thursday, the 4th day of September, in the afternoon, I first began studying records at the Tower of London, happening at first upon the charter by which Edward the Confessor confirmed Earl Harold's foundation of Waltham Abbey. From this day forward, I never wholly gave over the study of records; but spent many days and months about it, to my great content and satisfaction; and at last grew so perfect in it, that when I had sent for a copy or transcript of a record, I could, without the view of the original, discover many errors which had slipped from the pen of the clerk. I at first read records only to find the matter of law in them; but afterwards perceiving other excellences might be observed from them, both historical and national, I always continued the study of them after I had left the Middle Temple and given over the study of the common law itself. I especially searched the records of the Exchequer: intending, if God shall per-

mit, and that I be not swallowed up of evil times, to restore to Great Britain its true history,--the exactest that ever yet was penned of any nation in the Christian world. To which purpose, and for the finishing of divers other lesser works, I have already made many collections, and joined some imperfect pieces of them together." It was the tragedy of D'Ewes's life, and a tragedy typical of antiquarians, that the high ambition to bequeath to his country a perfect chronicle of its history was beaten in the end by the dull pedantry which prolonged the search for mere facts until the opportunity for welding them into history had fled. The "imperfect pieces" of his life-work are still preserved, but because he failed to join them together their full value can never be realized.

The marriage of Paul D'Ewes to Dame Elizabeth Denton, a "good and ancient widow, every way fit for him," in March, 1623, brought great comfort to the heart of the young lawyer who had long been agitated lest his father

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might "pitch upon some young person altogether unfit for his age," and thereby endanger his son's full inheritance of the family estates. With this care off his mind, Simonds D'Ewes began to concern himself to make an equally suitable and creditable match for himself. In Anne, sole daughter and heir of Sir William Clopton of Suffolk, were found "met and conjoined all those qualifications which I desired to meet with in a wife;" that is to say, gentle birth, wealth, piety and personal comeliness. This paragon of brides was not yet fourteen years old when she was led to the altar in October, 1626. At about the same time D'Ewes abandoned his study of the law, and indulged his ascetic tastes by laying aside his ambitions for worldly preferment in favor of a deliberate preparation for the life to come. He began the practise of fasting on certain days, and great was his happiness when his young wife voluntarily undertook to accompany him in these and other acts of religious humility. He had by no means abandoned, however, the pursuit of his "dear and invaluable studies"; in 1629 we find him industriously

engaged on the story of Elizabeth's parliaments, and employing a copyist to assist him in the work. In 1631 occurred the death of his father, and in 1633 D'Ewes took up his residence at Stow Hall. Three years later the death of his only son filled him with perhaps the greatest sorrow he had ever known, and marked the end of his labor on his autobiography.

The rest of his life we know chiefly from his notes and diaries at the time of the Long Parliament. He first emerged into public life when he became Sheriff of Suffolk, an office which he resigned to enter Parliament in 1640. Here his vast and ready knowledge of legal history made him a great asset to men who were still trying to build up their liberties in a constitutional manner. He was eager in controversy and showed himself an able speaker, even though his zeal to demonstrate his learning often led him to cling too contentiously to trivial points. As time went on, however, and his party began to adopt more violent and less justifi-

able methods, D'Ewes could only regard their proceedings with growing horror and distrust, while his own conservative devotion to precedent and established authority made him an irritating figure to the more fiery champions of parliamentary liberties at the same time that his vanity and pomposity made him appear ludicrous to all parties. A fancied slight upon his beloved Cambridge brought him to his feet in the House one day to make a most absurd exhibition of pedantic irritability. The point of the comparative antiquity of the two Universities being raised, D'Ewes made a spectacular address, claiming to have exclusive documentary evidence to the effect that "Cambridge was a renowned city at least five hundred years before there was a house of Oxford standing, and whilst brute beasts fed, or corn was sown, on the place where the same city is now seated."

It was not long before such tactless behavior, coupled with his unpopular political opinions, brought upon him the openly expressed dislike and ridicule of his fellow-

members; even the men of his own party regarded him with distrust. D'Ewes's pride suffered acutely from the humiliation of his loss of prestige and his interest in the proceedings of the House diminished with his own prominence in them. The death of his wife contributed to his growing indifference to public affairs, and when he was finally expelled from the House by Pride's Purge in 1648, he had long been livingⁱⁿ what was practically a retirement from active life at Stow Hall. There, also, by a second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, the birth of a son revived his hopes for the continuation of his name and line. His own death occurred in 1650.

The present transcript of D'Ewes's cipher diary for the years 1622-4 has been made with the ideal of accurate reproduction in mind. No attempt has been made to change the spelling, smooth out the chaotic sentence structure, or supply the omissions of the text. It has been my only regret that it was impossible to indicate the alterations which occur from time to time in the

character of the script. It is evident from these changes of script and from the many cases of anticipation of events that D'Ewes did not make regular daily entries in this particular diary. For instance, under the date when the subject of his father's marriage is first mentioned, D'Ewes alludes to the many difficulties he afterwards encountered in the arranging of the match; again, such events as the flight of the Prince to Spain he notes down under the date of its actual occurrence rather than that on which he first heard the news of it himself. The most extreme case of anticipation reaches forward to the time of Buckingham's impeachment in the reign of Charles I, an event which occurred in 1626. We must therefore conclude that this part of the diary was written up at least two years after the date of the last entry. This is no reason, however, for questioning its reliability. Such an industrious note-taker as Sir Simonds D'Ewes may well have kept by him a perfect record of his daily movements with the idea of not writing them down in permanent

form until he had fuller information concerning the public events which he wished to record with them. He makes constant reference to an "almanac" in which he seems to have kept most voluminous notes concerning all the events and rumors of events which came to his attention, and it is probable that it was from this and similar note-books that he wrote out, some two or three years later, the "Diarian Discourse" of his early years in the Temple.

G.A.H.

(Flyleaf)

MDCXXIII Haugton jugde mortuus. Febr. 5...se. occidit.
vid. narration

Mutatio literarum
March. 1. MDCXXIII

pro 61 } Δ 7 / 0 /
item 8 x } 0 7 φ = 3 et 1. φ

1623. September. 14
capellum cadit in papistas.
1623. Oct.
letter in bawdye howse con-
tra regem Bohemia
Jan. XX. MDCXXI
Cranfeild. MDCXXIII. Jan. XVI.
Vere. MDCXXIII. Jan. XXXI.

Bonfires because warrs granted
Mar. 24. 1624

reports primo MDCXXIII
April XIII.

Solius temporis honesta est Avaritia

Admissum in Templo 2 die July 1611.....
.....

Note. The above is as close a copy as can be made of the flyleaf of the diary. It may serve as a suggestion of the way D'Ewes kept some of his notes before writing them down in final form. The words under-lined are in ordinary script, not in cipher.

Januare..1.1622

1 Now having finished my former booke upon the last of December, I thought good to begin my second narration with the new yeare,& in a strange hand that soe my former feare of having it seen might in a little at least bee alleviated, as alsoe that I might write moore freely as of the publicke occurrents soe of mine owne occasion; To omit, therefore, other preamble heere, this Tuesday being New Year's day I spent chiefly within. At night I supped abroad with a register of our chancerie where, omitting other things, I had some discourse with a gentleman ther concerning Sir Edward Cooke¹ now in the Tower; upon which I was certified that ther was a bill of treason framing against him & that being told by Cranfield the Lord Treasurour² that it was treason in any man to

 1. Sir Edward Coke, former Chief Justice, from which office he had been removed in 1616. Coke had made himself obnoxious to James in the last parliament by his opposition to the Spanish match and his championship of parliamentary liberties. On his arrest, Dec. 27, he is said to have been lodged in a room in the Tower which had once been a kitchen; "whereupon, against he should come hither, one had written upon the door, 'This room wants a cook', which himself read at his entry." Mead to Stuteville; C. & T. Jas. I, II, 281.
 2. Lionel Cranfield, afterwards Earl of Middlesex. The incident here related is said by Mead to have taken place at the examination of Coke before the Earl of Arundel to whom on his remarking "that by law he that should go about to withdraw the subjects' hearts from their king was a traitor; Sir Edward answered..that he that went about to withdraw the king's heart from his subjects, he held to be an archtraitor." Mead to Stuteville; C. & T. of Jas. I, II, 284, 287.

alienate the hearts of subjects from their prince, as though he had done it in his religious care for the commonwealth this present parliament, he was by him stoutly & wisely answered, that it was treason alsoe to alienate the heart of the king from his subjects, which it was much to be doubted the Treasourour did, being a base upstart from a broken citizen.¹ What the event of these things would prove I knew not, only little amendment was to be hoped for in these base times. And thus after supper ended & a little recreation put in practice, I departed to my rest, not omitting first to commit my selfe to the protection of the Almightye.

- 2 This Wednesday in the morning some honest friends of mine comming to visite mee, wee discoursed of these present times, of the danger of the Spanish match, of the King's answer to the parliament's petition², whereupon I desired to see it & was in part promised I should. Our talke of his Majesty was very broad, both for imprisoning Sir Edward Cooke & alsoe for his intention to breake upp the

1. Cranfield began his career as an apprentice boy in London.
 2. A petition urging the King to prosecute vigorously the war in the Palatinate, to marry the Prince to one of his own religion, and to check the growing insolence of the papists. The King's answer was, in effect, a warning to the Commons not to meddle in such matters, which pertained to his "prerogative royal." Gardiner, IV, 242-254. The petition and the reply are given in Rushworth; I, 40, 46, 52.

A.D. 1622
Januarie

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A Diarian Discourse, or

the parliament to the great discontent of all his truly religious subjects. At night I went to Westminster and saw the boyes act a comedye,¹ and thence returning had some discourse with two or three papists in our buttries which I heare omit,

- 3 Because I had never seen the fashion at ye lord mayor's, therefore I went today & dined ther, where our cheer & entertainment was very free & liberall, & it was the rather acceptable to mee because I had never seen soe much before. At night I went againe to Westminster & saw a tragedie acted, I being well acquainted with the schoole-master.² Heere I took full notice of the Lord Keeper³ of whom I have spoken soe much in my oth^r.. volume. It was late ere I returned which made mee goe speedily to bed.
- 4 And yet I overslept my selfe egregiously too daie, rising only to supper, which I had scarcely ever done before. Nothing els passed worth the remembrance.
- 5 Having remained most part of the day within, a little
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1. The presentation of Latin plays by the boys or "children" of Westminster school formed part of the ordinances of Queen Elizabeth, and has continued down to the present time. The custom flourished under James I, himself a patron of the drama. *Airy, R; Westminster, 46. Murray, J. T; English Dramatic Companies, 340*

2. Lambeth Osbaldeston, the friend of Williams, was appointed Head Master of Westminster School, Dec. 7, 1621.

3. John Williams. He was also at this time Dean of Westminster and Bishop of London.

Ephemoritian Narration.

4. (3)

little before supper I went to visite my father & staid with him where we passed away the time in moderate recreation.

6 This blessed Sabbath I was partaker of two good sermons but especially the latter preached by Mr. Stocke in Breadstreet, shewing how many come to heare but with little profitt, as all^{soe} how wonderfully God did bless the practice of such as did strive to bring away anye thing, & how wofull ther case was whoe dayly heard but profited not. Before my returne I supped with a friend whome I went to visite.

7 Monday was the producer of some novelties by reason of a friend that came to visite me whoe related unto mee the yesternight maske¹ which was at court with the great riches & rarenes of it; of which I omitt to speake, only the Marques Buck²: taking his owne wife out to dance, the King cried out. "Becote George, I love you ^{dearly}-ly." This drew on other stories, as that but yesterday at chappell at Whitehall, the King tarried a long time calling

1. Jonson's Masque of Augurs was presented for the first time on this occasion. Nichols, Progresses--of King James, **IX** 735.

2. George Villiers, than Marquis of Buckingham, created ^{Duke,} May 18, 1623.

AD MDCXXII

January

A Divian Discourse, or

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him to goe with him whilst he stode careleslie talking with another lord & that a good while & yet as soone as he came hee fell upon his necke without any moore words. A little before alsoe the King being at dinner sent hostile for him being at tennis to come to him, vowing not to eate a bitt till he came; but after divers messengers returned without doing any thing, hee himselve arose & called into the tennis court¹ to him, "come away, come away, Buckingham, for the king hath vowed not to eate a bitt till you come;" nor was this at all checked, soe that wee concluded that of the two the King waited moore upon him. A third story to argue his greatness was that the other day, even this Christmas, the Prince, the Earle of Rutland,² his mother in law, his daughter the Marquesses wife, and Marquesses mother, & himselve playing cards & the King looking on, hee openly professed, "heere is a father & a sonne (meaning himselve & the prince), a father & a daughter (meaning Rutland & his daughter) & a sonne & a mother Buckingham and his mother, - the divell on me if I

1. Tennis was a popular sport of the period. "James I, of not himself a tennis player, speaks of the pastime with commendation, and, recommends it to his son as a species of exercise becoming a prince." Strutt, Sports and Pastimes...of England, 160-162. "Over exertion at tennis was held to be in part responsible for the death of Prince Henry.

2. John Manners. He was among the first of D'Ewes acquaintances at Cambridge. College Life, p.7. Autobiography I, p. 108.

Ephemeritian Narration

(3)
6

know which I love best." He related alsoe that upon newes out of Spain by two posts, the King was exceeding cheereful, it contained that the Palatinate should speedily bee resorted as alsoe that the King of Spaine had written to this effect to the Emperour;¹ that thereupon hee had plaied at dice & cards. Finally that Sir Edward Cooke had the liberty of the Tower, excused giving his gowne because it was borrowed & would not set to his hand upon any occasion to any poper.

8 The morning spent within; in the afternoon I went to the court, where the judges were to sit & the counsell about the parliament, which has majestye most basely intended to breake upp by a proclamation, shewing himselfe moore unjust towards the parliament then ever any king had done; and notwithstanding these great....occurrences too morrow forsooth hee was to take his jounies of pleasure to Tibalds² & Newmarket.

1. In November, 1621, James had proposed terms to his son-in-law, Frederick the deposed Elector of Palatine, providing that if he would renounce all claims to the crown of Bohemia and yield due obedience to the Emperor, Ferdinand II, he would assist him to recover the Palatinate. Frederick had accepted these terms, the Emperor seemed disposed to restore the Palatinate to Frederick and the assurances which now arrived from Spain gave false promise of a speedy solution of the difficulties. Gardiner, 4, 299, 201.

2. Theobalds, formerly a seat of the Earl of Salesbury, but purchased by King James. Weldon, 1617.

9 Wednesday gave motion to that unwelcome proclamation¹ against which the whole land murmured & some sleight poore reasons there were, which the King gave as the reasons of what hee had done. But these gave little satisfaction to any, & therefore if the English had not altogether lost ther spirit some rebellion was expected. Today alsoe went his worthye Majesty out of towne towards his pleasure leaving all his good subjects much perplexed, & it is reported that hee was not ashamed to professe, that hee thought all his subjects would not give five pound for his life but the truth of this I cannot affirme.

10 Dining abroad this day I saw the sermon preached by one of Docter King's sonns² in defence of his father lately dead & scandalised by the papists. This I determined to buy. The King's letters & the Parliaments were alsoe expected in print. Lastly this day the King was likely to have been drowned at Tibalds,³ falling headlong aff his horse which slipped at a pond & was dragged out hastilie by his followers; this some imputed to the sudden breake of the

1. Proclamation for the dissolution of Parliament, Gardiner, 4, p.267. Rushworth, I, p.54. Cal. S. P., 333. The correct date is January 6.

2. John King was Bishop of London 1611-1621. After his death the rumour was spread that he died in communion with the Church of Rome. Henry King, the son, who later became Bishop of Chichester, preached the sermon in defence of his father at Paul's Cross, Nov. 25, 1621.

3. "After dinner riding a horseback abroad, his horse stumbled, and cast his majesty into the New River, where the ice broke; he fell in so far, that nothing but his boots were seen." Sir Richard Young and a warm bed saved him from serious consequences. Letter to Mead, C.&T. Jas. I, p.282, Chamberlain to Carleton to Cal. S.P. p. 337.

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Januarye parliament, others to his coolenes in religion; but certainly it was a warning to him from God unto him, & I beseech him to sanctify it.

11. This night hapned a fir in Newgate market but did little hurt. Alsoe Mr. Bings man¹ was rackt to have drawn others in if it might have been, but as yet confest nothing, for alas! ther was nothing that he could confes.

12. A proclamation² finallye came out this day about the Six Clarkes' Office which because I intend to buy I intend to speake nothing of.

13. I was partaker of twoe blessed sermons this Sabbath. The afternoone I spent with some of my acquaintance of our house as allsoe some part of the foorenoone in reading Mr. King's sermon in defence of his father; but the day was not shutt upp soe well as it might have been.

14. Monday brought certaine newes that my chamber fellow Mr.

Porter was broake & gone beyond the seas, wherefore I

 1. "The servant and horsekeeper of Mr. Byng, counsellor, of Gray's Inn." The reasons for his imprisonment are variously given: "for saying that there would be a rebellion," Locke to Carleton, Cal. S.P., 336; "for using very seditious words.....in favour of Sir Edward Coke," C. & T. Jas.I, 282; "for speaking seditious words about the dissolving of parliament," Mead to Stuteville, C. & T. Jas.I, II, 284.
 2. A Proclamation for the re-inrobling of originals, or authentic copies, of records destroyed by fire at the Six Clerks' Office, Dec. 20, 1621. Cal. S. P., 333; Autobiography, I, 206-211.

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asked my father's advice in the evening what I should doe.

19. The morning I spent within, but could doe little by reason out of terme; wee went to dinner at tenn of the clocke; yett in the afternoon I wrote out two letters of the King's to the Lower House of Parliament & allsoe ther noble protestacion at ther departure.¹ The King's letters were directed one to secretary Calvert & the other to the speaker. Afterwards I went to visite our minister Mr. Masters² with whom I had much discourse about state matters; of the King little more then I have sett downe in my other volume. As for the Spanish match, hee thought it would never goe forward, & that the King would never marry the Prince whilst he lives, for wee might perceave how all his actions did tend to an absolute monarchye;³ & for his riches 'twas thought that hee shared with Marquess & had much treasure liing by him. That Somerset⁴ his former favourite was coming out of the Tower, onely staing for his kindred to fetch him out in pompe. As allsoe that Mr. Thomas Crew with divers others were

1. The two letters are given in Rushworth, I, 43, 46-52, and the protestation in I, 53. The speaker at this session was Sir Thomas Richardson.

2. Minister or "custos" of the Temple church, and a very dear friend of D'Ewes, who formed the habit of "repairing to him in all my theological doubts and scruples, to my great content and satisfaction during my stay in the Middle Temple." Autobiography, I, 185.

3. During his stay at Theobald's, James is reported to have said that "he would govern according to the common weal, but not according to the common will." Mead to Stateville, Feb. 2, 1622, C.&T. Jas. I, II, 289.

4. Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. With his wife he was tried in 1616 for

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going to Ireland, which was adjudged to them rather for punishment then a benefitt.¹ Heere allsoe wee discoursed that the King shewed small polici in giving credence to base informers against his lower house of Commons; where hee told mee of Queen Elizabeth that when any of her servants were parliament men, shee would never so much as enquire what was dene, but merrily say, Come, I pray, waite on mee, I warrant the Parliament is wise enough without you. Finallye hee told mee of the Spanish embassadour Gondamor² often before mentioned that he was meanes to carry or convay much treasure out of this land, & that hee had the shrine of the Ladye Loretta to which much was offerd; and that hee was willing to the French gathering because great part was sent to the Protestants in France. Having supped with him & staid prettye late, I hied to my chamber to bedd.

16. Wednesday past over in my chamber. After supper with some other gentlemen I went into Mr. Charin our lecturour

the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury and was found guilty but was afterwards

pardoned by the King. The commission for their release from the Tower is dated Jan.17,1622. D'Ewes gives a long and unpleasantly detailed account of the murder in his Autobiography, Chaps. V and VI.

2. Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar.

1. It is easy to understand that Sir Thomas Crew was persona non grata to James; on Dec.15 he had spoken in parliament to the effect that the liberties of parliament were "matters of inheritance, not of grace." A favorite way of disposing of troublesome men was to send them on foreign missions, especially to Ireland or the Palatinate. Rushworth, I, 54. Cal. S. P., 337, 366.

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his chamber where wee had been invited & where we weere exceeding honestly merry, & had allsoe soe good a fire with other entertainment that it was very late ere we parted; neither was that without some reluctance on all sides.

17. The day passed over in my chamber. I went to visite a yong gentleman of our acquaintance that lay sick, besides I found a gentleman religious and honest with whom I began to sett my selfe a course, the only meanes which made us good students; which tomorrow hee intended to practice.
18. Now I rose to church & intended through God's mercy soe to continue & went on in my taske beginning Littleton again; & soe wee continued what wee had begun; & I began to perceave the great good that was like to accrew from it.
19. Saturday continued as my former studyes, & rising to prayers, soe alsoe my conference upon it which I already found to bee exceeding beneficiall, having visited allsoe the sicke gentleman mentioned before on Thursday, I re-

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turned to my chamber.

20. Having been at three sermons this blessed Sabbath, hearing at our owne church both our owne preacher and lecturer, after supper I went into one of my acquaintance chamber where with some other gentlemen we had much good discourse; one thing amongst the rest very notable, that, through a letter found in a boudye house by twoe gentlemen of Graye's Inn, the Prince & the King weere first det~~er~~sed from the King of Bohemea; the letter I omitt, & what alsoe els passed.

21. Omitting the declaration of my studyes, I had some discourse this day of Cranfield Lord Treasurour, viz: that hee was put in for a projectour & that hee had sifted the cittye for this benevolence that was giving to the king,¹ for which the lawers alsoe began now to bee called in question & all our men of worth; but of this base fellow & these base occurrets I omitt to speake moore till a fitt occasion.

1. The raising of money by means of a benevolence was made necessary by the failure of James to secure grants from the last parliament. Those summoned were obliged to appear before the Council to name the amount of their contribution, and various devices were resorted to to compel them to give. In spite of all efforts, however, the results remained meager. Gardiner, IV, 295. Cal. S.P., 337, 339. C.&T. Jas. I, II, 284, 289. The text of one of the Council's summons is given in Rushwoth, I, 60.

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- 22 Tuesday kept me soe long in bed that I was compelled to make upp my studyes in the afternoone.
- 23 Wednesday gave beginning to the terme, and I according to our custome in terme time rose to praiers at six of the clocke.¹ After I had studied a little I went to Wesmonaster Hall, & having heard somewhat in the hall returned home to dinner & made upp part of my studyes in the afternoone.
- 24 Nor wanted this day somewhat worth remembrance-for verye unluckilye was Sir Edward Cookes studye searched² & things found as it was said which would much make against him; but the truth of this I knew not. Too day allsoe I had pleadings given mee to repeat an exercise which came too soone to mee by reason of my small standing yett which with some feare I undertooke it least I should not perform it well, as it fell out this night.
- 25 In the morning I studied my usuall taske which a gentleman my companion & I had sett ourselves, the rest of
-

1. Efforts were made on the part of the Temple authorities, to compel a seemly regard for religious observances. In Elizabeth's reign, it had been decreed that "all the gentlemen fellows of this society should repair to the church to hear divine service and sermons, at the usual days and times unless hindered by sickness or some other reasonable cause; and that they receive the communion therein once at the least in every year." Herbert, Inns of Court, p. 192.

2. Cal.S.P., Chamberlain to Carleton, p. 333.

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the time had nothing worth remembrance.

26 Saturday likewise entertained study for its principall
occurrent.

27 Besides the hearing of two sermons this blessed Sabbath,
my principall actions were to visite twoe sicke gentlemen
of our howse, which I hope was a Sabbaoths dayes worke &
therefore I was willinger persuaded to it.

28 Ther was a little navy had layen a prettye while ready
upon our coast, whereof the Earle of Oxford was admirall,
which this night went about twelve of the clocke away,
my Lord of Oxford having time to take but one suite of
apparell with him. Ther business was to take some Hol-
landers' shippes come from the East Indyees in reveng of
those they tooke from us a good whiles since,¹ for which
noe restitution was yet made; but as good lucke was they
scaped him, & soe hee shortly returned without doing any-
thing.

29 Some good & some bad happened this day for I performed my

1. In 1618, while negotiations were pending for the treaty which was signed June 2, 1619, for the regulations of trade in the East Indies. Gardiner, III, 179, 181, 353. The Dutch commissioners were at this time in London, and Oxford's expedition, though unsuccessful, had the effect of persuading them to moderate their terms. Gardiner, IV, 274. Cal. S.P., Locke to Carleton 341, 346.

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pleadings well & understood that I should have a punish chamber fellow whoe was like to get me out of my right for thus had our benchers decreed in one of ther parliaments¹ by an absolute act, against which inconvenience I laboured with the best diligence I could, & began to perceive some little hope of a remedye.

30 This day was therefore cheiflye spent in labouring ye former cause, & my hope was that I might obtaine my right by paining some money; but I could not as yett tell what effect this would take.

31 I received this day letters from my good friend Mr. Jeffrey² from Cambridge. My afternoone's occasions were all hindered with the care I had of repeating pleadings, which were notwithstanding remitted.

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1. After a barrister of the Temple had once filled the office of reader, he became a bencher. "At certain tymes in the yeare, the benchers and other barristers do resort together, and there they do donsult and advise themselves, concerning the causes of their house, and make decrees and orders concerning such things as they thinke meet to be reformed; and they call a parliament." Herbert, Inns of Court, 222. An account of the proceEDURE of these parliament is given pp. 229-30
2. Of Pembroke. D'Ewes had been a regular attendant at his sermons while at Cambridge. College Life, 42.

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Februarye.

16 (6)

A Diarian Discourse, or

- 1 Friday entertained little studye, & the evening yeilded some little mirth of which alas I had need enough it being in Mr. Blincoe's chamber where Mr. Chafin our preacher & others were.
- 2 Candlemas day in the morning wee had a good sermon, at dinner greate cheere; & at night I visited some of my good companions, being Mr. Shurlye & others.
- 3 One doctor Sharpe that preached many times with us gave us an excellent sermon this day. The afternoone I spent in visiting a gentlemen of our house that was sicke, & at night heard our owne minister.
- 4 Before my lord treasurour Cranfeild & others this day was Sir Edward Cooke's cause heard in the court of wards; about Sir Christopher Hatton's debt¹ to Queen Elizabeth of sacred memory; where Sir Henrye Yelverton² late attourneye generall & of whome manye things are spokken in my other narrations, was exceeding bitter against, which act gott him moore discredit then ever anye one thing hee did in

1. Sir Christopher Hatton was Lord Chancellor, and a great favorite of the Queen; "yet it brake his heart, that the queen (who seldom gave boons, and never forgave due debt) rigorously demanded the present payment of some arrears." Fuller's Worthies, II, 507. The Queen in fact took possession of the estates, and leased them out until debt which amounted to 42,000 £ should be paid. Coke, who had married the widow of Sir Wm. Hatton, came into possession of one of these leases, and, finding it profitable, persuaded the heir not to redeem the estate by paying down the remainder of the debt. In 1616, however, the debt was paid off, Coke lost his lease, and was accused of attempting to defraud the Exchequer. Gardiner III, 85.

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his life; & how the cause would yett goe noe man could tell onlye the rumor of it was great.

- 5 Leaving of to commemorate my order of studing & rising still continued, ther were twoe Holland shipps which staid a little at Plimouth¹, & should have been staid altogether for manye outrages and treacheryes done unto our merchants in the East Indies; but nothing was done, because they escaped nor noe satisfaction as yett made.
- 6 Newes of the day was that the Emperour was married but to whome I could not certainlye tell, and that Bethelam Gabor² had resigned his Kingdome of Hungarie to him, & had in leiu of it receaved a dukedom. As to my private studyes Mr. Freake & I began today to read my Lord Cooke's reports³, in which I beseech God to bless us.
- 7 Some company drew mee forth all the morning, in ye afternoon through God's mercy I soe laboured it that I had great hope of a chamberfellow which might bee to mine owne liking; but in these things I had no great certaintye.

2. 16.
Suspended from office, Dec. 1620, more for incurring the displeasure of Buckingham than for the charges read against him in the Star Chamber.

1. Lead to Stuteville; C.&T. Jas. I, II, 291. Gardiner, IV, 274. Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal. S.P., 346.

2. Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, elected King of Hungary, 1620. At this time he was busy ravaging the Emperor's territory, and far from considering terms of settlement.

3. Eleven of Coke's thirteen reports had appeared by this date. They were in French, with the pleadings in Latin. Stationers Register, III, 311.

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Februarye

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8 Friday brought foorth the certainty of the Lord Norris being Earle of Barkeshire¹ his death; whoe had violently laied hands upon himselfe, shooting himselfe into the throat with a pricke arrow such as wee shute deere with it, & had withall cutt away one side of his face: the reasons were divers, for some saied it was because hee was soe prest upon to marrye his daughter & heire to one Wray a gentlemen of his majesty's bedchamber: others because, utterlye refusing this, hee was demanded a great some of monye for his earldome; others because of the wickedness of his wife towards him & I am of opinion that all these together served as coales to blow upp ye fire of his discontent into this violent flamē. To day allsoe according to custome some of the parliament mett & soe it was dissolved, whence my Lorde Keeper went home sicke to bedd. Finallye I studied but a little, & hee recovered shortlye after.

9 A little newes allsoe was produced this day, viz: of some

1. Others attribute the Earl's suicide to the humiliation in punishment of a furious attack on Lord Scroop in the Parliament building. He seems to have been naturally of a violent and peevish disposition; the editor of the Court and Times of James I "remarks that after this assault upon Lord Scroop "having no one else to quarrel with, (he) attacked himself in the manner described." The coroner was commanded to suppress the manner of his death. Of the marriage of his daughter we shall hear more. Cal.S.P. Locke to Carlton, 342, 346.

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poore people that wanted worke in Wilshire which were upp in companyes together; which at first raised a rumour of a hoped for rebellion.¹ We understood allsoe the bishope of Spalato² was gone or going to Rome, to bee King's agent with the pope for setting a generall peace & calling a generall councell; but the truth of this I could not yett learne.

10. Dr. Sharpe gave us this Sunday allsoe an excellent sermon where two things were very memorable, the i of the papists corrupting the text as it is in Jerom's bible, Galatians 5, the first verse. The second of twoe storyes one of Gardiner³, that being on his death bedd admonished by the bishopp of Chichester to lay hold on Christ his merits by a lively faith, "Oh," quoth hee, "you doe well to tell mee but & if you should tell this to the common people it were enough to overthrow us." Allsoe B ellarmine⁴ in his will which hee made liing latelye at Rome saileth largitor gratiae non spectator meriti, in his workes con-

1. Justices of Wilshire to the Council, April 30, Cal. S.P., 382-- "There are now 8,000 poor out of work; some of them have attacked and seized corn-- and several designing people having crept in among them, further outrages are feared."

2. Marco Antonio de Dominis, a native of Dalmatia who had received his education under the Jesuits at Padua, became archbishop of Spalatro in 1602. In 1616 he came to England in the hope of furthering his doctrine of the essential unity of the Christian Church. Failing to realize his aspirations he now returned to Rome hoping to impress Gregory XV with his view. The death of Gregory occurred shortly after his arrival in Rome; he was turned over to the Inquisition, and died in prison. The rumor that he went to

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trarye; whence appeares the miserable estate of the popish docters, whoe teach against ther owne knowledg. In the afternoone I heard Doctor White & at night our owne lecturer Mr. Chafin.

11. Besides my ordinarye occasions my cheife busines was in labouring for my chamber of which I had still some good hope.
12. Going this day allsoe to my father about it I found things worse then before & feared that I should bee put to borrow to obtaine it, which to mee was a thing most odious.
13. I might well cry out this day with Titus, diem perdiri, making little progress either in my studyes or affaires.
14. All the morning I staid within. In the afternoone going to visite home I heard evill newes of my father's feared marriage, but till moore certainty I forbore to speake further. With one of my cousens I supped where wee had little mirth.

15. What I lost in the forenoone I did a little regaine in

Rome as the agent of James is, of course, utterly without foundation. Gardiner, IV, 282-288. Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal.S.P., 346, 366. D'Ewes devotes a paragraph in his autobiography to denouncing "the hypocritical archbishop." Autobiography, I, 216-217.

3. The reference is doubtless to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who died in 1555. He was a famous opponent of the Reformation.

4. Cardinal Bellarmine, who died in 1621, and was a distinguished champion of the Papacy. For seven years he was a lecturer at the University of Louvain.

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Historical Kalandar.

the afternoone. Supping now alsoe with a freind in the towne I heard some better hope of my father's not marrying the former young woman, which did a little comfort mee.

16. Neither any great progress in my studyes nor anye noveltyes made the day happye; onlye my lord of Oxford returned home without having done anye great matter against the Hollanders.¹

17. The whole Sabbath after our sermon heere I spent abroad yet not soe well as I desired, which my good God in his great mercye pardon. At night I undertood that my father had sent for mee.

18. Intending therefore to goe to him, hee sent for mee againe this day before I was upp. Being come to him hee told mee that Mr. Walgrave² where I had been a-woing in Essex was dead, that hee had heard it from Mr. Ides the minister at Lawford whoe was alsoe to see mee, & that hee should bee willing to a double match, the mother being still living; upon this poor soule I conceaved much hope, & found out Mr. Ides, saw Mr. Walgrave's will & found good

1. Gardiner, IV, 274. Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal. S.P., 346. C.&T. Jas. I, II, 300.

2. "Mr. Waldegrave, of Lawford Hall, in the county of Essex, father of the gentlewoman named Jemima." D'Ewes had all but closed a match with this young woman in May of 1621, but his father at the last moment threw insurmountable difficulties in the way of concluding the match. The lady was afterward married to John Crew, son of the Sir Thomas Crew mentioned in this diary. Despite her admitted attractions her comparative lack of fortune causes D'Ewes to speak of the match as one "which God of his infinite goodness did frustrate, not only for my temporal, but for my spiritual, good." Autobiography, I, 192-196.

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FEBRUARIE

A Diarian Discourse, or

hopes, resolved it should bee mooved, though ther were noe great likelihoods; but what God had determined I could not judge, who sometimes to shew his mercye & power doth such things as seem to men most unlikelye. Howsoever, the verye thought of these things did strangely comfort me, soe that I did not omitt my poore praiers to God for a happy issue. Hee died the last Tuesday being the 12 of this month, & was buried on Wednesday night next, a funerall by reason of his mush kindred being thought unfitt.

19. And because noe endeavour might faile on my side I wrote to Mr. Littleburye about it whoe had mooved before, & a letter consolatorye to my ladye Bingham¹ to sound her inclination tewards mee from the acceptance of it; confering somewhat likewise which I heere omitt.

20. Strange newes was talked of this day familiarlye about this towne viz: that the King had married Sissilia Crafts,² daughter to Sir John Crafts a knight of Suffolke my countriman & whom in truthe I might have had to wife, I thinke,

1. Lady Bingham, the mother of Jemima, widow of Sir Richard Bingham, and second wife to Mr. Waldegrave. She had not encouraged D'Ewes's courting. Autobiography, I, 196.

2. "The King, speaking of the reports abroad, said he was King of the most lying nation of the world, for they had reported he was married to Sir John Crofts's daughter, that he had beaten his sone, and put away his Lord Keeper." Locke to Carleton, Mar.19, Cal.S.P., 361.

if I had made but the least meanes. I discoursed with my father at night about the former business & found him as his fault ever was most inconstant;¹ which much dashed my hopes that I began now not to build upon anye thing.

21. Moore ill domesticke tidings were related to mee this day, viz: that the gentleman with whome I had agreed would not buy my chamber, soe that I was in as bad ir not in a worse case than before, which indeed did somewhat greive mee.

22. Little progresse being made in my studyes, I wrote to my kind freind Mr. Jefferay. At night I went to visite my father where through God's mercye his discourse was pretty good & I had noe distast; wherefore I returned home in great comfort, understanding the King had not married Mistress Crafts.

23. The morning I spent prettilie well in study & the afternoon for the greater part in recreation.

24. Our Temple sermon being ended I was drawn foorth to dinner & it being past sermon time ere I returned, I went to

 1. D'Ewes is perfectly candid about his concern over his father's weaknesses. "My father, since his being a widower, falling into treaty with several persons about his second marriage, some of them being in the prime of their youth, I was almost continually agitated and troubled lest he should at last pitch upon some young person altogether unfit for his age; by which means I should not only reap much discomfort in my present life, but it was possible also he might thereby be drawn to give away the greatest part of his estate to the issue of a second wife, of which I saw daily experience of like cases, to the utter ruin of many ancient and nobly extracted families." Autobiography, I, 227.

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Februarye

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visite my tutour having heard that hee was sicke byt found him prettilye well;& soe wee had much discourse, some good, some indifferent, as of forraine warrs, how strong Count Mansfeild¹ was with 50,000 in the feild wasting the bishops' countryes and the like. As soone as it grew darke I hasted away, nothing els happening but that this blessed Sabbath was not spent soe well as I desired nor as I ought, which God of his great mercye pardon.

25. In the morning I was a little idle; in the afternoone I understood that ther was a new union² made, our King whoe was head before as he deserved aside discarded, the King of Denmarke head, in which was combined allsoe as the reporte went, the King of Sweden & the Venetians. This day, finallye, my boye whom I had taken & clothed rann away from mee to a dancer's, & I being at first troubled was at length glad soe to bee ridd of him being but a rogue.

1. Ernest Count of Mansfeld, commander of Frederick's armies. He was then quartered near Strasburg on the Austrian lands in Alsace.

2. In place of the German Protestant Union, dissolved in April, 1616. This report is but one of the many idle rumors then current.

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Historicall Kalanders.

26. Nor wanted this day something worth the remembrance as the two kings of France and Spaine were preparing mightye armyes and navyes, but would not acquaint our King with ther intentments, whose conceit of his owne policy spoiled all. I entertained some good resolution alsoe to punish my rogue that had runn from me, though not yett to putt it in practice. At night I went to visite my father, with whome I had a good deal of discourse & through God's mercye was prettilye pleasant.
27. I began this day to learne Italian hand because I wrote very ill; but could neither goe on soe cheerfullye in my studyes nor in my dutye to my most gracious & loving God as I desired, which was a trouble & greife Unto mee.
28. Februarye ended worse then it had begunn, wanting both private studyes & publike occurrents.

March

1. Great is the honour the Welshmen give to this day, it being St. Davye's, whence manye leekes weer worne in the

1. The story goes that King Cadwallader's men won a victory over the Saxons in 640 because of St. David, who instructed them to wear leeks in their caps so that they might recognize, and not slay each other in the battle. Drayton has it that St. David was a self-denying hermit who lived only on leeks. See Shakespeare's Henry V, Act V, Scene I.

AD MDCXXII
March

A Diarian Discourse, or

streetes. I was this day the partaker of ill newes, viz: that Sluce Was taken & that Flushing was beseiged, but that hope of the falsehood somewhat comforted mee.

2. Passing by my private occasions, this day discovered not only an unwillingness in general to the new exactions under couler of benevolence but alsoe a flatt deniall in some Kentish knights whose names I heard but have forgot.
3. Having heard this blessed Sabbath our Temple sermon in the afternoone to heare Mr. Shute¹, and was exceedinglye both instructed and delighted by him resolving to become his constant hearer.
4. I was too day invited to my ould schoolemaster's daughter's wedding being the greatest scholler I thinke of a woman in England², I was not resolved what to doe though I had a good mind to goe.
5. Yet went I too day where through God's mercye besides the great preparation ther was much good companye, whence arose that which is the life of a scholler, good discourse; and

1. Nathaniel Shute, a well-known preacher of the time. He preached at St. Mildred's in the Poultry.
2. The reference is doubtless to Bathshua, daughter of Henry Reynolds, of St. Mary Axe Parish, London, who had an exact knowledge in the Greek, Latin, and French tongues, and some insight also into the Hebrew and Syriac? Autobiography, I, 63.

Ephemeritian Narration.

soe, after I had seen the bride abedd, I went her courtier I departed to my rest.

6. The forenoone entertained a little study; in the afternoon I went to bisite the new married paire wher supping wee had some good newes read which came out of the Palatinate. From whence going to see my father I found my brother Elliot was come to towne & soe had some little discourse with him which I heere omitt.
7. Too day I brought this newes, & at night going to visite my father againe understood that the Six Clarkes were againe troubled & that twoe more were desired by the hungrye courtiers, but I hoped this endeavour should perish in the shell.
8. Friday morning studing a little & at night supping with my father and my brother Elliot, it was concluded I should goe downe with him this day following of which in truth I was gladd being halfe wearye of London.
9. Departing in the morning wee came to Busbridge at night

AetatisXX

March

A Diarian Discourse, or

where the comfort of our meeting together was verye greate; finallye this was the day in which Mr. Thomas Crew & the rest were appointed to goe for Ireland.¹

10. As soone as wee were risen this morning wee went to the church we had a good sermon, and soe after dinner because ther was noe sermon at the church wee spent the time at home cheiflye in religious exercises.
11. Monday brought foorth a little studye amidst a great deale of recreation.
12. But on the contrarye through God's mercye I studied this forenoone going on in my Lord Cooke's reports and allotted the afternoone onlye to recreation.
13. Wednesday onlye continued yesterdays' begunn good course.
14. Having passed over this morning (rising alwayes before six) in the studye of the law in the afternoone I begann to read Sir Phillip Sidneye's Arcadia² called the Countess of Pembrokes, with great delight, the stile of it being most sweete and excellent.

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1. Chamberlain says that their allowance dated from Feb. 20, and they were commanded to be at Holyhead by Mar. 25.
 2. The "Arcadia" was first published in 1590, four years after Sidney's death, his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, acting as editor. Its title was "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, written by Sir Phillipe Sidnei."

Aetatis XX

Ephemeritian Narration.

15. Neither wanted this Friday besides the studye of ye law and continuance of the Arcadia, a most livelye and true discourse of the French massacre, in which was apparent how horrible that crueltye was, even worse than that of the Turkes.
16. Saturday proved onlye a friend to the continuance of my studyes.
17. In the forenoone wee had a verye good sermon in our owne parish church against adulterye, & in the afternoone after divine exercises ended with the whole familie as before wee had done wee spent the time in religious devotion through God's mercye befittint the day.
18. The morning past over in studye in the afternoone I understood some newes, as that the King of Spaine had sent over three propositions¹ moore concerning our Prince's matching with his daughter--1--that the younge ladye being not yet apt to marrye the Prince should bee made sure to her, soe that hee could not goe backe but
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1. The matter of the treaty was at this time in the hands of a congregation of Cardinals at Rome who had been appointed in August, 1621, to consider the articles of the treaty. James split with his parliament, and refused to prosecute the Catholics, had encouraged them to hope for further concessions and probably accounts for such rumours as D'Ewes gives here. The Cardinals were at this time preparing instructions for Mr. Gage, who had been sent by James to observe the situation in Rome, to take back to England. The instructions were not completed, however, until July, and Gage did not arrive in England until August. Gardiner, Narration of the Spanish Marriage Treaty, 169-177.

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March

30(9)

A Diarian Discourse, or

shee might if shee would when shee came of age--2--that the King would call all the Englishmen home out of Holland, which served in the [army] of [Mar] grave Maurice; (they were 11,000 the strength of his armye)--3--that hee might have some port allowed him upon the English shoare, to rest his shipp in, if at anye time they should bee weatherbeaten or ill at sea. But I hope the King was too wise to hearken to any of these; not did I ever heare the grant of anye of them.

19. As I did paye my studies somewhat better heere than I had done before my coming downe, soe allsoe had I the happiness to serve God somewhat better & trulye from this first seemeth that to have proceeded.

20. Besides my studiyes I began this day to answeere a rayling pamphill sett out against the late parliament but moore especiallye against our late Queen Elizabeth of famous memorye,¹ and in truth here divers pamphlets in my brother Elliot's librarye which helped me much soe that I onlye

1. D'Ewes never completed this piece of writing, but left it "altogether defective and undigested in loose papers." Autobiography, I, 216.

Ephemeriaian Narration.

desired God's blessing upon it.

21. Thursday added an end to the first parte of my lord Cooke's reports; and I understood that my hopes at Lawford in Essex were now the second time cleare dashed, and therfor seeing things would not mend I blessed God that gave mee content in all.
22. I began the second parte of my lord Cooke's reports; and laboured in my begunn booke; with all sending some letters to London.
23. Nor did I at all through God's mercye as yet desist in my studyes. At night I receaved letters from London & some newes which because I have it by mee I heere omitt.
24. Having heard a sermon this blessed Sabbath, & done stricke exercise in the afternoone, I spent the residue of the day prettye well.
25. From this day wee begin~~n~~ to reckon the new yeare which is allsoe the fatall day of poore tenants, being commonlye called by us our Lady day.

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March

32(9)

A Diarian Discourse, or

26. My studyes this day through God's mercye were verye during, beginning in the morning & continuing them out even untill the time of our supper.
27. Nor was my progress less this day but my feare greater, for I suspected that my booke I was writing being cheiflye against papists, & they now soe proud of the King's indulgence¹ towards them might procure mee some trouble; but as for that I was resolved to trust upon God that had first put it into my mind, & to counsell with a learned friend, or two before I printed it at all.
28. Having this day some paine in my teeth I was hindred both in my studyes, & in my devotion (which above all to my good God.)
29. Friday allsoe though my paine continued yett did I somewhat, soe little as I could but much less then I would.
30. Being a little & but a little recovered, I made some better progress then the day before, though not soe good as I could have desired.

1. James had not as yet taken very definite steps in favor of the papists. He had, however, refused the petition of Parliament for a proclamation against the reconsants, on the ground that their regulation was already provided for by law. Murray to Carleton, Cal.S.P., 224. Mead to Stuteville, C.&T. James I, II, 231, The orders for the release of Catholic prisoners, were not issued until August of 1622. Cal.S.P. 436. Mead, however, says that many were released in June, Mead to Stuteville, C. & T. James I, II, 313.

Aetatis XX
April

33(9)

Ephemeritian Narration.

31. Still this idle paine troubled mee, so much as it hindered me this divine Sabbath from going to church; yett spent the day as well as I would at home.

1. My paine still increased moore and moore in my teeth yett could it not wholye hinder mee from my studyes; at dinner time we had discoursed some newes concerning the king of Spaine's new fleete which our English men feared,¹ & a Scott or Frenchman as wee heard was come from Spaine whoe had served that king and avowed it. But the King would noe wayes beleeve it, yett thus everyone talked.

2. Tuesday confirmed the former newes, where besides some studies allsoe through God's mercye I had my tooth pulled out & soe was somewhat eased of that evil paine.

3. Amidst my moderate studyes I entertained there solution of writing the historye of the rainge of that most excellent princes Queen Elizabeth I beseech God to bless me in it or divert it.

4. Besides my studiyes I added this day manye notes to my

1. Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal. S.P., 365 "Thompson, a Scot, who served the King of Spain for three years, reports that the Armada in Spain is intended for England, Ireland, or Scotland." Locke to Carleton, Cal. S.P. 366.

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 Aprill

A Diarian Discourse, or

answere to that rayling pamphlet before mentioned & to
 her masties historye.

5. Wednesday finished ye 1 parte of my lord Cooke's report.
6. And this day began his third parte besides some other
 things.
7. Yesterday I had prepared for & this blessed Sabbath
 through God's mercye put in practice after our sermon
 ended the receaving of the blessed sacrament. I desire
 of God my most gracious creator to forgive the weaknes
 both of this & other idle thoughts & words of the bless-
 ed Sabbath.
8. Besides my studies I sent a letter to London this day,
 whereby to understand some state-occurents.
9. Expecting returne of my letters I failed.
10. Yet did Wednesady fill my desire, for I not onlye receav-
 ed a letter but allsoe manye good bookes, among the rest
 that against our late sacred Queen Elizabeth, which I in-
 tended to answeere yett found ye matter of greater

Ephemeritian Narration.

difficultye then I supposed; yett my trust was in God that as hee bredd the resolution soe hee would enable and strengthen mee to doe it.

11. Thursday was a futherer to my studies of all sorts.
12. Nor weer my endeavours a jott this day less then ye former.
13. And thus with my studies & the service of my good God (though not soe jealouselye as I desired) I shutt up the day.
14. Our sermon ended which was a verye good one against malice & hatred & persuading to love, wee departed home & spent the residue of the day mostlye in religious exercises.
15. Besides my studye I had some recreation this day.
16. Neither failed I of some moore exercese this Tuesday, my father going abroad to dinner as allsoe my brother Elliot & sister where they lodged all night.
17. The morning past over in studye, the afternoone I did a

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April

A Diarian Discourse, or

little allsoe, taking some small recreation, my father with the rest returning except my brother Elliot whoe was gone farther into the countye, about the matter of a benevolence which was now required, and of which I was the counsell's letters¹ for it taking allsoe a coppye of them which I have by mee.

18. The morning past over in studye, the afternoone in recreation.
19. Well may this bee called good Friday in which the most glorious Lord of Life was crucified by men dead in sinne & for men dead in sinne howsoever & ther was but desertio
protectionis as Bellarmine well saith, & therefore so wee also were made
 partakers of it soe I desired
 to spend the day well, in which desire I failed not altogether through God's mercye.
20. Saturday added an end to ye third parte of my Lord Cooke's reports which I had begunn the sixth day of this month, soe that I was thirteene dayes about it, the Sundayes being noe dayes for such studyes. Finallye I prepared

 1. Rushworth, I, 60.

Ephemeritian Narration.

for this blessed Easter day following to bee a partaker of the holye communion the better to remember Christ's resurrection being as upon this day & of which this was one cheife end, viz: to bee mindful of his resurrection to righteousnes.

21. But to my exceeding greefe I was hindred by my father, whoe altered his determination of receaving this day & therefore I must not receive neither; to whome with reluctant consent I obeyed, but I did hope my good God did accept the will for the deed, & soe I desired to make upp the day as if I had received.
22. This day gave a beginning to the fowerth book of Cooke's reports.
23. Notwithstanding wee had strangers yett hindred I not my foorenoone law, in the afternoone I was idle with them, & was ere night moore wearye of that idlenes then I had almost ever been of my studye.
24. Yea though they lay heere neither was it a stopp to my

April

A Diarian Discourse, or

progress in the law, but a second destruction to a whole afternoone's worke.

25. My foorenoone's studye ended, after dinner I walked abroad, where I learned somewhat of husbandrye, & a greate deale concerning Queene Elizabeth which I sett downe for her future historye.¹
26. Friday morning I was drawn out to walke & soe was fain to make up the foornoone's loss with afternoone's studye.
27. Having alsoe finished my foorenoone's law, in the afternoone besides some little busines I prepared for the ensuing both Sabbath and sacrament.
28. Of both which this day through God's mercye I was made a partaker, & to hope as hee out of his infinite mercye accepted of the better acts soe hee pardoned my manifold weakenesses, the sermon wee had was verye good exhorting to arising from sinn & a turning to righteousness.
29. Finallye to day having studied the foornoone I went to packe upp my things in the afternoone.
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1. The monument of D'Ewes admiration for Queen Elizabeth and interest in her reign remains his "Journals of all the Parliament during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," printed in London, 1682.

Aetatis XX

Ephemeritian Narration.

30. Being invited foorth to dinner & my bookes gone, I spent the whole day in recreation.

Maie 1. Though this being Maie day was hbliday yett came wee to London from Busbridge, & through God's guidance well. Being come among other things I was entertained with much newes; as that upon the 28 of Februarye before being Sunday ther came to London a Spanish ambassador whoe was to reside heere and Gondamore to depart, -of this I was verye gladd.¹ I was informed allsoe that the Lady Elizabeth was brought abedd with another childe, & that the King of Bohemia was with Count Mansfeild,² of which I speake the lesse because I have ~~ye~~ bookes. My lord of Oxford was still in the Tower & the reason of his committment upon certain words spoken upon a second jurye which found the lord Norris guiltye of murder & soe his moveable estate was seized to the use of the King calling it the buggbeare prerogative. But indeede the marquesse Villars bore him little good will & now the less because

1. A sentiment which D'Ewes shared with all loyal Protestant Englishmen. Vide, Gardiner, IV, 335.

2. Frederick had joined Mansfield April 2.

3. The Earl of Oxford opened his house to the newly-married pair, and for this was deprived of his commission. Locke reports that the Earl had said "that he hoped the time would come when justice would be free, and not pass only through Buckingham's hands." Locke to Carleton; Cal.S.P., p 366. Buckingham's brother appears to have been always an ill-received suitor and Chamberlain suggests that in this affair "the lady was very cunning and resolute, more in order to be rid of the one than for love of the other" Cal.S.P., 366.

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Maye

A Diarian Discourse, or

hee had made upp the marriage betweene Wray & the lord
Norrise's sole daughter, whoe should have been for Kitt
Villars the Marquesses brother. Spalato alsoe went a-
way Tuesday was ~~smight~~^{scnight} with the Emperor's embassadour.¹
For my parte I could not gett into mine owne chamber but
was faine to lye with a gentlemen of our house.

2. Manye things of ordinarye busines I performed this day,
but studied nothing. Some noveltye tooke birth allsoe
this day, as that the Earle of Exeter being sent too to
know what hee would give, & being informed it was for the
king of Bohemia answered, "I will shew myself both a loy-
all & loving subject, & I will give 500 pound but will
save his majesty the carriage & sent it myselfe," & soe
as the report went, for twas but a report, sent it away.
The new embassador's name allsoe was called Columbus,²
& thence an idle jest arose from serviente...to serpente
& Columba come, however this shewed the hate of the
people.³ Alsoe I heard how the King answered the

1. Locke wrote to Carleton on the 20th that Spalato had already gone,
If he tarried in England until Tuesday, 23rd, he overstayed the twenty days
grace granted him by James's order of banishment which was decreed in March.
Cal. S.P. 368, 378.

2. Don Carlos de Collama, or Columbo. He had arrived in London April 28.
Letter to Mead, C. & T. Jas. I; II, 309, Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal. S.P.
380. D'Ewes' information that he arrived February 28 (see entry for May 1) is
is incorrect.

3. For Gondamor, who was so detested in England that the new ambassador en-
joyed a certain popularity simply for having displaced him. The reference is

Ephemeritian Narration.

Emperor's ambassador¹ whose speech I have onely complementally, being gladd of the emperor's health & new marriage.

3. I studied little & receaved much good newes concerning the King of Bohemia which I omitt because I have it.
4. Nor could I yett settle to my studyes, nor did I heare anything worth remembrance.
5. I was partaker of 3 good sermons this day, especiallye one from Doctor Day at St. Faith's & in truth the last I heard was but a peece of a sermon. This night (the moore the pittye) was the maske at court.²
6. I gatt a little studye this forenoone but other busines hindred mee in the afternoone. I went to the Artillerye Yard³, from thence to an excellent sermon, & lastlye to supper to Marchants Taylors' Hall, where allsoe wee had excellent good sporte after supper, where I first saw Cranfeild the new lorde treasurour.⁴
7. The morning I entertained with studye, the afternoone

Probably to the old legend of the serpent and the dove (Columba), Gondamor, of course, representing the serpent. A book, "Serpens et Columba" had been brought to D'Ewes attention at Cambridge. College Life, 72.

1. Count Schwarzenberg. See Cal. S.P., Locke to Carleton, 376.

2. The masque was really given on the next evening, when Jonson's masque of the Augurs was again presented. Nichols, Progresses of Jas. I, IV, 763. The matter of Sunday observance and the divergent views of James (as expressed in "The Book of Sports") and the Puritans, was at this time a point of sharpest controversy. See Traill, Social England, 34-25. Trevelyand, England under the Stuarts, 69-71.

3. See entry for Mayll.

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Maye

42(11)

A Diarian Discourse, or

abroad & seeing my new begunn booke would take upp soe infinite time I whollye gave it over finding that the studie of ye law would challenge all the leisure I had.

8. Wednesday morning I past over in law, the afternoone about lesse serious studyes.

9. Having studied alsoe this morning & walking with some good students of our house in the afternoone, whoe discoursed of law I was soe perplexed being not able to remember what I had read as was wonderful, & began to despaire almost of studiing anye further; but that I relied upon my good God whoe had thus mercifullye humbled mee beginning to grow somewhat confident of my selfe; & in truth it soe fell out, (oh, most loving and wise God), for being at moote this night in our hall, I gott much good and benefit, which somewhat comforted mee.

10. And yett againe lease I should rise faster then I had been humbled, behold another mild correction, for reading the case of the comminaltye of Adler's in the 4th parte of my

4. The Artillery Yard as the headquarters of the militia was the campus Martius of London. It was soon to enjoy greater prominence as the training ground of the "London Trained Bands" of the Civil War.

Ephemeritian Narration.

lord Cooke's reports, I was soe terriblye puzzled that I prostrated myselfe before my good God to prosper mee in my studyes & to open my apprehension and judgment and to confirme my memorye; & in truth in the afternoone I had some little better speed.

11. In the morning I went to the Court of Wards to heare Sir Edward Cooke's cause which was this day the first time it was heard this terme, where hee was expected to have been present, & one Mistress Hadler his daughter by his first wife, had indeed gotten the king (to) seale a grant for that purpose, & had given it to the lorde treasurer Cranfeild herselfe which notwithstanding hee this morning had gone to the king & not finding him within had barred my lorde Cooke from (what) the King had granted, but in this I suppose hee knew the King's minde too well, or els hee dared very much. And this appeared even by his countenance being a little swarthy, his nose somewhat bending in his forehead of a middle size, his cheeks pale & his

A Diarian Discourse, or

eyes most quicke and vigorous, his haire of a darke browne, & of a maderate stature. In the afternoone I was verye ill & through God's mercye somewhat better at night. To-day departed Gondamore from London, that had done soe much evill, towards Spaine, men generallye cursing him even at his going, but in truth I could but commend his policye; his departure was exceeding secrett and they hast at his verye departure; hoping to doe somewhat hee left a letter of false newes concerning matters in the Palatinate as if they had been worse than they weere¹, soe to ~~deatine~~^{detaine} his matye from studiing anye meanes for his aide; like Sir Rufus that slew one of the....of his braines being dead, & Burleigh that plotted Essex' death² which fell out after his death.

12. Our owne preacher Mr. M^{rs}.³ gave us a good sermon this foorenoone; the afternoone I heard one in the towne, & at night walked abroad.

1. His "news" was that Mansfield was defeated and the Palatine slain. James was at first deeply affected by this news, but receiving reliable information that it was false, he "sent to inform the ambassador, laughingly telling him to temper his joy a little." A ready forgiveness for such an offense-if true. Lando to the Senate, Cal. S. P. Ven. 330.
2. I can find no confirmation of this rumour. Both Lord Burghleys, William Cecil Elizabeths famous Treasurour, and his son Thomas Cecil, were bitterly opposed to Essex. At the time of Essex' outbreak, Thomas Cecil "was in the city at the same time, proclaiming Essex and his aderents traitors in the Queen's name."
3. Mr. Masters.

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Maye

45(11&12)

Ephemeritian Narration.

13. Finding in the morning my stomacke defective both to studye & meat, I spent the afternoone abroad.
14. Having spent the foornoone pretillye well; in the afternoone descouring with some about the Marquesse and the Prince wee concluded that the Prince either in truth or in polieye was exceeding kind to him, as at a maske this yeare they being together in slashed clothes & the season somewhat cold, the Marquesse wanting his cloake & the Prince having his on, tooke it off and threw it on the Marquesse's backe & hee allsoe as boldly accepted it. It was reported alsoe that hee clasped downe the Marquesse's beaver with his owne handes. Sure as now, however ^{hee} made his again upon him.
15. The morning brought foorth a little studye & the afternoone a good deale of recreation.
16. Nor could I make upp my studyes this day by reason of visitation of freinds; both they to mee before dinner, I abroad after.

A Diarian Discourse, or

17. And yett further to hinder mee, as soone as I began to studye, I had soe great a pain in my head as I was forced to give over, & to studye for the recoverye of healthe.
18. My paine continued soe much this day allsoe as for the most part I kept my bedd, not rising till towards night & then allsoe but weakelye.
19. Finallye it hindred mee this blessed Sabbath both from going to church & receaving the blessed sacrament, yet what time I haed private I spent in reading.
20. Monday through God's mercye brought mee both ease and amendment yet durst I not bee too violent to my booke, but did a little & spent the residue abroad. My brother Eliott came this day to towne, with whome I had some discourse about Gondamoore and hee tolde mee that liing at Godleman as hee came into Surrye the towne where hee dwelt, and Sir Anthonye Browne Viscount Mountacute ¹ with him, they strove soe long to give each other the best inn, ther being but twoe good ones in the towne, that Gondamore tooke upp an ale house & the Viscount a clothier's house &
- p-----

1. Earl of Leicester to Carleton, Cal. S.P., 394.

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Maye

47(12)

Ephemeritian Narration.

ther men jovialised in the twoe best inns; thence hee went to the Viscount's, ther desiring to see Chichester church, hee was at first kept out & I think altogether, by a poor sexton whoe shutt the doors against him.

21. From hence I understood hee went to Mr. Cotton's in Hampshire a great papist's, & soe along to Portsmouth, but whether hee bee yett I could not learne certainlye, onlye I supposed hee would not goe home with anye verye light heart.
22. I begann to studye a little this day, which because I desired it might not bee hindred, I went into Commons having been by reason of my former illness out.
23. Butt yett did the former paine of my head returne this Thursday, which I the moore feared because I was not usuallye troubled with it.
24. Yett did I use such meanes for the prevention of it that through God's mercye I againe recovered, yett all this while did my poore studye goe to racke, and hee that read

Aetatis XX
Maye

A Diarian Discourse, or

with mee was gotten exceeding far before mee, soe that my studyes weere nothing pleasing to mee, yett did I hope at length to stand on even ground with him.

25. Besides my studyes I heard some matters of state, as of the Countess of Arundell^x of her departure from Venice (she was one of the daughters of the Earle of Shrewsburye) where shee was at first suspected and afterwards cleared in the open senate. The suspition heere grew upon the strangling of one of the carissimoes which the senate then confessed to have been about a busines of ther owne. Sir Henrye Wotton enformed her of the first and afterwards wrote this verye truth to the Earle of Arundel. As to the second noveltye concerning the Countess of Buckingham as whew sent for a jewel to the Dutches of Lennox which the King had given the Prince and the Prince her, she being now minded to give it to Gundamore now departed (for this was acted about the time of his departure) which when the Dutches came to deliver to the King hee stormed exceedingly.¹
-

x. Alatheia Talbot. The case is that of Antonio Foscarini, a former ambassador to England, who was suspended of holding secret meetings with various foreign envoys and executed after a secret trial. The rumour went that the villa of the Lady Arundell had been the scene of these secret meetings, and that Foscarini had been wont to come there in disguise late at night. Sir Henry Wotton, then ambassador at Venice, advised the Countess to flee the country but she, preferring to face the charges boldly, obtained an audience before the Doge and the Senate who completely vindicated her innocence. Wotton's part in the affair threatened for a time to cost him his post. Smith; Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton I. pp. 183, 189. II. pp. 232, 235, 240, 242, 251, 253.

Ephemeritian Narration.

Others, say shee mooved the King to turne papist but certaine it was, shee was reconciled to the Church of Rome, through the instigation of one Fisher a Jesuite,¹ and that shee was awhile forbidden the court. With whome afterwards Doctor White more largely disputed.² As I intend alsoe to sett downe as soone as I can gett the true relation.

26. This blessed Sabbath I was partaker of three good sermons besides some honest conference.
27. Monday added little or no pregresse to my studyes.
28. Yett did I somewhat this foorenoone, not loosing the whole afternoone.
29. A little studye allsoe I enjoyed too day, my good freind Mr. Jefferay comming to towne, I had some conference with him, though nothing soe much concerning state matters as wee used to have.
30. This Thursday being Ascension day in the foornoone wee had a sermon ~~after~~ and, I had some occasions abroad.
31. I did not shutt upp May soe well as I might have done by serious studye.

 Reliquae Wottonianae, 306-311. Cal.S.P., Ven., 293, 297, 299, 300.
 2 (Page 48). The incident is differently told by Mead. He says that the King had intended the chain for a gift to the emperor's ambassador, but finding another more suitable for that purpose, it was bestowed at the suggestion of the Prince on the Dutchess of Lennox. The Countess, jealous, was so put out "that a thing of that value and quality should miss her hands, that the next day she took upon her, in the kings' name, to send for the chain again, pretending some use thereof." The Dutchess was too shrewd to be deceived by such a pretext, and so returned the chain to the King with her own hands, whereupon the whole story came out. "The king, understanding the business, swore he was

A.D. MDCXXII
June

50(12)

A Diarian Discourse, or

1. Still my studyes went slowlye forward, partlye through illness of my bodye, but especiallye through indisposition of my minde; & all because the gentleman with whome I read had gotten somewhat before mee.
2. After the hearing of two sermons, I went to visite one of my kindred whome I had not seen in a long time, & indeed it prooved a good Sabbath dayes worke for it much confirmed our affections.
3. To day terme ending I began to thinke of a journeye to my brother Elliott's this Whitsuntide.

(13)

4. The thought of this journeye put all studye out of my head.
5. Alsoe this day I putt upp my things and shutt upp my studye.
6. And finallye went to day, whither through God's mercye I came well, & verye kindlye received.
7. Little busines tooke mee upp too day for I sheiflye devoted it to recreation and the acquisition of good aire.

abused; and the prince told him that he took it for so great an affront on her part, that he would leave the court if she staid in it." Mead to Stuteville, C.&T. James I, II, 313.

1.p.49. The assumed name of a man named Percy or Persy of whose life little is known. He seems to have spent a large part of his life in prison, and was the author of several books on religious subjects. Laud's Works II, Preface XVIII--XX. Buckingham himself was for a time seriously affected by his persuasions.

2. Dr. Francis White, at this time one of the Royal Chaplins, later Bishop of Carlisle, Norwich, and Ely. This first disputation took place before Buckingham, his wife, and mother, and Lord Keeper William, Dr. White also had a second encounter with Fisher, King James himself being present. (Cont. on next page)

Ephemeritian Narration.

8. Soe allsoe was this day spent, some moore strangers comming to us.
 9. We heard a good sermon this Lorde's day at my brother's parish church, & spent the residue pretillye well at home.
 10. Because my comming was not to studye, therefore I tooke the moore recreation desiring through God's helpe to procure some good health to my bodye.
 11. Soe alsoe was this day past over, cheiflye in recreation.
 12. Wednesday produced a little studye, in the afternoone wee went abroad, where at a gardein of one of my brother's uncles wee had good cherryes being the first I eate this yeare.
 13. The morning past over without anye great noveltye or studye, in the afternoone wee went to Sir George Stoughteon's howse a knight neare adjoining by, whose ladye mother & one ladye wee found at home, though himself weere abroad, & ther wee recreated ourselves well with bowling¹ and other sport till our departure.
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On May 24, Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, took up the argument with Fisher so effectively that Buckingham, if not his mother, was quite satisfied, Laud's Works II, Preface IX, XII, and pp. 359-413. Gardiner IV, 279-282. Cal.S.P Chamberlain to Carleton, June 8, p. 404.

1. D'Ewes probably did his bowling out-of-doors, though by this time bowling was played either "in open wilde places, or in close allies." Considerable disrepute was attached to the closed alley, however, as being a place that bred disorder and rioting. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes of England, 359-363.

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June

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A Diarian Discourse, or

14. Neither can anye thing moore be saied of th^s day thⁿ ye former.
15. As in other dayes soe on this I read parte of Holingshedd's Cronicle concerning Queene Elizabeth, for the writing of whose storye as I have before saied I daylye gathered manye notes.
16. Having heard our forenoone's sermon the rest of the day through God's mercye was prettilye well spent, not onlye in our publike exercise at home but alsoe privatelye.
17. Besides a little studye our strangers this day departed being the Lady Garton (etc). Allsoe I was certainlye assured that my sister Elliott was with childe & desire of God to send her a happy deliverance.
18. Tuesday produced a little studye forenoone and afternoone.
19. Wednesday I began to thinke of departing tomorrow & heard some newes as that things went ill in the Palatinate, & that the Spanish match was concluded, but they weere not certaine & therefore noe more of them.

Ephemeritian Narration.

20. Little study served for this morning in which I had thought to have gone to London; in the afternoone I went to visite a neighbouring knight & his ladye, where I ^{was} kindly entertained & compelled to stay all night.
21. Yett did they fully requite my stay & came both with mee to my brother's to dinner though the knight indeed for his part had a little busines, whoe afterwards departed in the afternoone.
22. Saturday as it gave end to the weeke soe likewise it gave to my recreations for now I prepared against Monday to goe to London, having deferred my journeye even to the last period.
23. After our sermon ended I spent the residue of this blessed Sabbath prettilye well at home.
24. I had decreed to have gone to London this day but entreaty staid mee.
25. Today I went with my brother & wee came to London about one of the clocke, where I saw and conferred with both my father & sisters through God's mercye to my comfort.

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June

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A Diarian Discourse, or

26. This day alsoe had some mederate studye & soe it ended.
27. Notable was this day in a jarre betweene my father & brother Elliot whoe had ever since the marriage been good friends, but through God's mercye I sett things in a pretty right. Ther was allsoe much newes for besides Doctor White and Fisher, now Doctor Featly¹ the Archbishopp's chaplaine & one Musket² a priest disputed; Doctor Featli had the better in Bilshopp. Then they should have mett againe Doctor Goad³ with Featli & Fisher with Frusker but our bold papists failed. Besides last Sunday at Paul's Cross had parash bookes been burnt, the bishopp of London preached Doctor Mountaine⁴ about a point of subjects rebelling for religion. Alsoe at Cambridge in the Regent Walke Bucan's Commonplaces⁵ that weer solemlye weerselemye burnt, yett these not near the popish positions for----- and Bucan speakes of subjects oppressed. This all about one Kinght's⁶ sermon. The king choose at this time a secrett counsell to enquire out matters of the prerogative,
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1. Daniel Featley or Fair clough, later Provost of Chelsea College, Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, III, 156-159.

2. Alais George Fisher, later president of DoMay College, a Catholic divine. He was the author of a pamphlet "The Bishop of London, his Legacy" in which he accused the Bishop of dying a Catholic. See Entry for Jan. 10.

3. Thomas Goad, chaplain to the Archbishop. He was a great controversialist having "a commanding presence, and uncontrollable spirit impatient to be opposed, and loving to steer the discourse (being a good pilot to that purpose) of all the company he came in." Fuller's Worthies, I, 240.

4. George Montaigne. He preached at the same time on the benevolence and the repairing of St Paul's, and "confuted Pareus' opinions concerning the people's authority over tyrannical princes." Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal.SpP. 418.

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the prince, Duke of Lennox, Marquess Buckingham, Marquess Hambled, the Treasurour, Earle of Pembroke, Earle of Arundell, secretarye Calvert, 8 in all; with which the Privie Counsell had noe further to doe then they were pleased. Corke in Ireland was burnt, being the place where the starlings weer seen,¹ three hundred howses consumed, onely 16 saved, & a church. Upon this newes tame hearneseiles got out....and came upon Paule's steeple; the people weer at first frightened & feared burning of London.

28. I onely provided (God's willing) tooday for the commencement whither I desired to goe.
29. Saturday through God's mercye brought me safe to Cambridge where I was kindlye entertained by my tutor,² Mr. Gibson & some other good freinds whom I went to visite this night fearing I should have noe other time to see them in.
30. In the foenoone I went to St. Marye's the University church & heard Doctor Bargrave preache, in the afternoone I heard Mr. Jefferay & another sermon for a commencer one

5. "Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans," by David Pareus Bucanus, professor of divinity at Heidelberg. It was in this work that he defended his doctrine of resistance to Princes. Mead to Stuteville, C.&T. James I, II, 317. Cal. S.P. 418, 426, 396.

6. At Oxford, April 24, John Knight, claiming Pareus as his authority, argued that subjects may on certain provocation rebel against their Prince. His declarations were examined and condemned by a special council of bishops, and Knight himself was imprisoned in the Gatehouse where he soon repudiated his statements. Gardiner, IV, 297. Cal. S.P., 380, 396, 400.

1. In a letter to Stuteville, Mead explains the legend of the Starlings. C.&T. James I, II, 302. A pamphlet, "The Wonderful Battle of the Starlings,

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Julye

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A Diarian Discourse, or

Mr. Allerton whoe had a great living & was thus by death deprived of it. At the university church preached one Mr. Lucye the Marquesse of Buckingham's chaplaine whose sermon had in it Anabaptism, poperye, & almost atheism yett was hee not at all questioned, though poor Knight¹ weer at Oxford for saing that if the King of France weere slaine before Rochelle walls it weere an execution but not a murder. But in truth the Marquesse's shadow was not to bee trodd upon.

1. Wee had this day a good act, & and excellent pre...ricator, & some good newes out of France of which I was verye joyfull; which a divine told uw in the commencement house.
2. Besides the life acts as wee had yesterday twelve doctors weere created & amongst the rest our famous Sinewes Deane of Gloster, & this was soe raynye day that I despaired of going to London tomorrow, yett I resolved at supper upon the expectation of some good companye through God's mercye to goe thorough.

fought in the city of Cork, in Ireland, the 12th and 14th of October 1621. As it hath been credibly informed by divers noblemen and others of the same kingdom "was printed in London in 1622.

2. Richard Holdsworth, an eminent scholar and divine, later appointed dean of Worcester. *College Life*, 34-37.

1. See entry for 13, 27.

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3. And through God's mercye I arrived safe at London though verye wearye towards the evening, wherefore to my comfort I understood that Sir Edward Cooke's great cause in the Court of Wards was gon^e of his side contrarye to all men's expectations by the judgment of all the judges that weere ther.¹ At which the people gave a great shoute but Sir Henrye Yelverton whoe had been soe violentlye against him was ordinarilye hissed. And my Lord Keeper alsoe concluded the cause for the burning in Chancerye Lane on neither side; but that everye man should rest content with his lotte & enquire noe further of the author of it.
4. Though I weere within most parte of this day yett did a little studiing busines, onlye I wrote to my tutor & Mr. Jefferaye.
5. Nor did this Friday produce much studye, at night I supped with my sisters.
6. And this day went my sister Grace to my sister Elliott's but I was partaker of noe newes.

1. Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal. S. P., 424.

A Diarian Discourse, or

7. I was partaker through God's mercye of twoe good sermons this blessed Sabbath. At night going to visite our reverend & ancient minister Mr. Masters wee had conference of divers matters concerning our King & government intermixing our poore prayers & sighes for it, for it appeared plainely that the king's base feare was the cause of his lukewarmnes both at home and abroad. Soe that wee feared the prophesye in Henrye of Huntington would come to passe, where an olde man foretells that the sixth conquest of England should bee Scotts, emerits expugnatio, & wee well inclined now towards it, subjati emerita. (1) outworne. I was tolde by him alsoe that my lorde Saye¹ was in the Fleete because hee would give nothing to Bohemia & had been ther this moneth, though I heard not of it before, & answered the Privie Counsell verye wittilye & judiciouslye to what they asked him; as whether hee had dissuaded any from giving. To this etc. hee would not accuse himselfe if any did hee desired they might bee produced. Demanded
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1. William Fienes, Baron Say and Sele. Letter to Mead, C&T. James I, II, 312. Chamberlain to Carleton, Cal. S.P. 404.

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whye hee gave before to that..etc, that that was voluntarye but this was prest upon the subject, & this hee conceived to bee, because in the end of ther letters such as would not give weer commanded to come before them. Other wise & politicke answeres of his I now omitt least this dayes narration should swell too bigg; onlye as yett hee remain- ed stille in the Fleete. From Virginia wee had exceeding badd newes for the inhumane wretches wee had given peace too thus long, conspired together; one houre gave beginn- ing to ther butcherye; an Indian boy told the Englishmen of it, those that weer secure weer slaine cheiflye in St. Martins. Hundred to the full number of two hundred 2-9- of all sorts. Then they burnt some howses & villages & spoiled most of the plantation & corne therabouts; tis like- ly but for the former boy moore had been slaine. The best newes I heard was, that a certaine captaine of Bristow was gone to Rochell with 600 men & was campmaster ther of wel neare a thousand men. Sabises² continued still in England

1. This massacre occurred on the 22 of March, the Indians being incited to attack by their cheif O pechancanough. Seventy-three were slain at Martin's Hundred. The Indian who gave warning to some of the settlements was a convert, Chanco by name. Stith, History of Virginia, 208-14. Mead relates that "the Indians took some barrells of gunpowder which O pocohantas, the King, caused to be sown, expecting a large crop of gunpowder this summer." C. & T. James I; II; 369. See also Cal. S.P; Chamberlain to Carleton, 424.
2. M. Soubise, an agent sent from Rochelle to ask aid in men and money, was at this time occupying Sir Henry Rich's house. C. & T. James I, II, 317. Cal. S.P. Venetian, 358. D'Ewes of course refers to the same person.

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A Diarian Discourse, or

& lay at Sir Henrye Riche's howse the captain of ye garde
whoe had freelye lent it him from his first comming over.

8. I enjoyed a little studye this day, besides writing a
lettre to my uncle of Exeter.

9. Having spent the foorenoone in studye & some part of the
afternoone, at night as at sundrye other times I went to
visite my father as I did manye other times.

10. This day passed as the former & I was partaker of noe
noveltyes.

11. I was at the Starrchamber thés Thursday being the day
after the end of the terme where wee had a good case
about an Essex knight that had been suspected to have
underlined a commission under the great seale, but it
proved the foolish act of his sonn whoe was justlye
fined for it five hundred markes. Heere I had a full
view of Williams Lord Keeper, Androwes¹ of Winchester, &
old Worster² Lorde Privye Seale.

12. Having studied this morning & putt a case wrong to a gen-
tleman, it troubled mee verye much that my labour, paines

1. Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester 1619-27, and a leader
of religious opinion in England. In 1610, after the death of
Bancroft, it had been confidently predicted that he, and not
Abbot, would be appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Frere, History
of the Church of England, 366. His life is given in Fuller's Abel
Redivivus, 440.

2. Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, then in his sixty-ninth year.

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& understanding were noe better spent, but that I relied upon God's mercye in furthering mee in it whoe had hitherto graciouslye protected mee, & the rather when I considered that law was a most harsh studye and this case, being in Dumpor's case about conditions, was somewhat an harde one.

13. The morning past over in studye. At night I went with some other gentlemen as I had done once before to wash my selfe in the Temms.
14. As soon as I had made my selfe ready I went to our Temple church & heard our olde minister Mr. Masters, & inthe afternoone continued my hearing of that excellent preacher Mr. Shute.
15. Having passed over the morning in studye, in the afternoone I went to visite Mr. Eveling my old acquaintance that was married. Of newes I understood much that, domesticke, I thinke not worth the remembrance; for forraine, it was that the King of Bohemia had remooved all his gold plate from the Castle of Heidelberg¹ and was gone into Bavaria's armye & that ther was great hopes of the King of Denmarke

1. Frederick had left Mannheim on the 13th of June with Mansfield and Christian. On July 3rd he left the army and retired to Sedan. Before the end of June Tilly had already appeared before Heidelberg. Gardiner, IV, 319, 324.

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Julye

A Diarian Discourse, or

& Bethelam Gabor aiding.

16. In the morning the law, after dinner a treatise concerning the Earle of Essex troubles before his death, took upp my thoughts.
17. Wednesday I ended the fowerth report of my lorde Cooke. In the afternoone I had other occasions.
18. And this morning I began the fifth but read little; nothing els passing.
19. The same did I this day, spending the afternoone abroad.
20. Saturday morning my brother Elliott & my sister whoe had been heere some foure dayes departed & I gott a little studye. I was informed of manye things, as that the King hearing the Marquess was not well went to visite him & asking him what hee ailed hee told him a tooth aked & "What then, man?" quoth hee, and, being informed that hee would pull it out, hee presently swore that hee should not & searching for the tooles & finding them Hee threw them all away & swore that hee would hang the barbarr¹ whoe hidd himselfe under Sir George Goring's 2 cloake; & then half breathles

 1. Barbers were then regularly employed as dentists.

2. Sir George Goring, later Earl of Norwich and prominent in the Civil Wars. At this time he was one of James's "chier and master Fools" whose "fooling got them more than any other's wisdom, far above them in desert." Weldon, C.&C. King James, 28, 29.

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"Whye, man," quoth the King, "What doest thou meane to doe to spoile and kill thy selfe & then, becott (swearing Scottishlye) I shall not joy one good day after." And a little before hugging him one time very seriouslye hee burst foorth, "Begott, man, never one loved another moore then I doe thee & let God leave mee theday I leave thee." And awhile sithence being to goe abroad after the King hee sent to the Prince to come & play tennis with him going to St. James to him, which when the Prince heard hee rann downe to meete him soe as all noted it much least the Marquesse's honour should stay too long for him forsooth.

21. In the morning this blessed Lord's day I was at our Temple church, in the afternoone I heard Mr. Shute, at night a parte of our lecturour Mr. Chafin; & then, having supped, I enjoyed some holesome walking.
22. Little studye in the morning was accompanied with being abroad in the afternoone.
23. Little newes & less studye weere alsoe the fruits of th^s day.

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A Diarian Discourse, or

24. My father being now about to depart out of towne, I spent a good parte of this day with him in conference & otherwise.

25. Notwithstanding St. James day being holliday, yett did my father th^s day goe out of towne because he would gett home before Sunday. Being gone, I did not studye much because I had spent almost all the foorenoon wth him. Onlye I was partaker of some little noveltye, as that Digbye¹ had effected little in Spaine, the treatye of the match being deferred till a yeare hence, and the rather as yett the King would doe nothing because Gondamore though hee were landed in Spaine was not yett come to the court.

26. I studied not much this day, yett was I not a beholder of the training which was in Tuttle Feilds, where the Marquesse of Buckingham was the leader of them. For his sake the King as hee passed by looked on them wth the Prince² & soe departed this night to Otlands, being a parte of his strange progresse.

27. Some idle cogitations presenting themselves unto mee this

1. John Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, and at this time ambassador to Spain.

2. Valaresso comments on the same incident. Cal.S.P.Ven., 386.

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day & I as idly entertaining them, I did not studie soe seriouslye as I might otherwise have done.

28. In the foorenoone this blessed Lord's Day preached Mr. Crasshaw minister at Whitechappell, whoe had been verye well; w^{ch} was the occasion that I desired & accomplished to bee well acquainted wth him. In the afternoone I heard Mr. Chafin & a parte of Doctor Day at night.

29. As my studies welcommed the morning; soe other narrations tooke upp the rest of the day; as that Mansfeild's armye was growen to thirtye 000. At home the Earle of Arundell heere between Highgate & London striving to leap out of his coach was dragged a good way & hardly recovered from death.¹ The King allsoe now allotted one 000 pound a moneth to the Ladye Elizabeth, butt of this latter I was not very certaine.

30. In the morning I studied but a little. At night wee had a moote & I was partaker of much discourse concerning Williams the lord Keeper as that hee stoode as much as possible hee durst for religion would not seale Arundles patent for

1. Cal. S. Papers, Locke to Carleton, p. 439.

A Diarian Discourse, or
 the Earle Marshalshippe.¹ Wth other things, w^{ch} made me
 presentlye somewhat better to affect the man then ever
 I had done.

31. Wednesday being the closing upp of this moneth, I ended
 it nott well as to my studye, but somewhat better in a
 writing a letter to my father in the afternoone.

August 1622.

1. A little studye sufficed this Saturday. At night I had
 much good discourse wth my ancient & worthy acquaintance
 Mr. Masters.
2. Yett through God's mercye I made better use of this day,
 studiing verye trulye both foorenoone & afternoone.
3. In w^{ch} good studye I ended this day & weeke.
4. In the morning I was at our owne church. In the afternoone
 I heard Doctor Day, & came home to heare a little alsoe
 from Mr. Chafin. At night a gentlemen of o^r house tolde
 mee some good newes (what hee heard at the assises in Win-
 chester) where Justice Haughton spoke how the king disliked
 a rumour of toleration, & was sorrye for his people's feares,

1. The patent was issued Aug. 29, 1621. Cal. S.P., 285. Williams
 in a letter to the Duke advises him that the wording of the patent
 is obscure and desires enlightenment before affixing the seal, on
 the plea that it is his duty "to be wary what innovation passeth
 the seal." Cabala, 62-64. The patent had been sealed by Sept. 29.
 Locke to Carleton, Cal. S.P., 293.

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& that hee himselve was farr from poperye. Then went hee & read some parte of the disputation between Campion the Jesuit & D^r Fulke & Doctor Goad in the Tower. After w^{ch} I went to Mr. Masters & had wth him much good discourse about the Sabbath o^r Lord's day in his chamber.

5. Though I weere not soe seriously imploied this Monday because it was Gowryes day, yett I was not altogether idle.
 6. This day I past over through God's mercye some what better following my studye both foornoone and afternoone. At night came our reader into the hall^l & we understood his statute to bee the 13 reg. Elizabeth, the 8 chapter & the first particle, against usurye.
 7. And this Wednesday morning hee begunn to read making a good speech & good divisions & soe wee had his first case argued.
 8. I was present allsoe to day at our owne reading & the mootes abroad; resolved the day following through God's
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1. The reader was chosen from among the utter barristers to "read, expound, and declare some estatute openly unto all the company of the house." Elaborate ceremonies accompanied the introduction of the new reader who enjoyed great honor during his term so that "be the guests of never so high a degree, the reader within the precincts of the house, hath precedence of them." Herbert, Inns of Court, 213, 236-7.

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A Diarian Discourse, or

permission to sitt at a moote myselfe at New Inn though I weere not full twoe yeare's standing & scarce a yeare's studing¹, but the best newes was that Sir Edward Cooke came too day out of y^e Tower and went into the cuntrye to his howse at Stooke.

C. ex T.

9. Through God's mercye I passed well through my businesse this day at New Inn², yett could I not heare our reader in the morning because I was faine to studye about it. Moore good newes allsoe too day was; for Sir Robert Phillips³ was lett out of the Tower.

C. ex T.

10. I studied not greatlye this day but the Lord's day & Lords supper drawing on, I prepared my selfe the rather for the blessed communion that was to come.

11. Doctor Lamm having preached I was made a partaker of that glorious banquet though not wth soe much comfort as I could have desired, but I joyed in the mercyes of my good God whoe could pardon all defects.

12. Our reader in the morning & the other readers in the after-
noone at the Inn's of Chancerye tooke up my whole time

1. In the Middle Temple, a moot was held every evening when, according to custom, "is pleaged and declared in hemely law-Frenche, by such as are young lerners, some doubtfull matter or question in the law; which afterwards an utterbarrister doth rehearse, and doth argue and reason to it in the law-Frenche; and after him other utter barristers doth reason in the contrary part, in law-Frenche also; and then do the three benchers declare their myndes in English; and this is that they call motyng." The origin of the term is the French word *moot*. Herbert, Inns of Court, 216. D'Ewes had originally been in admitted to the Middle Temple in 1611 upon the death of Richard Simonds, his grandfather, but had first taken up

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this day.

13. Strang was the hetzograde growth of beanes this yeare w^{ch} made mee much to wonder, the blacke eye growing upward. My lord wrote an indulgent letter for the papists butt penned by an higher power.¹.
14. Our grand feast was too day where amongst others, the Spanish embassadour Seignior Columbo being invited was verye pleasant & dranke two healths first to one side of the hall & then to the other.
15. To day wee had our readers concelts upon his 4 first divisions.
16. Lector Thinn th^tis our reader left the towne too day & ended his reading. In the afternoone I received a letter from my father but soe late that this weeke I could returne noe answeere.
17. In the foorenoone this Saturday I studied a little; in the declining day was enformed of the King's letters to the bisshops & allsoe the archbishops to them alsoe butt as

residence in October, 1620. Autobiography, 149.

2. See Autobiography, 219.

3. Sir Robert Phelps, prominent in the last parliament for his opposition to Spain. His arrest had followed immediately upon that of Coke. Locke to Carleton, Cal. S.P., 332.

1. Letter of the Lord Keeper Williams to the judges, August 2, ordering the issue of writs in favor of Catholics accused of violating the laws concerning recusancy, "for state reasons, and from hope of favour by foreign Princes to Protestants." This was followed, August 4, by the King's letter forbidding Protestants to preach on various subjects. Cal. S.P., 436. C.&T. James I, II, 326. Spotteswood, 543.

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70(16)

A Diarian Discourse, or

yett gott not a cotype of anye of them.¹

18. This blessed Lord's day it was soe rayne that I durst not stirre abroad & soe was partaker of twoe sermons at our church.

19. I continued my studye this day till 3 of the clocke & then went abroad.

20. After my mornings studye I went too day to Westminster, where I had much discourse wth the Scholemaster Mr. Osbeston² my acquaintance & of some state matters allsoe w^{ch} I heare omitt; in fine (w^{ch} is indeed for the most parte the end of all such journeyes) I gott leave for them to play the ensuing Tuesday, & soe tooke my leave.

21. My worthe freind Mr. M^{rs} went out of towne too day, wth whome I spent soe much of the forenoone that I did little after; going allsoe abroad in the latter parte of the day.

22. Munday brought foorth a little moore studye then yesterday could. In the afternoone going abroad I bought some notable pamphlets as the apologye of the Prince of Arrrange

1. See note for 16, 13.
2. Osbaldeston.

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etc. Heere I had some discourse wth Mr. Reginalds my olde schoolemaster going to visite him where I understood strange things of one Alexander Speering almost like prophet Baal but till I could find better proofes to approve him I shall suspend my judgement.

23. Friday likewise was spent wth little studye at home, going abroad & buying more pamphlets; besides I sent a large letter to my father before w^{ch} I had sent one likewise butt hee receaved it not.

24. Through God's mercye I studied prettilye well both this foorenoone & afternoone, but was partaker of noe noveltye.

25. Neither did I at all stirre abroad this Lord's day, onlye I was partaker of twoe good sermons in our owne church.

26. Little studye served this day, after dinner I changed my Venetian historye for Moryson's itinerarye¹

17

27. How disposed are wee at one time moore then another, for through God's mercye I spent this day well, & begann to

1. "An Itinerarye containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland, by Fynes Moryson." It was printed in London in 1617, and enjoyed wide popularity.

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provide for a moote w^{ch} I might ere long perform.

28. Neither was I idle any parte of this day; at night also because I might overslipp noe parte of it I was partaker of an exact discourse of the massacre as I may learne it of our men in Virginea, w^{ch} hapned the 22 of March. butt because I hope to gett the thing it selfe I deferr to speake of it.

29. This morning I studied well alsoe & had done soe to in the afternoon but that my good freind came to mee wth whome I could not thinke it amiss to spend a few howres wth him having not seen him since the commencement when I was wth him & other my good freinds at Cambridge; of things I discoursed wth him that weere secrett as of the sinne of sodomye how frequente it was in this wicked cittye, & if God did not provide some wonderfull blessing against it wee could not but expect some horrible punishment for it; especiallye it being as wee had probable cause to feare a sinne in the prince as well as the people, w^{ch}

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God is for the most part the chastiser of himselfe, because noe man else indeed dare reprove or tell them of ther faults: I told him a true storye w^{ch} was a great presu(m)ption to this of an usher of a schoole a Frenchman whoe had buggered a knights sonne & was brought in- to the Guild Hall, when Been was recorder, & had surely receaved his just punishment but that Mountague¹ then cheife justice was sent to save him, & by the king as twas thought. Nay, besides D^r Hearne one of the kings phisitians offered to have the usher killed privately soe they would suffer it to passe over in darkness; and that the child's uncle rann at him wth a rapier after his acquittance, & had slaine him but that hee was stopped by the people saing that though hee had 'scaped the justice of man hee could not the judgement of God. Besides wee resolved that the King was wearye enough of the Marquess² but for shame would not putt him away. I told him of the letter in Sommersett's caskett found ny my Lorde Cooke,

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1. Sir Henry Montague was the successor of Coke in the office of cheif justice from 1616 to 1621.
 2. Weldon asserts that the Kings affection for Buckingham had been long waning, especially since Buckingham's friendship with the Prince had become marked; for he resented "his adoring the rising sun, not looking after the sun setting," As for the journey to Spain, "had he not been weary of Buckingham, he would never have adventured him in such a journey," C. & C. of King James, 46-50.

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for w^{ch} since the King never loved him. & finallye that in other cuntries men talked familiarlye of it; after w^{ch} & some oth^r matters passed over (where I tolde him that boyes weere grown to the height of wickednes to paint) wee parted, hee being to reach that night to Waltham to my Lorde Dennyes, & I retired to my studye.

30. I worte to my father in the morning in answeere to his loving letter, & having studied a little in the afternoone was partaker of a most exquisitee narration of Oeman the late great Turks deposition & murder, of w^{ch} because I bestowed the writing out of it. I say noe moore but onlye that S^r Thomas Rowe our legier embassadour ther was y^e penner of it.

31. In the forenoone I studied butt in the afternoone I did little save ordinarye things in my studye.

September 1622.

1. Both forenoone & afternoone this blessed Lord's day I was the hearer of Mr. Shute, whoe handled things most excellentlye. I dined with one of the shereiffs named White-moore, & at night was partaker of a part of a sermon at Graies Inn. Then comming home after suppertime I went to see Mr. Masters, where wee had much discourse, somewhat about that Speering spookenn of before August 22. AS that hee was but some imposter, & had been brought upp under some good minister though hee proffessed to have lived but a vagrant life, & indeed I myselfe have knowen some unlearned followes of soe admirable memoryes, that by reading the Scriptures & other good bookes attained to exceeding height of knowledge in divine matters. O^r sermons began

S. at P. now to grow famous & Paule's Grosse to bee the theater of many passages. Last Sunday preached one that was my Lord

Mr. Clayton of Holdernes chaplaine, & because hee talked of a Spanish minister of Seville sheep brought over in Edward the I his time w^{ch} infected all

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our sheepe wth m^{arr}aine, & praing God not moore such might come, the people cried Amen-but hee was clapt upp & through his lorde's meanes soone freed againe.¹ At Ipswich Mr. Warde was againe in trouble, & in London D^r Everard in the Marshalsey or Fleete.² And now this Sunday preached one Doctor Sheldon³ a Jesuite in times past, but now a zealous Protestant as his sermon shewed, for hee tooke a text directlye against poperye, of those in the Apocalipse w^{ch} had the marke of the beast in ther foreheads etc. And ther shewed (verye comfortablye for these doubbing times) th^t popeye could not in anye possibilitye, morall, divine, or reyall settle in this kingdom any moore for now the Gospell was grounded heere, & those that had once forsaken the pope would never come under his yoake againe. Hee expounded that saing in the Apocalipse evangeliam aeternum for the reformed gospel, & not the beginning for w^{ch} hee vo(u)ched fathers & schoole-

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1. Mead to Stuteville, C. & T. James I, II, 330. Sir Edward Coke had made use of the same story. Gardiner IV, 346.
 2. To the Marchall^{ea}. Chamberlain to Carleton, C&T. p. 326. John Everard was a popular preacher of the day whose impolite boldness of expression brought him continually into conflict with the authorities. He had been imprisoned once in 1618, and a second time in 1621 for preaching against the Spanish match; in 1636 he was tried for heresy, and later suffered further prosecutions.
 3. Richard Sheldon had been destined for the priesthood but, being converted to Protestantism about 1611, became fanatically zealous against his old faith. For He was one of the Royal Chaplins, and was reprimanded by the King for the boldness of this sermon.

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men. And lastlye hee shewes the King's profession, writing, and opinoin & therfore royallye impossible; & concluded (w^{ch} use allsoe all our ministers here made of it alsoe, soe charitable & obedient are the grounds professors of our religion) that the late articles the King had sett foorth, especiallye that of preaching in the afternoone; upon the points of the catechisms would bee of great force good use for the beating downe of poperye, & soe ð conclude this day.

2. Monday morning I studied a little, at night supping abroad I lay out allsoe.
 3. The morning past over in studye, I went abroad in the afternoone, where in Cuck-land I bought my Lorde Diers reports a booke I much wanted; & the twoe principall workes of Bishopp Jewell¹; to witt, his replie to Harding upon divers points; & his defence of that admirable treatise of his the Apologie of the Church of England.
 4. The progresse in my studye this day was verye small & is
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1. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbry. The "Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicanae" appeared, according to Fuller, in 1561 and has been called "the first methodical statement of the position of the church of England against the church of Rome" and formed a basis for much subsequent controversy. "A Reply to Master Harding's answer concerning the seven and twenty Articles contained in Master Jewel his challenge" appeared in 1564, the "Challenge to all Papists" being dated 1560. For a life of this "gracious instrument of Christ" see Fuller; Abel Redecivus pp.301, 314. A full account of the controversy and Jewel's position is given in Frere; History of the English Church, pp. 86-92.

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better to omitt it or remember it wth greife, as alas I may doe manye dayes else.

5. Neither was my progresse too day anye moore then a little but I was, to make amends, partaken of some newes: for besides a letter I receaved from Mr. Jefferay, I understood that Count Mansefeild & Gonsales had fought etc. but cheiflye that shipps were cast away at Plymouth by the last great winde about this day senight past; & that a man they desired to go out of the shipps whoe being not suffred hee grew franticke telling them they would all for the worse because of him, & saing or crying out "looke see thou not the divell where hee standeth?" At w^{ch} being bound by them, & putt under hatches hee suddenlye came upp amongst them, & tolde them they had better to have suffered him to have gone in quiet & soe leaped into the sea, after whome leaped a blacke dogg, & suddenlye rose that horrible tempest w^{ch} overthrew most of the shipps, especiallye

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that in w^{ch} he was before detained, & most of the men;
& after the tempest ceased then was a small barke soe
grounded upon twoe rockes falling betweene th^t noe art
of industrie could remove it without breaking.

6. My studye likewise too day was in the mediocritye,
newes none at all.¹
8. The day was soe raynye that I stayed at home, & was
partaker of twoe sermons in our owne church, spending
the intermedium time in reading Juell's workes, & at
night had some good conference wth a popish gentlemen.
9. Having imployed the morning in studye as I did manye
other dayes I went to search out bookes, but bought
little.
10. This day contained as others but little studye.
11. Besides my studye I added twoe dear law-books to my
librarye w^{ch} because I was not willing to keepe I heare
omitt.
12. Still, soe was the divine providence, did idlenes even

1. The omission of an entry for September 7 is the only
break that occurs in the diary.

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hang upon mee.

13. Which because neither this Friday could dispell (though I did not altogether loose my time) I prayed to my God for his furtherance & blessing my present remedye in all evills, & soe hoped that it would be better.

14. And soe in truth though I did little this day yett I towards the night spent an houre or two exceeding well, yett went to bedd somewhat timely because I would heere Doctor Dunn¹ whoe was to preach at Paule's Crosse too morrow, & upon whome was great expectation.

15. As timelye therefore as I could make my selfe ready I hasted thither, & by great good fortune & little cost stood close by him wthin the Crosse, & ther wrote as much as I desired; & therefore I speake noe moore of it having it in my booke at the end of Mr. Jefferay's sermons. The most parte of the afternoone and a prettye while after supper I spent in noting it out, soe that I did not partake of our whole Temple sermon heere at night.

1. John Donne, distinguished poet and divine, at this time Dean of St. Paul's and the most notable preacher in England. This sermon of September 15, owing to the agitation caused by the arrest of other preachers and the belief that Donne's aim was "to teach men how to preach there hereafter," aroused great agitation. Donne chose for his text Judges, Chap. 5, Verse 20, and undertook to explain the King's recent instructions to the preachers; but Chamberlain reports that "he gave no great satisfaction; or, as some say, spoke as if he him-

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16. Monday was not whollye lost, nor wholly studied.

17. Notwthstanding I spent this day at home yett I understood wee should have noe moore newes but under the secretarye's hande w^{ch} notwthstanding was not fulfilled, but howsoever for this time I tooke this for newes.

18. I lost little time most parte of this day, nay even after supper I studied a good while, having in the afternoon received letters from my father, w^{ch} weere brought by a kinsman of mine whoe had been there.

19. Having studied the morning, I wrote to my father in y^e afternoone; & understood that my sister Elliott had been brought a-bedd of a daughter the last Tuesday past.

20. Through God's mercye I spent this day well, & at night had conference wth my brother Ellyott about divers things whoe was now come to towne.

21. Saturday brought foorth a little studye. In the after-

E. noone I went to see one companye of the Prentiers traine, Traine this being St. Matthewe's daye, for everye holliday they were ordered to doe thus, w^{ch} in my minde was an exceed-

self were not so well satisfied." C. & T. Jas. I, II, 329, 332. Walton's Lives."

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ing good order & too good I feared to continue. They trained in severall companies according to the severall wards as I take it in ther masters' furniture.

22. I heard Mr. Shute doe excellent well both forenoone & afternoon, & allsoe dining & supping abroad I had excellent discourse wth a marchant of the popish preaching & Spanish inquisition but that w^{ch} was best was: that by Sir Frauncis Morgan as I take it his policye 1000 Spaniards weere blowen upp at Berghen-op-Zoon wth other good
H. taken to the towne. But miserable newes was the taking of Heidleberg in the Palatinate, wth the castle, where was a rare librariye, manye ancient monuments & a curious castle.

23. Spending this day abroad I had the former newes confirmed by S^r Dudley North whome I went to see & that S^r Garret Herbert² the captaine was slaine after three pikes first valiantlye brooken, being then shott in the head. This hapned through the cowardice of the Dutchmen in the outworkes; as hee fullye dilated it to mee.

1. The siege of Heidelberg was begun by Tilly, August 12th.

Carleton to the Duke, Cabala, 329. The city itself fell September 6, and the castle Sept. 9. Gardiner, IV, 360-1. The news of the disaster reached London Sept. 21. Locke to Carleton, C. & T. Jasi, II, 331.

2. Sir Gerard Herbert, a kinsman of the Earl of Pembroke. Gardiner credits him with the breaking of four pikes. Gardiner, IV, 331.

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83(19-20)

A Diarian Discourse, or

24. I spent this foorenoone in studye & the afternoone in my chamber alsoe.

25. Neither was this day spent abroad & yett not verye well in studye.

26. Little was my progresse in studye this day; but I was

Hides-
bird
partaker of some prettye narrations. One was of a birde stonned but not killed by one Hide, an Oxford scholer,¹ sonne to S^r Lawrence Hide, etc; w^{ch} the Earle of Mountgomerye² seeing would needes have it brought to ye King. Hee as soon as he saw it, wandring at the prettiner of it (for it had a long bill, long leggs, blue & greene feathers, & would eate fished verye greedilye) had it kept by him, saw it eate, would needs himself show it to Buckingham & the ladyes, & for manye dayes after (for 'twas about a fortnight since hee had it) call for his birde "where's my birds?", etc. Bis Lueri Fenex. The King of France upon the death of Marquesse D'Amere saith hee would leave them, & our King upon his losse of creditt & estimation with other prinies now begann to

MB.

Philip
Herbert

1. Probably one of the eleven sons of Sir Lawrence Hyde of Salisbury. If this supposition is correct, the young bird-slayer was a first cousin to the Edward Hyde who entered Oxford this same year and later became the famous Earl of Clarendon.

2. Philip Herbert

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Parli-
ament
brooken

play wth birdes. At night I had somewhat more grave & politicke discours wth some gentlemen what a rupture was the breaking off of the last parliament, leaving many lawes (w^{ch} had ever this cause to continue from parliament to parliament successively thorough all parliaments) doubtfull whether they weere in force or not, soe that wee concluded unles some other speedye parliament did remedye all, manye other foule inconveniences would ensue. Lastly about eight o'clocke at night I went to a buriall of the Ladye Ipselye, wheere manye worthy things were spoken of her, amongst the rest telling, that she greived at the troubles of the church, & a little before her death wished shee might not live to see the gospell over-thrown, & "though shee bee gon "saied the minister," yett I hope wee shall not see it;" to w^{ch} all the people cried "Amen"; as they had done at the Spanish sheepe before.

27. The morning spent in studye; at night I heard good newes; as that Spinola¹ had rayzed his seige before Boughen-Up-

1. Ambrogio Spinola. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton, Oct. 5, telling of the general rejoicing in London which followed this announcement. C. & T. Jas I, II, 336-7.

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85(20)

A Diarian Discourse, or

Zoome, & was orethrowen in the retireing; but because this as yett was but an uncertaine report I say noe moore of it.

28. My newes was in part verified as that the seige was rayseed but not whollye true. My studye in the law had little progresse (for th^t now I tearme my studye) other things taking upp my time.

29. I heard the two Shutes this blessed Lord's day, & a part of our Temple sermon. As I was going seeing a great crowde before my Lorde Bishopp of London's doore I went to see the matter & found that 80 Anabaptists almost weere taken & ther teacher, being assembled together in a howse in the feild as I thinke out by Pimlicoe; besides what escaped, w^{ch} weere some 30; What became of them I could not yett tell.

30. Having past over the day in studye; at night I was informed that yesternight arrived S^r Richarde Weston¹ from Bruxels where hee had been all this time delaid & nothing was effected. They could doe nothing with the

1. Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had gone to Brussels early in the year to take part in the conference called to obtain a suspension of arms. His difficulty in every negotiation was inability to guarantee Mansfield's or Frederick's acceptance of the terms of agreement. Vide Gardiner, IV, 311, 321, 341.

Ana-
baptists

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King of Spaine's & Emperors embassodors concerning a ceasing from armes; in w^{ch} much time was spent; But to conclude these articles were proposed by them & assented to by our King, & yett nothing followed. That the King should declare himselfe an enemye to Mansfeild if ever hee tooke armes in Germany. But when they begann to ment..... .. see for ye Hollanders hee in scorne came away.

1622.1.October

1. Little study now as most daies else served my turne, & a little state-passages came to my hands. As that the Counsel counsell were sent for & together seriouslye at worke & thus they continued most of this moneth but to little purpose for aught wee could see-God turne it to some good!
2. Neither could this day add anye great progresse to my studyes but at night, going to visite Mr. Masters newlye come to towne & finding Mr. Crasshaw wth him, wee had bookes much good discourse, especiallye of some rare bookes, as Pruritanus, Proscenious, & Corona Regia or Manes Causaboni.¹

1. Isaac Casaubon on account of his intimate relation with James and his championship of Anglicanism was a favorite target for the pamphleteers, both Puritan and Jesuit, who boldly charged that he "had sold his conscience for English gold."

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The other two were sett out 1608 & 1609; of w^{ch} because I will speak somewhat of my memorialls in the King's time I will speake the less heere. Pruritanus was infinite profane, but the other twoe weere terrible & whoblye against the King himselfe, accusing him of atheisme, sodomye, etc. And now allsoe came out the Interpreter w^{ch} I tooke the paines wth mine owne penn to write out. After hee had done the discourse of these bookes wee fell to talke of the practices of the Marquesse of Buck.-how hwe had alreadye strengthened his howse & did still by matching it unto the great families, & now was about to match it wth the Earle of Southampton's sonne, the lorde Rislye; & alsoe wth the lorde Sheffeld's sonne, but as yett that noble lord strongly wthstood it though hee was like to loose by it his principall howse & meanes w^{ch} hee had gone to law for & for now lost but might upon this have confirmed to him. Finally my lorde Bacon¹ desired now to bee master of Trinity colledg in Cambridge as hee had (been) before

1. Bacon's fall from power dates from May 1621. He was now living in retirement and devoting himself to literary labors. His Life of Henry VII had recently appeared and had commanded the widest attention. His hopes to again secure preferment, and particularly his cherished ambition to the provostship of Eton, were all doomed to failure. He had to learn the bitter lesson that Buckingham would not favor his suit unless "there were means to give him satisfaction," and Bacon "had no means left that could have served such a purpose." Spedding's Bacon, II, 571.

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of Christ Church in Oxforde, but I desired neither.

3. As my studye this day was of the least, soe weere occurences both scarce & uncertaine.
4. The morning I had some occasions abroad. In ye afternoone Mr. Crasshaw lent me the Interpreter w^{ch} I bestowed the writing out of.
5. Little studye, alas, served this day allsoe as the rest. Parliament was shortelye hoped for. Domesticke passages weere plentifull. My father & sisters came to towne yett I saw them not this night.
6. In the morning rising a little too late I was faine to goe to Saint Clement's church & in the afternoone I went to Mr. Shute's church but he preached not. After this ended I went to see my father & sisters where supping I heard much noveltye; as that Doctor White had preached at court upon: Remember Lot's wife--, both exceeding plainelye & boldlye; upon w^{ch} Doctor Dunn's sermon was commanded,¹ & hee commended, though others thought hee would have been committed.

1. Commanded to be published. The dedication was to the Marquis of Buckingham. C.&T. Jas.I, II, 332 note.

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A Diarian Discourse, or

I was promised the sermon. Besides I heard for certaine ther was much joy at court. The Hollanders returned from thence yesterday verye joyfull & warrs weere hoped wth Spaine. But all this came to nothing.

7. In the morning I did little butt in the afternoone went to see Mr. Crasshaw, in whose librarye I spent my time well & hee lent mee home a terrible booke called Pruritanus.
8. My studyes went a little better forwardes too day though not soe well as I could have desired.
9. Soe allsoe somewhat was done this day though but little.
10. And the like allsoe tooday, in w^{ch} allsoe I went to see my father as I had done the day before.
11. Little studye still (alas!) serving my turne, after dinner I went to visite Mr. Reginalds my olde schoolemaster wth another gentleman. Heere I heard that a towne in the Low-cuntries was taken by the States, but little certaintye was of it. At night going to visite Mr. Masters, I heard from hin that all the good hopes at Court weere dasht &

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that one Cottingham¹ an Hispaniolized Englishman was newlye come over & had satisfied the King & all was well, & that Endimion Porter² was gone on his message to the Emperor whoe had been like to have been cast away at Callice & receaved an hurte on his shoulder yett were his papers saved & one of his followers drowned & hee notwthstanding this hurte gone on his message.

12. But these good tidings would not holde for tooday newes was brought to the Court that Mainhem was beleagred moore straightlye, the outworks lost, & the towne wth that incomparable leader S^r Horace Vere in great danger. This mooved the King as much as yesterday had pleased him but what hee would doe I could not guess(I saw his feare to bee an obstacle to all good designes) only Cottingham was called before the Privye Counsell.
13. This blessed Lorde's day I heard Mr. Masters in the fore-noone & Mr. Shute in the afternoone & must humblye desire forgiveness of my good God for the many weaknesses passed in it.

1. Francis Cottington, secret agent at Madrid, recalled to become secretary to Prince Charles.

2. Endymion Porter. His mission was to the King of Spain exhorting him to compel the Emperor to restore Heidelberg and consent to a reconsideration of the terms of peace before proposed on that threat that a Spanish army would otherwise take the field against him. If Philip did not comply with this proposal, Digby was to leave Madrid at once and declare the marriage treaty broken off. Gardiner, IV, 370. Porter's narrow escape at Calais is told in a letter of Mead to Stuteville, C.&T. Jas. I, II, 344.

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14. Monday & a new weeke could worke noe new studiousnes in mee. Indeed my uncertaintye in my chamber did hinder mee. But now I expected a chamberfellow.
15. And to ease my further uncertaintye too day hee came & was admitted into my chamber & I into ye other though I knew I must yett loose some time to repaire & make fitt my studye.
16. w^{ch} I begann too day, remooving allsoe some things.
17. Neither did this day add amend to this trouble.
18. Butt now my studye being made fitt I went into it & settled prettilye to my worke in the afternoone w^{ch} I interpreted to bee a good omen to my future endeavours.
19. And indeed it soe fell out for through God's mercy I lost little time this day.
20. The morning I heard Mr. Masters, the afternoone Mr. Shute in the Poultrye; & yett came time enough to our Temple sermon.
21. I begann this weeke well through God's mercye, studying verye harde.

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22. And likewise continued it well this Tuesday.
23. Neither failed I this Wednesday, for in the morning I went to the Starr chamber & ther profited prettilye well, & often dinner to my great comfort followed my studye.
24. Happilie still did I continue my labours, though I wanted not now & then manye troubled and discontented thoughts.
25. Friday againe I visited the Starr chamber, where I met my brother Elliott not knowing before that hee was come to towne. In the afternoone I began to prepare by reading for our blessed communion following. At night I supped at the office where was my brother Ellyott alsoe, Heere I had some talke wth my father.
26. This sure was a happye weeke to mee for I shutt it upp happilye, studying the forenoone & preparing for our blessed sacrament the day following.
27. Of w^{ch} this blessed Lord's day I was a partaker, having heard Mr. Master in the forenoone & Mr. Shute in the afternoone, & comming home alsoe to a parte of Mr. Cha-
fin's sermon. In all w^{ch} I humblye desire of my good

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God to forgive all my weakenesses.

28. I begann alsoe this weeke prettilye well hearing after dinner some good hopes out of Germanie but because uncertaine I omitt them.
29. My Lords Mayor's idle show hindred my studies this forenoone, but in the afternoone I did a little.
30. Wednesday continued my begunn course of visiting the Starr-chamber, wheere I reported those cases I heard for mine owne private use.
31. In the morning I studied prettilye well; at night visiting my father, I heard from him somewhat of the French crueltie, w^{ch} because I heard after contradicted & sett it alsoe downe in the white pages of mine almanac at large in Lattine I heere omitt.

1622- November.

1. All S^t Dayes being this Friday, it was our grand day upon w^{ch} wee had divers nobles & great men to dinner w^{ch} had been an ancient custome & a good while discontinued but now againe renyed.¹ In the afternoone I snactht a little
1. For the ceremony, which was elaborate, see Herbert, Inns of Court, 232-235. His account is taken from Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales.

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studie, & heard the French newes of yesterday moore contradicted.

2. The day I spent prettye well only having a great minde to moote in the howse before Christmas I was somewhat troubled about it not knowing, yett what to doe.
 3. The morning this blessed Lord's day a Cambridge man did berye well. In the afternoone I was abroad in the towne, & at night one of Oxforde preached but did not well. After supper I went to visite Mr. Masters, where I had much discourse wth one Mr. Halterne an olde barrister & to good purpose.
 4. My studye had been moore this day if my distraction had been lesse. For still I was troubled about my moote what to doe.
 5. This is this memorable day upon w^{ch} the papists had decreed to have blowen upp the Parliament Howse but God delivered this lande.¹ At night preached Mr. Crasshaw & made an excellent discourse of it.
 6. Today my illishnes hindred mee from studye. Only I under-
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1. The Gunpowder Plot of November 5, 1605.

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A Diarian Discourse, or

stood of a peace in France, but for my parte I liked not the articles.

7. Having studied this Thursday morning, Mr. Bolderse & Mr. Littleburys came to towne at night of w^{ch} when I heard I was somewhat joyfull.
8. Newes was now growen wth the cameleon to varye everye day into a new shape, for the peace in France w^{ch} I heard of before was now cleane dasht.
9. Saturday gave mee some conference wth Mr. Bolderoe & it was chiefelye about the olde idle busines, & as wee had talked of it began a little to trouble mee, but I thanke God I soone past it over.
10. A Cambridge man did verye well at our owne church in the morning; after dinner I went to Ludgate Hill wth my sisters & ther heard Mr. Purchas.
11. Monday brought foorth as great a mist as I had lightly seen, yett went I abroad to visite a widow ladye to whome my fath^r was suitor, with my sisters.
12. I lost this morning; but in the afternoone through God's

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mercye I studied prettilye well & soe somewhat regained my time.

13. Wednesday I began a constant course to doe to the Starr-chamber. I understood that Mainhem was lost¹; & us this ill newes troubled mee, soe did likewise my moote for I could not agree upon a case wth him that mooted wth mee.
14. Noe sooner had I settled to my studye in y^e afternoone, but Mr. Beeston² my old adqaintance came to visite mee being newlye returned out of the Duke of Bulloignes cuntrye from Sedan. Of him I heard again the peace was settled, & some other passages w^{ch} I omitt. Before his departure, our bell called mee to our sermon, & therefore as soone as I had taken my leave of him I hasted to it.
15. Friday continued my initiated course of keeping Starr-chamber dayes. In the afternoone I studied about my moote, & supped in my chamber.
16. And to day allsoe I studied about my moote; and resolved

1. On Oct. 28th.

2. Of St. John's, Cambridge. He was the private tutor to Lord Wriothesley. College Life, 42.

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allsoe to goe moote at New Inn where I had been once before allsoe.

17. In the morning a stranger preacht, in the afternoone I heard Mr. Purchas againe, and at night, Mr. Chafin, our owne lecturour; & to my great greife & shame must confesse that I spent not y^e day soe well as I could have desired.

18. All this day I studied about my moote at New Inn & through God's mercye at night passed it over prettye currantlye, giving my good God my humblest praise for it.

19. Now againe I fell to studye for my moote in y^e Howse & the rather because I had never yett mooted.

20. As a little before soe still now my studyes are like to bee about my moote till I have finished it. Yett this morning, I was at the Starr-chamber somewhat timelye to heare S^r John Bennet's cause, w^{ch} came not to hearing Bennet ther, for his foule & sordid briberye, for which hee had been before questioned in the last Parliament¹, but because I reported it I omitt to speake further of it.

1. Sir John Bennett, Judge of the Prerogative Court, first accused on a charge of extortion and bribery in April 1621.

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21. In the morning I studied but spent the afternoone abroad.
22. Againe came S^r John Bennet's cause to hearing & was like to fall verye heavye upon him. In y^e afternoone I studied about the moote, & at night supping wth my sisters, I met ther one of the King's pensioners of whome I understood some newes. As that S^r Horatio Vere was comming over & had yeilded upp Mainhem, but that the King was exceedinglye offended wth it, having understood verye latelye by letters from Spaine & the Emperor, that if hee had staid but three dayes laonger the forces about it had been remooved. This was a prettye plott to bring him into disgrace if our wise King would bee soe persuaded. And indeed hee was neare it, for S^r Arthur Chichester, Lord Belfast, that had been latelye Embassadour ther was called for before the Counsell, & demanded about the strength & provisions of Mainhem; but in all hee spake most honourablye on the behalfe of S^r Horatio Vere. At court ther hapned allsoe a strange accident w^{ch} gave out the renour of a new favourite;

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for the King did beginn to shew manye favours to one Brett^l, the Marquesse's kinsman; & ther was some scuffling about it, but I heard as yett noe certaintye about it. Finallye, I heard from him that the Spanish ladye was comming over: & from another that S^r Albertus Morton was made provost of Kings' Colledge, & Doctor Collins made bishopp of Bristow.

23. This Saturday I studied.

24. Wee had this blessed Sabbath besides a good sermon, a blessed communion, of w^{ch} through God's mercye I was a partaker, but alas wth greife must confes mine owne unworthines. At night, I went to visite Mr. Masters & had wth him some good discourse.

25. Monday renewed my studye about my moote.

26. And to day(added an end) to y^e handling my first point.

27. Earlye this morning I hasted to the Starre-chamber to heare what would further become of S^r John Bennet's cause; & indeed it was well forwarded, for his counsell made an end of ther defence, & hee made a verye humble

1. Arthur Brett, a protege of the Lord Treasurer. By the end of January, he had been sent to France "to put the Marquis out of jealousy." Mead to Stuteville, C. & T. Jas. I, II, 355.

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& well composed speech w^{ch} because I have amongst my notes of this cause I omitt to speake further of it; onlye now it rested for the King's counsell to answeere a little, & for the censure.

28. Today the terme ended, and I continued y^e studye of my moote.
29. I had welneare come too late to the Starr-chamber this great day of all; where, after the King's counsell had spokken a little, the lords came to censure. The censure fell heavye, his fine being 20,000 Pounds, the rest^l I omitt because I noted it at large. My Lorde Russel, S^r Richard Weston, & the Lord Keeper weere most accurate, In truth it was a forenoone well spent & wth much delight, but the afternoone, I spent not soe well.
30. Though this weere holiday yett, I lost not my time but even ended the day & the month & weeke prettye well.

1622-- December.

1. Though this moneth begann this blessed Lorde's day, yett I begann it not well, for I heard but two sermons,
-
1. He was also sentenced to imprisonment during the King's pleasure and disabled from ever holding office.
Cal. S. P., 465. C. & T. Jas., I, II, 350.

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- & profited after a lesse proportion soe that in all I must ever relye upon the infinite mercye of my good God.
2. In the morning having wth continuance of studye at length ended my moote; I was perplexed in the afternoone least hee that should doe wth mee would faile after all my paines taken.
 3. And therefore too day I provided for some certaintye, & soe gett another to moote wth mee, & was therefore verye joyfull for it.
 4. Wednesday morning brought foorth but a little studye & the afternoone was whollye lost abroad.
 5. I was well gott thorough wth my mootethrough God's mercye, & besides my ordinarye studyes wrought a letter this day somewhat elaborate to my good freind Mr. Jefferay in Lattine.
 6. This day moore confirmed my moote unto mee & resolved upon a day the weeke following.
 7. Besides my moote w^{ch} had a good while troubled mee, a new toy now vexed my head, about being leiftenant this

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Christmas; & though it weere, I confes, a thing of noe great moment, yett I desired my gracious God's guidance there in.

8. I was partaker this blessed Sabbath of two sermons, hearing Mr. Shute in the afternoone whome I had not heard a long time.
9. This day was I somewhat troubled about my moote, but much moore about being leiftenant of our howse, to w^{ch} I feared I should bee choosen.¹
10. Still my moote was the least of my trouble; but the thought of the leiftenantshipp did most torture mee, fearing I should never bring it about; & to add to these distractions the gentleman of whome I had the cellar begann to quarrell wth mee about it, & that in soe good earnest th^t I now feared moore then ever I should not keepe it.
11. Manye are the mercyes of our loving God, hee may both raise upp & cast downe; for this morning I received a little content concerning my cellar, for my moote I had gotten it prettye perfectly, & for the leiftenant-

1. D'Wes's objection to this office was based on his abhorrence for the drunkenness and other excesses which accompanied the Christmas festivities. At the Inner Temple during the reign of Charles it was found necessary to pass measures for preventing "that general scandal and obloquy which the house hath hitherto incurred in time of Christmas," as that "no play be continued-- upon Christmas eve at night after twelve of the clock," "that there be not any knocking with boxes, or calling aloud for gamesters, and no going abroad to break open any house or chamber." At this period the Christmas festivities were particularly notorious for their

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shipp I gave apparent signes I did dislike it & soe cared not much how it went for I was resolved it should not much trouble mee.

12. This day I spent whollye about my moote & through God's mercye soe well as I desire to give Him the glorye.¹
13. Now alsoe dollowed our election where by a most generall consent I was unfortunatlye choosen, the other twoe other gentlemen that weere prickt wth mee having but one voice apiece. My father was laboured by mee & by others all the day but to no purpose; though I had resolved not to trouble my selfe before, yett it is admirable how beyond measure I was vexed & the rather because I had spoken soe much my selfe & prevailed soe little.
14. Nor today could any good bee wrought though ye whole howse of gentlemen came to him & they sent manye harde speeches after him. I had then to a taverne to give what content I could & was melancholye all the afterhoone. I went at night into towne to lodge at a freind's howse, where by the beginnings of my entertainment I did not

lawlessness. Herbert, Inns of Court, 195; Autobiography, 161; Clarendon, Life of, 9. On the other hand some of the entertainments presented at the holiday season were famous for their beauty and elegance, and for the richness of invention displayed by their authors. See the account of the Christmas revels at Gray's Inn in 1593, in the planning of which the genius of Bacon is believed to have played a large part. Spedding's Bacon, I, 138-157.

1. See Autobiography, 221.

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thinke to stay long. In the morning I heard Docter White & in the afternoone one Mr. Salisburye a very good preacher; yett could not all drive the old melancholye thoughts cleare from mee.

16. I did little this morning. At night I went to the Temple where I had some discourse of the olde busines & was a little comforted to heare that the gentlemen were somewhat satisfied as concerning mee & I blessed my good God even for this.

17. Having allsoe too day sent letters to my father it somewhat contented mee, but as concerning the place where I lay, as I thought at first soe now I found ~~the~~ true that I must seeke out another for my entertainment was not soe good as I could have wished--I meane not for the diet but for ther carriage.

18. This was the day in w^{ch} through God's mercye twentye Natus yeares agone I receaved life about five of the clocke in the morning. The day I spent in doing little & at night

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gott another lodging elsewhere; but I went not yett to it
but onlye left my lodging where I was.

19. Friday brought foorth my wisshed remoovall from the place
where I was & then I thanked God moore in that I had some
friends to whome I could bee welcome.

20. Nor did I doe anye thing too day worth the mentioning
because I was still busied about my remoovall.

21. Somewhat I had done too day but I was moore & moore dis-
traced about the m~~is~~sing of the former idle honour w^{ch}
I hoped should never have troubled mee, soe ad indeed I
could not remember to poure my due thankfulness to my
good God that had soe mercifully preserved mee upon this
day at Cambridge when I continued ther.¹

Preser-
vatus

22. And my great number of idle vaine thoughts w^{ch} I beseech
my good God to forgive made allsoe this Sabbath to bee
passed over foolishlye as I did not well know what would
become of mee if it did not please God to mediate to this
discontent.

23. Monday morning gave as it weere new life to my distraction

1. The reference is to a fall which D'Ewes suffered while ring-
ing the bell in the turret of St. John's college. He was carried
into the air by the rope, then "pitched upon the Stones,"² knocked
senseless, and given up for dead by his physicians who sent for
his father. His father arrived, however, to find his son quite
recovered and "briskly stepping into the hall for supper." Col-
lege Life, 60.

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but through God's mercye it was somewhat remitted.

24. I begann to doe somewhat this Tuesday in my studye & all-
soe this afternoone prepared to receave the blessed sac-
rament the day following being Christmas.

25. And as I had prepared yesterday soe this morning I was
made a partaker of that glorious banquet in St. Faith's
church under Paule's (for I lay in Paule's church-yarde)
& receaving it wth a quiet minde through mercye I received
some comforte in it. -This being Christmas day.

26. Being not very well I was visited this morning by a
gentleman, a Scott, afreind of mine & Mr. Jefferaye's, whoe
told how Mr. Jefferay had latelye preached at Court & had
great honour.

27. ~~Being-not-very-well-I-was-visited-this-morning~~ Having
been wearied wth discontinued thoughts I begann Barclaie's
Argenis¹ taking great delight in it. At night I heard
Mr. Henry King the late bishopp of London's eldest sonne
preach in Paule's church.

1. John Barclay was a Catholic and had written several controver-
sial, anti-Jesuit works. The "Argenis" completed a few weeks be-
fore his death in 1621 is a romance the purpose of which is to
denounce political faction and conspiracy. The sharacters are
famous men and women of history presented under changed names.
The book enjoyed tremendous popularity; Chamberlain pronounces it
"the most delightful fable he ever met with", and in May, 1622, re-
ports that it "has grown so scarce that the price has risen from
5s. to 14 s.; the King has ordered Ben Jonson to translate it (from
the Latin) but he will not be able to equal the original." Cham-
berlain to Carleton, Cal. S.P., 365, 390.

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28. Still was I delighted wth the sweet Argenis of Barclaie, a little quieting my thoughts wth it. In the afternoone I understood that ther was a leiftenant choosen at the Temple, one Buller a Westcuntrye gentleman. As yet I could not tell what to thinke of it.
- 29 This blessed Sabbath though I could not fullye recall my thoughts yett was I partaker of 3 sermons; one in Paule's church in the forenoone, another in St. Faith's under Paule's where Doctor Day preached, & a third againe at night in Paule's.
30. Nor did this day end either Barclaie or my delight in him, but it was my whole daye's studye.
31. I ended Barclaie wth the moneth taking exceeding delight in him, but in the afternoone heard ill newes from the Middle Temple that, wanting money by setting upp a foolish lieftenant, they begann to invent projects to punish mee, & disgrace my father. These tidings weere distastfull to mee yett my trust was still in God.

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1. IN the morning I heard a sermon after w^{ch} ended I had a letter brought mee from my father full of reprehension for my foolish letter to him, yett did hee end like a father loveingly & comfortablye. From Temple I heard worse newes: that base language was offred to him & should- my chamber door should bee brooken open. --Wherefore by advice of my freinds I came into Commons.
2. And through God's mercye upon my endeavours this morning I came into ther parliament to them & ther pacified all wth the guift of a little monye,¹ & a speech or too w^{ch} upon occasion I uttered; going that afternoone abroad wth the leiftenant.
3. And soe through God's mercye this day I continued in my chamber & in commons wth comfort & content, blessing God that had againe brought mee into this societye.
4. To day I wrote a loving & dutifull letter to my father & in the afternoone understood from Mr. Warre an ancient gentleman of our howse that the Spanish match was in too

1. There existed a statute at the Middle Temple to the effect that "all they that are fellows of the house...are compelled to exercise all such roomes and offices as they shall be called unto, at such time as they kepe a solemne Christmas, upon such peynes as are by olde custome used to be assessed for the refusall of occupying such offices." Herbert, Inns of Court, 215. This statute was doubtless used as a threat against the unhappy D'Ewes to compel him to assume his distasteful honours. Perhaps the criticism which the Temple had suffered in connection with the Christmas riotings accounts for the lightness of his punishment; -~~eva~~ or was the whole

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great a state of forwardnes. Allsoe I saw the articles of it w^{ch} weere base & wilde being indeed but to bring in poperye under covert termes.

5. Nor did cease soe but even this blessed day being the Lord's day could not hinder the confirmation of it. I was onlye at our owne sermons & at night, Mr. War's brother preaching, wee had an excellent sermon;whoe after supped wth our leiftenant, where, a health or twoe being drunke this night as had been at dinner wth musicke notwithstanding the day & that Mr. Warre in his sermon had reprooved the abuse of this time of Christmas, I begann to see my error in being willing to this place & to blesse God that had kept mee from it.
6. I did little this Christmas as other men, wherefore, being wearye of it, I was gladd to heare some speech too day about the breaking upp of it.
7. In the morning I sent letters to my father, & at night our Christmas received a finall periodd yett drank wee a

ridiculous affair simply the prank of the young barristers on a member conspicuous for his sensitiveness and Puritan scruples?

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health to the Queene of Bohemia, every man wth a sworde in his hand, & when our leiftenant dranke wee had chambers to goe offe¹, and after this wee had a play, & soe our Christmas had a happye ending.

8. Christmas hunge soe about mee too day that I had little minde to my studye. After dinner I went to Lincoln's Inn to see ther vanityes w^{ch} weere not yett ended. Then was I visited by Mr. Beeston whoe had been in Surrye, & amongst other things hee persuaded mee & I resolved to goe thither.
9. Now did this Thursday most evidentlye wittnes unto mee God's exceeding mercye, for I begann to see mine owne follye, to blesse God that I was not leifetenant, seeing the inevitable vanities that weere in it; & wth all I begann againe to settle to my studye.
10. My studye through God's mercye receaved furtherance this day. The newes I had heard of Coppinger was hist, being about the murder of Prince Henrye². A libell was sett upp at court against the Marquesse of B. worse than the

1. King James appears to have been much offended at this incident which is related in a letter of Mead to Stuteville, C. & T. Jas. I, 359.

2. Henry, Prince of Wales, died in 1612. Gardiner cites a pamphlet, "The Illness and Death of Henry, Prince of Wales--an historical case of typhoid fever" by Norman Moore, M. D., remarking that it "lays at rest forever whatever may still be left of the old theory that the Prince was poisoned." Gardiner II, Note on p.157. The rumours concerning the death of the Prince, which went so far as to accuse his father of his murder, are given in Jesse. I. W.

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song that went abroad for w^{ch} he offred 1,000 pound to know
the author. A booke alsoe was sett foorth called "the
Chast Matron", in w^{ch} was discovered all the villanies,
witch-crafts & lasciviousness of the old Countesse the
Marquesse's mother, & ther went a little rumor of an
assassinate upon the body of the French King, w^{ch} failed,
but I doubted of the truth of it.

11. Yesternight had the lorde of Lincoln's Inn the last of
the vanities of this Christmas, & drinking a health about
midnight, the King & the great parte of his court weere
raised upp wth it, & much a good while troubled (like
Herod & Jerusalem at the comming of the wise men) soe that
his bare & cowardlye nature easilye appeared; & in truth
was laughed at by the vulgar, but considered & lamented
by the wiser sorte. For my parte desiring God to bee his
guide for the good of his gossell & poore servants I made
a prettye progresse in my studye.

12. Having heard a good sermon at our owne church in the
morning, I went to Doctor White in the afternoone & heard

Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts,
I, 136-40. Ceppinger accused the Earl of Somerset, whom he had
formerly served, of the murder and was imprisoned for his per-
sistency in the matter. C. & T. Jas. I, II, 354, Cal. S. P.
483, 491, 493.

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preach exceeding well of that parte of the creed conceived of the virgin Marye, where hee shewed that the three persons did joine in the conceiving of him & hee onely tooke it upon him, like as if three virgins (as old Anselme Illustrates it) should all joine in the working of some curious garment & then one putt it on.

13. I studied pretty well this forenoone, & in the afternoone tooke a moote pointe upon w^{ch} I was to moote on Thursday night following. I was gladd of the opportunitie but afraid because my time was soe shorte, yett I did relye upon my mercifull God whoe had still blessed & enabled mee beyond expectation, & his blessing I earnestlye desired upon my poore endeavours.
14. And this day through God's mercye I made some prettye progresse in my moote, finishing the first point. At night mooted two other gentlemen.
15. Nor was this day spent about anye studye except my moote w^{ch} ere night I finished; onely I was troubled a little about my journeye w^{ch} I was to take on Friday morning into

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Surrye to my sister Elliotte; & through God's mercye I was now provided of horse & companye to my minde.

16. Finallye having perfitted my moote in my memorye this day, at night I performed it wth out hesitation; & had slept verye contentedlye, but that I had like to have missed of the horse I relied upon by the mistake of a scurvye boy, & soe my journye to bee troubled if not hindred.
17. Yett this morning I gott upp earlye, that nothing on my parte to further it, & indeed at length though notwth out some rubbs & neare twelve of the clocke, one of my cousens whoe went wth mee & I sett out; & wee had the sweetest & pleasantest day that ever I rode inn, & came thither just as the day was shutting upp in as good time as could bee desired; where my father, brother Ellyott, & all my loving sisters entertained mee most lovinglye, soe that I blessed God & in my mind thanked Mr. Beeston that had first persuaded mee to this journye. Heere alsoe to my further content I understood by my sister Ellyott, that my father was exceedinglye pleased wth my second

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letter as hee had been offended at my first, & was well content wth the tenn pound I had given to the Howse in Christmas time as I have saied before.

18. I tooke a little sweete cuntrie aire in the forenoone, but after dinner the weather altered, & it grew verye colde, w^{ch} was augmented by great stoore of snow that fell.
19. I went to the church today on horse backe wth some others, though my father & brother Ellyott staid at home & through God's mercye, though it weere frostye & somewhat a deepe snow, yett wee went & came home well, & soe spent the residue of the Sabbath in religious exercises fitting the day.
20. As colde & snowiy as it was, wee tooke our sorrowfull farewell too day but went not beyond Kingston, where I went to the grammar schoole to refresh myselfe before supper.
21. Tuesday morning wee came prettye earlye to London, & I made what haste I could to the Temple; where the newes I

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heard was not verye pleasing, for I was assured I could not avoid giving of the tenn pound I had promised, wth any credit; & yett I had almost as good as tolde my father that I might avoid the giving of it soe this amongst other things did a little perplex mee knowing how much it would hinder mee to pay soe much out of my poore allowance.

22. But oh! the exceeding mercye of my good God, hee added an end this day to all my care to all my trouble. For telling my father how the busines stood hee verye quicklye & willinglye gave mee the tenn pound. Then my next care was to satisfye the howse whoe doubted whether I would give it^{ov} noe; w^{ch} this night I tolde some of the contrarye faction of it; & soe having stopt ther mouths for th^t I urged ther factionate spiritts for a fault to one of them, from whome I receaved noe great defence, soe I made peace wth all, was at quiet wth my selfe, & amidst all forgott not to bee thankfull to my good God.

23. By John Scott, one of my fathers clarkes, I understood some newes out of Suffolke, whoe was newly come to towne;

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though it weere somewhat dolefull as that one of his Copihold¹ tenants was felo de se² at Laneham & had hanged himselfe; about w^{ch}, out of my little reading, I gave my father some advice out of S^r Henry Constable's case, & Foxlees case in the 5 report of Sir Edward Cooke.

24. As I had done yesterday, soe I continued this Friday to settle prettie hansomelye to my studye; yett entertained some little newes, as that twoe ambassadors were dayle expected heere, one from the Emperour, & another from the King of Denmarke; but I that knew our King was now the scorne of Embassage, as I did not greatlye beleve this newes soe neither did I greatlye wish it.

25. Saturday brought foorth little studye in the foornoone, & a great deale of idlenes the residue of the day w^{ch} for the most parte I lost idlye abroad.

26. Yett through God's mercye I mispent not this blessed Lord's day soe evillye, for I heard Mr. Master in the morning, another sermon in the afternoone & our owne minister Mr. Chafin at night.

1. A form of land tenure.
2. Legal term for suicide.

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27. Now my cheife studye was for a dinner case w^{ch} I brought in too morrow, the first in the terme because of my ancientnes.
28. My studye continued well this morning at dinner I brought in my case wth prettie good success, being the first I ever sate at, & soe through God's mercye, lost not y^e rest of the day.
29. This day likewise I studied wth much comfort & profitt for which I blessed my good God.
30. And Thursday allsoe I continued my begunn course of hard studing to my exceeding comfort, finding in this & in manye other things the great mercye of my good God unto mee.
31. Today I went to the Starre-chamber w^{ch} I had not done this terme before. Mr. Jefferay came to mee in the afternoone & told mee of a vision was seen in Holland, w^{ch} because I have it sett downe at large in my almanacke I heare omitt. At night I supped wth my sisters & some other good freinds where I ended the month & the day in honest

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mirth.

1622.-- Februarye.

1. Upon the nineteenth & twentieth of Januarie last past, happened strange tides, w^{ch} I heard not certainlye till now; & omitt because I have fullye sett it downe in mine almanacke of this yeare. I studied prettye well in the forenone & afterwards prepared for New Inn whether I thought to have gone the Monday following; but indeed because this was a grand weeke, Candlemas day falling after, wee had none till Monday senight after.
2. As this was a day of feast for our bodies soe was it likewise for our soules, for wee weere partakers of the blessed communion, but indeed wee could not performe the practice of this blessed Sabbath soe well as I desired by reason of our dinner was long & late; & soe I was onlye partaker of twoe sermons.
3. In the morning was my cousen Symonds cause heard in the Chan^cerie, about the thirds of his mother in law, where my Lorde Keeper gave somewhat a strange judgement before

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- hee had halfe heard the cause; but after I understood my aunt had dealt wth the Marquesse; as I saied before I went not to New Inn for ther was noe going this weeke.
4. Noe great store of studie was followed this day, in the afternoone I begann to read a little in Barclaxé's Satiricon Euphormionis; & I the rather undertooke it because I found his Argenis soe excellent. At night wee had a moote as usuall course is.
5. Wednesday was passed over in the like manner, wth a little law & a little of Barclaiés Euphomio.
6. Having been infourmed this day that ther would bee a call to the barre this Friday following I was somewhat troubled about it; fearing that I might misse; not see much that it stood mee upon to bee calde; as because it was generallye thought by all that I shoulde bee calde.
7. Friday brought foorth some studye; & in the afternoone the sweete companie of my good freind Mr. Jefferay; where amonst other things wee discoursed of forraine matters, as that the Emperour had encroached upon the Hans or free

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cities, & not onlye questioned ther privileges but taken one or twoe & beseiged the other, of w^{ch} as I take it, Stoad (?) was taken, & the rest provided for ther defence, the King of Denmarke sending to Hamborough that they should bee of good courage, for hee would stand ther freind & was to that purpose providing forces, & was alsoe sending an Embassadour to our secure (?) wise King to admonish him that these beginnings did onlie tend to the utter extirpation of all those of the reformed religion; besides a conspiracie through God's mercye was revealed & detected w^{ch} was intended against the King & Queene of Bohemia. At night I went & had mutch loveing discourse wth my father & was merrye wth my sisters; wth whome I supped soe that in all I gave my good God the thanks, whose admirable mercye I observed daylie moore & moore towards mee.

8. Saturday morning entertained some prettye studie; upon w^{ch} I understood alsoe for w^{ch} I was verye gladd that ther had been noe call yesternight to the barr; & like-

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wise that I was made stewarde of the readers feast wth
w^{ch} I was prettye well content.

9. Doctor Evered preached at our Temple church in the morn-
ing, I heard Doctor Day in the afternoone; & at night a
verie honest man preached at our Temple of whose sermon
I heard a good parte.

10. In the morning I had some discourse wth my father about a
~~diverse~~ match of his in w^{ch} I afterwards laboured verie harde;
~~case of~~
~~antid~~ & all day studied aboute the moote I was to performe at
~~patien.~~
New Inn & soe accordinglye performed it this night.

11. A little studie sufficed the morning, & a great deale of
idlenes the afternoone.

12. Wednesday the terme ended, & through God's mercye I be-
gann to studie, & soe spent the whole day in it.

13. Neither did I give' presentlye over for this day likewise
I studied prettilye well & going abroad towards the
Newes evening, I saw some newes concerning 24 traytors that
should have given fire in Holland to the citties, shippes,
& munition howses, the cheife of them were of the Armin-

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ion sect & twas thought the sonne of Barnese had some hande in it.

14. Friday was not soe well spent as I would have desired for the foorenoone was not well spent, & the afternoone utterlie lost; soe that I might well now beginn to wonder how much time I lost even, when I had conveniencie & opportunitie of studing.
15. And therefore through God's mercye this day I made some amends & having finished my lorde Cookes 5 report, I begann Keilwey's reports, w^{ch} was somewhat a rare booke; & though it were law yett I read it both wth delight & profitt.
16. Wee had a stranger preached wth us this Lord's day in the foorenoone; after dinner, I spent the time in reading in my chamber; at night wee had an excellent sermon preached by Mr. Warre, a Cambridge man at our owne church, whoe had a brother an ancient barrister of our howse.
17. Through God's mercye I studied hard this whole day & went forward in Keilwey's reports. This day brought

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foorth a strange accident w^{ch} though I heard not of till
daies after yett I thought good to sett downe heere. The
Prince to Spaine talke of the Spanish match at this time lay somewhat dead,
as to the veiw of the worlde; but at court it was but now
as it weere in working; Endimion Porter, the Marquesses
kinsman, was latelye come out of Spaine, bringing wth him
admirable praises of the beautie of the Infanta(yett
having wronged the Ladye Elizabeth, for w^{ch} notwthstand-
ing her letters to her unnaturall father shee had noe
remedie) now besides though things weere not yett fullie
agreed upon it was resolved in Spaine that the Prince
should come over; as if that would prove the absolute
cause to finish it. This project for the wisdom of it
was verie secrettlye carried, the Privie Counsell noe way
made acquainted wth it, but onlye the beloved Marquisse
of Buckingham, this Porter, & one S^r Francis Cottington,
latelye made Baronett a great moover & forwarder of this
match likewise, & one that had been in Spaine soe often,
as hee lov'd it too well. These, his Majestie & the Prince

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made parties of this resolution, & upon ther yoong judgments, was soe dangerous & hazardfull a journie putt. To this purpose all Christmas time, the Prince & Marquesse did practice the putting on of false berds, for disguised they weere resolved to goe. The Prince happie in y^e imaginarie love of her hee never saw, & perhapps willing to prove famous for this noble venter (?) would deferr the enjoying of his happie wishes noe longer; but this morning to couver the matter the better, hee sent one of his querries (2) to New Markett wth his horses, as if hee himselfe intended shortelye to follow, & soe in a scarlett cloadke, a buffe leather dublett, scarlett hose & a couvered hatt, disguised wth a false beard as the Marquesse was allsoe, this morning they sett foorth of London; Cottington & porter tooke horse in Holburne as I heard alone because the leese suspicion might arise; & soe meeting wth out the towne they ported away together to Dover. Now I know not by what misprision (?) S^r Lewes Lewkenor, the postmaster, had sent to Dover before that if anye such passengers came they should bee stayed;

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& indeed soe as hee had sent the post made hast & was ther
before them & the mayor of the towne like an honest man &
resolute staid ~~th~~^m the post likewise standing somewhat
stifiye upon his message & authoritie had his head brooken
by the Prince, & hee likewise upon shewing the Kings' seale
for his passage & I thinke making himselfe wth all knowen
was suffred to passe wthout anye moore contradiction. And
soe the Marquesse & hee as the servants of Porter & Cot-
tington landed at Callis, & from thence took post to Paris,
where the King of France at that time was not, yett y^e
Prince rested him selfe a day or soe & had a full sight of
it & soe passed on safelye his jorneye safelye to Madrid
where hee arrived on Friday, the 9 of March ~~xxx~~ stilo
veteri ~~(?)~~ as my printed booke sheweth & all that passed
after his arrivall in Spaine. Now I will onlye remember
some accidents & soe end this jorneye for as for a jeast
~~(?)~~ or two I thought rather to fill upp an emptie side in
my almanacke then to ~~what~~ ^{waste} anye rome ~~(?)~~ heere & the rather
because I knew not the certaintie & truth of them. A

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little before the Prince's passing through the kingdome of France, (for hee went all the way by lande), the postmaster complained to the King of the frequencye of coaches hired & lett by unlicensed persone, by w^{ch} his office in a shorte time would bee overthrowen; whereupon the King made a proclamation that noe coaches or horses should bee lett to anye man but by the speciall leave of the postmaster. Now, this happening just upon the Prince's going into Spaine & passage through France, it was a rumour w^{ch} held for a few dayes that the King of France had made a proclamation that noe horses should goe against such a time as the Prince should goe, soe in policie to stay his journye. Presentlie after his going all shippes were staid for a fertnight from going out of the kingdome that soe the newes of the Prince's journye might noe where bee knowen till hee past cleere along. Lastlye 'twas saied the French embassadour was acquainted wth the journye & had informed the King of

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France of it, but I rather beleve the contrarie for afterwards, when hee would have sent packets over to the King his father & they weere staid at Dover according to the command, hee was much displeas'd because, as I conjecture hee would have sent the King of France the first newes of it. And besides presentlye upon it the Lorde Hayes, latlye made Earle of Carlile, went into France to give the King of France satisfaction whye the Prince passed soe speedilye & quicklye out of his cuntrye & in that disguise, & soe from thence posted into Spaine after the Prince. Finallye the Prince had now returned twentye thousand pound into Spaine ther to spend & squander it away, soe that his poore subjects might have been a little comforted if it had been spent amongst them heere wheere nothing almost would sell & where noe monye was to bee taken. I must confes after his departure & in this manner my prayers weere for his soule cheiflye as well as for his body that God would preserve

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him from damned apostasie.

18. In the morning I was sent for by my father & the busines was about a ladye widow whome hee was about to aske in marriage. Because I knew not what shee was nor her age I saied little to it, butt onlye went home & fell to my studie never the lesse for the newes.
19. I gott not upp well this morning & according to the maxime, posito uno absurdo sequantur mille; for as I begann lazilie soe I spent the day loiteringlye & might wellneare have cried out wth Titus The Emperour, "diem perdidit."

22

Prince This was the doleful day that made everie good Protes-
to
Spaine tant sad for, though the Prince begann his idle journie
" on Monday, as I have saied & ther related it, soe I say
" now of this day that this Thursday brought foorth the
" first tidings of it; for though ther was a whispering
" yesterday yett tooday everye man talked freelye & sorrow-
" fullye of it. I spake soe much before as I say nothing
" now, onlye I must needes say when I first heard it I

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thought it impossible that hee was gone into Spaine.

21. I studied a little this day & still moore & moore grew
Prince
to
Spaine
everie man's talke, & from ther talke ther censure, &

" from this censure ther dislike of this match but espe-
" ciallye of soe dangerous & rash a journye. For it was
" deliberately spoken, & by the wiser sorte, that they
" thought hee would repent it ere hee came home, nay,
" happen the best that could happen. At night I supped
wth my sisters.

22. The morning I lost & in the afternoone I understood that
" my Lorde Hayes, now Earle of Carlile, was gone in all
" speed into France after the Prince to satisfie the King
idem
" of France for the Prince's soe secrett passage thorough
" his kingdome & not soe much as visiting him. Besides
ther went a rumor that my Lorde of Oxforde would come
to his triall for some words spoken, & for w^{ch} hee now
lay prisoner in the Tower of London, about the marriage
of Wray wth the Lord Norris his daughter, as I have be-
fore said, whoe was the Earle of Oxford's kinswoman; but

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I hoped it was not soe or, if true for the matter, th^t
it would not proove capitall.

23. Still one idle beginning drawes on manye consequents, for
as I had not spent the precedent day well, nor the weeke,
soe neither did I this blessed Lord's day; for w^{ch} I
beseech my good God to forgive mee.

24. Yett did a little this morning. In the afternoone I
Prince
to was wth my tutor & hee tolde mee that now the King had
Spaine
" opened the list or role of names, w^{ch} the Prince had left
" sealed, of all those whome his pleasure was should follow
" him. For till this time the King had promesed him not
" to open it. And these weere three lords, Compton,
" Vahun, & Sir Thomas Howarde latelye made Viscount Andover,
" wth some others of his household servants. For newes
hee tolde mee that to backe the proclamations weere come
Departure
into out for all men's departuse into the cuntrie of anye es-
cuntry
tate, & that letters weere sent, one to my lorde Mayour,
& the other to my lorde Keeper: the first to enquire in
all London, & the other in Westminster being deane there-

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of, wh^t lodgers weere there. & indeed for this act ther was much good reason & good policie, for by this the cuntrie provision would sell the better w^{ch} lay upon farmer's hands, by this the poore would bee releived, the meaner sorte kept better in awe, & this good the cuntrie felt. Now a second good was heere some thought, because gentle-beigg together & oftern meeting & one revealing ther discontentes to another, & soe in time grow to some head; but others thought it was disperse the papists whoe of all sorts assembled heere together & soe weere receptacles for all manner of priests and Jesuites that came. I beleevd one as soone as the other & indeed rather bothe than neither, for by this time the King had cause to feare & suspect either sorte, for both ~~ex~~ weere discontented & either of them doubted of him.

25. At first when on Tuesday last sevenight past my father tolde mee of a ladie widow, I slighted it because I thought it would come to the same end his other woings had done; but having since that time consielered that this was the

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fittest match that hee ever went about, I desired God's blessing & direction & resolved to sett it forwarde what in mee laye. Therefore, having my father's consent whoe was now brooken offe wth her, I went this afternoone to her & through God's mercye though wth some adoe brought it prettye well about againe; & indeed, as I shall ever doe in woings or going about marriages, I joined my prayers & endeavors together & God's blessing was accordinglye.

26. Wednesday brought foorth little studie & therefore it deserves silence.
27. Thursday was almost whollye spent about the furtherance of my father's initiated match & persuaded what I could betweene them & trotted about; yett did this day wellneare produce a breach.
28. See that now wth my prayers & endeavours I laboured anew & it pleased God that once moore all things were sett right againe & direction was given to a gentleman of our Temple to draw the indentures for ther agreements.

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1. Yett this morning againe I think that God did expresse his moore immediate hand & power; in it was ther another breach begunn. Yett it pleased God to bring it about againe by his yeilding & yett soe as I feared hee would find some other starting hole to make a rupture, wherefore now wearye to stirre anye moore in it, indeed despairing of it, though the writings weere welneare fullye drawn, I chose to goe out to New Inn this Monday following, hoping by that to bee freed from further employment, & soe I studied for it. At night, hee sending for mee, I supped wth Mr. Branston our reader.
2. And this blessed Lord's day I was partaker of two sermons. My father dining wth our reader, hee spent moore time then I was willing hee should have done in discoursing about his intended marriage, yett through God's mercye I dissuaded him from going this afternoone to the ladye Denton whome hee was suitor too, & soe hee went into our Temple church to a sermon. Yett could I not avoid going

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to her at night after supper & soe, after all was drawn, carried a note of almost new propositions to her, yett to avoid all other uncertaintie I gott them sett downe in writing, &, as good lucke was, it was not soe much disliked as I feared it would have been

3. Soe I, having heard our reader a little whoe begann his reading this morning, studied harde of my case at New Inn, & through God's mercye had good success, for w^{ch} as due was I gave Him the glorye wth thankefalnes.
4. Nor did I passe over this day idlie, for in the morning I mooted againe at another Inn of Chancerye, & as I was going understood that God had now concluded the match between my father & the ladye; all things weer drawn & now going to sealing, the license gott, & the marriage day through Gos's permission appointed too morrow.
5. And soe this morning being prettée earlie upp, I went wth Father's my father in his coach to her, & at St. Faith's church marriage under Paule's saw them married & soe spent the day joyfullye ther wth them; wch being somewhat thinlye clothed

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I gott ther a most feirce colde w^{ch} hung upon mee manie dayes after.

6. And now I begann to feele the bitterness of my cold almost over my whole bodie as I had taken it in each parte almost of it. Y ett did I write a letter to Mr. Gibson my ancient good freind, & received one from Mr. Jefferay my entire acquaintance at Cambridge.
7. Still my colde grew soe much upon mee as I did little and now begann to feare that it would grow to an ague.
8. Too day my father wth my ladye Denton departed out of towne to goe to her jointure howse at Tunnbridge &, evill as I was, I went to see them this morning before ther departure; having receaved from her a token of her love before her departure & much other comfort, I begann to looke upp
God's wth thankfulness to Heaven, to see and observe both the
mercye infinite power & mercye of my good God towards mee, that had thus infinite graciouslye turned this to my good & comfort w^{ch} above all things in the world most feared & troubled mee. Then other things came into my minde &

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begann to appeale my conscience of unthaniefulnes, as that matter of my woing in Essex w^{wh} I feared would have been my undoing now I blessed God for it, that had given such patience upon the breach & soe true a content in the sight of mine owne follie. Soe I feared when I messed a vaine leiftenantshipp that it would have undone mee, & was most eager of it; yett God soe turned the matter, that I missed noe jott of creditt by it, but blessed God for the misse of it;--soe in manie els.

9. This second Sunday in our reading wee had a good sermon preached by Doctor Goad, & after that a good communion of w^{ch} I was partaker, & though I was ill soe that I stirred not abroad this afternoone, yett lost I not our Temple sermon.
10. Stille everie day brought foorth a deterioritie rather then anye amendment, yett did I not keepe wth in doores, for in the afternoone I went to invite some great men w^{ch} I did partlye alsoe to take the fresh aire.

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11. Little allsoe brought foorth this day but moore invitations.
12. Because I found my selfe still rather worse then better, I stirred not abroad this day at all but kept wth in.
13. This was our grand day w^{ch} wee call our Stewards' Feast because ~~th~~ wee that weer the four stewards (of w^{ch} twoe are choosen of the barre & two under the barre) did pay for it. Upon it I committed an error but it pleased God to make it vanish & my resolution was to learne by it.
14. As begann to day my health to grow prettye perfect after my colde soe I begann to looke upon my study & did a little this day by hearing our reader whoe made an end to day and I dined wth him & afterwards went into towne to visite my tutor & had wth him much good discourse. I ther allsoe read a good parte of a little booke latelye come foorth, called the Belgicke Pismeere, made by Mr. Thomas Scott whoe had before sett out Vox Populi. Ther weere many jerkes at the Spaniarde, much commendation

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- for the Low Cuntries, & good caveats for our King & the state, had it pleased God wee could have observed them. After wee had even spent an whole afternoone wth him (for another gentleman that had been my fellow-pupill went wth mee), wee took our loving farwells each of the other.
15. Finding my health through God's mercye to increase, I begann to settle a little to my studye this day & somewhat I did though not verye much.
 16. In the morning Mr. Master our owne minister did well; in the afternoone I went into the towne&, having been partaker of a good sermon, I staid & supped ther.
 17. Now through Gbd's mercye growing fullye well, I begann to settle to my studye & did a prettye good daye's worke.
 18. What my studie wasnted to make upp the day, a moote at night did a little helpe.
 19. Over & above my studye, to day in the afternoone I went abroad to walke, moore to confirm my new-gotten health,

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- & through God's mercye found good in it. At night I went to see olde Mr. Master being ill of the goute.
20. Passing over the day moderatelye well in studie, at night I heard a moote & through noting it after I came in, w^{ch} I usuallie did, I profited much by it.
21. Friday morning I spent in studye & in the afternoone went to the sessions' howse where I learned good crowne learning.
22. Saturday likewise was spent ther wth much content & profit.
23. In the morning I was partaker of a sermon in our owne church, & in the afternoone at Black Friars', & at night I heard Mr. Chafin our owne lecturour.
24. To day one Laurence Lovelace, a poore kinsman of mine, married a prettye rich widow, to w^{ch} I was present, being glad of this; & I hoped it would bee a meanes to sett him even wth the worlde, for hee was a little indebted. At night I heard a relation w^{ch} made my heart even to bleede,

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both to consider to what a fearfull period these dayes
in w^{ch} wee lived weere like to come & alsoe to what an
height of desperate boldnes the Jesuites weere alreadye
come into. For but the last weeke two of them came into
an ordinarye in this cittie of London as ther manner was
in gentlemen's habits (for soe they now all went & had
done soe a long time; yea, & some preists allsoe) because
they would not be descried. These two begann to under-
take an argument each agst the other as if they had been
strangers, one of them defending the Protestant side & the
other the popish. The point was about transsubstan(tia)-
tion. At lengthe they seemed to agree but somewhat dis-
advantageous to the protestant side, at w^{ch} one Mr. Moore,
a religious & stout gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, begann to
speake betweene them, averring that the worde of transub-
stan(tia)tion was not to bee fount in the Scriptures nor
in anye of the aneient fathers, noe, not in the Rhenish
testament it selfe but onlye in the margent. The Jesuite
then that had defended the popish side demanded of Mr.

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Moore whether hee thought that ther was noe such thing as transubstan(tia)tion? Hee answered as verily as anye truth could bee. "Why, then," quoth this insolent bloodye Jesuite, "thou art a villaine & thy mother was a whore." At w^{ch} Mr. Moore, having a glasse of wine in his hand, dashed it in his face & a little cutt his lipp wth it. At w^{ch} this wretched Jesuite drew out a pistoll charged wth a paire of bullets to have shott him, but before hee could fitt it, Mr. Moore gott upp the tongs that stood next him & wth th^m strucke the pistoll out of his hand, w^{ch} went off wth out doing anye hurt in the fall. The other Jesuite, seeing that, came behind him to have stabbed him into the backe wth a stilettoe, w^{ch} another gentleman saved by receaving some little wound himselfe;- & soe they weere parted. Others reported it mildlier: that the Jesuite vouched some fathers & when they weere brought could shew noe such thing in them, & soe was provoked, being derided for it. Howsoever, thus much was evident, that the resolution was desperate as appeared

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by ther bolde act, & wthall that they weere confident to
bee safe notwthstanding such an outrage. But especiall^e
the miserablest was that they had scarce soe much as a
check for this.

25. Now besides my studies wee had some newes about the Prince
Prince
in landed in Spaine a prettye whiles since. For his enter-
Spaine
" tainment the printed newes by mee shall speake. I meane
" his entertainment presentl^e after his first arivall, for
" when the printer was faine for shame to leave offe then
" shall I inserte againe heere what the people buzzed into
" another's eare. At this time three of his chaplaines
" weere speedilye choosen to goe over to him: Doctor Maw,
" master of Peterhowse; & Mr. Wren, a batchelour of divini-
" tye & a fellow of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, ;& one Ox-
" forde man, Dr. Maio or such a name; & these weere choosen
" as men altogether free from the suspition of being Puri-
" tans. The navye likewise that was making readye to goe
" to him was like to amount to a mightie somme, at the

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least of 10,000 L . For this the King & Counsell weere al-
 Prince most at ther witts ends how to gett monye, for the Lon-
 in doners being sent too la~~ss~~ed open ther true & reall pover-
 Spain tie & utterlye denied to lend or give him anything &
 " ~~utterlye denied to lend or give him anything~~, insomuch
 " as hee threatned them to have the termes kept to Yorke soe
 " that by this meanes & the Prince's cost in Spaine & other
 " triumphs wth such like subsequent acts to such passages,
 " the full value of the portion would bee spent before wee
 " had it, & I feared very much that wee should never see
 " penye of it heere; for though the King of Spaine should
 " bee willing, yett I quessed that hee was verie poore &
 " althogether unable to pay it. At night my father wth
 " his new married ladye returned out of Kent from her
 " jointure howse wheere they had been & soe took this
 " in ther way, being now going to my brother Elliott. I
 " supped wth them & was moderatelye merrye, still finding
 " moore & moore love from my ladye, & was alsoe merrye
 " wth my loving sisters.

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26. And this morning prettye earlye they departed into Surrye to my brother Elliott's, & I wrote both to my brother & sister by them, In the morning I studied a little, but spent the afternoone abroad. At night going to see Mr. Master, hee tolde mee amongst other things that one Blauge was gone to Rome in all hast to procure a speedie dispensation but as yett had noe great successe in it.
27. To day I went to Phisitian's Colledg to an anatomy where one Doctor Harvye a very accurate learned man did read, & wee had much excellent matter. To day hee read onlye of the lower parts of the stomack, & I did little else save writing a letter to Mr. Jefferay.
28. All this day was spent likewise at the former anatomy lecture wth profitt & delight, the smell excepted.
29. Saturday added an end to the day & to our lecture, at w^{ch} I spent this whole day likewise.
30. Hoping to have heard a good sermon this morning I went to court, but failed of it for one Doctor Gifforde preach-

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ed ther but meanelye. In the afternoone I heard Mr.
Shute & supped in the towne.

31. The day I past over in studye. At night bonfires¹ by

Bonfires commandment weere made at everye doore almost, for the
" Prince's safe arrivall, w^{ch} some mistaking thought it
" had been because the match had been consummate but they
" weere deceived.

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1. Besides my studye this Tuesday I understood little or
noe noveltye, onlye of the death of the olde Lord Effing-
ham, the Earle of Nottingham, that had been lorde admirall
whoe about this time died.

2. Wednesday was happilie passed over wholie in studye.

3. My cheif studye to day was about a dinner case w^{ch} I
thought to bring inn to morrow, for being out of common
because it was lent & in commons together amongst our
selves, wee followed our studyes & soe kept upp likewise
these usuall exercises w^{ch} wee performed in terme time
onlye in the hall, for in the vacation the barristers

1. On the origin of this custom, see Strutt, Sports and
Pastimes.....of England, 477, 478.

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brought them in.

4. Yett brought I itt not in too day; but went forward with my other studyes.

5. Finallye this last day of the weeke having studied the morning I unloaded my selfe at dinner of my case; & after w^{ch} some of my happie companie & good societie went abroad, where wee had much good recreation.

6. I was partaker this blessed Lord's day of three good sermons Mr. Cooper at our owne church in the forenoone, Doctor Day in the afternoone, & a stranger in our church at night. And sure besides the comferte my heart felt at night after a Sunday well spent, my studies ever prospered much better the weeke following.

7. Monday was prettilye well studied at dinner I began my course wth another case, againe being the ancient, but as I ventured upon it wthout anye great studye soe I performed it wth as little satisfaction to others or content to my selfe.

8. Besides the observance of our custome & mine owne studye

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A Diarian Discourse, or

upon a dinner case, the profitt was great w^{ch} I gott by hearing of other dinner cases & arguing upon them; & noe lesse by hearing & observance of mootes, of w^{ch} wee had one this night. Besides this day I wrote to my father being in the cuntrie at my brother Elliott's, wth my ladye Denton, his new married ladye.

9. Everye day did moore & moore give mee occasion to see & to bee thankfull to my good God that wee in this land had enjoyed soe long the holye gospell & this blessed peace; for now could I goe on in my daylie studie & private devotion wthout trouble wthout hinderance & amongst other mercies of my good God towards mee this was not the least, that even in this sweete & secure time hee did putt into my heart to pray for & to arme my selfe for preparation against worser times should come, w^{ch} wthout God's admirable & infinite mercye towards us wee could not but shortlye expect.

10. Neither lost I anye time this Thursday having at night allsoe a moote, & because they weere beginners a kinde

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of a banquet after it, w^{ch} was the last wee had, for a little after our benchers forbadd it in one of ther parliaments as a toy & an innovation, as indeed it was.

11. Good Friday was too day & through God's mercye I spent it moderately well, the forenoone about mine owne occasions, the afternoone in hearing my tutor at Paule's crosse whoe made an elaborate and honest sermon.

12. The day I spent in my studye, & the evening in preparing for our blessed communion the day following being Easter Sunday of w^{ch} through God's mercye & sufferance I desired to be a partaker.

13. Our owne minister Mr. Master preached & I was made partaker of the blessed sacrament, but oh! this wicked flesh of ours, neither spent I the day nor receaved I that soe purelye & conscionablye as I desired & yett, alas, my hope in all was that my good God would accept ye will for ye deede & bee mercifull in all, & in his good time enable mee for moore absolute & perfect strength.

14. This morning I went prettie timelye to the 'Spittle because

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- Doctor Balconquoll was to preach ther, being a Scott & an honest man of exceeding great learning, & sufficiencye, having been of Pembroke hall in Cambridge. Wth much adoe I made a shift to gett inn & heare him, where hee did most excellently upon this text: hee that soweth in teares shall reape in joy. After sermon, I & another gentleman of my acquaintance dined wth one of the sheriffs & soe spent the residue of the day merrilye in refreshing our spiritts.
15. Because ther was like to bee noe verye good sermon I went this day to the Spittle, but spent the forenoone in studye, after dinner I went to visite my tutor & had much good discourse wth him, supping at one Mr. Pagett's, that was a kinsman of the ladie's whome my father had married.
16. Yett this morning I went againe to the Spittle, & before I went lost a watch w^{ch} olde Mr. Master, my good freind had lent mee, w^{ch} by reason of that perplexed mee more than if it had been mine owne. And therefore in the afternoone to drive away this melancholye I went abroad to visite some freinds.

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17. Nor could this day lessen, but my trouble about this watch perplexed mee more & more. At length I resolved to send bills about for it.

18. And this Friday in the morning I putt in practice the sending of bills to all the watch makers, & shortlye upon it the same forenoone heard newes of it, & wth a great deale of labour & some expense thorough God's mercye gott it againe before I slept, to my great content & quiet.

19. Soe my minde being quieted I went freelye & trulye to my studye; & meeting in the afternoone wth one of my Lord Windsor's gentlemen, I had a turne wth him in our garden & understood from him; that the Earle of Rutland was going into Spaine wth a navie to fetch the prince. The Lord Morlye went vice admirall; & his Lorde reere admirall.

" All these weere recusants.

20. Mr. Muckletwart my good freind made the repetition sermon this Sunday (hee was a batchelour of divinitye of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge) & indeed hee performed it

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exceeding well, expressing a greate deale both of sufficiencie & honestie. Hee was neare 5 howres long for hee repeated the three sermons at the Spittle, & that at the Cross on Good Friday, & lastly the fifth sermon was his owne. I spent the afternoone in writing out what I had noted, till our owne bell called mee away to church.

21. Rising prettye earlye this morning I begann the weeke prettye well studiing hard this whole day, Keilwey in the forenoone, & now I begann my Lorde Cooke's 6 report in the afternoone. Going out to walke this night, I mett the Prince's horses going to St. James, having been brought backe from the shippes by a speciall post upon w^{ch} they weere on borde: At first I was in some hope of crosse successe in Spaine; but this soone vanished for it was meerelye because the weather would bee so hot ere they could come ther as they would bee whollye unfitt for service.

22. In the morning I had a dangerous fall from my swing, w^{ch} for my exercise I had hanging ther, & had not God been

Prince
in
Spaine

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God's
mercy

Ephemeritian Narration.

mercifull it might have been much moore dangerous then
it was. Soe that in all my thankes then weere & ought to
bee offred upp wth fervencye to my good God.

23. Wednesdayer was spent both forenoone & afternoone in studye.

24. As the twoe former dayes soe now I continued my studye.

Prince
in
Spaine

Ther was a rumour spread by the Papists too day that a
dispensation was come & that the Prince was married, & in-
deed manye beleeving, Such rumors was that insolent
" generation readye to raise upon everye occasion to trouble
" the hearts of religious Protestants, welwishers to ther
Q cuntrie & commonwealth.

25. Friday I was at the sessions, where ther was a great num-
ber of poore wretches alreadye come to bee tried although
the last sessions were not fully a moneth since. Soe much
did want and wickednes abound.

26. Saturday I spent the day well ending the weeke as I had
begunn it in studye. My olde freind Mr. Bolderoe came
to mee to day & tolde mee much Suffolke newes.

27. In the morning I heard Mr. Master; in the afternoone, Mr.

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Squire a verye good preacher in Mercer's Chappel upon a benevolence, given by a ladye that died, for divers sermons to bee preached ther. After I heard a parte of a sermon in Paule's Church, & supped in the towne.

28. Monday brought my father to towne wth the rest of his companye from my brother Elliot's where hee had been the greatest parte of this Lent. Wth him came alsoe my brother & sister Ellyot to towne but them I saw not this night, onlye I had some discourse wth my father, & then went to see my ladye Denton, to whome as I saied before hee was married, & supped wth her; & in all through God's mercye I had exceeding great comfort, for w^{ch} I ever desire to bee thankfull to my good God. Ferraine tidings & newes weere these: That the Prince (& this was spoken by such as thought well of his journye & that spake best) was even weary of Spaine & wished himselfe in England; in regarde of the extremitie of the heate ther; for it waxed soe violent now that hee was compelled to keepe his chamber, & yett some fond popelings would have made the temperature

Prince
in
Spaine

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Prince of ye miracles subsequent to his comming. For his parte,
in Spaine Spaine gott well by him, both the shopps in his clothes
" & braverie; the prisoners in being releast; wicked Gonda-
" more in being sworne one of the Counsell of State; & lastly
" the poore, for on ther Easter day, or Passion Sunday, as
" wee call it w^{ch} is tenn dayes before ourw, hee bestowed
" a 1,000 pounds upon the poore in Madrid. See unum con-
" fimabant omnesliterae, w^{ch} came out of Spaine, that hee
" was verye farr in love wth the Infanta; & besides S^r
" Thomas Howarde Viscount Andover wrote to the king, that hee
" had shewed himselfe a most true & noble prince in all his
" actions as well as hee was borne a prince & was therefore
" admired of all; & that if it weere possible hee could bee
" a better Protestant then hee went foorth, hee would re-
" turne soe. And to this latter did all good Protestants
" & subjects say amen.

29. Today besides my studye I was visited by my brother Elliott,
& afterwards went to visite my sister, his wife; & soe to
see two of my brother's sisters now in towne of w^{ch} one

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was shorttlye to bee married.

30. Amidst my serious studyes it was related to mee too day
Prince in Spaine that the Prince was now certainlye married; & that the shipps
" should departe for him wth in these six dayes; & that ther
" weer 8 Jesuites or other of the learnedst papists comming
" over to dispute wth our divines. But I doubted all these
" to but popish inventions wch they did usuallye raise;
" though I did now conjecture both that it would bee a
" marriage & the shipps would shortly goe.

May

1. In the morning I had moderate good progresse in studie;
in the afternoone, I went to visite my sister Elliott
whoe was wth the ladye Denton, whome my father had mar-
ried now my steppmother. When I came as I had done
often before I still had everye howse more & more cause
to blesse my good God for his mercifull guidance in this
match; for shee very earnestlye entreated mee to god wth
her to see the generall & great training w^{ch} was this
day in the feilds. Upon w^{ch} I went wth them in ther

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coach & came just as they weere in ther great skirmish. The King passed by alsoe this day to see them, but wee mist the sight of him. Then wee went and walked in the Charterhouse garden, wth much comfort & delight, all my sisters being ther & my little brother soe that wee weer all together. And soe too night wee supped together wth my ladye.

2. Friday I studied prettie well both morning & afternoone, and at night, being fasting night wth us, supped wth my ladye. Before supper I went to visite my father as I usuallye did, & the rather because I was to speake for a man, but could not move him to my great greife doe that for him w^{ch} I desired.
3. Saturday was spent in studing & dinner case for Monday, but I did little in it being troubled what question to take.
4. Mr. Master preached himselfe this morning, I heard Doctor White in the afternoone, & after our owne lecturour Mr. Chafin whoe did well.

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5. The imperfect studie of Saturday could bring foorth noe dinner case too day, but I studied verye harde & through God's mercye to good purpose about it against the ensuing morning.

6. But this day through God's mercye made amends for all; for I spent it whollye in studye & brought in my dinner case wth moderate successe.

7. Wednesday brought foorth the continuance of my studies, & besides some newes to boote. For Greivlye^I a post came out of Spaine & was soe farr from brining anye newes of the conclusion of the match, as hee could not bring tidings of anye forwardnes of it. This joyed the hearts a little of drooping Protestants; controuling the late insolent boasting of the popish crue.

8. My studies went still well forward; at night wee had a moote.

9. This day besides my studie ther was a rumour divulged of certaine conditions proposed by the pope to the King, but of the certaintye of them or his answer to them I

1. Variously spelled Grisley, Grieslie, Gresly, etc. He was a confidential messenger in the service of Digby.

Prince
in
Spaine

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Prince
in
Spaine

heard nothing. The conditions weere these. That hee should renounce his stile of Defender of the Faith. That hee should declare himselfe an enemye to the Hollanders. That hee should grant a general & full toleration for the popish religion. That hee should give two of the strongest port townes into the popists hands, both for ther safetye, & the securitie of the Infanta & her iointure in case the King, & the Prince should die. That, lastlye, hee should disclaime all manner of title of supremacye; & upon the grant of these the match should proceede. What truth this had I cannot certainlye determine but this I am sure of that daylie moore & moore libels weere dispersed, in w^{ch} did plainlie appeare, the miserie of a discontented & almost daring people.

10. The morning I spent exceeding well in studiing, the afternoone some parte of it in preparation for the receaving of the holye sacrament. Everye day brought foorth now some newes, & the Lorde Hayes, Viscount Doncaster, Earle of Carlisle, was daylie expected heere, hee being now in

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Prince France in his journeye from Spaine wheere it was gener-
in allye reported his usage was none of the best.
Spaine

11. Noe sooner was I risen but I pursued the preparation I
had initiated, but, alas, such was my weakenes & soe
powerfull my roving thoughts through Sathan's subjection
that I could not receave that due comferte I hoped for.
Yett did I in humilitie desire mercye of my good God,
hoping that hee would accept the will for the deed. Mr.
Master himselfe preached. In the afternoone I heard
Docter White; & after I came home a little from our owne
Prince lecturour Mr. Chafin. And because things weere soe ob-
in vious I could, not pass by them this day; because indeed
Spaine
" I begann to consider how justlye God had punished our
" King's selfe-conceit of his wisdomes, in the carriage of
" this Spanish match, & wth all that it could prosper never
" the better in regarde the Sunday was noe moore respected.
" For yesternight ther came a post & the King was two howres
" writing backe, & soe about eleven of the clocke, Grivlye
" was sent backe againe into Spaine wth the King's letters.

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- Prince in Spaine The newes the other post brought was not verye good, for the King of Spaine did what hee would upon this advantage
- " of having the Prince ther, & the King was putt to his
- " aftergame, & I doubted not if God pleased hee might bee
- " much bettered & humbled by this gentle affliction.
12. Monday gave a good progresse to my studyes both fore-
noone & afternoone, at night I went to visite my ladye
mother & my sister Ellyott whoe as I saied was come to
towne this terme & supped this night at the office.
13. Neither lost I this morning but almost made upp a daies
worke in it, & ther was neede for the afternoone I lost
whollye wth my sister Ellyott & some other strangers, shee
being now at the office & to departe on the morrow follow-
ing.
14. Wednesday howseever was well studied even all the day,
at night I went to visite my ladye Denton.
15. And through God's mercye my studye went still exceedinglye
well forward. At night wee had our Thursday sermon be-
ing our lecture, and after supper a good moote upon w^{ch}

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I spent a good time in writing it out after I came, a course w^{ch} I had now begunn & through God's mercye did intend to continue, finding it profitable though indeed it weere laborious.

16. Friday was not soe trulye studied as these foregoing
Pr. in Sp.
" dayes, yett lost I not my time; besides a little newes
" served to peice upp this day's narration. My lorde
" Hayes, Viscount Doncaster Earle of Carlile, came now
" towards London, having been a prettie while landed in
" England having come directlye from Spaine through
" France into England. His usage in Spaine though it
" had been courtlike enough, yett was it nothing loving;
" onlye through the commendatorie letters of the King &
" Queene of France hee was somewhat the better respected
" & had the honour to talke a good while wth the Infanta
" upon his knees, she, either through modestye, forget-
" fulnes or pride, not bidding him once stand upp. His
" conference wth the Prince had neither been much nor

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often, soe that for his parte hee knew little of the proceedings in Spaine nor brought anye certaintye.

17. Besides some moderate good progresse in my studyes this
Pr. In
Sp. day I heard a little talke concerning the Prince, as everye
" day indeed almost produced moore or lesse of him; & it was
" that his chaplaines, Doctor Maw of Peterhowse, & Mr. Wrenn
" of Pembroke Hall, both of Cambridge, & another, weere not
" suffred to come to him. Other reports weere that they
" had accesse twice a day, soe that what to beleewe was
" uncertaine.

18. Our owne naturall corruption is enough to dull the edge
of our best devotion notwithstanding any good helps to stirr
it upp. Soe that this Sabbath strangers preaching, especiallye
an young Oxforde man in the afternoone, wee heard
some words, but I cannot say directlye betweene them both
one sermon. Besides my owne private devotions failed of
ther due performance soe that my best comfort was upon the
mercy of my most gracious God upon my humble submission
& sorrow.

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- 19 And though I did often finde that when I had spent ye Sabbath day ill, my succeeding weeke's progresse in study was butt small, yett it pleased God not to reward mee now according to my deserts, for I brought in a dinner case to day merely wth a forenoone's studye & besides spent the succeeding afternoone moderately well.
20. Nor did I slacke my course of studing yett was I somewhat troubled about a call to the barr of w^{ch} I desired to bee one, & therefore most of us that desired it went this afternoone to our treasourour to desite his furtherance in it; whereupon hee entertained us verye kindlye & promised his best furtherance.
21. Wednesday was moderatelye studied. At night I supped wth my ladye Denton, it being fasting night because of Ascension day to-morrow, where I had good cause to have been moderatelye merrye byt the daubt of our call to the barr made my thoughts moore serious then to entertaine mirth.
22. Wee had two sermons this Ascension Day. My studye alsoe had some little progresse but the cheife thing that I sett

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my selfe about was to provide for a call & to make my partye strong for one wth those benchers th^t weere my freinds.

23. Friday was our day of expectation yett lost I little time & indeed noe marvell if I had knowen as much before hand, for upon some consideration when the bench weere mett together they putt off the call ti^l next night. For my parte I supped againe at the office & was verye sollicitous wth the thought of it at supper.
24. Saturday brought foorth little studey for, though ther had been noe call, yett it was thought that it was staid to enquire into the continuance of men in the house in commons, w^{ch} troubled mee for one for though I had been long admitted, yett I had been but a small time in commons about twoe yeares & a halfe, soe that I feared divers of us might bee stayed together; & this troubled mee more then the thought of the call itseife had done just before it was. But howsoever my comfort was that my good God

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could turne all to the best.

25. This Lord's day I went abroad because I had sped the last Lord's day soe ill abroad. In the morning I went to Black Friars' where Mr. Gouge did well; in the afternoone to St. Andrewe's & heard a good sermon; & lastlye to Lincoln's Inn to the new Guild Chappel, but had not the good fortune to heare Mr. Preston himselfe.

26. Because still the thought of a call troubled mee, & my studies weere hindred, I resolved one way or other for satisfaction, & therupon went to our undertreasurer & had from him full satisfaction & wth a great deale of hope that the next terme I was like to bee one of the ensuing call. The terme ended this day.

27. Now upon the sudden his Ma^{tye} would have his shippes goe
Pr. In
Sp. for Spaine. The Earle of Rutland was admirall, the lord
" Morley admirall, & the Lorde Windsor vice admirall--all
" three rank papists. The Earle of Rutland went in The
" Prince a shipp of 1500 tunn & one of the fairest in the
" world. One cabinet in it was hung wth rich cloth of golde,

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- Pr. in & a bedd sett in it of crimson velvitt wth rich golden
 Sp. fringe & lace, & all for Mistres Infanta. The lorde
 " Windsor went in the Swiftsure, butt I know not in what
 " the lord Morley. Upon the match was moore feared that
 " it would goe forward suddenlye, the King of Spaine having
 " us now by detaining our Prince at what disadvantage hee
 " list. Butt yett in the first wee weere deceaved for the
 " shippes lay long upon the downes & afterwards in a good
 " roade by Portsmouth, as I shall mention in ther due place.
28. I studied a little, &, lighting by chance upon Heyward's
 Henrye the Fowerth, read somewhat in it & was the rather
 drawen to read further because his raigne came somewhat
 neare our hard times. Afterwasds going to visite my
 good freind Mr. Master, amongst other discourse hee tolde
 " mee that the Earle of Carlile being home had professed
 " that hee thought the necessities of the King of Spaine
 " would make the match.
29. Little was done this Thursday but writing letters severall.
30. Some parte of Friday was thus spent likewise; & the rest

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 May I was troubled in making some commonplace bookes for
 law.

31. And soe the weeke & the day & month ended about those
 bookes.

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1. In the morning olde Mr. Master did well. After dinner I heard Doctor White, & after his sermon, enquiring about the booke hee had made, I was enformed by one of his parish that it was indeed finished but it was not his Majestye's pleasure as yett it should come foorth; when as indeed now was the time if at all that it should come foorth, all men having need now or never to bee strengthened. After this comming home I heard a little of our owne lecturour Mr. Chafin.
2. This Monday my father departed out of towne to keepe his Whitsuntide at one of my aunts; but I through good lucke kept my selfe still in towne & studied a little. Wee had
 Pr. in
 Sp. some newes this day: that his Majestye had sent divers
 " lords to Southampton & Plimouth that they might looke out
 " a convenient place for the Prince to land in. Those weere

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Pr. in the Duke of Lennox now of Richmond the Steward of his
Sp. Majesty's household, the Earle of Arundell Earle Mar-
" shall, William Earle of Pembroke lordeChamberlain, the
" lorde Hayes Earle of Carlisle, & others, thinking that
" the Infanta & hee would bee heere quickly. But goodman
" howsoever in this hee was deceived for
" they returned not so soon. 'Tis true that men of meaner
" ranke might have served to have done this; but this was
" meerelye for the dignitie of them whoe weere to lande,
" & yett in it the King played the good husband too for hee
" allowed the lords but two gentlemen apiece to goe wth
" them at discharge, & a jeast went that some of them hired
" coaches to punish the King's new vice of covetousness
" that had ever been prodigall.

3. To my studyes & newes this day added somewhat: as that
ye noble Earle of Southampton, Henrye Wriotheislye, was
commanded to give order about Southampton that the high-
waies might bee handsome & smooth for the Prince & his
ladye when they came & that the charge of the neighbouring

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June

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villages; & besides that they weere likely to have one nights entertainment at his howse.

4. Wednesday entertained some studye, but nothing else.
5. My commonplace bookes for the law weere now sett a foote again w^{ch} I had begunn the last Friday.
6. Nor did anye other thing receive anye progresse this day save onlye my common-place bookes of w^{ch} I made three to bee portable bookes; yett still left out those heads w^{ch} weere in Littleton, & Fitzherbert's Natura Preveum & some other, & soe I ended ye bookes.
7. After w^{ch} I studied a little this day.
8. In the morning wee had a stranger preached exceeding well. The afternoone I spent in studying of things fitt for the day, finding it not soe convenient to goe anye moore into the towne to sermons. Soe by this meanes alsoe I was sure of our whole entire sermon and service at home.
9. Monday could not produce a settling to my studyes; but some newes was of the Spanish ambassadors comming.
10. Yett this day through God's mercye I studied hard and made

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some good progresse; & had alsoe some moderate recreation for my health. Too day alsoe my father & his ladye came to towne soe I was somewhat refreshed wth seeing of them.

11. Little or noe time likewise was lost this Wednesday butt in holesome recreation. By chance at supper I was enformed of a jarring had been between my lorde of Pembroke & my Lorde of Doncaster, Earle of Carlile. In the journey ther mentioned on the other place, the difference begann about the taking place of twoe w^{ch} came wth this new Embassador, whether as I take it the yongest sonne of the Duke of Savoy, his father yett living, or a count & free-prince of Italye in possession should take place. Some words past & a talke went of blowes butt none weere. My Lorde of Arundell stopt the matter in ther hott blood and after the other lords wth them made them friends.

12. Having studied moderatlye well too day at night my ladye Denton, my mother-in-law, wth my sisters came to visite mee at my chamber, & after them my father alsoe where through God's mercye wee weere moderatlye merrye together.

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June

171(42)

A Diarian Discourse, or

13. Friday alsoe was moderatelye well studied, at night I supped at the office wth my ladye & had much good discourse wth my father.
14. Saturday alsoe was well studied & added on end to my Lorde Coke's 6 reporte; besides it gave motion to a good deale of newes, as that ther had been latelye a mutinie at the shippes w^{ch} weere going for Spaine & lay yett upon the downes, about ther service w^{ch} twas saied my Lorde Morley would have hindred, and would have brought inn his damnable masse instead of it; and the marriners weere so farr provoked as his Lordshipp was verye near throwing over boorde, & twas thought if they had been but little further on the sea they had gone to it indeed.
15. Mr. Master himselfe did moderatelye well in the morning, at night I heard a stranger in our owne church, having before spent a good parte of the day in divine studyes.
16. The terme begann on Friday last, & soe today wee weere to continue our dinner cases; & I as ancient was to bring in.

Ephemeritian Narration.

one, w^{ch} through God's mercye I did wth moderate successe.

Prince
in
Spaine

Now was the Marquesse of Inojoca the new Spanish embassa-
dor extraordinarie come to Gravesent & too day Gravesent

" barge went for him, hee dined at Greenwich at the court

" wth the King, & my Lorde Keeper was sent for out of the

" Chancerye in the morning to come & entertaine him wth the

" rest of the noblemen. Towards the evening hee came to

" London Landing as I take it at Queenhive; & soe came

" himselfe through London in his Majesty's coach; & soe

" came to Exeter Howse where hee stayed & was to lye during

" his being heere. His followers weere verye well attired,

" but most unhandsome fellowes, leane & swarthy according

" to the climate of ther cuntrye. For himselfe hee was a

" man of small port or grace in his carriage, & butt of a

" middle stature; worst of all hee was when hee spoke, for

" his nose had been eaten away wth whooring & some of his

" upper lipp, soe that hee was beholding to Corke & like

" instruments to helpe his speech; & yett hee did altogether

" move it, butt yett w^{ch} was worst hee was soe little touch-

"

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June

173(43)

A Diarian Discourse, or

ed for it, as twas saied hee boasted hee would not give over a looser.

17. My studye was moderate too day beginning the seventh report of my Lorde Cooke.

18. Wednesday forenoone gave continuance to my studye, but the afternoone I spent abroad.

19. Nor too day did I slacke my poore endeavours, but through God's mercye, made some progresse, & to make upp a good daye's worke wee had a moote at night.

20. Friday morning likewise was studied, the afternoone I spent abroad, & had a sight of a letter in Lattine w^{ch} was sent from the pope to the Prince, w^{ch} afterwards came into print & I have it by mee. I supped too night at the office with my Ladye Denton & found that everye meeting was a new occasion to putt mee in mind of my thankfulness to my good God for this blessed marriage.

21. Saturday was moderatelye studied. Wee had certaine orders delivered to us too day by worde of mouth by a bench^{er} from the judges w^{ch} they had from the King; viz;

Prince
in
Spaine

"

Ephemeritian Narration.

that wee should talke noe newes nor talke of Kings nor compare one King wth another; & this rose upon words uttered by one Sheapheard, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, a base Jesuited papist, concerning the late blessed Queene Elizabeth w^{ch} weer both base & scandalous, w^{ch} hee uttered one Friday night at supper. Being complained of to the judges, they referd it to the Counsel & soe hee was yett in warde for it, but what further would bee done I could not tell. The rest was for the stricter wearing of capps, & for the totall leaving off of bootes. These things weere patientlye heard but the vacation following totallye brooken.

22. Mr. Master preached this morning after w^{ch} wee had a blessed communion. I studied divine matters in the afternoone, & at night Mr. Chafin did well. After supper as I usually did going to visite Mr. Master, & falling into discourse of the Spanish match hee tolde mee that hee was of opinion that they did not yett know in Spaine what to doe wth the Prince, nor how to make ther best advantage of

Prince
in
Spaine

"

"

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June

175(43)

A Diarian Discourse, or

Prince him. Then wee had discourse of the picture at Rome. Twoe
in in a cage in splendid apparell resembling the Marquesse
Spaine & the Prince & an ancient man standing by in a foolish
" coate resembling the King for letting them goe, &a
" yong man wth a key in his hand standing by the cage &
" a foles coate liing by him, for the King of Spaine if
" having them now in possession hee lett them goe. Butt
" our King had it on howsoever for suffering them to goe.
" One thing now mooved by the Spaniard & twas thought would
" bee granted was for the remooving of S^r Henrye Wotton
" from Venice, & S^r Henrye Wake from Savoy where they weere
" Embassadors; & sure this could not butt much further all
" Spanish plotts.

23. Monday was moderatelye well studied; the night being
fasting night I supped wth my acquaintance & wee had
moderate & honest mirth.

24. This Tuesday being St. John Baptist day wee had a sermon
in the morning, the afternoone was prettye well studied,
but againe begann afresh my trouble about a call to the

Ephemeritian Narration..

barre w^{ch} was to bee this weeke.

25. And that ther night bee a call too day wee went most of us about to the benchers, having been first wth the treasourour for it; I had some discouragement from one inhumane bencher but was againe comforted & cheared by a paire moore of them that weere my good freinds.

26. Yett studied I moderatlye well too day; besides wee had a moote at night but in all still the thought of my call troubled mee; but I relied upon my good God, knowing that hee would doe that w^{ch} was best for mee.

27. Friday entertained some prettye studye though this weere the day appointed for the call; & much I was troubled about it, & all the afternoone I supped wth my Ladye Denton, & being sadd & even in despaire of it, a little after I had supped, newes was brought mee that I was called; w^{ch} did much comfort my dropping spiritt; because it would have been a great disgrace to mee had I missed it, & gave the glorye of this as was most fitting to my good God that had been soe mercifull as to vouchsafe mee my desire herein.

Called
to ye
Barr

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June

177(44)

A Diarian Discourse, or

28. Saturday morning after prayers ended I went to my father & tolde him of it, whoe was much joyed wth it, & upon this to my great comforte added fortye pounds a yeare to my maintenance, soe that now my praier to my good God amidst all this comfort was that I might not forgett him.
29. A stranger preched exceeding well this morning in our owne church, the afternoone I studied divine matters; at night went to Lincoln's Inn but heard not Mr. Preston.
30. Monday wee that weere called being 21 tooke our oath. I studied the forenoone, after dinner abroad wth sisters.

1623-- Julye

1. It pleased God that I ended not the last moneth well nor did I beginn this better, soe that my poore studyes remained even at a stande. Newes or rumors ther weere great store: that a toleration might bee feared verye shortlye: that the Prince in Spaine would bee heere wth in few dayes wth other things w^{ch} because afterwards they fell not out I omitt. A talke went that rich cuntrye gentlemen weere called in question for liing heere the last Christmas, & contrary to the

Ephemeritian Narration.

severall proclamations; & should bee deepelye fined; but I beleve they made ther peace for I heard noe moore of it. Lastlye Mompesson made an exul the last parliament both by them & a proclamation rode vaunting upp & downe the towne wth his footboy wth out controll.

2. Wednesday through God's exceeding goodnes was thoroughlye studied & wth much profitt & delight; at night I refreshed my selfe in the water.

3. Thursday through a mischance in my chamber I was forced

Prince
in
Spaine
" to spend the whole day in amending it. The rumor grew now
" hott in towne that the Prince was in England but it proved
false, & all rose upon the speech of one of his querryes
here in England. This was certaine ther had been in the
beginning of this weeke or Friday in the last weeke a
disputation in Shirelane, at one S^r Humphrey Lines, a man
himselpe of excellent parte & sound integritye: betweene
Doctor White & Doctor Featlye against Fischer & Sweete,
twoe Jesuites. The prooffe was on our side to proove our
church befor Luther; on ther side to prove it the first

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Julye

179(44-45)

A Diarian Discourse, or

600 years after Christ. The Jesuites hanged in the beginning & would not suffer them to goe in anye orderlye forme, where upon the disputation broke off for that time to little purpose, & after it was inhibited that they should dispute anye further. Onlye by this Mr. John Buggs aged 70 years was satisfied, whome they sought to pervert. Hee was s^r Humphrey Line's kinsman.

4. Friday was well spent the whole day in serious studye; at night I supped at the office wth my ladye; where all occasions I found plainelye did putt mee in mind of thankfullness moore & moore to my good God for this blessed match.
5. My chamber was somewhat trimmed today by w^{ch} meanes I was compelled to bee a little intent & soe lost the day.
6. Wee had a stranger did well in the forenoone, & at night Mr. Chafin, our oune lecturour moderatlye; the afternoone I spent some parte in studying divinitye, & at night going to visite Mr. Master; wee read some exceeding good expositions upon that place of Luke 16 chapter--9 verse.

Ephemeritian Narration.

Make thou freinds of the unrighteous Mammon. Ther alsoe one Mr. Lapthorne a verye religious minister being, I was persuaded that the ordinarye using of INTRUTH was not good in a man's speech.

7. Monday morning brought foorth little studye for now wee had tenn o'clocke dinner butt through God's mercye I made amends in the afternoone.

8. At night by hearing & noting a moote wee had I made some amends likewise for this day not well spent.

9. This Wednesday was the great day of expectation; for it hapning that the two planets Saturne & Jupiter w^{ch} sel-dome came to passe did meete upon it; ther had been much talke of it; but especiallye by the common sorte of people, it was soe augmented by talking one wth another, that some saied fire & brimstone would raigne; others that it would bee Domesday, but they that saied the least, weere of opinion that it would bee intolerable hott, & that ther would bee store of thunder & lightning. The whole day was faire till a little after six at w^{ch} time

Planets
speeding

A. D.
MDCXXIII
Julye

181(45)

A Diarian Discourse, or

till ther was thunder & lightning.

10. Parte of yesterday & all this day I studied upon a moots case upon w^{ch} I was to sett this night, & through God's exceeding goodnes performed it as I did desire.

11. Noe sooner had I ended my moots case but I was forced to studye a dinner case, w^{ch} I brought inn this Friday dinner but wth moderate successe. At night I tooke a little time to secretee my spirits supping wth my father, his ladye, & my sister Ellyott & the rest of us. After supper came in my brother Ellyott whoe tolde us much newes. As that the French King was resolved against Spaine, & that the match through God's mercye went not currantlye forward; but that it had been refferd to certain Jesuites what was to bee done & whether the Prince might come & visite the Infanta freindlye & familiarlye or noe after all this stay & they resolved not, for shee was yett too yoong; & that hee should only come to her once in a moneth, but this was not certaine. Certaine it was that now they be-
gann to treatte againe afresh & the two ambassadors heere

Prince
in
Spaine

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Ephemeritian Narration.

Prince
in
Spaine

weere appointed commissioners for Spaine; upon w^{ch} the Earle of Arundell as twas saied desired the King to excuse him from being one, & being demanded whye because quoth hee the Prince is in Spaine & wee cannot but treat upon disadvantage. But that base upstart Williams the Keeper mooved the question to the Privie Counsell for a toleration if it should bee demanded; w^{ch} the Archbishop & Marquesse Hambleton wth stood stronglye, besides twas said that Buckingham & Gondamore weere greivouslye fallen out in Spaine; soe wee hoped ere long for our Prince, but I feare to little purpose.

12. My studye was but moderate but the expectation of noveltyes great for now the whole busines of the Spanish match was deferred to bee treated of heere.

13. I was at Blacke Friers this Lord's day morning & heard Mr. Gouge, the afternoone I studied divinitye & at night heard a stranger preach exceeding well at Graye's Inn. Besides through God's goodnes I studied divinitye a little at night.

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Julye

183(46)

A Diarian Discourse, or

14. Monday morning was a little studied, but the afternoone for the most parte I spent at the office wth my father, Ladye Denton, sister Ellyott & the rest being too morrow to goe out of towne for Suffolke.

15. Soe that this morning I lost likewise wth him till hee departed w^{ch} was about tenn being our dinner time this vacation. The afternoone I did somewhat though but little, at night wee had a moote; but before the beginning of it wee had soe terrible a tempest of thunder & lightning w^{ch} lasted from halfe an howre after six till neare nine as I could never remember the like. Ther went a reporte of the bell being melted at St. James the Prince's howse but this is probable the weather cocke on the gate was strucke downe & upon that came the rumour of the bell & of the armes strucke downe w^{ch} weere in the window, etc. Upon w^{ch} some did criticise or prognosticate th^t the armes of England should downe & those of Spaine bee sett upp. But I omitt these foppories.

16. The former dayes idlenes hung upon mee too day, & I could

Thunder
and
light-
ning

Ephemeritian Narration.

not yett settle to my studye.

17. I studied a little, & at night wee had a moote now everye man's mouth was full of discourse of the articles concluded betweene Spaine & us, & everye man's heart of feare of an ensuing toleration.
18. Friday was well studied through God's mercye going on still in Keilwey. At night I supped wth Mr. Master, my entire freind & our preacher or master of the Temple.
19. Saturday was a little studied at night I went to the court wth some others to see the great preparations against the Sabbath ensuing. When the King was to take his oath for performance of the Spanish articles. Ther I saw the rich bason & ewre bought by K. Henrye the Seventh made of one entire shell of mother of pearle, as alsoe the cupp of one entire agate given to the King by the Constable of Castilay & all the rest of the ancient & rich plate of the crowne; too morrow was the day of expectation.
20. This blessed Lorde's day that should have been spent in God's service was past over in jollitye & feasting; be-

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Julye

185(46-47)

A Diarian Discourse, or

sides the pomp at court & desire to see it made thousand others to breake the Sabbath. For my parte I endeavoured what I could to spend the day in the service of my good God; yett did the discourse of these things take upp some parte of it. Howsoever, I will heere sett downe a brief discourse of it. In the morning betweene seven & eight the twoe Spanish Embassadors went towards the Court & came just as the sermon in the Chappell was ended. Ther clothes weere alike verye beautifull to the ey but not rich, being but of the thicker sorte of tinsell cloth. Ther followers noe way brave unles the Duke of Savoye's yonger sonne & an Italian Count, Colonna the lizier Embassador was a man of comelye personage of a cherrifull & full countenance & a verye princelye & high carriage. But on the other side the Marquesse of Inojocza was of a meane stature, an imperfect countenance by the mis^{ss}se of part of his nose & lipps, & to make himselfe the rather noted his carriage was careles & noe way statelye, as if hee should persuade men to imagine that all that hee had

Ephemeritian Narration.

was wth in. His majesty was apparelled in plaine sattin of a violett or sad purple colour wth cloake outside of the same couler, a velvett lind wth furr rather fitting the state of an aged king then anye way to express a triving to seeme moore awful or bee revered by his apparell yett to shew that hee retained the decorum of a Prince in these outwarde respects hee had a most rich & transparent diamond in his hatt, w^{ch} hee ware wth more regard & a better grace then usuallie. Betweene nine & tenn hee came into the chappell wth the extraordinarye Spanish Embassadour on the right of the Duke of Richmond & Lennox his kinsman & steward of his household on the left upon whome hee leaned. The court was not overfull of noblemen & none but such as weer eminent & in towne & would have been missed. The Marquesse Hambleton, the Lorde President Mountague, the Lorde Treasourour Cranfield, the Earle of Holdernes, Lorde Hunsdon Viscount Rochford, etc., but the white sleeves ecclipt the other, the Archbishopp, Williams Keeper Bishop of Lincolne, Bishop of London Mountaine,

A. D.

187 (47-48)

MDCXXIII

Julye

A Diarian Discourse, or

Bishop of London Mountaine, Bishop of Winchester, etc.

Soe the King betweene eleven & twelve tooke his oath, & they weere feasted wth other solemnities w^{ch} I heare over-
passe in regard I wrote a discourse of it at large w^{ch}
went abroad in manye men's hands under the name of Phila-
nax Patrolcinos w^{ch} signifieth a lover of the King &
a pitier or pitiing his countrye as it well needed during
these feares & troubles.

21. Monday gave some present comforte amidst these trouble-
some & miserable feares at home of a victorie of Bruns-
wick's against Tilly, the Emperour's generall & to this
purpose a printed booke came foorth though all in y^e end
proved nothing but a tale, nay w^{ch} was worse the con-
trarye.

22. I studied somewhat this day & at night wee had a moote
w^{ch} I afterwards noted out.

23. Now was it certaine w^{ch} had before been but a rumour that
Gregorie the Fifteenth,¹ the pope, was dead & they about
the choice of another.

1. Died July 8, 1623; "of a fit of the stone, of long dis-
appetency and exhaustion, of unrest, or in fewer words,
of age" according to Wotton; Life letters II, p.272.

Ephemeritian Narration.

24. After I had studied the morning the afternoone was spent abroad.
25. Friday was St. Jame's day & thought to bee the day on Prince w^{ch} the Prince should marye but through God's mercye it in Spaine prooved the contrarye.
26. Saturday notwthstanding these divers reports, this & that way, was well studied & praying for & hoping the best I ended the weeke.
27. In the morning I heard a stranger doe exceeding well at Blacke Friers, at night Mr. Chafin, our owne lecturour, preached, & I through God's mercye lost not the whole day besides.
28. Monday was well studied & a little rumour ther was though an idle one of the King of Denmarke's being come into England.
29. Neither lost I this day, at night wee had a moote.
30. Now did a foolish division about the ensuing moote much trouble mee, I being in parte a cause of it, though at length I perceaved it was God's will & pre-ordinance for

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MDCXXIII
Julye

189(48)

A Diarian Discourse, or

my good & humiliation.

31. As before soe still this division grew strong & I was wearye of it. The moote against the vaine faction I was of went on, though I heard it not yett in this appeared God's goodnes to season these troubles with some comforte for I receaved a verye loving letter from my father & a moore loving subscription from my mother-in-law.

1623-- August

1. I studied a little this Friday at night I supped wth Serjeant Branston, one of our readers for wee had two our ordinarye reader, & this Serjeant whoe had read but just the Lent before, ther being now a Serjeants call.
2. I could have studied too day but that I was molested about our former foolish division, & supping at night wth that faction from whose violent & rash proceedings I had declined I was exceedinglye provoked by the base speeches of one of them & the rather because I was to receive the day following & soe was greived to have anye the least occasion of dissension; But oh! the goodnes

Ephemeritian Narration.

of my mercifull God; being exceedingly greived & distracted I went to visite Mr. Masters, my olde & good freind; hee as it weere obiter shewed mee a place Isaak 26-12, where it is saied that God ordaineth all our works (ie) all our afflictions as all interpreters agree for our peace, soe that afflictions are not onlye good for us but God ordaineth them even for our peace, & wee have peace by them. Wth this & other religious discourse being much comforted by him & desirous to receive the day following in a great deale of distraction, as well as I could I prepared for it, being rather willing to forgive that injurys wthout anye satisfaction & then to loose the comfort of this holye supper of the Lorde. I begann alsoe to see how justlye God had thus humbled mee for first I begann to grow a little elate wth my new barristers preferment & heere I was humbled, & secondlye so I had even scorned my father for being soe overtopped by the other envious five clarkes, soe I was now hated by that faction I had been offe, & suspected by mine owne

A. D.
MDCXXIII
August

191(49)

A Diarian Discourse, or

freinds & upon the matter cared for by none. Trulye
saied the blessed apostle Saint Paul, the judgments of
God are past finding out, & my comforte was I knew God
could easilye restore my respect if I could amend my
errors.

3. And therefore fliing to my good God when man despised mee
I receaved much comforte by this holy sacrament, & heard
Doctor Day preach exceeding well in the afternoone agst
saints to bee worshipped; then I studied a little divini-
tye but being to goe to New Inn too morrow wth our reader
ther I was forced to my greife to looke upon the case
moore then was fitting though even for that I did feare my
successe would bee the worse.

4. Monday I hearde our Serjeant reader but a little, because
I studied cheiflye about the former case; but as I feared
soe my Sundaie's worke was justlye punished for I had noe
sooner begunn to speake but my nose falling a-bleeding
I spake but a little, & I thinke it had been all one if
I had held my peace.

Ephemeritian Narration.

5. Gowrye's conspiracy falling upon too day wee had a sermon in the forenoone preached verye well by a Cambridge man. In the afternoone to make upp the holiday I went to see the elephant that was come out of Spaine, being heere in Fleetestreete & after that went wth a gentleman of our howse to see the statues & pictures at my Lorde of Arundeli's howse wthout Temple barr wheer I enjoyed a little societye of my olde acquaintance from whome I had differ'd in our olde base faction, w^{ch} did somewhat content mee.
6. Wednesday added an end to our serjeant's reading, & our new reader was to come inn too morrow at night. I gott well by hearing our reader at New Inn.
7. At dinner wee had noe reader in the hall but at night hee came inn.
8. Friday morning our second reader Mr. Davers begann, but by reason of an infermitie of bashfulnes spake little w^{ch} everye man pitied, because his case was verye excellent & his worth seen by it.

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August

193(50)

A Diarian Discourse, or

9. Saturday brought fourth miserable newes. Brunswicke was utterlye defeated & overthrowen even wth out batt^{le} by a few horsemen of Tillyes, having 25 in his armye. Knip-howsen, his cheife captain of experience, failing to keepe a passage. Soe that treason was suspected; howsoever, Brunswicke him selfe did what in him lay to have drawn his men to fight & at last was faine to flye for his life meanlye attended & this happened through the base cowardice of the Christian princes of the Union who gulled wth the Emperor's faire promises sent to ther men with Brunswicke not to fight; & this was too true for Mr. Wheate a barrister of our howse travailing then for his pleasure was in the armye & amongst the rest fledd for his life, & now comming home brought the first miserable tidings.
10. A stranger preached well in the morning, in the afternoone I studied divinitye, at night Mr. Chafin preached & Mr. Jefferay being come to towne yesternight I had a good deale of conference wth him.
11. Our reader tooke upp the morning, & I kept wthin after

Ephemeritian Narration.

dinner.

12. Our grand day was too day, & having feasted at dinner I even spent the afternoone abroad.
13. Wednesday our reader went on well; after dinner I was abroad.
14. The day through God's mercye I studied well, before supper wee had a sermon & after a moote.
15. Friday gave an end to our reading w^{ch} towards the latter end had been well performed, the residue of the day I spent in correcting over my moote.
16. Little progress received my studies this day, yett was it not whollye lost.
17. A stranger did well this morning, at dinner I went wth Mr. Tanfeild, our reader that was to bee next to Mr. Pagets to dinner, & at night heard our owne lecturour, Mr. Chafin.
18. Besides my studye I began now to feele the sweete benefitt of law discourse commonly incident to a long vacation.

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MDCXXIII
August

195(50-51)

A Diarian Discourse, or

19. Soe was this day spent through God's mercye wth delight.
20. Too day came a servant to mee I had hired long before, though hee continued but a little wth mee. In the after-noone come my good freind Mr. Beeston to mee, & after some discourse & hee departed, I studied hard for a dinner case against too morrow.
21. And through God's mercye I performed it this dinner; & studied moderately well the rest of the day. At night I understood my sister Ellyott was delivered of a daughter at Stow Hall, shee being wth my father in Suffolke.
22. I studied well this day. And the reporte went for certaine that a Florentine was choosen pope, & called Clement, though some saied Urbane.*
23. I studied well this Saturday; & wee had certain newes our shippes weere arrived in Spaine; I meane the fleete.
24. Besides twoe good sermons I heard this blessed Lord's day, I studied divinitye some parte of the afternoone.
25. Monday was well studied & somewhat gotten by the dinner case.

* Urbane VIII.

Ephemeritian Narration.

26. Lesse progresse through God's mercye I made not too day then yesterday in my studies, at night I had some recreation in Bartholmew faire.
27. Wednesday continued my former studies wth comforte.
28. But Thursday was not soe fullye studied for in the morning receaving letters from my father I was employed in answering them; & in the afternoone going to the Tower to studye records if I could bee able to goe on in them, I mett with my olde freind Mr. Beeston, whoe was come thither wth my Lorde Rislye, whome hee s~~r~~ved, to see the Earle of Oxforde now a prisoner in the Tower; from thence I saw him take barge to goe to Gravesend where S^r Horace Veere was alreadye gone & soe to goe wth him into the Low-cuntries, whither the States had sent for Generall Vere, soe that some exploiter service was hoped for upon Spino-la & the Spaniarde.
29. This morning was studied about a dinner case I brought in w^{ch} I mistooke one of my points, w^{ch} did happilye humble mee as I had been too confident upon some good

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successes before in this kinde. Just thus God did once mercifullie humble mee at the schooles in Cambridge after I had a day of good successes. Oh, the infinite mercye of my good God to mee that suffered mee not to runn on long in anye sinne wthout soe sweete & milde punishment, that I might speedilye recall myselfe & rise upon a fall. Supping together this fasting night wth Mr. Tanfeild, an ancient barrister & our ensuing reader, hee tolde us that pardons weere now in drawing for the Marquesse & all those that had gone over into Spaine wth the Prince but the judges had resolved that the King could not pardon it, it being an offense against the whole kingdome.

30. Saturday gave little furtherance to my ordinarye studies but in the afternoone I begann to sett about reading the Spanish Inquisition, w^{ch} strooke soe deepe a commiseration into my heart for the poore Protestants tortured ther that long after I remembered them in my praiers.

31. A good sermon was in our Temple church this forenoone & a moderate one at night. Some parte of the day I spent

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well & at night was partaker of good discourse.

1623-- September.

1. Monday morning was whollye lost by reason of my doubting whether I should goe into Suffolke this summer or noe where my father was & had wrote to mee once or twice for my companye. Besides I was in doubt whether I should come in wth a moote or noe for my assignment the ensuing terme of Michalmas, but al length I resolved for my studye & not to come into the cuntrye this summer.

2. But my studies went on moderatelye too day; both wth in & when I walked, soe little time was lost.

3. Wednesday was alsoe moderatelye well spent in my studies.

4. Thursday morning was moderatelye studied. After dinner

Records I went to the Tower ther to see some records & how I liked them & through God's mercye happening upon a Charter of Edward, the Confessor's I liked it well & resolved to continue my course of my comming hither twice a weeke through God's assistance.

5. Friday gave mee time to give & take cases for the ensuing

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term about w^{ch} my whole labour was spent.

6. The same imploiment tooke upp this whole day.
7. Wee had a good sermon in our Temple church this blessed Lorde's day morning; but at night a discourse not fitt for a sermon nor the pulpitt by one Dashfeld's sonne, a victualler dwelling neare the Temple, hee himselve that preached being a yong boy & debashedlye given.
8. Still labouring for Quaesres to moote upon nexte terme I was much troubled to gett but poore foure for twoe mootes against Michalmas following but profited little.
9. Little other was done this day then labour to gett questions & through God's mercye ere night I framed them.
10. S^r William Rives the atturnye generall of Ireland being now in England & my cousen, I went to see him & was verye kindlye entertained by him, where after some discourse I parted from him & did little this forenoone. After dinner I went to the Tower again about my records, & through God's mercye profited well.
11. I studied moderatlye well in the morning after dinner I

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Prince
comming
out of
Spaine

was writing out my records. To make upp this day I have thought good to putt in the Prince's danger hee was inn this verry Thursday at night comming homewards out of Spaine, w^{ch} I heard long after his arrivall in England w^{ch} will shortelye come to bee remembered. Soe it was that the Prince having been now a long time delayed & deluded in Spaine & being desirous to come home, both by fathers desire & the approaching winter, & wearye wth his complementall imprisonment in Spaine was now resolute to come away as soon as hee understood the fleete was arrived at St. Anderas in Spaine w^{ch} had been sent out of England under the command as had been formerlye saied of three popish lords. The King of Spaine & all his counsell did what they could to stay his journye by faire meanes, offering when the Prince grew resolute that if hee would stay butt three dayes, the pope's dispensation would come & the marriage should been consummate soe for to stay him. But the Prince's eares weere open to noe persuasion, & putt it to the triall that either hee

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must bee staid by force or els bee suffred to departe;
& indeed when noe plott was found to stay him, hee was
suffered to departe upon his commission to my Lorde Dig-
bye, Earle of Bristol, to entreate him by proxye after his
departure which commission the Prince shortely after hee
was safe at sea sent to revoke. Now for his entertainment
& guifts after his departure, I have it in print & I
omitt it. As alsoe this deliverance I shall now speake
of but not some observations I shall remember. Being
come to .St. Anderae's wth a ragged rout of onion breath
rascalls to attend him, hee was ther wondrous sad & staid,
keeping still on his clothes of the Spanish fashion w^{ch}
hee was ^{was} heere, the popish uttered openlye in our shippes
that the King of Spaine was madd to suffer the Prince
to come away upon these termes; & that it would proove
the undoing of the Romish cause. Besides Archee, the
King's foole, being in Spaine wth the Prince & come
downe wth him to St. Andearas & seeing the Earle of Rut-
land wth the other twoe lordes that had brought over the

Archer Armstrong

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fleete, w^{ch} had cost them a mightye masse of monye in hope of great rewards. "Oh, my lords," quoth hee, "you are all welcome, I am glad to see you heere. I have given my new foole's-coate to the Prince & my olde one to my Lorde, Duke of Buckingham, but when I come into England I will have foles coates for you all." This was tolde mee by a gentleman that heard it. The Prince having been entertained in St. Anderas alreadye, this Thursday tooke the Spanish lords that weere wth him in some barges to goe to the shippes w^{ch} lay a prettye distance from the shoare at anchor free from anye danger for this was appointed that they should not come wth in the command or keepe of anye harbour in Spaine. Heere the Prince entertained & feasted the lords of Spaine all day & towards the evening would needes bring them on shoare againe. But God as being angrye that hee having once brought the Prince safe from the Spanish shoare hee should not wth standing as it weere tempt God againe by going thither, raised upp soe mightye a storme & winde after hee was

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gone from the shippes a prettye space that forward to the towne hee could not possiblie gett as being kept backe by winde & tide; soe noe refuge was left but either to goe backe the channell & soe if it might bee chance before the storme rose higher to light upon some of the shippes & bee saved or else if they weere carried into the maine to perish wthout all helpe. Heere the gay clothes that our admirals & ther followers had made weere drenched wth ther feathers by the storme. Heere manye popishlye addicted, that saied before they had reliques about them could save a shipp on fire or sinking in the sea, gave themselves over for lost, ther faith & ther reliques being forcible alike. The night grew darker & darker, all cried out "God save the Prince!" but none acquainted him trulye of the danger hee was inn, soe might hee have perished moore unpreparedlye then the rest, & when hee was saved, was not eve thankful to God as hee might have been. But whilst they weere in this danger, behold how God provided remedye.

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Now the Duke of Buckingham was still on the shoare at St. Anderas & had not come to see wth them where I beleeve during this storm his bumme made buttons. The remedy that even God's direct hand provided for this was; S^r Sackvilde Treaver, governor of one of the shippes as I have it in print, being an ancient experienced shipman, at the Prince's departure from the shippes had observed the weather, & seeing it grow blacke & duskye, tolde some of his shipp that hee thought ther would bee a storme & that the Prince would bee overtaken by it before hee could gett to lande, & therefore divining as it weere almost what would come to passe, hee hunge upp & cast to bee sett upp divers lanterns about the shipp & putt candels in them readye to bee lighted upon the first occasion & threw out cables upon everye side of the shipp for them to gett holde by; & bound men readye to holde those cables upon all occasions. Scarce had hee ended all his preparations when the storme & winde rose high & raged feircelye as hath been saied; insomuch

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that the rowers being unable to gett forwarde to towne weere compelled to suffer the barges to bee driven backe, & all the hope that now rested was to light upon some of the shipp. Now S^r Sackvill Treaver besides other things had commanded a generall & full silence & quiet in the shipp & soe lessening at length hee heard one hallow & hallowed to him againe & then hearde him somewhat imperfectlye to crye out, "Hang out light for God's sake," & distinguished the voice to bee S^r Thomas Somersets. Then weere all the candels speedily lighted the cables made readye, & everye thing made readye for the Prince's deliverance. Now if they had continued but a little space longer in the sea, it would have swollen so high as ther barges would have been swallowed upp where they floated. But the Prince made to the Shipp & scaped casting away verye narrowlye, for the first & second cable that was throwen out was not taken holde, & if they had missed a little moore they had missed the shipp & soe been carried into the maine & perished, but

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it pleased God the thirde rope was taken hold of & soe by much adoe the barge pulled to the ship wheere for moore speedye safetye of himselfe & others they would have taken in the Prince at a hole in the side of the shipp but hee as insensible of the danger hee had been inn refused to come in ther saing hee would not creepe in as a theefe but come in like¹, & soe they weere compelled by plaine strength to plucke him upp to the topp of shipp & soe by like meanes all the rest weere saved. Being come upp when all looked hee should have fallen on his knees & given God praise hee begann to looke about the shipp & the cabbin hee was inn & fell to commending them; at length hee asked S^r Sackvill Treaver whether hee had anye meate for supper. Hee answered him ther was fish butt the Prince asked him if hee had a shoulder of mutton & a capon & soe answering hee had, "why", then quoth hee, "I shall sup well", soe hee did that night & slept in that shipp till eight of the clocke next morning. Some imputed this undauntednes to

1. Omission in the manuscript.

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his magnanimitie, others to his stupiditie, but I doe
to his ignorance because as I have saied hee knew not
of the danger hee had been in. This same S^r Sackville
Treaver had once before delivered the King, Queene Anne,
Prince Henrye & the Ladye Elizabeth going in a barge
to see some new shipp^{ch} was alsoe remembred them, but
as hee had noe great rewarde for that deliverance soe
it was doubted hee would not have for this, for tis
true the Prince sent for him shortlye after his arrivall
as if it weere to take notice of him but did noe moore
for him. The Prince presentlye the next day gave away
the barge hee had been saved inn, w^{ch} a little before
cost divers hundred pounds the building; but oh, much
rather might hee have kept it to putt him in minde for-
ever of thankfulnes to God for that deliverance. Next
day the Prince remooved being Friday into the Prince the
great shipp of neare 2,000 tunn w^{ch} was provided to have
brought over the Spanish ladye, & shortlye after hee
was settled ther hee remooved all papists out of the

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shipp but the Earle of Rutland himselfe whoe was the admirall, & how hee further speeded shall bee remembered as occasion is given.

12. Friday morning was taken upp in studing a dinner case, after dinner I went to the Tower & made excellent proficiencie about my recorde worke.

13. Saturday brought foorth the first rumour in England that the Prince was come in regarde that S^r William Tyrrel of the Prince's bedchamber had brought worde a good whiles since that hee was comming; but this was a false rumour & yett it tooke such effect that S^r Edward Montague, lately made Lorde Montague, went into Northamptonshire & ther spread it causing bonfires to bee made in severall places, & in the verye towne of Northampton of w^{ch} hee was afterwards heartilye ashamed.

14. Noe day could hinder the desire to heare anye certaintye of good newes; whence in London this blessed Sabbath brought foorth certaintye that the Prince was comming but not come.

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15. Monday morning brought foorth little other studye then about my mootes for the ensuing terme.
16. What had been begunn yesterday was whollye continued too day, for to prepare against my ensuing assignment.
17. I studied the same this morning & joined other cases, the afternoone my record studye tooke upp at Tower.
18. Thursday was spent in perfecting records & studying mootes.
19. Friday continued my studye for my terme assignment; a rumour was spread this day as if the Prince weere returned backe to the Spanish court wee not knowing certainlye hee was sett out w^{ch} did somewhat trouble us.
20. Saturday through God's mercye brought foorth a moderate good progresse in my studye of my terme mootes.
21. One Sherwood an Emmanuell Colledg man in Cambridge preached excellentlye well in our Temple Church in the morning concerning the obedience of children upon the fift commandement. After dinner I heard our great de-gender of our religion, Doctor White, & at night one that

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did moderatlye well in our chappell in church.

22. Because my studye was not great too day, I must onlye add this good newes, that now ther was some certaintye spread that the Prince was comming home.

23. After dinner I made a little amends for forenoone's slacknes.

24. Choosing to walke wth some barristers after dinner, having studied the forenoone, wee fell to discourse of the Lorde Morris, the Earle of Barkeshire, his murdring himselfe; & of the strang proceedings upon that w^{ch} was a great whiles since I thinke at least a yeare. Whoe murdred himselfe somewhat arising from the discontent of his onlye daughter & hiere, whome hee was willing to marry to Wray & after his death to him shee was married, but the King would have forced him to have married Kit Villars afterwards Earle of Anglesey the Marquesse's brother; but this was noted as a punishment from him for hee had slaine a man & was likewise verye vitious of his bodye wth women; & now hee punished himselfe. After his death the

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young ladye his daughter being thought too great a match for Mr. Wray, the Marquesse of Buckingham was willing to match her to his younger brother Mr. Christopher Villars, afterwards Earle of Anglesey; & to that purpose the almner of the King would have witnest agst the King him selfe & an inquisition being taken the Coroner was to finde that hee was madd at the time of his death, & soe, though hee weere sui occisor, yett his goods weere not forfeited to the King, for as 'tis in Perkins if a woman being madd shall slay her husbände shee shall notwithstanding bee endowed; after this inquisition returned by my Lord's meanes of Oxford her kinsman Wray gott her; the attorneye generall by motion in the King's Bench overthrew the first inquisition alledging it was not dulye returned; & the next assises at Oxforde an indictment was drawn agst this buried lorde a thing but once done & that agst a base fellow but never before agst a lorde, & ther came downe divers lawers pro & con, but at length the jurye found an ignoramus & soe noe good was done for

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the King at allbut the busines remained as it was upon the first inquisition. After this the Earle of Oxford that had made the match, speaking some strang words agst these unjust proceedings as hee thought, as that the bugg-beare prerogative scared all men & the like, was clapt upp into the Tower close prisone; where hee remained a prettye while soe after hee had his libertye in the Tower & a little after his full libertye as I shall shew heere- after having shewed these things before; & then all this was forgotten.

25. My studye still continued for my terme mootes, our newes was rife again too day that the Prince was upon the seas.

26. Friday morning was studied, the afternoone was spent in searching, & studing my records.

27. Saturday too through God's mercye was imploied throwout.

28. Wee had two good sermons after dinner in our own church, besides the comfort of w^{ch} I studied some divinitye in Cartwright's catechisme.

29. Wee had our grand feast this Michalmas day yett I studied

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somewhat abo-

30. And soe I ended the day wth going on in my studyes.

1623-- October

1. Wednesday brought foorth some studye but cheifelye about records I had gotten, in the afternoone I went for moore.
2. My mootes for the terme ensuing of w^{ch} I have spooken soe often tooke upp the greatest parte of this day.
3. Friday was cheiflye employed about records in noting those I had taken before dinner & after studying for new.
4. Saturday was spent about records cheifelye, at night I was comforted wth my father's returne & the rest out of Suffolke.
5. This blessed Lorde's day I was partaker of two sermons.

Prince
in
England

This day brought Prince Charles in safetye to London.

Yesterday was the day that the Prince first touched English ground since his returne from Spaine. True it is hee landed before upon the Isle of Sillye & refreshed himselfe ther a day or twoe; hee landed at Portsmouth betweene two & three of the clocke, the people being at evening praier.

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After his landing having exprest his thankfulness to God hee retired to a howse in the towne to refresh himselfe desiring to keepe himselfe private & presentlye dispatched a post or twoe to his majesty, liing at *Riverton*. But his comming being once knowen & the people's acclamations beginning, after his stay ther about halfe an howre. Tis true his bodye might have required moore refreshment for as I was enformed by a gentleman whoe heard the Prince tell it to the Duke of Richmond & Lennox, the winde & sea weere infinite rough & cruell much against ther desired landing, soe as once the Prince thought to have gone from Sillye Island in a cockboate or pinnace into some parte of Northumberland & to have landed ther; but yett they putt it to the triall for Portesmouth, & soe came about England wth ther sailes downe till at length they landed happilye as I have saied. The posts being gone hee made extraordinarye hast after, like Caesar himselfe oftentimes outgoing his posts & messengers. The Prince himselfe & the Duke of Buckingham rode upon post-

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horses & made such hast as that few followed them yett missed they the way a little before they came to Godleming some 4 miles from Guildeforde & went into one Mr. Wiats' howse wheere having drunke some beare hee was discovered by his large bountye in giving some Spanish golde to him that brought the beare. This gentlewoman, M^{rs} Wiat, had the first kisse the Prince gave after his comming into England. At his departure w^{ch} was a merye accident a poore woman that had seen him at Mr. Wiats' desired to kisse his hand w^{ch} when shee had gotten & kissed shee still held fast, the Prince demanding whye shee did soe; shee desired him first to promist her never to goe againe into Spaine & soe sent her way. The post brought the newes hither to London about 3 of the clocke this Monday morning to the Lorde Mayor being one Lumley, that soe bonefires might bee made, riding himselfe pest forwards to the King. Upon this the serjeants disperst themselves into all places raising upp constables & other officers whoe raised upp everye howsholde soe that betweene six

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& seven the whole citie by reason of the thicke plac'd bonfires though it weere a rainy morning seemed to bee on fire, ther wanting not one almost at everye doore where ther was an inhabitant (for now manye howses wanted them because the proclamations ^{had} ~~and~~ driven soe manye into the cuntrye). I dare bee bolde to say this London never before saw soe many bonefires at one time for a tast of other places ther weere 335 or therabouts between Whithall & Temple Barre. 'Twas prettye to observe the difference betweene the bonefires made by command after his landing in Spaine being by expresse order from the Privye Councill & betweene these that weere made upon the matter voluntarilye. The first being thinne & poore, these manye & great. The Archbishopp of Canterburye, Doctor Abbott, went out about or betweene 4 & 5 of the clocke to meete ther Prince whoe came to Lambeth first & ther staid awhile wth the Archbishopp & then in his garge wth the Duke of Buckingham crossed over to Yorke-howse, the Duke's howse. Ther hee

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came about 8 of the clocke & dined ere hee departed. The newes of his arrivall ther once knowen the officers & noblemen flocked thither; the first that come was Duke of Lennox & Viscount Grandeson that had been deputye of Ireland. After about 9 of clocke, Lorde Keeper, Treasurour, Earle of Arundell, Chancellour of Checquer, etc., who all came in at Watergate, for at the fore gate presse of people was soe great that noe man could gett in or out, for they weere desirous to see him, manye not yett beleiving that hee was come because they had been deceived soe often & this too was the reason that in all places in the Kingdome farr distant from London few or noe bone-fires weere made in regarde they had been deluded before & soe beleived not now. But heere in London all shopps weere shutt, the day was turned to a holiday, wth bells ringing & mirth & jollytie. 10 or prisoners readye this morning for execution weere all saved & sett free. The very bushes on tavernes weere sett on fire, a load or two of faggots being carried in the streets weere all

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throwen offe & sett on fire & the cartman glad to save his cart from pulling in peicies. Soe in Cambridg, holid- day was kept for three dayes together & Oxforde made ver- ses upon it; I was glad of this for by it the King now saw the abundant & true love of his people to himselfe & his sonne contrarye to the forged popish perswasion of some that his subjects loved not him nor his sonn, but weere all for the King & Queene of Bohemia & ther children. Betweene 10 & 11 of the clocke because the morning as I have saied was drisling the Prince departed by coach yett in post to the King, the Spanish Embassadors comming a little after hee was gone, & storming verye much that hee should departe before they had seen him. On that side wth him rode the Duke of Buckingham bare headed bowing to the people, the Prince not stirring his hat but waiving his hand & smiling upon them, the Duke & Prince both weere thus farr altered that now they had gotten berds having none before they went into Spaine, & these weere but en- signes of that admirable wisdom & policie they shewed

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ther, to come away fairelye & soe to outstripp that great
councell ther the verye terror of Europe. When the people
once saw him they showted marvellouslye crying out "wee
have him, wee have him!" The Prince turned upp by Charing
Crosse & avoided the going through London for twoe causes,
1, because the bonefires weere soe thicke & soe manye as
hee could not well passe, & 2, because hee strived to delay
noe time but speedilye to satisfye the longing eyes of
his aged King & father, wth his blessed presence. By the
way hee escaped a great danger, for the waters weere risen
high; & the coachmen not used to the way had like to have
driven the Prince into a dangerous deepe place where hee
could verye hardlye have scaped drowning; but God soe
graciouslye disposed it that a millar's boy comming by
cried to them just as they weere going in for God's sake
to beware & stay a little & soe guided them safelye tho-
rough. And the Prince beyond his expectation saw the
King sooner then hee expected for the King was come to
Theobald's from Royston where ther meeting was most

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joyfull & comfortable. The onlye thing to bee lamented was the great excesse of drunkennes of this day, the twee usuall fault of Englishmen upon anye good happ; & gave a way to William the Conquerour's victorie. At night many bonefires weere anew made to make upp a compleate celebration of this great miracle of our latter age, & I thinke these surpassed in number those that weere made for his arrivall in Spaine. The three popish admiralls, Earle of Rutland, Lord Morley, & Windsor weere left to come about wth ther navy into Plimouth, being now almost out of hearte to receave anye great recompense for ther great cost of gay clothes.

7. My brother & sister Ellyott departed out of towne too day, & I begann to feare my Lady Denton would not proove soe good as I had hoped for these things though I thus feared now, yett I found afterwards little cause through God's mercye to continue my jelousyes.
8. Wednesday brought foorth little studye, the afternoone I spent at Tower about my usuall noting.

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9. Our terme of Michalmas beginning too day I studied harde & prepared for my enduing mootes.
10. Records & noting of them, having gotten a Cowell's interpreter was my greatest studye this night onlye about bedd time I prepared to gett my moote by heart.
11. Saturday brought foorth little progresse in anye studye.
12. Mr. Sherwood did verye well this Lord's day morning, the afternoone I studied divinitye, at night heard Mr. Chafin, our lecturour.
13. Monday was divided in the studye of my ensuing moote too morrow & of my records.
14. And too day having spent the greatest parte of it about it, at night through God's mercye I performed it.
15. Wednesday was likewise studied about my moote too morrow at night.
16. Little else alsoe tooke upp this day for my case being ancient was brought inn & soe I had pleadings to repeate to it but through God's mercye I went through wth it likewise.

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17. The morning I spent about ensuing mootes, after dinner I went to the Tower.
18. Hence it came too passe that my greatest studye this day was about perfitting my records.
19. Mr. Master our owne minister my deare freind preached well himselfe this morning, after dinner I went into towne to a sermon where I supped.
20. By reason of y^e generall call of serjeants of whome I have spoken before, ther feast being to bee kept in our Temple Hall, wee broke upp commons for this weeke. Having lost too dayes forenoone, I made amends by spending the afternoone moderatelye well.
21. My studye was moderate, at night my olde freind Mr. Bol-deroe came to mee whoe was in the shipps wth the Prince, having since his arrivall til this time been at my brother Ellyott's in Surrye, taking it in his way from Portsmouth. Hee assured mee the match would not goe forwarde & that the papists themselves weere in a desperate despaire about it.
22. Wednesday was a little studied & now I begam to prepare

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for our serjeants feast too morrow of w^{ch} I was to bee the ancient sewer; Serjeant Hoskings throwing the dice for our howse & threw twice twelve, & soe wee went in antiquitie first & of the barristers of our howse I was the ancient; next came the Inner Howse, & after them Graies Inn & last Lincoln's Inn & this by the fortune of the dice.

23. Now came the great day in w^{ch} the 15 serjeants feast was Serjeants made & helde in the Middle Temple Hall. Of w^{ch} I onlye feast tooke a shorte remembrance, though I know Serjeant Bentlowes thought it a thing worthye the recounting & remembering in particular. This was true they fave 500 pound apeice to bee made; & soe perhapps, he of all cannot deserve anye accurate remembrance. About 8 of the clocke our three serjeants (for the names of all I have added in the beginning of my reports) came into the hall where Mr. Barker, one of our benchers & the treasourour of the howse, made them a speech & presented them wth thirtye pounds as a guift to them. The elder Serjeant Hoskings made the replie wth much thankfulness in the name of the rest though

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I thinke in other howses everye serjeant made a severall speech. Then parted they from the table in the hall & soe retired to ther severall chambers till a little after nine the whole call came together into the hall & soe at the upper end othe benchers table being removed, they all came together. The stewards of ther feast weer S^r John Hobarte & S^r Thomas Finch, the marshall was Mr. Hopton, the sewers & waiters weere choosen out of the Inns of Court, both for the generall service & the particular for each serjeant had his sewer & carver barristers & his cupbearer, a yong student. Of the 4 Inns of Court, the Middle Temple had the preeminence to goe first, Serjeant Hoskins throwing 18 upon the three dice, for to avoid all manner of striving for precedencye some one serjeant of everye Inns of Court throwed for his howse & as the chance fals soe it is taken. After the serjeants weere all readye the judges came into the aforesaied Middle Temple Hall & soe seating themselves in order upon the bench adjoyning to the upper end, the serjeants came all in ther partie-coloured coates, ther servants attending them in the like manner & each having his clarke bringing after him his scarlet hoode & cambricke quoife. The olde serjeants stode on either side. I was present being the ancient sewer of this day & heard Justice Leigh speake, being Cheife Justice of England whoe made

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October

A Diarian Discourse, or

a verye grave & learned speech. Then everye serjeant in
ther order made the counts & the olde Serjeants answered
them & the officers read the writts. When this was ...
wine & cakes being given to the judges & serjeants & soe
to divers else in the hall, they all rose & went on foote
to Wesminster bareheaded, excepting onlye them quifes,
w^{ch} had been putt on in the hall by the Judges, the ser-
jeants kneeling downe to them. And then S^r Hobart, Cheife
Justice of the Commonplace, made a new speech to them,
standing at the commonplace barre, butt at this I was not
present. Then returning from Westminster on foote as they
had gone ther stewars & marshalls going before them covered,
they came againe into the Hall wheere dinner was beginning
to prepare. I went in by vertue of my calico towel w^{ch}
was my fee, being sewer & I wore it about mee that day.
The first table at the upper end of the hall was sett
wth noblemen of w^{ch} there were not manie. The second
standing long waies in the midst of the hall was for
Judges. The place wheere the barristers sitt was for the

Ephemeritian Narration.

mayor & aldermen of the cittye of London, but the mayor never commeth because his sworde may not bee borne upp, yett was Lumley the mayor elect ther. I was sewer & eldest sewer at the lords table, being the uppermost in the hall. The cheare was nothing soe great as the rumour is thought, it being counted the thirde feast in England after the coronation & St. Georges feasts. But the disorder in sewing & the mightye multitude to bee sewed made it verye ridiculous & poor the gentlemen being commanded by none rather respected the private purloining then the publicke service. The tables weere soe manye & soe thicke sett as that none of the last table weere scarce served wth anye first course till the lords weere served & had eaten ther first & second course & soe rose wth out anye joiter to take away w^{ch} angered mee serving at that table. And to say truth the twoe steward's pride & the marshall's carelesnes was noe small cause of all this miscarriage. The lords rose about halfe an howre after fowre of the clocke, the judges soone after, but especiallye the aldermen weere

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October

227(59-60)

A Diarian Discourse, or

discontented whoe weere served too slenderlye. After all this wee that weere servitors weere to supp & the serjeants according to the manner went to Paules to a sermon & soe ended this great dayes feast.

24. My studye was small this day onlye I did a little about my records.

25. Saturday tooke upp my greatest time in preparing to receive the sacrament the day following. Towards the evening ther was a shipp sett on fire & burnt to ashes in the river Thames.

26. And too day besides two sermons I was made partaker of the blessed sacrament though as ever to my greife in much weakenes, at night ther hapned a famous accident, a chamber fell downe at the French Embassadors in Blacke Friers, & slew about 40 persons of the Popish side, ther unlawfullye assembled at one Father Drewrie's sermon, a great English Jesuite.¹ Wee must judge charitablye of this, yett sure it was the speciall worke of God, for this was the beginning of a lecture for poperie shortlye hoped for by them, &

Papists
warned

1. After this calamity, the French ambassador forebore to admit English Catholics to his services. Chamberlain to Carleton, C. & T. Jas. I, II, 436.
Full accounts of the disaster are given in C. & T. Jas. I, II, 426-431. Two of these place the number of dead at 63.

Ephemeritian Narration.

St. Giles Church by Blomesburye fell downe but a little before a great parte, w^{ch} had slaine manye if they had been ther when it fell, w^{ch} would have been if it had fallen in a sermon time; but because ther weere twoe severall bookes printed of it, both w^{ch} I have & omitt to dilate it further.

27. Monday brought foorth noe great stoore of studye.

28. Neither did this ensuing day bring foorth anye other effect.

29. Wednesday was my Lorde Mayor's day & Martin Lumley, alderman, whoe had married my Uncle Thomas Synods his widowe, was made mayor; but this brought little content to mee, but my brother & sister Ellyott's comming to towne much moore. At night my thirde moote was in preparing.

30. W^{ch} taking upp the studye of this day, at night thorough God's mercye I went thorough it; yett found my contempt of one Mr. Butler, whome I mooted wth fullye requited ere I made an end.

31. Friday was cheiflye spent in preparing a 4 & last moote.

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November

229(60)

A Diarian Discourse, or

1. All Saints Day following upon this Saturday, I did little onely
I heard Doctor Dunne in y^e morning at Lincoln's Inn.
2. Mr. Master, our minister, preaching in the morning wee
had a sound sermon; a goode parte of the afternoone I
studied divinitye; at night preached Mr. Chafin.
3. Being provided for a fowerth moote too night it was re-
mitted.
4. Soe that though I weere crossed by it, yett had I full
opportunitye too day to visite my father at this time
not verye well & to recreate myselfe wth my sister Ellyott
& my brother.
5. Wednesday being the fift of November, the memoriall of
that act & shame of poperye was celebrated the gunpowder.
I went to the Tower in y^e afternoone to my sweete records.
At night wee had a sermon in memorye of it.
6. And this day was spent in annotating records I tooke.
7. Friday morning a little studied, after dinner I went to
y^e Tower to my records.
8. Soe that Saturday alsoe was cheifely spent in adding my
usuall annotations or animadversions unto them.

Ephemeritian Narration.

9. Having heard Mr. Master in the morning, after dinner I went to Doctor our famous scholler & having heard him, it was neare supper ere I gott home, & soe after supper I went to homest Mr. Master, my ancient comfortable freind.
 10. Monday morning I went to Westminster & profited moderatlye ther, nor lost I the aftermoone.
 11. Upon my studies this day God gave a gracious increase.
 12. But God seeing it fitting a little to humble once this day giving some sharpe words to one Scidmor that had abused mee behind my backe wee had some harde jarring insomuch that I expected a challenge; soe that my honour, credit, reputation, & all lay at stake if I answered it not. My hope was in my good God thinking I might to feild wth out killing or being killed. I had newlye gone to y^e fencing schoole, & soe consulted wth my freinds what was best to bee done.
 13. Upon moore consideration I was moore perplexed what to doe yett did Mr. Bolderoe most lovinglye offer to bee my second.
- Fire It soe tooke upp the day as I studied little. At night

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November

231(61)

A Diarian Discourse, or

happened a most lamentable fire in Broadstreete in London, beginning at Alderman Cockaine's howse, butt through God's mercye it went not farr.

14. Friday gave mee much comforte that I needed not feare my challenger for the challenge hee sent was when hee knew I was gone abroad & soe now I saw sure hee had little stomacke to it for w^{ch} I blessed my good God that had soe blowen this storme over wthout anye infamye to mee. I went to the Tower this afternoone yett wth my sworde to shew I was prepared, for though my feare was past yett weere wee not freinds & soe knowing my selfe a good deale the stronger I thought I would bee provided; but a little after wee weere made freinds & cheifelye of his offring, I being of the forehand as they say.
15. Soe that this end of the weeke gave an end to our emnitye.
16. Our reverend minister Mr. Master preached in the forenoone; after dinner I studied divinitye till I went to Lincolnes Inn to have heard Doctor Preston, though I mist him.

Ephemeritian Narration.

17. Monday morning studied y^e rest was idlye spent.

18. Morning & evening I studied moderatlye. At night I went to Yorkhowse, & wth amutch adoo gott in, wheree the King, Prince, & Spanish ambassadors supped. The King was brought in a chaire & onlye called for his sonne when hee first came inn. The pride of the Spanish ambassadors would not suffer all three to bee ther insomuch that Inojocza, one of the extraordinarie ambassadors came not, but Mendoza the other, & Don Colonna the ordinarie embassadour weere ther. The cheere was admirable the verye napkins, printed & sett ruffs & the like cost some¹ onlye the Prince was too busye methought in playing the whisler, for himselfe went about & putt men out. After supper ended ther was a maske but this I saw not, being amongst manye others putt out by the Prince himselfe.

19. Wednesday morning Diego de Mendoza, that extraordinarie ambassador w^{ch} had yesternight been at Yorkehowse at supper wth the Duke of Buckingham, whose little daughter then both the Prince & King kissed, was wth his majestie

1. The underscore is inserted indistinctly between the lines in the type of cipher which D'Ewes uses in the last pages of this diary.

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November

233(61-62)

A Diarian Discourse, or

neare halfe an howre & the common opinion was, that hee came to take his leave of the King as being shortlye to departe; & I thinke it was as well to make some excuse for the wretched Spaniard that had yesternight at Horkehowse slaine an Englishmen; for Inojoza, the other embassador, was at Whitehall likewise too day. But ther was much important busines, for Grievlye & Kiligrew weere both dispatched away, the first into Spaine & the other to the Emperour, & a verye few dayes as was possible allotted for ther returne. Two things now in proposition I thinke the Spaniards liked not a parliament shortlye to bee had & the restoring of the Palatinate.

20. Thursday moderatelie studied I tooke noe great heede to our moote this night being to visite my brother Ellyott.

21. Friday morning studied at home, & the records after dinner at the Tower. I, at night, supped wth my mother-in-law, finding still God's blessing unto mee in her.

22. The morning studied, after dinner I noted a little in my records & after prepared for our blessed communion the day

Ephemeritian Narration.

ensuing.

23. In the morning wee had an excellent sermon, how a man ought to eradicate & kill the very seedes of sinne. After dinner I heard Mr. Jefferaye's, my olde freind; & after him Doctor Dunn in Paules church; & at night supped at my kinsmans howse wth Mr. Jefferay.
24. Monday moderatlye studied, at night I went to my worthy freind Mr. Master, enjoying his religious & happie companie.
25. Nor lost I my time too day but having moderatlye studied, at night I was partaker of a moote.
26. I was motioned by my father to a match that liked mee not, w^{ch} I wth thankes for his love refusing like a most loving father hee pressed mee noe further. The morning was imployed in my studye the rest of the day at Tower.
27. The smal studie of this day deserves to take upp little space.
28. The morning was spent in my chamber, the afternoone at the Tower, & this night added an end to the motion of the match of w^{ch} is spoken the Wednesday foregoing.

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November

235(62)

A Diarian Discourse, or

29. Saturday as it was an end of the weeke soe my studing
decaied.

30. Noe other Church was visited by mee this day but our owne
where wee had too moderate sermons.

1623-- December.

1. Monday gave some moderate progresse to my studies, & some
moderate content to my studies in regarde I understood that
S^r Edwarde Conway, an honest ^{man} reputed¹ ruled all at Court,
being principall secretarie.

2. The morning I spent in studye, at night wee had a moote
about w^{ch} time I understood Mr. Walleise, our rector at
Stow, was dead.

3. For this living one that had been my siser² at Cambridge,
Mr. Manning, was a sutour, but his youth hindered him.
I offered it to my tutour but hee was provided, & this I
did because my father did most lovinglie offer mee the
bestowing of it. In the afternoon I fell to studing of
a moote case upon which I was to sitt to morrow night.

4. After the whole day likewise spent in studie about it,

1. Inserted in the changed cipher.

2. For "sub-sizar." D'Ewes tells us that Thomas Manning was a
very pious and well-disposed youth, who became "a laborious
and able preacher". Autobiography I, 107.

Ephemeritian Narration.

through my mercifull God's assistance I performed it at night to my content.

5. Friday morning being idlie spent, I did a little make amends by my well spending the afternoone at the Tower.
6. Saturday morning was spent in studie, the afternoone abroad being a little greived for the death of one Mr. Bates, my olde acquaintance of Graie's Inn, but especiallie for the death of one Mr. Jermin, whoe was like to have been my loving neighbour in Suffolke; both being neare about this time.
7. A stranger did well this Sabbath day morning at our Temple Church. In the afternoone I went to heare my tutour but heard one Mr. Machines, who preached exceeding well.
8. The morning being lost, I studied moderatelye in the afternoone for a dinner case.
9. And this Tuesday morning I brought it in. At night wee had a good moote, I writing downe some notes of it after my comming to my chamber.
10. Wednesday morning being moderatelie studied, in the after-

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MDCXXIII
December

237(63)

A Diarian Discourse, or

- noone I went to the Tower & ther profited well. S^r George Goring was this day sent away privatelie to the Palsgrave & S^r Robert Anstrudder to the King of Denmarke.
11. Noe sooner was the morning post over in studie but after dinner I went wth my father to the christening of my cousen Raufe, Lathums first sonne.
12. Friday besides other studies made an end of the Bible w^{ch} now I had read cleane thorough. In the afternoone I went to the Tower & made a moderate progresse.
13. Saturday settled my resolution for disposing of my selfe this Christmas, & that was thorough God's providence to goe with my father to Donbridge in Kent w^{ch} was my Ladie Denton's jointure howse whome my father thorough God's blessing had married.
14. Our morning sermon was preached by a stranger, our lecturer our Mr. Chafin did himselfe at night. After supper I visited my worthie freind Mr. Master, our reverend minister.
15. Monday with my father I left London & though the weather weere foule, & the way lone, being some 26 Kentish miles,

Ephemeritian Narration.

yet at length wee came to Tunbridge before supper, wheere my Ladie Denton with the rest of our housholde & her brother Denton & his wife who farmed the howse used us kindlie.

16.It was not the cuntrie that could make mee forget my studies, but this verie day being the next after our landing I began Perkin's law.

17.Having gotten upp this morning and finding little recreation by reason of the ice & snow abroad to bee hoped for I settled to my studies.

18.Exercise of my studies before made mee goe to it moore perfectlie this Thursday. This was my birthday.

Natus

19.Friday continued my law studies wth much delight & profit.

20.Saturday continued the same studie thorough God's blessing soe that other bookes comming now safe from London I was very glad of it.

21.A good sermon being preached in Tunbridge in the morning, in the afternoone wee had onlie praiers at home, the sermon repeated.

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December

239(63)

A Diarian Discourse, or

22. Monday morning thorough God's assistance was fullie studied
, neither was the afternoone passed over without doing
somewhat.
23. Besides my studies I heard some newes from London this day
as that S^r Henrye Rich, Lorde Kensington, was gone into
France & twas supposed about a marriage for our Prince
Charles with the Ladie Henrietta Maria of France.
24. Wednesday was not passed over without a great progresse
in my begunn law studies.
25. Christmas day falling on this Thursday, wee had a sermon
in the morning & praiers at home in the afternoone.
26. Pleasing recreations & studies weere intermixed together
this day.
27. Recreation being fitt for these holidiaes, I continued it
still with my studies.
28. Having heard a good sermon in the morning this Lord's Day,
wee spent the time well at home after our returne from the
Church but in the afternoone going thither againe wee had
noe sermon.

Ephemeritian Narration.

29. Desiring varietye of studies I read Fitzherberts' Natura brevium & noted it, & Perkins I onlie read; my recreations weere fencing, riding, & such like.
30. Tuesday was a little studied but a neighbour gentleman of the same towne comming to visite us I kept him companie.
31. Now the moneth ending I tooke both recreation by riding & my studies conjoyned.

1623--

Januarie

1. Wee went to the parish church at Tunbridge this Thursday, it being New-Years day, but ther was noe sermon forenoone nor afternoone.
2. Friday was well studied & yet noe moderate recreation wanted.
3. Saturday being wel studied at night ther was certaine newes tolde mee that verie shortelie a parliament would bee.
4. In the morning this Lordes Day wee had a sermon at Tunbridge Church but in the afternoone nothing but praiers; the blessed day was afterwards moderatelie well spent at

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Januarie

241(64)

A Diarian Discourse, or

home.

5. Monday brought us divers strangers to dinner yet I studied the forenoone fullie & the afternoone was not whollie lost.
6. Because it was Twelveth Day, I studied but little going to the churche in the forenoone.
7. Wednesday besides my ordinarie studies gave some motion to a desire in mee to bee a burgesse of this Parliament but it vanished to some discomfort in mee.
8. Amongst my studies I entertained the newes of the marriage of my Lorde of Oxforde wth the Ladye Diana Cecil in the beginning of this moneth, it was consummated.
9. It was ever a content to mee to spend my time well & soe thorough God's mercie I did this Friday in noting Fitzherbert's natura brevium.
10. The progresse in my studies was not much this day for I partlie prepared for a communion wee weere to have the day following.
11. Noe sooner was our sermon ended but thorough God's mercye, wee weere made partakers of the blessed sacrament. After

Ephemeritian Narration.

dinner being sent for by a messenger to come to London to one William Case, my father's coachmen left behind him sick at London whoe had been my grandfather Symond's olde servant I posted away wth the best speed I could unto him understanding that it was doubtfull whether hee would live till I came or noe; the weather was wet & cold, yet about eight of the clocke I came to him liing in Chancerie Lane, & when I came the bell toll'd for him for his leggs & thighs died upwarde & soe ther wanted but his heart to dye w^{ch} yett lasted. At my comming hee seemed to revive I never knew his senses moore perfect, Having spent those two or three howres after I was come as well as I could for his soule at length hee gave upp the ghost, diing suddenlie away. Hee made mee his executor to gather in those debts hee had for a widow & two poor children, his sister. Therefore I spent most parte of the night to provide for his funeral.

12. And this day I had then performed in decent & comelie manner according to his degree, w^{ch} tooke up the whole day.

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Januarie

243(64)

A Diarian Discourse, or

13. My suspition & feare did ever for the most parte outstripp anye thing that happened, for having lent a gentleman my recorde notes of the Tower & sent to him for them & hee putting offe the deliverie of them, I begann to feare that I should hardelye receive them againe, but thorough God's mercie going this day & settling in my chamber, I had them honestlie delivered & found all my other bookes & things in safetye.

14. Wednesday morning made noe great progresse in my studye but being in commons after dinner I tooke a case upon w^{ch} I was to sitt too morrow at night upon a moote.

15. And for this purpose I spent all this day in studie about it, & thorough God's blessing at night performed it.

16. Supping this night wth my ever deare freind Mr. Master, wee had much serious & politicke discourse of Cranfeild, the now Treasurour, that hee was of a hastie & clownish disposition to S^r william Harbert that had been embassadour into France, talking seriouslye wth him, & as

Ephemeritian Narration.

slighting what Harbert had saied, "What! that soe!" quoth hee "a pudding's end!", which Harbert much disdainig, "Such an one," quoth hee, "as you used to tast offe when you weere a prentice". To Earle of Southampton comming to demand monye hee saied hee was a traytour. "Goe", quoth the Earle to him, "you are a foole", & soe in great scorne parted. To John Murray of bedchamber then Viscount Amant since Earle of Amandel he gave the lye, & hee being a blunt Scottishman suddenlie setled a sound blow upon his face. At this time the Spanish embassadour complained of abuses, & the report went that the match should in againe, the abuses of them weere palpable & grosse upon the verye stages w^{ch} the Spaniards distasted, having daylie intelligence of the manye popish gentlemen w^{ch} resorted thither. Besides the Hollander had obtained some late sea victories against the Spaniard. Now alsoe against the Parliament that ensued weere the commissioners daylie expected out of Ireland, being indeed sent thither upon discontent after the last Parliament, brooken upp.

A. D.
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Januarie

245(65)

A Diarian Discourse, or

The writs weere sent out to the noblemen onelye the Lorde Keeper retained three. The Prince's (for hee is called by writt to Parliament) because hee would deliver it. wth his owne hande, the Earle of Harford's because ther was some difference about his precendencie, & Viscount St. Albans, being indeed disabled by the last Parliament's censure to sit in Parliament.

17. Saturday ending the weeke I made noe great stoore of progresse in my studies.

18. In the morning going to heare Doctor Usher¹ Bishopp of Meath & scarce getting neare. I went to Mr. Shute wheere wee had a good sermon. At night I heard Mr. Chafin, our owne lecturour.

19. In the morning I was at my Lorde Marshal's court being held in the painted Chamber next the Upper Howse of Parliament, wheere sate the Earle of Arundel Earle Marshal to degrade one Baronet Harrise, being noe gentleman. In the afternoone I went about the confirmation of mine owne armes to Mr. Vincent, a herald.

1. "A wonderful antiquary, a great scholar, and a man esteemed of great integrity and devotion." Mead to Stuteville, C. & T. Jas. I, II, 227.

Ephemeritian Narration.

20. Having brought in a dinner case for the morning, in the afternoone I studied my records of the Tower, adding some annotations unto them.
21. Wednesday morning brought foorth some studye, in the after- I was at the Tower, where I had some moore discourse with Mr. Vincent about my armes, for being this Christmas at Tunbridge with my father I gott him to sett downe as much as hee could remember concerning the patent that was burnt, & soe I desired by Mr. Vincent's helpe to add something to them before I had them exemplified. To night came my father to towne alone.
22. Besides annotation of some recordes little progress was made in my studies this Thursday.
23. Friday morning being studied in Natura brevium, after dinner I still continued to perfect my notes upon my records. To day Hillarie terme began.
24. Saturday ended the weeke & my annotations upon my Tower notes alreadye gathered.
25. In the morning preached our reverend minister Mr. Master,

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Januarie

247(65-66)

A Diarian Discourse, or

the afternoone I spent in reading, afterwards at night
preached a stranger.

26. I wrote to my Ladye Denton too day as I had received let-
ters from her yesterday, yet the morning I spent in studie.
27. A rescew being made by mee in our Temple from an arrest
comming by casuallie & meerelie to maintaine our priviledge,
caused mee some trouble too day but that my hope was in
my mercifull God, & soe indeed it passed over without anye
great stoore of further danger, w^{ch} yet at first I feared.
28. Passing over my morning studies, after dinner I went to
Mr. Vincent one of the pursevants, after my being at Tower
about the records, wth him I had some discourse about the
manner & carriage for perfecting them & noe moore.
29. Thursday being sel studied at night wee had a moote of
which I noted a little.
30. Friday morning passed over in study & the afternoone at the
Tower. I was refreshed at the office at night discoursing
wth my father & supping with my Ladie Denton.
31. Though the day weere verie colde, yet somewhat I studied,

Ephemeritian Narration.

& in the afternoone I began to prepare for the sacrament the day following. At night I went upp to see my religious ~~freind~~ ^{freind} Mr. Master, wheere meeting one Mr. Halterne, an ancient lawer, wee had much good discourse about the temptations of the devil, & how strangellie a gentleman of the Middle Temple had been afflicted. After his departure, Mr. Master casuallie tolde mee of S^r Horace Vere, that hee had fowre or five daughters & co-heires. I earnestlie desired to match with one of them upon his motion, for besides ther most religious bringing upp, they weere of the familie of Oxforde. But the difficultie was I knew noe meanes to attaine to this having noe acquaintance ther nor scarce knowing anie that had & soe feared it might depend a long time without taking anye effect at all.

1623-- Februarie.

1. In the morning thorough God's mercie though in much weakenes I was partaker of the blessed sacrament, Mr. Master our minister preaching himselfe in the morning, & a stranger

A. D.
MDCXXIII
Februarie

249(66)

A Diarian Discourse, or

at night.

2. Monday being the Purification of the Virgin Marye was a great feast day wth us this Hillarye terme. In the morning I heard Doctor ~~M~~sher, the Bishopp of Meath in Ireland, preach.
3. A little studye in the morning passed over, after dinner I went to the Tower & profited moderatelie.
4. Wednesday morning was not much studied in my chamber but I made an excellent probresse at the Tower in the afternoon.
5. Having passed over the morning moderatelie well in studie after dinner I went to visite my Ladye Denton, My mother-in-law, w^{ch} I did not usuallie; & therefore shee tolde mee it was even God's mercie that I came, for I found her verie sadd about a plush gowne shee had bought for which my father was much offended. Such was her goodnes that shee much greived at his anger. I therefore did comforte her what I might, & tolde her I did not doubt by her patience & mildenes it would soon bee blowen over--as indeed it was.

Ephemeritian Narration.

6. I went not to the Tower this Friday as I used, but studied well thorough God's assistance the whole day. At night I supped wth my Ladie Denton, where amongst other things wee had discourse of a proclamation sett now out, w^{ch} had been proclaimed in Ireland for the banishing of the preists & Jesuites, none of the Councel being acquainted wth it, but S^r Edward Conway principall secretarie, betweene whome & the King & the Prince it was agreed upon, & soe sent over to the Lorde Deputie into Ireland, the Duke of Buckingham being alsoe privie to it. Yet some men's suspition was strong that all this was nothing but to make a faire shew before the beginning of the Parliament. Digbie was now comming home, though wth noe great good will, for certainlie hee had misbehaved himselfe in the busines of the Spanish match, intending to have passed the contract, if hee had not been forbidden even after the pope's dispensaation came foulie clogged, as in this one particular that the papists should have a church in everie shire. Some therefore

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doubted that hee would not come at all. Yett shortlie after hee did & remained a long time in trouble & confined. This evening died S^r Haughton, one of the judges of King's Bench, a verie learned & upright judge, being olde, & of manie yeares sick & crasie before his death, ever taking leave of his wife, when hee went to London out of Northfolke as expecting death.

7. In the morning I studied moderatelie well. In the afternoone I went to the Tower & meeting Mr. Burroughes ther the M^r of the office hee used mee verie lovinglie, though all indeed weere but matter of complement, yet I tooke it verie well for the present.

8. I was at Serjeants Inn this Lorde's day morning & ther heard Doctor **U**sher preach exceeding well. In the afternoone I heard my most loving tutor whoe did little inferiour.

9. This morning having well studied & upon some occasion dining wth my Ladye Denton. I spent a great part of the afternoone wth her. The rest I past over in noting

1. Master of the record office.

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my Tower records.

10. Soe great was the colde this Tuesday morning that I could make little or noe progresse in my studies. Dining this day alsoe wth my Ladie Denton & meeting ther wth Mr. Beeston whoe was a burgesse of this Parliament, & my brother Elliot being ther likewise wee had much good discourse. This day I hapned upon a proclamation sett out in Ireland against popish Jesuites & preists. This was Shrove Tuesday yet did the prentices little harme.
11. Wednesday brought forth little studie. In the Starre-chamber one Master Moore was deepelie censured for having spooken most unqorthie & scandalous wordes of Queene Elizabeth, saing that the Ladie Anne her mother was a whore & shee herselfe was illegitimate.
12. It was expected th[at the Parliament should have begunn this Thursday but it was deferred till the Monday following, ther having fallen great abundance of snow.
13. Friday I went not to the Tower. Wee had ill newes spread abroad by the papists that the Spanish match should yett

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proceede.

14. Nothing almost could I studie this day by reason of the extremitie of the colde.
15. This Sunday morning Mr. Robart Tanfeild, our reader for this Lent tooke his place in the hall at dinner, where nine of the judges besides other companie dined wth him, a thing not usuallie seen. In the morning I accompanied him to our Temple Church, wee had two moderate good sermons.
16. Our reader begann this morning & soe was the Parliament expected to have begunn, the King readie to have gone, thousands of people gathered to see him, the Lords in ther roabes, but the sudden death of the Duke of Lennox caused it to bee deferred againe till Thursday following. I sate at New Inn after dinner.
17. In the morning I went to Staples Inn to another moote where wee sate well till three of the clocke.
18. Wednesday morning our reader Mr. Danfeild read admirablie well, & I profited not a little by noting him.

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19. This Thursday morning the Parliament held the Marquesse Hamilton being Lord Steward in the Duke of Lennox place. I saw them going & heard the King make his speech in the Upper Howse w^{ch} was most admirable shewing his dislike of the Spaniard. But in regard I gott a perfect journal of this Parliament I will say little or nothing of it heere.

20. Mr. Tanfeild our reader did exceeding well againe this morning, in the afternoone I went abroad unto Clements Inn.

21. I had little progresse in mine owne private^l this day but in the Parliament was Serjeant Thomas Crew whoe had been chossen speaker presented in the Upper Howse in the after whoe spake exceeding boldlie in his speach against the papists, and soe did Doctor Williams Bishopp of Lincolne the Lorde Keeper after him, whoe before was of the popish faction, but now after the Prince's returne out of Spaine & the breach of that match, this upstart turned the note of his tune another way.

1. Omission in the manuscript.
Note. D'Ewes began to make some alterations in his cipher about page 66; beginning with page 68 he uses exclusively the new cipher, which is like the old cipher except for a change of the symbols used for ~~five~~ letters and a slight elaboration of most of the others. This second form of his cipher is practically the same as the one he uses in writing his diaries at the time of the Long Parliament.

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22. Wee had in the morning this Lordes Day a blessed communion after the receaving of which I was carefull to blott out all vaine injuries & the remembrance of them. Wee had one verie bad sermon savouring of Arminianisme, a verie dangerous heresie being but refined pelagianisme or rather revised, w^{ch} was first broached in the Low Cuntries & had now of late spread exceedinglie in Cambridge & in most partes of Englande.

23. One of our cupboard men being of the Parliament Howse desired mee this morning to argue the reader's case in his place w^{ch} thorough his helpe I performed as I desired. A fast was proposed in Parliament and allowed in the Lower Howse but the King desiring to advise wth the bishops about it all came unto nothing.

24. This was a great day of expectation & comfort, for the Prince & the Duke of Buckingham in the staged hall at Whitehall related to the two Howses of Parliament how the King was abused by the Spaniards & they deluded in Spaine about the Princes marriage propounded with the

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Infanta of Spaine. But because I have these speeches at large by mee & the journall of this Parliament I deferr to speake anye moore of them.

25. Encouragement being given to the Lower Howse by yesterdaies narration, they fell roundlie to day to treat of some new laws against papists. The Bishop of London alsoe upon ther instigation sent about to manye severall howses to have enquiries made what papists were residing in & about London. Newes was spread to day that the King of Spaine's fleets was on the sea neare Holland, & our shippes seased in Spaine. These are alwaies reports incident to a parliament to make them give the more readily but else I conceive ther was but idle for nothing cause of it. But it was certainlie voyced that Inojoca, the Spanish embassadour whoe lay in Bedforde Howse was warned to departe out of it at the end of foureteene daies.

26. Our readers grand day was on this Thursday, & amongst other guests was S^r Robart Shirley, ther in his Persian attire, whoe seemed to have come embassadour from the

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sofhie of Persia, though manye of the wisest marchants doubted him to have been but a meere imposter.

27. Friday added an end to our reading, but at Court was great adoe for the Spanish embassadour complained of the Duke because of his narration made to the twoe Howses the twentie fowerth day of this moneth foregoing, & protested lesse then his head should not satisfie for it, but hee was this verie day justified by both the Howses.

28. By reason of a religious motion made by S^r William Beecher in the Lower Hous, they sate not this day but allotted it for a preparation towards the receaving of the sacrament the day following.

29. On this Lorde's Day did the Lower Howse receive both for the bread & wine w^{ch} they weere to use in the administration of the sacrament that noe popish hand or poisonous bugg might come neare it as I suppose. The States embassadour had audience too day, a thing too usual wth our King James, whoe turned often times the Lord's Day into the use not onlie of his serious occasions but even

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of his unnecessarie feasting & masques.

Use heereafter these letters
indifferentlye; w^{ch} are
two of a sorte or kinde.

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1. Still the twoe Howses of Parliament went on courageouslie, agreeing to advise the King to breake offe the twoe treaties wth Spaine both of the match & of the Palatinate; but because I have a perfect journall of these things I desire to say little.
2. Having studied yerterday for a moote upon w^{ch} I was to sitt this night I performed it. About which time search was made heere in this cittie in manye popish howses for armor.
3. As the twoe Howses of Parliament had mett yesterday soe did they agine this day, in w^{ch} new things weere still discoursed concerning the King of Spaine's evill dealings wth the Prince during his being ther. Likewise this day, S^r Robart Cotton declared out of such notes, memorials, & letters as hee had collected & reserved of those times

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how the Emperour Charles the V had abused King Henrie the eight; w^{ch} declaration S^r Robart, being my most endeared freind lent mee & therefore having it at large I omitt to speake further it. Besides S^r Isaac Wake declared what the Duke of Savoy had told him concerning the ~~king~~ of Spaine's deceitful dealing wth that state upon a marriage of an Infanta of Spaine into it. W^{ch} I have in my saied journall of this Parliament, & therefore omitt to speake further of this or other ther proceedings this day.

4. In all the Duke of Buckingham had formerlie declared, hee much aimed at the disgrace of Digbye, Earle of Bristol, his majestie's extraordinarie embassadour in Spaine, & to day weere manie of his letters openlie read, soe that all begann to thinke him in a desperate case & soe hee continued, till long after this in another Parliament in King Charles his time, after this King's death hee much cleared himselfe & accused the Duke of Buckingham of high treason itselfe & of manie fowle miscarriages

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of w^{ch} in its proper place.

5. Friday gave occasion to the King to expresse his thankes to the Parliament for what they had done & desired them now to thinke of warre, & the courtiers w^{ch} weere of the Lower Howse begann to move for giving; but the Howse was noe whitt rash in that action as may appeare moore at large by my journall.
6. The great expectation & continuall discourse of matters now in agitation in Parliament gave little time to my private studies.
7. I went this Lorde's day wth my kinde freind, Mr. Beeston, to heare Doctor Venhouse after Bishopp of Carlile preach. After wee had heard a good sermon from him wee dined wth him at his lodging in St. Jame's pallace where hee preached, being one of the Princes chaplaines. After dinner I heard Doctor Laud, Bishopp of St. David's preach at Whitehall, whoe was suspected to bee somewhat popish.
8. Monday gave occasion to the Lower Howse to desire that some warre might bee declared.

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9. But by reason his majesties answeere was related to bee against anye declaration the Howse was somewhat discontented & little passed this day.
10. Now amidst the consideration of publike busines thorough God's mercie I did somewhat in my provate studies.
11. Yet the Prince's Highnesse making a speach this day to some committees of both Houses encouraging them to give & that ther should bee warres, did much comforte all ther hearts, & make everie man's mouth almost full wth the discourse of it.
12. And further to stirre the Parliament to give freelic, the Lorde Treasourour made a shorte declaration of the great expenses the King had been at having spent besides all other charges since the yeare 1619 to this yeare 1623 in verie embassages 600,000 pounds. Yet still the Lower Howse weere warie in ther promises, & onlie answered that they should bee readie to assist his majesty wth ther persons & purses in a parliamentarie way.
13. Little being passed this day of anie note in the Parlia-

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ment, & it being the ending of the weeke I did little my selfe upon it.

14. In the morning this Lorde's day I heard Doctor Burges & in the afternoone my tutor. But at Court the time was worse spent, for the two Howses comming to present ther advice to the King concerning the breach of the twoe treaties wth Spaine before mentioned, and the Archbishopp of Canterburie, George Abbot, Doctor of Divinitie, delivering it, the King gave them an unpleasant answeere full of uncertaintie for anye thing to bee done & yet required breat supplie of monie as in the journall of this Parliament w^{ch} I have appeareth moore at large. God sel-dome gives a blessing when his day is thus employed about our owne occasions.

15. The Howses much dishartened wth yesterdaie's speech weere somewhat satisfied this day from the mouthes of the Prince & George, Marquesse & Duke of Buckingham, the King's favorite, though verie little encouraged or contented fullie.

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16. And therefore they deferred to have anye relation made of the King's former speech as yet though spoken twoe daies since, the course being in the House of Commons that relation must be made of all speeches by some of the Howse in the publique Howse when they weere before delivered elsweere, & this they call a report.
17. Being too morrow to sitt upon a moote I studied harde for it this afternoone.
18. Having spent this Thursday likewise in the same studie, at night I performed it.
19. Somewhat was done in the Parliament now about giving & at length the greater number jumped upon 3 subsidies & 3 fifteenes.
20. And accordinglie this day it was agreed upon by the whole Howse that soe much should bee given, if the King would breake offe the twoe treaties wth Spaine concerning restitution of the Palatinate & of the marriage of our Prince Charles wth Marie the now infanta of Spaine, & would make declaration of it.

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21. In the morning I heard Doctor Senhowse, & in the after-
noone my tutor. The actions at Court this day caused some
idle communication for both the Howses presented ther
justification of the Duke of Buckingham to the King against
the complaint of the Spanish embassadour, & the King
gave them manye thankes & justified him likewise. Doctor
Williams the Lorde Keeper spake in the name of the Howses.
Finallie w^{ch} is not to bee omitted George Abbot, Arch-
bishopp of Canterburie preached this day being Palme Sun-
day (on w^{ch} day the archbishopp are alwaies to preach at
the Court) before the King wth that extraordinarie boldnes
& plainnes as it much comforted all his honest hearted
hearers.
22. My studies had some little progresse this Monday. In the
Lower Howse some bills alsoe passed.
23. Great was the publike joy w^{ch} this dayes action brought
foorth, for the committees of the two Howses of Parlia-
ment being admitted to the King's privie chamber, the
Archbishopp of Canterburie ther delivered ther message,

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desiring the King to breake offe the two treaties wth
Spaine soe often before mentioned & to denounce warre
against that king. To all w^{ch} most gratiouslie hee
gave his assent for w^{ch} at night manie bonfires weere kin-
dled in London & great joy. But alas, after this when
it pleased God too crosse our designes abroad all people
grew even wearie of warrs, & therefore God of his mercie
looke upon us.

24. Wednesday made the people's joy breake out into furye,
for they begann to offer violence to the howse wherein
Inojoca the Spanish embassadour did lie, being as I thinke
Bedford Howse in the Strand, but after they had brooken
a few windowes, speedie order was taken to suppressse them;
& yet notwthstanding the King was much displeas'd wth it.
Of w^{ch} the Prince, I suppose by the King's order, sent the
embassadour speedie worde.

25. The Parliament Howse brooke upp this Thursday being not
to sitt againe till Thursday following. At night I went
to visite S^r Thomas Holland a Parliament man, wheere dis-
coursing about our most hopeful Prince Charles, hee re-

Prince lated unto mee how upon Monday the fifteenth day of this present moneth being in the painted chamber neare the Parliament Howse & discoursing wth some of the lordes of the warrs now likelie to bee, hee said that the King his father had been long in drawing his sworde & would bee long ere hee put it upp againe, & that ther was now a declaration drawing concerning the breach of the treaties wth Spaine w^{ch} was to bee sent to Spaine & to other Christian princes & states. I suppose it was that w^{ch} Sr Robert Cotton drew, of w^{ch} I had a coppie from himselfe. Yet it was never sent as I verilie believe, King James his death ensuing not long after. The Marquesse alsoe of Olivares, or rather but Count Olivares, did about this time send our Prince alsoe a present of Spanish sweetmeates w^{ch} as soon as hee had received, scarce viewing them but tasting not any of them, hee instantlie gave them away.

26. On this Good Friday I studied little but ,having heard a sermon in the afternoone at Paule's Crosse, I had nothing else memorable to lengthen this day.

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27. My studies went not much forward this morning. In the afternoone I began to prepare for the communion. The colde was extraordinarie late for this time of the yeare.
28. In the morning preached at the Temple Doctor Downham, after w^{ch} through God's mercie I was partaker of the blessed sacrament. In the afternoone preached excellentlie my tutor Houlesworth. In all I endeavoured to my uttermost but found many weaknesses. About twoe of the clocke died Richard Sackville Earle of Dorset, a good commonwealth mans though not a strickt liver, by the hand of God. Hee surfeited of a potatoe pie, w^{ch} meate hee had often eaten as was reported to enkindle his lust.
29. This Monday I followed my studies moderatlie well.
30. The cold & the wett weere soe much this day & the snow soe as I made noe great progresse in my studies, receaving onlie a letter only from my father by my brother Elliot.
31. Wednesday brought downe much wett from the heavens, but little progresse unto my studies, & this was the end of Easter holidiaies & of the time that the Parliament had

ceased from sitting.

1624 April 1

1. This Thursday the Parliament sate againe, although the Lower Howse weere verie thinn of w^{ch} manie weere gon into the cuntrie & not yet returned; yet did they cheerefullie resolve to give.
2. The Lower Howse spent the most part of this day in religious disquirie of the numbers of papists at home & of the seminaries abroad of Jesuites & other orders being now twentie in w^{ch} ther weere three thousand English; since it was thought fitt to petition the King that they might bee disarmed & confined. In the Upper Howse Cranfeild the Treasurour began to bee questioned for base corruption both in that office & in his mastershipp of the wards.
3. Saturday was ended by the Lower Howse in framing a petition against the papists that the lawes against them might noe longer bee suspended but put in execution & themselves disarmed. My studies had some little progresse this day.
4. I heard the repetition sermon verie well performed in the morning at Paule's Crosse. In the afternoon I studied

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divinitie & at night before supper I heard Mr. Chapin our Temple lecturour.

5. Monday brought fourth little newes & lesse progresse to my studies.
6. I had some progresse too day in my studies. In the afternoone I went to the Artillerie Yard & ther saw a new practice of pikemen having bowes joyned to ther pikes & shooting arrowes wth great dexteritie out of them, using the pike alsoe.
7. The busines of my studies went moderatlye well forward this day, but in the Parliament Howse the time was cheiflye spent by the Howse of Commons in hearing and examining severall accusations against my Lord Treasurour S^r Lionel Cranfeild Earle of Middlesex, a man suddenlie started upp to this eminencie of dignitie from a meane & base estate & verie corrupt in his place.
8. By this Thursday's examination the saied Cranfeild's briberie was most plainlie detected.
9. And this Friday Cranfeild himselfe spake most insolentlie

- in the U pper Howse of Parliament, as if hee could justify all things objected against him. Being at S^r Robart Cotton's in the afternoon wee had excellent discourse & ●speciallie concerning the danger & detestableness of poperie since the Council of Trent moore then before.
10. Saturday was cheifelis spent concerning the Lorde Treasurer Cranfeild's accusations & Monday in the afternoone.
11. I heard in the morning a verie good sermon from one Mr. Tilman whoe was afterwards awhile our minister at Stow. At night preached Mr. Chafin our minister or lecturour at Temple. In all I found mine owne heard wonderfullie carried away wth manie vaine & idle thoughts. At night I went to Mr. Master.
12. Monday having heartilie humbled my selfe before my good God in prayer (the usuall remedie for all my troubles & trials), I found much comfort upon it & resolved cheerefulnes to prosecute my studies, & soe had some prettie progresse in the morning. But in the afternoone, although my studies weere interrupted, yet I was much comforted by my father's comming to towne wth my Ladie Denton, whoe had

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been wth my brother Elliot this Lent at Busbridge, & weere now come upp to Easter terme. As wee weere together in came S^r Thomas Holland, whoe was a Parliament man, & related unto us that my Lorde Treasurour according to his appointment on Saturday last had this day put in his answer, but soe slender & insufficient as the Howse of Commons resolved to transmitt himm upp wth his charge to the Lords as a guiltie person to bee censured by them; for the Lower Howse have not authoritie in such a case to give anie censure.

13. My studies had a moderate good progresse this day. In the Parliament the Lorde Treasurour was questioned as having been a meanes for the exacting of some late benevolences from the subject contrarie to the ancient lawes & liberties of this kingdome. But the King's letters being sent this day in his behalfe & concerning that exaction, taking it whollie to himselfe, freed the Treasurour from being further questioned for that busines.
14. The terme now beginning, I went to Westminster to take

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reports & had prettie good progresse. The Parliament especiallye the Lower Howse questioned monopolies & it was much hoped it would bee to good purpose.

15. Although this weere a great day in respect of the Parliament's proceeding against the unworthie Lorde Treasurour Cranfeild, and that at a henerall committee of both Howses at Whitehall S^r Edward Cooke & S^r Edwin Sanders did fullie lay open his briberie, extortion, oppression, & perjurie to his perpetuall infamie, yet I omitt to dilate it because I have a verie exact journall of all the proceedings of the Howse of Commons at this session.
16. This Friday gave not onlie good progresse to my studies by the taking of verie good notes at the Common Place wheere for a long time after I continued an annotator or reporter, but allsoe to the publike. For not onlie the Howse of Commons did verie seasonable treat about the great impositions upon cloath, & the cittle souldiers to the number of at least six thousand made a generall muster, but that famous souldier Ernest Count Mansfeild whoe had

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landed some few dayes before in England came this night to London & was wth the Prince this night. For mine owne parte I was further refreshed by supping at the office this night with my Ladie Denton.

17. The continuall intelligence I had of Parliament passages made mee neglect many times setting downe my progresse in my private studies. For now the Prince & the Duke of Buckingham had conference this day in the morning in the painted chamber wth the committees of bothe Howses, where further information was given them touching some passages whiles the Prince was in Spaine & a letter shewen touching some dangers towards in Ireland.
18. Mr. Masters preached well in the morning & a stranger in the afternoone. I studied alsoe some divinitie & spent the evening after supper with Mr. Masters.
19. The Parliament brought foorth nothing this morning that I heard of but private bills. In the afternoone the funeralls of Lewes Duke of Lennox weere celebrated wth great pompe, his portraiture being drawn in a chariott

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from Elie Howse, part of w^{ch} hee had hired or bought to Westminster; at whose funeralls Doctor Williams the Lord Keeper preached.

20. Having spent Tuesday morning at the Common Place in annotation, the residue of the day was entertained with many reports of great note, for the Howse of Commons gave not onlie one stepp to the subsidie bill, but a counsell of warre was established. Count Mansfeild was lodged at St. James, & verie respectfullie entertained of the King & Prince.

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- Maw, Dr.,** chaplain to Prince Charles.
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- Mayo, Dr.,** "or such a name," chaplain to Prince Charles.
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