

Abstract

Title

“Never Was King So Like to God Before”: *Stella Meridiana*, Astrology and the Restoration Panegyric.

Thesis

Scholars of the Restoration have unjustly ignored the verse miscellany *Stella Meridiana*; it rewards study not only as a Restoration panegyric but also as a contribution to the debate between astrologers in the 1660s over the significance of the star Charles Waine, observed at midday on 29th May 1630.

Assignment

This essay was set as an assignment by Dr. Elizabeth Clarke as part of the second year module *Seventeenth Century Literature and Culture*. The assignment was to write on a text that has received little or no scholarly attention since its publication. The assignment was set for May 2005.

EEBO

I used EEBO extensively during my research and discovered a large number of contemporary texts drawing on the same and related themes. In my essay, I chose to use the relevant texts I had found on EEBO to explore the relationship between Restoration panegyric and the Astrological pamphlets of the same period and to situate *Stella Meridiana* within this context. Contextualising *Stella Meridiana* in this way led me to my thesis, since I found that a vast and seemingly disparate group of seventeenth century publications were drawn together by their relationship to that one text. I therefore cite a wide range of EEBO texts throughout my essay to support my argument.

Evaluation

This essay will contribute to the field by drawing attention to *Stella Meridiana* as a significant and illuminating Restoration text. It is a first step towards situating the text within the canon of Restoration literature. It explores *Stella Meridiana* in relation to genre, contemporary publications, including the most widely read Restoration literature, and to the astrological debate in the 1660s. The essay will form a useful starting point for anyone studying Restoration panegyric, the works of any one of the authors of *Stella Meridiana* or seventeenth century astrology. Alternatively, the essay would be useful to anyone approaching *Stella Meridiana*, or another Restoration panegyric, for the first time by providing a firm basis of contextual information.

“Never Was King So Like to God Before”: *Stella Meridiana*, Astrology
and the Restoration Panegyric.

The miscellany published in 1661, entitled *Stella Meridiana Caroli Secundi Regis* and attributed to James Shirley, seems never to have been a subject of serious scholarly attention. Yet the text amply rewards close reading, as an example of later English verse panegyric, and simultaneously as a self-conscious attempt to contribute to the ongoing debate between astrologers at the Restoration. This essay is a tentative attempt to position the text within this framework, and within the wider spectrum of texts commemorating the Restoration, hoping find a place for *Stella Meridiana* among the most frequently read and studied publications of the immediate post Restoration period. The major trope of the text is to recall the reported sightings of a star shining at midday on the 29th May 1630, the day the future King Charles II was born. The text takes this as prophetic, signalling the importance of the child and his right to the English throne. This is a familiar trope in Restoration panegyric, but *Stella Meridiana* goes further, deliberately using the star to emphasise the closeness of the monarch to God, not only justifying the restoration of Charles but the monarchy as an institution.

I would like to begin by briefly considering the problematic authorship and layout of the published text to demonstrate the curious and unique nature of the publication. I will then turn to discuss the text’s self-conscious configuring of Charles II as divine and to establish position of the text in relation to both contemporary astrology and published panegyric of 1660-1661. This will, I hope, situate *Stella Meridiana* firmly within some of the most significant literary dialogues of the era.

The title page of the miscellany tells us that the verses were ‘written 31 years since, upon the ... of Charles ... the 29 of May 1630’, and does not give an individual author, stating that it was written by ‘several person’s of honour’ (Image 1). It does not contain a preface to the reader or a dedication, which one would expect to find in a published collection. This establishes some ambiguity between the text and its publication; it is evident from the text that some of its verses were written after the Restoration of Charles II but some of the ‘person’s of honour’ had died many years previously. The text therefore seems to have circulated in manuscript and been added to by a number of writers before eventually being printed to commemorate the Restoration. The individual authors’ names have been handwritten on the front paste down of the surviving copy of the printed text, in the order in which they appear in the text, under their respective additions. Interestingly however, John Speed’s name appears on the last page of the text, but is not transcribed onto the front paste down. This may be because the entry attributed to Speed (Image 6) was not written deliberately for the collection but transcribed by one of the other participants since Speed had died in 1640. It is more difficult to decide whether the verse preceding the Speed’s name, *A remarkable strange light seen about the time of the Kings Martyrdom* is Speed’s. The position with regard to Judge Hoskins is similar; Hoskins died in 1638, and this pamphlet is not the first to include his short Latin verse (both Edward Mathew and William Lilly use the poem for their own purposes in pamphlets, as discussed below). In *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* Arthur F. Marotti notes the popularity of Hoskins 1628 miscellany *The Parliament Fart*, which he lists as containing one of the most often transcribed poems of the period (127). The authors may have added Hoskins poem to the anthology to give it weight.

Hoskins' biographer for the DNB, Wilfrid Priest, notes the troubled relationship he had with the Stuarts before the Restoration.

If this is the case, that would seem to align *Stella Meridiana* alongside the tradition of manuscript 'complier poetry' described by Marotti (171). The owner, transcriber or perhaps translator of a poem would add one or two of his or her own poems to the narrative before circulating it, and would sign their contribution with their initials, using the fly-leaf to add the names of the authors and titles of poems. It is possible that this pamphlet is a printed version of such a manuscript collection. That a text so in keeping with manuscript traditions appears in print could be an indication of the changing status of print in the period (Marotti 283), no longer stigmatised as an ungentlemanly way of circulating a text, but becoming more widely used and accepted. It could also be suggested to reflect the nostalgia common to Royalist literature, by giving the impression of the manuscript traditions that were rapidly becoming antiquated.

The late date of the publication further supports this hypothesis. The miscellany was published in 1661, some months after the initial wave of panegyric literature commemorating the Restoration appeared in the summer of 1660, allowing time for the poems to have been collected in manuscript before being sent to the printers and to Thomas Basset for commercial sale.

It is quite natural for either James Shirley (1596-1666) or James Howell (1594-1666) to have decided to publish panegyric to the King. Both authors had continued their support for the King during the interregnum, and would wish to court the favour of

the King upon his restoration to power. Shirley had been a successful author of masques for Charles I, and had written *An Ode Upon the Princes Birth* in 1630, (discussed in Ben Ludlow's *James Shirley*, 51) and *An Ode Upon The Happy Return of King Charles II to his Languishing Nations*. Howell had written and published much very popular Royalist prose during the interregnum, including the political allegory *Dodona's Grove*, *England's Tears for the Present Wars*, *Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ, or Familiar Letters* written during his imprisonment in the Fleet 1643-51 and dedicated to "His Majestie", and *A Cordial for the Cavaliers* published on 20 July 1661. According to his biographer for the DNB, D. R. Woolf, Howell was actively seeking favour from the restored king;

With the return of the king Howell, now in his mid-sixties, tried again to achieve the rewards of office that had eluded him for nearly four decades. One by one he made a series of proposals for his employment, each of which was in turn denied.

Whether the miscellany is a printed version of an existing manuscript miscellany, or a pamphlet intended for publication, compiled by either Shirley or Howell, it is a clear celebration of the King's return and endorsement of his right to the throne. Since authorial intention cannot be established with any more certainty than this, it may be more useful to depart at this point to discuss the text as traditional panegyric, without recourse to authorial intention.

In *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (pp 87-8), James D. Garrison lays out the staple features common to panegyric of the mid seventeenth century. *Stella Meridiana* seems to fit very convincingly into Garrison's model, despite the fact that the text does not explicitly profess itself to be panegyric on the title page, which was customary for such pamphlets during this phase of the development of panegyric. The

most significant common features Garrison identifies across Royalist panegyric are the purporting of universal acclaim for the monarch and the placing of emphasis upon the divine right of that Monarch to the throne, specifically without the need for recourse to the sword in order to establish or maintain the throne. All of this is in evidence in *Stella Meridiana*.

The assumption of universal approval of the return of the King is maintained throughout *Stella Meridiana*. It can be seen clearly in the second verse of James Parry's poem,

King, Church, Peers, Citizens discern'd
This Star at once, and all concern'd (Image 4)

and in James Shirley's,

I, whose happy birth imparts
Joy to all true subject's hearts (Image 5).

The distinct Restoration twist on the notion of universal acclaim is the subtle reference to the Parliamentarians, as in 'Joy to all *true subject's* hearts', and, in Parry's final couplet,

But were at last discover'd in full season,
And lost their lives, and all they got for treason. (Image 5)

In these lines one can read a clear allusion to the Regicides who were executed in 1660. The suggestion made is that there is now universal acclaim for the monarch because those who dissented have been deservingly punished by execution.

Despite this allusion to violence, Garrison's second assertion, that traditionally the panegyrist 'limits the monarch in the usual way that specifically denies him the usual

means of heroism, the sword' (113) is borne out strongly in the repeated reference to the birth star and emphasised through the choice of title. The legend of the star is employed to suggest that the King was restored to the throne by divinity, rather than force. Hence also, on the title page, Charles is described as '*Miraculously Restored*' (my italics), the Lord Windsor's opening poem refers to the influence of 'Divine foresight', and Parry emphasises that the Restoration of Charles II is synonymous with the restoration of peace, 'And with him came to three torn Kingdoms Peace' (Image 3).

Stella Meridiana is certainly not unique amongst Restoration panegyric for recalling the star. The same reference was employed by Dryden, Herrick and Waller, and occurs frequently in anonymous printed pamphlets of 1660-1661 celebrating the Restoration. In Dryden's *Astraea Redux* (1660),

That Star that at your Birth shone out so bright
It stain'd the duller Suns Meridian light [288-89]

as in his later poem *Annus Mirabilis* (1667), the reference is brief but pointed. The publication attributed to Alexander Brome, *Ratts Rhimed to Death, or, The Rump Parliament Hanged up in the Shambles*, 1660, includes the verse

Charles Waine's ore the new chimney
The Sun's near our horizon [108].

Another anonymous 1660 publication, *Britain's Triumph* recalls the star,

(9)
I'th Month of May . . .
... did appear
A Noon-day Starre in *England's* Hemisphere

(10)
That day, O happy day! Behold a Sonne
To *Charles* our King, (then, happy King!) was born,
Three Nations joy and pride, what was not done,
His Princely pomp, (when Christened) to adorn?

He as his Father's Heir, his Royall Name,
Inherits first, and best it him became. (Image 4)

Here the author is very explicit in his reading of the star as an endorsement of Charles's right to the throne. Howell makes a similar claim in his 1661 *Cordial*,

For 'tis written that the Great Turk should say "if he were to change his Religion, he would fall to worship the God of King Charles of England who hath done such miracles for him, (Image 1)

figuring the Restoration as a miracle in order to reiterate the Royalist perception of Charles II's position as God-given.

Stella Meridiana does not stop at making this claim, but goes on to draw parallels between the King and Christ. It was not unusual for poets to use the language of the New Testament to parallel the birth of Prince Charles with the birth of Jesus Christ. Steven N. Zwicker has observed this technique in Dryden's *Astraea Redux*, (*Dryden's Political Poetry*) noting that Dryden's contemporaries would not have found anything amiss in the comparison, and

Indeed, not only did other poems on the Restoration conflate the King with Christ, but earlier sermons and poems, elegies and epitaphs on Elizabeth, Prince Henry, James I, and Charles I had made comparison of prince with Savior an important traditional element in panegyric literature. (69)

Micheal Mikon tells us in *Politics and Poetry in Restoration England, The Case of Dryden's Annus Mirabilis* that biblical references "have the general effect of identifying the English as God's chosen people, for whom He is usually willing to perform miracles" (158), and Zwicker also suggests that 'the metaphor identifies the English with the Israelites, a comparison that Dryden often makes in his later poetry.'(68) When Robert Herrick includes reference to the birth-star in his *Pastoral Upon the Birth of Prince Charles*

And that his birth should be more singular,
At noon of day was seen a silver star (19-20)

he draws explicit parallel between this and the star of Bethlehem, continuing;

Bright as the wise men's torch, which guided them
To God's sweet babe, when born at Bethlehem;
While golden angels, some have told to me,
Sung out his birth with heav'nly minstrelsy. (21-24)

Herrick deliberately appropriates the lexicon of the New Testament here ('wise men', 'guided') so that his account of the birth of Charles II mirrors the account of the birth of Christ at the level of language, emphasising the metaphor.

The paralleling of Charles II and Christ in *Stella Meridiana* is similarly achieved in a number of places through careful use of the language of the King James Bible. In the translation of Judge Hoskins' Latin poem the lines

I'th' Western World a Great Prince newly born
And th' East to morrow in Eclipse shall mourn (Image 3)

recall the account of the star shining in the East in Matthew 2: 2-11, James Parry employs the word 'Nativity' rather pointedly, and in James Shirley's poem,

If to the Father she doth run
By mediation of the Son.
To whom *Star* God also gave
In token I was born to save (Image 5)

the parallel is accentuated by constant referral to Charles II as the sun, which, as Zwicker notes, was 'a common symbol of Christ in the New Testament and biblical commentary' (67-8). The metaphor of the sun is also used frequently by the Cavalier poets throughout Royalist Restoration literature, coupled with the interregnum described in terms of a solar eclipse. James Parry makes repeated reference to eclipses in his contribution,

Pray Heaven th' Eclipse that doth attend,
No future troubles may portend.
Clouds cause dark dayes. Eclipses fears,
When past the Sun more bright appears. (Image 4)

Attention is drawn to the symbolism here by the capitalisation of the first letters of 'Eclipse' and 'Sun' which emphasises the link with Jesus, since the word 'son' used to refer to Jesus throughout the New Testament is always with a capitalised S. This is again perfectly in keeping with the traditions of restoration pamphlets, in *Britain's Triumph*, Charles is referred to as "Our Sun on Earth". (Image 4)

Stella Meridiana uses a second biblical parallel in praise of Charles II. In Parry's '*Somewhat more on the Text and Eclipse observed*' the Birth Star is compared with Sampson's riddle, which appears in Judges 14: 1-20. The riddle reads

Out of the eater came something to eat;
Out of the strong came something sweet. [14: 14]

It refers to the honey Sampson took from a beehive he found formed inside a lion that he had killed a few days previously. In Parry's extended metaphor, the bees are aligned with the Commonwealth ('In which a Commonwealth of bees did build'/Their waxed Garison with Honey fill'd). The comparison between Charles and Sampson also recalls Charles' Birth Star. At the conception of Sampson, in Judges 13: 1-24, the angel of the Lord had appeared to Sampson's mother to tell her that she was to have a child (though she had previously been declared unable to conceive), in a narrative not dissimilar to the account of the conception of Jesus given in the Gospels. Judges places emphasis on the idea that Sampson was helped and strengthened by the Lord's power; God gave Sampson the strength to kill 30 men, just as Charles II was given the strength to overcome those who denied him his birthright to the throne. This is an

appropriate parallel in a panegyric on the King. It implies that the executions of the Regicides were God's will, as Sampson's killing of his enemies was. Thus a violent act on the Kings part can be dealt with without compromising the separation of monarch from violence observed by Garrison.

Drawing parallel between the Birth Star and Sampson's riddle is also a comment on the ongoing debate over the meaning of the star. Parry writes

The test was Sampson's riddle intricate,
And puzzled with his Audience too great State
In Scruples of his Text the man was maz'd,
And with the presence daunted as he gazed. (Image 5)

None of Sampson's audience were able to solve the riddle, and eventually they cheated by persuading Sampson's wife to reveal the answer. Parry relates this to the fact that no definitive interpretation of the Birth Star was established. William Lilly, the Puritan parliamentarian astrologer, had denied the significance of the Birth Star - and other signs alleged by Royalists to confirm the right of the Stuarts to the English throne - in a series of pamphlets published in the interregnum, including *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris* (1649), *The Starry Messenger* (1645) and *A Prophecy of the White King* (cited in Ann Geneva's *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind*, 5). In *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England*, (1655), Lilly cites the Latin version of the Judge Hoskins' poem that appears in *Stella Meridiana* and in a dismissive note in the margin alongside it states:

many supposed there had appeared a new starre at his birth, whereas it was the Planet Venus, who is usually seen in the daytime. (91)

This position was directly and violently contravened by Royalist astrologers in pamphlets published in response to Lilly's. The Royalist John Gadbury had published a pamphlet in 1660, which he titled

A Declaration of the several treasons, blasphemies and misdemeanors acted, spoken and published against God, the late King, his present Majesty, the nobility, clergy, city, commonalty, &c. by that grand wizard and impostor William Lilly of St. Clements Dane. (Image 1)

This pamphlet was not Gadbury's first published condemnation of Lilly, the dialogue between them had continued fiercely throughout the interregnum.

The debate between astrologers over the star was significant to the raging political debates of the period. As Lilly himself phrased it in a letter to Elias Ashmole in 1666, "The English of all nations are most taken with prophecyes" (quoted from Mikeon 226) and Curry notes that in 1660 Lilly sold 30 000 copies of his Almanack, one for every three households in England (245). This gives some indication of the far reaching potential of astrology to influence public opinion. Astrological pamphlets were used as propaganda before and during the Civil war by both sides and it can be no coincidence that in 1661 a Sixteenth Century sermon, *The Signs of Christ's Coming* of Martin Luther's was republished beginning at Verse 25: 'And there shall be signs in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars' (Image 1). To begin at verse 25 is in itself conspicuous, drawing the reader's attention to the contemporary significance perceived in the sermon.

The borderline between astrology and panegyric is surprisingly difficult to define. Astrological pamphlets frequently explicitly praise and implicitly censure leaders in terms as strong as those in panegyric, and panegyric, as we have seen in *Stella*

Meridiana, tropes contemporary astrology freely to support its case. Waller meditates on the significance of Charles Waine in his poem *On the park at St. James's*, 1660:

His thoughts rise higher when he does reflect
On what the World may from that Star expect
VVhich at his birth appear'd, to let us see
Day for his sake could with the night agree.
A Prince on whom such different lights do smile
Born the divided world to reconcile.
VVhatever Heaven, or high extracted blood
Could promise, or foretell, he will make good,
Reform these Nations, and improve them more
Than this fair *Park* from what it was before. (Image 3)

Edward Matthews's prose pamphlet on Charles Waine, *Karolou Trismegistou Epiphania* (1660) has been called "one of the most extravagant Royal panegyrics of the period" (Mikon, 249). The opening page reads,

Karólou trismegistou epiphania the most glorious star, or celestial constellation of the Pleiades, or, Charles Waine : appearing, and shining most brightly in a miraculous manner in the face of the sun at noon day at the nativity of our sacred sovereign King Charles, 2 : presaging His Majesties exaltation to future honour and greatnesse, transcending not only the most potent Christian princes in Europe, but by divine designment ordained to be the most mighty monarch in the vniverse, never any starre having appeared before at the birth of any (the highest humane hero) except our Saviour. (Image 1)

Matthew includes the same translation of Hoskins's poem that is found in *Stella Meridiana*, using it, in opposition to Lilly, to speak *for* the significance of the star. This positions *Stella Meridiana* within the astrological debate over the star, alongside the other two instances of publication of the poem at the Restoration, signalling its significance far outside a simple bid for royal preferment by either Shirley or Howell.

The astrological pamphlets and panegyric literature also share a similarity of tone. On page one of Gadbury's *Declaration*, he says of Lilly,

In a Book by him published, and called *Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles*, p119 he saith, that the parliament did no other thing but justice and what in conscience they were bound to do, for preservation of the Commonwealth, in cutting off King Charles his head. (Image 3)

In the angry condemnation of Lilly that follows in his address to the reader,

But for our sins [God] hath permitted this pretender to be more Instrumental than any to bring upon the whole Nation the greatest curse that ever was, (Image 3)

Gadbury's tone recalls the emphatic lines attributed to James Howell in *Stella Meridiana*,

Bloud is a crying sin; but that of Kings
Cries loudest, and to certaine ruine brings. (Image 6)

As well as John Speed's line

To Kill a King is Deicide, Christicide, Regicide, Patricide and Homicide,

and Parry's final verse,

And till his Murderers come to justice hand,
The stain and scandal lies on this Land.

Gadbury's 1660 pamphlet *Natura Prodigiorum or, a discourse touching the nature of prodigies* is also reminiscent of panegyric. It is dedicated to General Monk,

Lord General of all his majesties Forces in England, Scotland and Ireland,
Restorer of all these (of late distracted) Nations to their Pristine Splendor and
Glory, (Image 2)

and, during the dedication, situates itself within Garrison's parameters for panegyric,

THE HAPPY RESTAURATION OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND, TO HER
FORMER AND MOST NATURAL GOVERNMENT – MONARCHY! AND THIS
PERFORMED BY YOUR HONOUR'S HAPPY UNDERTAKINGS, WITHOUT THE
LEAST BLOODSHED! Which very thing, speaks so much of Gods most Gracious
and especial Providence, to your Honour, and these Kingdoms, that *the true
essential cause of this most happy Turn* is to be read no where but in the
Sacred Scrowl of *Divine Miracles*. (Image 3)

By repeatedly using the names 'England, Scotland and Ireland' in his dedication and title page Gadbury recalls the panegyric tradition of purporting universal acclaim and he explicitly denies the use of the sword in Charles's Restoration, figuring the events as a miracle. Hence it is illuminating to read *Stella Meridiana* as part of an astrological debate and the pamphlets of Gadbury and Lilly as part of the developing tradition of panegyric.

In addition to similarities in tone and political alignment, Gadbury's *Natura Prodigiorum* and *Stella Meridiana* share a publishing place. Both were printed for Thomas Bassett to sell outside St. Dunstan's in the West, on the corner of Fleet Street, apparently the site of frequent conflict with Lilly. Derek Parker notes in *William Lilly and Astrology in the Seventeenth Century* that 'twice at least [Lilly] visited St Dunstan's-in-the-West, close to the corner of Fleet Street and Chancery Lane' and that Lilly, 'at that time thoroughly puritan' was disturbed by the sermons of Dr. Donne, the Vicar of St. Dunstan's, complaining of his "intemperate use of the Gospel, and sometimes the impotency of a satirical humour" making "men preach freely, and over-freely, offensively, scandalously..." (38-9). Parry makes mention of a Donne in his *Some Further Observations*:

For Doctor Don saies, The Stars be
(by the light he lends) his Com'naltie, (Image 4)

which could be read as a direct address to Lilly, or perhaps as an appeal to the parishioners of St Dunstan's, (who would, of course, be the people most likely to be reading a pamphlet sold outside the church) reminding them of Lilly's condemnation of their Vicar. Parry's lines:

'Tis not fit any should conceal
What God from high doth here reveal,

When by strange language of the Skies
He thunders Ears, and Stars our Eies; (Image 4)

could also be read as a direct address to Lilly, or appeal to anyone who may be swayed by his dismissal of the birth star. St Dunstan's churchyard was in fact the place of sale of a remarkable number of other Royalist publications. Notably, these include *Britain's Triumph, The Dignity of Kingship asserted* (1660, signed only 'G.S.', possibly the same G.S. to whom *Britain's Triumph* is attributed), Waller's *To the King Upon His Majesties Happy Return* (1660), the prose pamphlet *Regi Sacru*, (W. Blos 1660), *To The King's Most Sacred Majesty* (1660, anonymous), and Thomas Mayhew's *Upon the Joyfull and Welcome return of His Sacred Majestie* (1660) from which I have taken the title for this essay. (Image 3)

St Dunstan's also sold a number of Latin Grammar books, many of which make direct reference to Lilly's Latin Grammar on their front pages, often with an implication that Lilly's Grammar was insufficient. Bassett Jones for example, published *Herm'aelogium or, an essay at the rationality of the art of speaking. As a supplement to Lillie's grammer, philosophically, mythologically, & emblematically offered by B.J.*, in 1659, and, also in 1659 Charles Hoole published *The Latine grammar fitted for the use of schools, Wherein the words of Lillie's Grammar are (as much as might be) retained; many errors thereof amended; many needless things left out: many necessaries, that were wanting, supplied.* This evidence suggests that St Dunstan's became a regular haunt of Royalist opponents of Lilly's. It invites a reading of the translation of Howell's Latin verse in *Stella Meridiana* as another attack on Lilly, since Lilly had previously included the Latin text in one of his publications.

Situating *Stella Meridiana* in this way testifies to its significance beyond straightforward celebration of the return of Charles. The authors have engaged in a discourse crossing two traditional and well-established genres; the English verse panegyric, and the astrological prediction. Extended use of biblical figures and lexicon is used to endorse Charles's right to the throne. In this respect the miscellany functions as a representative of Royalist Restoration literature and culture and, in particular, a representative of the literature sold at St Dunstan's church. By attacking Lilly and employing contemporary astrology to configure the monarch as an ambassador of God, the pamphlet contributes to ongoing efforts to re-establish the security of the restored King's position after the turmoil and upheaval of the preceding years. The pamphlet condemns parliamentary actions as against God's will, reminding readers that to kill a King is not only 'Regicide, Patricide and Homicide', but '*Deicide*' and '*Christicide*'.

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