Abstract

*Dreams in Early Modern England: Frameworks of Interpretation*, PhD (2013), Janine Rivière, Graduate Department of History, University of Toronto.

While dreams as visions have received much attention from historians, less work has been undertaken on understanding more commonly experienced dreams that occurred in sleep. In this dissertation I seek to begin redressing this neglect. Two overarching questions focus the dissertation: How did early modern English people understand their dreams? And did these understandings change in response to significant developments in English culture?

To answer these questions I explore early modern English theories, beliefs and experiences of dreams through a close study of key medical, demonological, philosophical, spiritual, oneirocritic and private writings. I suggest that in the period 1550-1750 there were three principal frameworks used to understand dreams: (1) health of the body and mind, (2) prediction and (3) spirituality. These three frameworks coexisted, either reinforcing or contesting one another throughout the period. The framework of health saw dreams as natural products of the body and mind that revealed the overall health of the dreamer. In the model of prediction, dreams were deemed significant, yet encoded, clues to the future that required careful interpretation. Finally, in spiritual frameworks, dreams were conceived as sent by God, angels or the Devil.

Since early modern English writings reveal a diversity of natural and supernatural theories about dreams that never really “declined,” a study of them also helps to complicate ideas about the “disenchantment of the world.” Finally, I also suggest that early modern English writings on dreams reveal the perceived vulnerability of the dreamer to internal and external forces. Dreams were a locus where the boundaries between the human and divine, supernatural and natural, met and merged, making the individual vulnerable to a host of external and internal forces.
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Janine Rivière
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Introduction

Being about Six Years of Age, I had a Dream, wherein it pleased God to shew me the Kingdom of Love, and the Kingdom of Darkness. I thought that God appeared to me and talked with me Face to Face, in a very friendly and loving manner. Not long after I had another Dream, wherein methought the Devil stood before me, and scourged me. Thomas Tryon, Some memoirs of the life of Mr. Tho. Tryon ... (1705).\(^1\)

At the end of his life, Thomas Tryon (1634–1703), a self-educated hatter and writer, reflected on these two remarkable dreams from his childhood that “made so firm an impression on my Mind, as neither Time, nor the cares and business of this World, could obliterate.”\(^2\) Even after a successful career writing handbooks on husbandry, health and education, Tryon still remembered these early dreams. Inspired by these experiences, he published his own handbook, A treatise of dreams & visions (1689), in which he aimed to provide readers with a comprehensive understanding of dreams.\(^3\) Tryon was not alone in recording and seriously contemplating his dreams. Numerous other early modern English men and women also recorded and discussed their dreams.

Yet, how did early modern men and women understand dreams? As this dissertation will show, a diversity of ideas about dreams circulated in England during the early modern period. Discussions of dreams appear in numerous discourses and printed works, spanning fields from medicine to demonology and astrology to religion. Considerations of dreams appear in many of the works of the most prominent thinkers from the period. Francis Bacon, Robert Burton, Thomas Hobbes, Thomas Browne, John Locke and David Hume all discussed dreams, albeit

\(^1\) Thomas Tryon, Some memoirs of the life of Mr. Tho. Tryon ... (London: Printed by T. Sowle, 1705), 8–9.
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Thomas Tryon, A treatise of dreams & visions ... (London: s.n., 1689), 8.
briefly, as part of their larger intellectual concerns. However, as I will demonstrate, in addition to Tryon, English authors Thomas Hill (1528–1572/6) and Philip Goodwin (d. 1667) published substantive treatises devoted entirely to understanding the origin, meaning and interpretation of dreams. These works took dreams as their sole focus and endeavoured to provide comprehensive understandings of dreams drawing from classical and contemporary medical, philosophical, theological and oneirocritical ideas.

As well as these lengthy scholarly texts, short and cheap oneirocritic manuals or dreambooks also circulated throughout the period. Most were debased and abridged English editions of Artemidorus of Daldis’ Oneirocritica and popular medieval dreambooks, such as the Somnia Danielis. English dreambooks offered readers a brief interpretation of dreams according to specific dream-symbols that were organized thematically for easy reference. These dream-symbols were interpreted as clues to the dreamer’s future fortune. In the section of dreams of the loss of teeth, for example, one would find a brief interpretation that such a dream predicted the loss of friends. Examples of English dreambooks include Thomas Hill’s A little

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5 Thomas Hill, The moste pleasuante arte of the interpretacion of dreame ... (London: Printed by Thomas Marsh, 1576); Tryon, Treatise of dreams & visions; Philip Goodwin, The mystery of dreams, historically discoursed ... (London: Printed by A.M. for Francis Tyton, 1658).

treatise of the interpretation of dreams, fathered on Joseph (1567) and the more enduring debased and abridged editions of Artemidorus’ work The interpretation of dreams, issued multiple times by several publishers from 1606 to 1786.7

In addition to dreambooks, cheap fortune-telling tracts that included short sections of dream divination alongside palmistry, moleoscopy and astrology, also helped to fill the packs of chapmen and the shelves of English booksellers, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, offering even those with modest incomes quick reference guides to their dreams. Examples of these works include the Oniropolus (1680) and J.S., The true fortune-teller (1698), as well as the fortune-telling books ascribed to the astrologers, William Lilly and John Booker.8

Within these texts, oneiromancy was included as one of the many techniques of divination. Similarly, excerpts of dream divination were also a recurring feature of books of knowledge, courtship manuals and courtesy books, which were prolific genres of chapbooks and ephemeral literature also circulating in the same period.9

7 Thomas Hill, A little treatise of the interpretation of dreams, fathered on Joseph (London: Printed by William Copland, 1567). The first English edition of Artemidorus was The judgement, or exposition of dreames, written by Artimodorus, an auntient and famous author, first in Greeke, then translated into Latin, after into French, and now into English (London: Printed by R. Braddock for William Jones, 1606). While the printers of the 1786 edition claimed it was the twenty-fourth edition of Artemidorus in English, I have found only thirteen editions extant from the period. Please see the bibliography for a full list.

8 Anon., Oniropolus, or dreams interpreter ... (London: Printed by Thomas Dawkes, 1680). While Frederick Hendrick van Hove (1628?-1698), a Dutch engraver and portrait artist who moved to England around 1692, has been ascribed as the author, it seems most likely that he was only responsible for producing the engraving of the title-page, where his signature can be clearly seen underneath the image. On the title page itself no author is given. See also, J.S., The true fortune-teller, or, Guide to knowledge Discovering the whole art of chiromancy, physiognomy, metoposcopy, and astrology ... (London: Printed for E. Tracy, 1698); William Lilly, A groatsworth of wit for a penny, or, The interpretation of dreams ... (London: Printed for W.T., 1670); A groatsworth of wit for a penny, or the Interpretation of Dreams (London: s.n., 1750); John Booker, Six penny-worth of wit for a penny. Or, dreams interpreted (London: Printed for W. Thackeray, 1690); John Booker, The History of Dreams. Or, Dreams Interpreted ... (Edinburgh: J. Morren, 1800). As some editions of these works were printed posthumously it is unlikely that Booker and Lilly were the authors and that these tracts were ascribed to them for the purpose of marketing.

9 Examples include: Samuel Strangehopes, A book of knowledge. In four parts.: Part first. Shewing the nature of astrology, by the caelestial signs and planets ... dreams, their interpretation ... (London:
For readers seeking to understand “natural” dreams, medical explanations about their physiological and psychological causes appeared in learned and lay medical manuals throughout the period. According to medical authors, natural dreams were caused by a range of internal and external stimuli including the imbalances of the four humors, indigestion and environmental stimuli, or alternatively, the anxieties, desires and preoccupations of the dreamer. Terrifying dreams involving the nightmare or Incubus that prevented “perfect rest” were understood as the punitive result of the dangers of excess, including the excessive consumption of alcohol, "hard meats" such as venison and hare, as well as legumes, among other possible causes. Since medical writers asserted that the content of dreams revealed the delicate balance of the dominant

Printed for Eben. Tracy and B. Deacon, 1679); Marc de Vulson, The court of curiosity wherein the most intricate questions are resolved by a most curious fortune-book, and dreams and visions explained and interpreted ... (London: Printed for William Crook, 1681); Anon., The art of courtship, or, The School of delight ... (London: Printed by I.M. for I. Back, 1686); Wits cabinet or, A companion for young men and ladies containing I. The whole art of wooing, and making love; with the best complemental letters, elegant epistles, amorous addresses, and answers ... III. The interpretation of all sorts of dreams ... (London: Printed for H. Rhodes, 1698); Anon. Dreams and moles, with their interpretation and signification ... (London: Printed at the London and Middlesex Printing Office, 1780).

10 See, for example, Anon., The problemes of Aristotle with other philosophers and phisitions. Wherein are contained divers questions, with their answers, touching the estate of mans bodie (London: Printed by Arnold Hatfield, 1597), F7(v)-G1(r); Thomas Walkington, The optick glasse of humors. Or The touchstone of a golden temperature, or the Philosophers stone to make a golden temper wherein the foure complections sanguine, cholericke, phlegmaticke, melancholicke are succinctly painted forth ... (London: Imprinted by John Windet for Martin Clerke, 1607), 76-77; Wilhelm Scribonius, Naturall philosophy: or A description of the world ... translated by Daniel Widdowes (London: Printed by J.D. for John Bellamie, 1621), 51.

11 Philip Barrough, The methode of phisicke conteyning the causes, signes, and cures of inward diseases in mans body from the head to the foote ... (London: Printed by Thomas Vautrouliier, 1583), 34; Walkington, Optick glasse of humors, 30; Owen Felltham, Resolves divine, moral, political (London: Printed for Andrew Clark and Charles Harper, 1677), 82; Philip Woodman, Medicus novissimus; or, the modern physician: shewing the chief signes, causes and most material prognosticks of all the principal diseases incident to mankind: together with their cures according to the Newest and Best Method of Practice now in Use ... (London: J.H., 1722), 191.

12 Walkington, Opticke glasse of humors, 30; Gualtherus Bruele, Praxis medicinae, or, the physicians practice wherein are contained inward diseases from the head to the foote: explyaying the nature of each disease, with the part affected; and also the signes, causes, and prognostiques ... (London: Printed by John Norton for William Sheares, 1632), 50–55; Thomas Hobbes, Philosophicall rudiments concerning government and society ... (London: Printed by J.G. for R. Royston, 1651), 184; John Bond, An essay on the incubus, or night-mare (London: D. Wilson and T. Durham, 1753), Preface.
humors in the body, readers interested in preserving or improving their health were able to learn more about the use of dreams as clues to health from medical handbooks.\textsuperscript{13}

Discussions about dreams therefore appear in an array of early modern writings and historians have become increasingly interested in the subject of dreams in recent decades. This thesis seeks to add to this growing history of dreams. Two overarching questions focus the dissertation: How did early modern English people understand their dreams? And did these understandings change during the early modern period in response to significant developments in English history and culture?

In search of answers, I explored early modern English theories of and beliefs in dreams by studying medical, philosophical, spiritual and oneirocritic writings. I have found that in the early modern period there were three principal frameworks used to understand dreams: (1) health of the body and mind, (2) prediction and (3) spirituality. These three frameworks coexisted, whether reinforcing or contesting one another throughout the period. The framework of health saw dreams as naturally occurring products of the body and mind that, at best, revealed insight into the overall health of the dreamer. In the model of prediction or oneiromancy, dreams were deemed significant, yet encoded, clues about the future that required careful interpretation. Finally, in spiritual frameworks, dreams were conceived as sent by God, angels or the Devil. As important subsets of this category, divine dreams or visions were the most powerful and problematic dreams for early modern people since, as potential divine messages, they conferred direct access to God. Spiritual understandings of dreams were often based upon and bolstered by the Christian tradition of dreams as ecstatic visions, a belief repeatedly endorsed in the Bible. However, this was not the only approach towards spiritual dreams. As I explain in Chapter 3,

\textsuperscript{13} Scribonius, \textit{Naturall philosophy}, 51; Felltham, \textit{Resolves}, 83; Tryon, \textit{Treatise of dreams & visions}, 53–54.
writers such as the cleric Philip Goodwin presented spiritual dreams as instructive tools for the pastoral care of the soul.

Another point I wish to argue is that early modern writings on dreams reveal the perceived vulnerability of the dreamer to a wide range of internal and external forces. Dreams were a locus where the boundaries between the human and divine, supernatural and natural, met and merged, making the individual vulnerable to a host of external and internal forces. A study of early modern writings on dreams shows how dreaming was conceived as a state in which a diverse range of physiological, psychological, environmental and supernatural forces permeated and influenced the body, mind and soul. Dreams were largely understood as the products of these cumulative forces over which the individual had little control. Above all, early modern English writings on dreams show that they were frequently an uncomfortable source of intellectual and cultural tension. The ambiguity of the dream, its pervasiveness as a common human experience, and its significant place in the religious and intellectual tradition meant that dreams were difficult both to ignore and contain.

In answer to the second question regarding the development of ideas about dreams, I also argue that continuity, rather than change, characterizes the history of ideas about dreams in England. Since early modern English writings reveal a diversity of natural and supernatural theories about dreams that never really “declined,” a study of them helps to complicate ideas about the Weberian “disenchantment of the world,” a historical debate revitalized by Alexandra Walsham in her recent historiographical article and demonstrated in the essays edited by historians of witchcraft, Willem de Blécourt and Owen Davies, and by Alex Owen in his study
of the nineteenth-century occult practices and Jane Shaw in her study of miracles during the enlightenment, amongst others.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Methodology and Sources}

I must state at the outset that this dissertation is not designed to suggest that an English history of dreams was unique in any way. I focus on the history of dreams in early modern England merely to confine this thesis to a more manageable scope. Although it is certainly true that English archives do contain a wealth of printed and manuscript material on dreams, a history of the dream could be undertaken for any early modern society. I have chosen to study early modern English cultural beliefs, theories and experiences of dreams to provide an in-depth analysis within one specific historical and cultural context that also allows for a study of shifts and continuities in ideas about dreams.

However, English ideas about dreams were not created in a vacuum and were unquestionably influenced by continental ideas and works. Several of the printed works discussed throughout this thesis were English translations of continental publications. The medical tracts and philosophical works of continental physicians and scholars circulated in England in both English and Latin.\textsuperscript{15} For example amongst the thousands of volumes owned by


\textsuperscript{15} See for example: Scribonius, \textit{Naturall philosophy}; Bruele, \textit{Praxis medicinae}; Levine Lemnie, \textit{The touchstone of complexions expedient and profitable for all such as bee desirous and carefull of their bodily health ...} (London: Printed by E.A. for Michael Sparke, 1633); Isbrand van Diemerbroeck, \textit{The anatomy of human bodies comprehending the most modern discoveries and curiosities in that art ... translated from the last and most correct and full edition of the same by William Salmon} (London: Printed for W. Whitwood, 1694).
John Dee was a copy of Cardinal Ferdinand Ponzetti's (1444-1527) *Naturalis philosophia parse tertia* (1515) published in Rome, as well as a copy of the Latin translation of Artemidorus's *Oneirocritica* by the Saxon humanist scholar Janus Cornarius' (1500 - 1558), *Artemidori Daldiani ... De somniorum interpretatione, libri quinq[ue]* printed by Hieronymus Froben in 1539. Thomas Hill was particularly influenced by these two works in his own dream treatise and possibly viewed them both at Dee's library at Mortlake. Other English writers on dreams such as Philip Goodwin, a cleric trained at Cambridge, were well read in the classics and familiar with scholarly continental works. Goodwin's *The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed* (1658) is littered with an impressive and diverse range of references to both well-known and obscure works of antiquity, the Church Fathers, Protestant theologians, and English sermons, amongst others. Likewise, non-university educated writers gained access to continental editions of Latin, Greek and Italian texts, as Hill's notable English translations of continental works demonstrate.

To chart and explore English understandings of dreams, I have collated writings both in print and, to a lesser extent, in manuscript form. Fortunately for historians and scholars today,

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17 I will discuss this possibility in more detail in Chapter 2.

18 Thomas Hill, *The contemplation of mankinde contayning a singuler discourse after the art of phisiognomie, on all the members and partes of man, as from the heade to the foot* ... (London: Printed by Henry Denham for William Seres, 1571); Thomas Hill, *A contemplation of mysteries contayning the rare effectes and significations of certayne comets, and a briefe rehearsal of sundrie hystoricall examples, as well divine, as prophane, verie fruitfull to be reade in this our age* ... (London: Printed by Henry Denham, 1574); Thomas Hill, *The newe jewell of health wherin is contayned the most excellent secretes of phische and philosophie, devided into fower bookes* ... (London: Printed by Henry Denham, 1576); Thomas Hill, *A joyfull jewell contayning aswell such excellent orders, preservatives and precious practises for the plague* ... (London: Printed by William Wright, 1579); Thomas Hill, *A brief and most pleasau[n]t epitomye of the whole art of phisiognomie, gathered out of Aristotle, Rasis, Formica, Loxius, Phylemo[n], Palemo[n], Consiliator* ... (London: Printed by John Wayland, 1556).
many of the printed works of the early modern period are now accessible in digital collections. I compiled most of the primary sources for this thesis by utilizing these wonderful resources, drawing in particular from the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) collection and the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO) database. In addition to searching these collections, I supplemented the printed material with archival research in English libraries. Using the catalogues of collections at the British Library and the Bodleian Library at Oxford, I located several private diaries, letters and memoirs that record dreams, along with the medical notes and dream treatises of physicians, in particular those of Richard Napier and Simon Forman. However, the majority of the texts discussed in this thesis are printed material in circulation in England from 1550 to 1750.

Although discussions of dreams appear in early modern writings dealing with a diversity of topics and concerns, I found that a careful reading of these texts shows that authors typically sought to understand dreams within the frameworks of health, prediction or spirituality. Yet, I also want to note that these categories often overlapped and were complementary rather than contradictory. Writers of dream treatises often comfortably drew on both natural and supernatural etiologies of dreams. For example, in *The moste pleaasunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames* (1576) Thomas Hill discussed classical and contemporary ideas of the medical uses and causes of natural dreams, whilst also advising readers how to correctly interpret supernatural dreams based on the dreambooks of Artemidorus and medieval vulgar dreambooks. For authors such as Hill, to subscribe to ideas of natural and supernatural dreams, both erudite and popular, was unproblematic and was rather an exercise in distilling the best available knowledge about dreams.

To facilitate a deeper reading of English texts on dreams, I have also chosen to focus three chapters on particular works that showcase little-studied writings on dreams. Chapter 2
focuses on the dreambooks of Thomas Hill to provide a close reading of early modern English understandings of dreams within the oneirocritic tradition, while Chapter 3 studies a spiritual handbook by Philip Goodwin, a Puritan clergyman, to highlight how dreams could be interpreted as instructive within a Puritan framework of spirituality. Finally, Chapter 4 features a study of the medical treatise of John Bond (fl. 1753) on the *Incubus* or the nightmare to examine mid-eighteenth-century medical theories about natural dreams. These works were also selected to reveal some of the notable characteristics, changes and continuity of English ideas about dreams as well as the perceived vulnerability of the individual dreamer to a host of internal and external forces.

Throughout the dissertation I have sought to link ideas about dreams with lived experience. My primary aim was to test whether men and women in their private writings used the three major frameworks, or lenses evident in printed works. With this in mind, I located various dream narratives written by both men and women in private memoirs, diaries and journals. Some records of dreams were located in little-known writings, such as those of Thomas Vaughan, through catalogue searches of the British and Bodleian Libraries. Other better-known dream narratives, such as those of Archbishop Laud, Ralph Josselin and Katherine Austen, I located through several significant articles and monograph studies of dreams by historians such as Peter Burke, Alan Macfarlane and Patricia Crawford.

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19 Hill, *Interpretacion of dreames* (1576); Hill, *Interpretation of dreams* (1626); Goodwin, *Mystery of dreames*.
Historiography

Although dreams and dreaming constitute one of the most basic and universal human experiences, only in recent decades have they been recognized as an important facet of cultural history. In the past, dreams were largely ignored as inappropriate subjects for historical investigation, a prejudice that was an intellectual legacy of the enlightenment and later histories that celebrated the march of progress and rise of modern science. This view changed with the development of social history followed by the cultural “turn” and subsequent emergence of cultural history. Within this emerging field, Peter Burke, Alan Macfarlane and Jacques Le Goff pioneered histories of dreams in the 1970s and 1980s as a key facet of premodern mental life. Burke and Le Goff’s work on dreams also presented innovative methodologies that historians could use to study dream narratives as texts.

In the field of English history, it was the social historian Alan Macfarlane who first considered dream narratives as important sources for gaining insight into the "mental worlds" of early modern men and women. In his work *The Family life of Ralph Josselin* (1970), Macfarlane devoted a chapter to studying the records of dreams in the diary of Ralph Josselin, a seventeenth-century vicar of Earls Colne in Essex. Macfarlane showed how Josselin’s dreams confer a unique insight into the mental worlds of both Josselin and his family. From the large number of Josselin’s dreams containing religious or political content, Macfarlane concluded that at the unconscious level, both religion and politics were of especial importance to early modern individuals, particularly during the Interregnum. Finally, Macfarlane also noted how Josselin's

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22 Macfarlane also discussed briefly Josselin's dreams as a major theme in his diary in *The Diary of Ralph Josselin*, ed. Alan Macfarlane (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), xx, xxiv.
experience of predictive dreams made him interested enough to note down the content of many dreams and to speculate on strange ones to see whether they "tended to my good." In the historiography of the dream in English history Macfarlane’s study is significant, since he was the first seriously to consider the private records of the dreams of an individual as useful sources for social and cultural historians.

Subsequent studies of dreams have served to deepen our understanding of experiences and cultural beliefs in dreams in a diverse array of historical contexts. Historians have studied the politics of dreams as visions, literary dreams, dreambooks and the history of dreams in light of the achievement of psychoanalysis. Rather than review each of these recent studies, I will briefly outline some of the more significant developments in histories of dreams in addition to discussing works with which my thesis seeks to engage in dialogue.

In the last fifteen years, four essay collections have examined dreams in the premodern period by incorporating interdisciplinary approaches from cultural and literary studies as well as psychology: Peter Brown’s edited volume, Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare (1999); Daniel Pick and Lyndal Roper’s Dreams and History: The Interpretation of Dreams from Ancient Greece to Modern Psychoanalysis (2004); Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O’Callaghan and S. J. Wiseman's volume, Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night (2008) and, most recently, Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle's Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World (2013). Through the

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23 Macfarlane, Family Life, 183.
efforts of these scholars we are beginning to understand more of the complex world of premodern dreams.

In the first of these volumes, *Reading Dreams*, leading scholars of Renaissance and Early Modern Studies furnish this collection with a series of innovative interdisciplinary essays. Studies of dreams by Peter Brown, Steven Kruger, David Aers, Peter Holland and Kathryn Lynch, amongst others, utilize a variety of analytical methods. Endeavouring to provide a nuanced study of "reading dreams" in premodern history, these essays incorporate theoretical tools from literary and cultural studies as well as psychology. One overall aim of the volume, as A.C. Spearing explains in the Introduction, is to challenge traditional models of periodization and the idea of the "newly interiorated subject" said to develop only in the modern period.25 These studies "read" a variety of dreams, and their histories, traversing from classical antiquity to the modern films of David Lynch. Overall, the collection is a pioneering study of the dream and its interpretation. Of particular importance to my work is the essay "'The Interpretation of Dreams' in the Renaissance" by Peter Holland. In this essay, Holland reviews the history of ideas and writings on dreams in Renaissance culture, resulting in a discussion of several key developments, schools of thought and texts such as Thomas Hill's dreambooks, central to my own study.26

Based on a *History Workshop Journal* two-volume special edition on dreams, Daniel Pick and Lyndal Roper's volume, *Dreams and History* (2004), presents several studies that examine the dream from ancient Greece to modern psychology. The result is a thoughtful discussion of the possible marriage of history and psychoanalysis. Of particular importance for

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26 Peter Holland, “‘The Interpretation of Dreams’ in the Renaissance,” in *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare*, edited by Peter Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 125–146.
my research are the essays by Patricia Crawford on early modern English women's dreams and Maureen Perkins's study of Victorian dreambooks. Crawford draws from a variety of diaries and memoirs to suggest that dream narratives are a productive means of obtaining insight into women's mental worlds.\(^{27}\) In her essay, Perkins explores the market for and content of Victorian dreambooks to argue that these works were especially aimed at a female audience.\(^{28}\) Perkins' study of the dreambook as a "dominant form of street literature" is one of the first historical studies to examine the genre of dreambooks. Overall, the essays in *Dreams and History* present a much-needed and sophisticated discussion of the problem of dreams as historical texts.

The essay collection, *Reading the Early Modern Dream* (2008), edited by Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O'Callaghan and S.J. Wiseman, focuses more specifically on the history of dreams in early modern culture. This volume features essays by historians and literary scholars who discuss early modern ideas of dreams and motion, human and animal dreams, dream-visions, prophecies and politics, dreaming of the dead and literary dreams. Like Brown's similarly titled volume, this work seeks to add to our conceptualization of how dreams were "read" or interpreted in the early modern period, also drawing heavily on approaches from literary and cultural studies. Of especial importance for my study is Hodgkin's own essay, "Dreaming Meanings: Some Early Modern Dream Thoughts" in which she studies early modern writings and ideas of dreams.\(^{29}\) Her thoughtful essay makes several salient points about the way that early modern dreams were understood within a historically specific system of "shared symbolic codes." Hodgkin postulates that to facilitate a deeper understanding of the way that


dreams were conceptualized in the period, we must first understand the "symbolic codes" though which dreams were understood. Driven by this insight, my own research seeks to provide a focused history of the schools of thought that early modern English men and women could draw from to understand their dreams. Hodgkin also notes the way that "dreams" were often interchangeable with "visions" and that, moreover, early modern writings reveal a complex range of ideas about dreams that rather than being far removed from modern notions, "often seem to resonate with later models of dream interpretation."  

While Hodgkin’s volume focuses on the history of dreams in early modern England and Europe, the more recent essay collection, edited by Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle, endeavours to broaden the scope of historical studies of dreams beyond the cultural and geographic parameters of the Old World. Studies in this collection examine understandings of dreams as well as visions in the context of colonialism showing the role of the dream in shaping the complex interactions between Old and New World cultures and peoples. While the first section includes essays on ideas and experiences of dreams and visions in early modern England and Europe, Part II features essays on dreams in early modern New France, Hispanic America and in Native American culture. The result is a pioneering survey of dream cultures across both sides of the Atlantic that reveals dreams as significant in the construction of truth and identity as well as being instrumental in shaping colonial encounters. The third and final section on dreams and visions in the eighteenth century includes a significant essay by Phyllis Mack on the shifting parameters of dreams in eighteenth-century British thought. In this essay Mack highlights the way that writings on dreams in English Calvinist, Quaker and Methodist writings shows how teleological assumptions about a shift from an unbounded self to a "fully interiorized self" in the eighteenth century are inherently flawed. She suggests that rather eighteenth-century writings on

30 Ibid., 109.
dreams reveal the self as a site of "unbounded" mystery and anxiety.\textsuperscript{31} Overall, this volume is important in deepening and stretching the parameters of early modern historical studies of dreams and further illustrating that, as Plane and Tuttle emphasize in the Introduction, while dreams were "deeply significant personal experiences," they were also "fundamentally social and deeply rooted in the particular contexts of early modern societies."\textsuperscript{32}

The first work that pioneered a history of dreams in premodern England is the study *Dreaming the English Renaissance* (2008) by Carole Levin. In this work Levin examines dreams in the Elizabethan period, paying particular attention to the dream in English literature and court culture.\textsuperscript{33} Levin draws from a wide selection of texts, including published memoirs, pamphlets and literature to illustrate how dreams were a vibrant feature of the political, religious and literary culture and society of Elizabethan England. Despite the fact that she asserts that dreams can reveal important insight into early modern mental life, Levin avoids the trap of imposing modern psychological notions onto past people by seeking to understand these dreams within the context of early modern dream-lore. Levin provides a rich array of material on dreams and her narrative encourages scholars to move deeper into the analysis of dream material.

Other studies have also begun to outline the history of dream interpretation in the classical and medieval periods.\textsuperscript{34} Steven F. Kruger published an excellent survey of medieval dream interpretation manuals in 1990, one of the first studies of premodern handbooks and techniques of dream interpretation. In his monograph *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Kruger

\textsuperscript{31} Plane and Tuttle, *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions*, "Introduction," 29.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 3.
found there were several different kinds of dreambooks and significant cultural shifts in medieval ideas about the origin and meaning of dreams. Overall, the significance of this study was to draw historians’ attention to the unexplored archival source of dream manuals and to highlight the importance of dreams in medieval culture.

Dreams as religious visions have received far more attention from historians as vital aspects of religious and political culture, particularly in the seventeenth century. Studies by Richard Kagan, William Christian Jr., Nigel Smith, Diane Watt and Phyllis Mack, amongst others, have considered the importance of visions in the political and religious cultures of Europe and England. While historical studies of dreams as prophetic visions have abounded, fewer studies have been made of more commonplace experiences and broader understandings of dreams. Divine dreams, or visions, were merely one sub-category of dreams, often highly contested and politicized, sometimes fabricated and formulaic. As Nigel Smith noted in his discussion of radical religious dreams in Interregnum England, "a dream constituted a vision: without the vision it almost failed to qualify as a dream, or 'visions of the night.'" Yet, while historians have already explored the politics and religious history of prophetic visions, particularly in relation to women, I aim to evaluate the broader ideas about more commonplace dreams that early modern English men and women experienced. Rather than focus on prophetic visions that could occur in both waking and sleeping states, I examine the ideas and experiences

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of both supernatural and natural dreams that occurred in a state of sleep. For this reason Chapter 1 explores the close relationship between dreams and sleep.

Less work has been undertaken on the intellectual history of dreams. Stuart Clark's monograph, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (2007), included a chapter on early modern debates about the "visual paradox" of dreams. Clark's erudite study explores the intellectual history of early modern visual culture to argue that rather than showing the "rationalisation of sight," the early modern period witnessed a fundamental questioning of the relationship between reality and vision. Clark devotes a chapter to dreams, presenting an overview of some of the key debates about dreams as visual phenomena and the ongoing issue of how early modern writers attempted to distinguish between dreams and waking life. This chapter also ties debates about dreams with those on witchcraft, showing how the subject of dreaming was a central part of demonological issues with the reality of witchcraft. For a history of dreams and dreaming, Clark's work shows the vitality and complexity of early modern ideas of dreams as part of a larger concern with the credibility of vision, the reliability of the senses and developments in understandings of cognition and perception.

While a substantial literature on the history of dreams has recently emerged, thus far less work has been undertaken on the relationship between dreams and sleep. As the sociologist Simon J. Williams noted in his study *Sleep and Society* (2001), "if sleep constitutes a third of our lives, then, one might say, a third of the past is missing from the history books." Two scholars have sought to pioneer the study of this facet of early modern history and lived experience. Karl H. Dannenfeldt was the first scholar to examine a history of sleep in his article

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on theories of sleep in the Renaissance in 1986. In this study, Dannenfeldt examined the role of sleep in sixteenth-century medical literature, with a particular emphasis on the importance of the "six non-naturals" (1. air, 2. movement and rest, 3. food and drink, 4. sleep and vigil, 5. excretion and retention 6. the passions or emotions) as a means of procuring health. Although Dannenfeldt surveyed medical ideas and practices surrounding sleep in Europe, his particular focus was on English tracts, since "in that country there was an especially strong tradition of discussions of health, including sleep."

It was not until more than ten years later, in A. Roger Ekirch's "Sleep we have lost: Pre-Industrial Slumber in the British Isles" (2001), and in his subsequent monograph, *At Day’s Close: Night in Times Past* (2005), that a historian would turn his/her attention to the significance of sleep in early modern culture. Ekirch's work presents a survey of cultural theories of sleep in early modern England. However, unlike Dannenfeldt, Ekirch is less concerned with ideas of sleep, and more interested in the social practices surrounding sleep as a component of nocturnal life. His main argument is that contrary to what has been asserted about the tranquility of pre-industrial slumber, sleep for early modern people was frequently interrupted. Ekirch also demonstrates how early modern men and women experienced a "stirring hour" between the "first sleep" and the "second sleep." According to his theory, the practice of segmented sleep ceased after the invention of artificial lighting and the processes of industrialization in the nineteenth century.

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41 Ibid., 420.
43 Ekirch, “Sleep We Have Lost,” 364–365.
44 Ibid., 383.
As a result of the growing interest in historical studies of dreams, historians have also begun to turn their attentions to more terrifying experiences such as the nightmare. As Chapter 4 explains, this phenomenon refers to the encounter in which persons in a semi-lucid state of dreaming felt oppressed by an "ominous numinous" being who crept onto the individual and suffocated him or her. Closely associated with dreams and dreaming, yet referring to a specific experience entirely different from common nightmares, the premodern nightmare is closer to modern notions of "sleep paralysis," a well-known sleep disorder. Willem de Blécourt and Owen Davies published companion studies of the nightmare in the journal *Folklore* in 2003.45 Both historians attempted to use insights from modern sleep research and the pioneering study of the nightmare by the anthropologist David J. Hufford to suggest that early modern accounts of witchcraft, the nightmare and being "hag-ridden," were in fact shaped by actual experiences of sleep paralysis.46 These two articles represent a significant venture into little-studied aspects of early modern ideas and experiences of witchcraft, as well as of sleep disorders and dreams.

While Blécourt and Davies studied premodern beliefs and experiences of the nightmare in relation to witchcraft, in her article, "Dreams, Sick Bodies and Confused Minds in the Age of Reason," Lucia Dacome drew historians' attention to the vibrant medical and philosophical debates about the nightmare, dreams and sleep in eighteenth-century Britain. She argued that intellectuals began to associate dreams with mental disorder and ill health as a response to concerns with "enthusiasm" that were re-ignited by the appearance of the millenarian groups such as the Philadelphians and French Prophets in the eighteenth century. This negative view of

dreams, combined with the growing influence of John Locke's ideas of dreaming as the disorderly association of ideas in sleep, led to the development of the notion that the most "perfect sleep" was one without dreams. Dacome also suggests that the involuntary act of dreaming and the autonomous production of mental images in dreams, resting alongside a belief that a lack of control over the mind was synonymous with a lack of control over the "Mind Politic," made dreams closely associated with mental disorders and madness. She also reveals how the body was one of the "crucial sites in which changing attitudes towards dreaming were discussed." Finally, Dacome also draws attention to the treatise An essay on the incubus or nightmare (1753) by the physician John Bond. Above all, she suggests that nightmares had a "special place" in mid-century debates about dreams due to their "violent and dramatic manifestations." As such, attempts to "domesticate the Incubus" reflected endeavours to control dreams as manifestations of the disorders of the body and mind.

Historical studies of dreams are clearly flourishing. In the past two decades, as a response to the emergence of cultural studies and influenced by the growing move towards a more interdisciplinary approach to history, the dream has surfaced as a topic of especial interest for cultural historians interested in subjectivity and the elusive mental worlds and complex culture of early modern men and women. This dissertation seeks to add to this growing field by offering an in-depth study of English theories, beliefs and experiences of dreams and dreaming in the early modern period. Above all my aim is to outline the dominant lenses or frameworks though which dreams were understood.

48 Ibid.
49 Ibid., 395.
50 Ibid., 405.
Chapter Outlines

The chapters in my dissertation chart the three frameworks I argue early modern English people used to understand dreams: (1) health of the body and mind, (2) prediction and (3) spirituality. These chapters also highlight the contested meanings and persistence of supernatural and natural dream etiologies throughout the early modern period. As mentioned earlier, in Chapter 1 I explore the framework of health by studying the significant yet neglected relationship between dreams and the physiology of sleep in medical writings. As medical experts of the time knew, natural dreams occurred in a state of sleep and were products of the physiology of the sleeping body and mind. Thus, the relationship between sleep and dreams is crucial for understanding early modern medical notions of dreams. Early modern writers also drew from Galenic medicine to suggest that physicians could utilize dreams as important clues to the health of an individual. This chapter also illustrates how natural theories of dreams in relation to health were persistent throughout the period, complicating our understanding of the rise of science and rational thought.

Chapter 2 then explores the second major approach to understanding dreams, that of oneiromancy, or secular prediction. This study is facilitated by a close reading of two of the first printed English dream interpretation manuals, Thomas Hill’s *A little treatise of the interpretation of dreams, fathered on Joseph* (1567) and his *The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames* (1576). Thomas Hill’s two surviving dreambooks are important for a history of dreams because they attempted to synthesize learned and popular techniques of dream interpretation for a lay audience. In this chapter I argue that Hill’s fusion of classical and medieval ideas about dreams ultimately reveals the durability of both natural and supernatural theories of dreams and the persistence of the frameworks of prediction in early modern England.
For a history of early modern dreams, Hill’s work also showcases another seldom-studied genre of early modern writings on dreams – the dreambook.

In light of the problematic status of divine dreams, and as part of his agenda to provide useful handbooks for spiritual edification, Philip Goodwin wrote *The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed* in 1658. A cleric with strong Puritan sympathies, Goodwin attempted to re-appropriate spiritual dreams as safe and instructive experiences for the pastoral care of the soul. In Chapter 3, I explore Goodwin’s manual and the way he presented dreams as part of the essential tool-kit for the Christian’s private spiritual edification. Goodwin’s work provides an example of an innovative approach towards dreams as productive spiritual experiences, particularly within a Puritan worldview. Goodwin’s little-studied dream discourse provides a novel view of early modern English approaches to understanding spiritual dreams, indicative of the way that contemporary attitudes toward spiritual dreams were more varied and complex than has been previously asserted.

Finally, Chapter 4 explores the ideas of the nightmare in medical writings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both supernatural and natural ideas about the causes of the nightmare circulated throughout the early modern period, further illustrating the persistence of both dream etiologies. In this chapter, in addition to exploring medical theories of the nightmare, I also closely examine John Bond’s *An essay on the incubus, or nightmare* (1753) to illustrate the subtle evolution of natural theories about the nightmare within medical literature. Bond’s work was one of the first English studies to focus on providing a detailed medical theory of the nightmare. Finally, this chapter also brings ideas about dreams within the framework of health to the cusp of the modern period, showing how experiences of the nightmare also reveal an acute sense of the vulnerability of the individual to internal and external forces beyond his or her control.
This thesis is designed to add to the cultural history of dreams in early modern England. By exploring a diversity of writings on dreams in English medical, demonological, oneirocritic and philosophical texts, as well as, to a lesser extent, private memoirs, diaries and the notes of physicians, I aim to make sense of the seemingly disparate frameworks through which dreams were understood. By studying the broader categories of dreams, rather than focusing on the more rare and controversial facet of visions, this thesis also seeks to highlight the cultural significance and history of more commonplace dreams. What is especially clear from my study is that in early modern England the dream was a source of interest and speculation, an ambiguous, yet pervasive common human experience that deserved contemplation and held meaning. But first, as Thomas Tryon noted in his treatise on dreams, "to Discourse Effectually of Dreams, it will be requisit to premise some brief Considerations touching Sleep."51

A final note on my policies of transcriptions and citations, for the greater ease of comprehension, I have opted to modernize certain letters. Transcriptions of titles and excerpts have been altered so that "vv" has been changed to "w," the "long s" to s, "i" to "j" and "j" to "i," "u" to "v" and "v" to "u," where appropriate. Superscripts and abbreviations have been expanded and the thorn has been transcribed as "th" in all excerpts. The titles of printed works taken from online databases have been replicated as they appear in the EEBO (Early English Books Online), ECCO (Eighteenth Century Collections Online), ESTC (English Short Title Catalogue) and Worldcat databases (including all punctuation and capitalization). My citation policy for particularly long titles in early works has been, where necessary, to shorten them to no more than three lines, listing them in full in the bibliography. Omissions in these titles have been indicated by ellipses. All dates of publication and other events are written in the new style, with

51 Tryon, Treatise of dreams & visions, 11.
the year beginning at January 1. Finally, although the majority of works were consulted in-depth, some were used only to compile lists of works on dreams, such as the earlier non-English editions of the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus and the *Somnia Danielis* consulted in the Worldcat and ESTC catalogues.
Chapter 1
"Seasons of Sleep:" Natural Dreams, Health and the Physiology of Sleep in Early Modern England

A dreame is a phantasie wrought by the motion of shapes in sleepe.
Richard Haydock, *Oneirologia* (1605). ¹

Physitians generally agree, that the natural temperament or *complexion*, and consequently many times the secret Diseases of persons are as soon, or better found out by their *Dreams*, than by any outward signs.
Thomas Tryon, *A treatise of dreams & visions* (1689). ²

**Introduction**

In early modern England one of the most dominant ways through which dreams were understood was as part of the physiology of sleep and through the framework of health. Throughout the period, drawing on the legacy of classical medicine, a range of authors including natural philosophers, physicians and writers of dream treatises, argued that certain dreams were "natural" and occurred as a result of the normal processes of the body and mind in sleep. Three main ideas underlay the natural theory of dreams and will constitute the focus of this chapter. Firstly, based on the Galenic tradition, "natural" dreams were understood to be the natural by-products of the complex workings of the humoral system of the body in sleep. Secondly, the idea that certain dreams were caused by autonomous psychological processes was also common and derived from the ideas of Plato and Aristotle. Finally, some early modern writers argued that "natural" dreams were sometimes caused by a range of external environmental stimuli, such as noises, the planets, air and the direct environment of the sleeper. As this chapter will demonstrate, these core ideas about the causes of natural dreams changed little from the

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¹ Richard Haydock, “‘Oneirologia, or, a Brief Discourse of the Nature of Dreames:’ Dramatic and Poetical Miscellany,” Folger Shakespeare Library, MS j.a. Vol. 5, f. 12.
² Thomas Tryon, *A treatise of dreams & visions* ... (London: s.n., 1689), 6.
sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. To show this continuity of ideas, I will draw from sixteenth- to mid-eighteenth-century medical handbooks as well as dream treatises.

Intertwined in medical theories of natural dreams was the relationship between dreams and the physiology of sleep. Natural dreams were understood as expressions of the good or poor health of the body and mind that manifested only in the state of sleep. Early modern writers believed that in sleep we are particularly vulnerable to a host of external and internal stimuli beyond our control. Sleep disorders and disruptions to healthy sleep ensued when imbalances and obstructions occurred in the natural processes of the body and mind. Writings on sleep and natural dreams therefore help to reveal a sense of the acute vulnerability of the human body and mind, manifested in dreams and unquiet sleep. Following the discussion of theories of natural dreams, the final section of this chapter will briefly discuss some of the most prominent ideas of sleep disorders, including insomnia or "vigilance," "starting out of sleep," "immoderate" sleep and "fearful dreams."

The idea that dreams offered physicians insight into the health of the body and the humors of the dreamer had a long history reaching back to Galen. His short tract “On diagnosis in dreams” (*De Dignotione ex Insomniis*) advanced a purely physiological understanding of dreams and suggested that dreams might assist in part of the diagnosis of disease.³ According to Galen,

> The vision-in-sleep (*enhypnion*), in my opinion, indicates a disposition of the body. Someone dreaming a conflagration is troubled by yellow bile, but if he dreams of smoke, or mist, or deep darkness, by black bile. Rainstorm indicates that cold moisture abounds; snow, ice, and hail, cold phlegm.⁴


⁴ Galen, *Diagnosis in Dreams*. 
Drawing inspiration from the writings of Galen and Aristotle, early modern English concepts of the causes of natural dreams tended to revolve around two main theories in the period – the influence of the humors and the "affections of the mind." Owen Felltham explained in his work, *Resolves: divine, moral, political* (1677), "The aptness of the humours to the like effects, might suggest something to the mind ... so that I doubt not but either to preserve health or amend the life, dreams, may, to a wise observer, be of special benefit."\(^5\)

The importance of health in early modern England is clearly indicated by the ongoing popularity of both lay and learned tracts on understanding, assessing and procuring health. Popular tracts on health proliferated and some of the bestselling works include Thomas Elyot's *The castel of helth* that was first published in 1539 and went through fourteen editions in the sixteenth century, the final edition being printed in 1610 for the Company of Stationers.\(^6\) Elyot's tract was designed to be an easy reference guide and layman's manual for understanding health and disease. This work offered a comprehensive manual of health in the vernacular so that, as the title page touted, "every manne may knowe the state of his owne body, the preservation of helthe, and how to instruct well his phisition in sicknes that he be not deceyved."\(^7\) Elyot's medical manual created an important market for publishers in the late sixteenth century who went on to print numerous health manuals for the laity and non-professionals.

Other medical handbooks soon followed offering comprehensive medical knowledge and practical remedies. Multiple editions of these manuals ensued and examples include Thomas Cogan's *The haven of health* (1584) and Nicholas Culpeper's *The English physitian*


\(^7\) Thomas Elyot, *The castel of helthe gathered, and made by Syr Thomas Elyot knight, out of the chief authors of phisyke; whereby every man may knowe the state of his owne body, the preservation of helthe, and how to instruct well his phisition in sicknes, that he be not deceyved* (Londoni: In aedibus Thomae Bertheleti, 1539), title page.
(1652), which, at three pence, went through over fifteen editions by 1700. Within these works discussions of sleep and dreams appear as important features of individual health. "Natural dreams" were explained as being products of the character and imbalances in the four humors. These authors also helped popularize the idea that the contents of dreams – their dominant emotions and symbols – could assist in the diagnosis of disease and identify both the humoral imbalance and overall temperament of the dreamer. Since the inner workings and complex balances of the body were hard to discern, dreams were construed as a useful means of finding clues to the physiological and psychological imbalances of the body and mind.

The bulk of the following discussion on dreams and the physiology of sleep will be based on these popular medical tracts as well as on the lengthier dream treatises by writers such as Thomas Hill (d. 1572/6) and Thomas Tryon (1634-1703), amongst others. As mentioned in the Introduction, these latter works were designed to be comprehensive handbooks of dreams and several titles circulated in the period. Thomas Hill's *The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretation of dreames* (1571 and reprinted 1576) is one of the first known English dream handbooks, which as Chapter 2 explores in detail, offered readers an extensive repertoire of knowledge on dreams and the means for interpreting them. Richard Haydock (1570–c.1642), a physician and infamous "sleeping preacher" who was exposed as a fraud by James I in 1605, wrote a brief handbook of dreams, the *Oneirologia*, as an apology to the Stuart monarch in the

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9 Thomas Hill, *The moste pleasuante arte of the interpretacion of dreaemes whereunto is annexed sundrie problemes with apte aunsweares neare agreeing to the matter, and very rare examples, not the like extant in the Englishe tongue* ... (London: Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1571), partial copy; Thomas Hill, *The moste pleasuante arte of the interpretation of dreaemes whereunto is annexed sundry problemes with apte aunsweares neare agreeing to the matter, and very rare examples* ... (London: Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1576).
same year. Natural theories of dreams predominate in this manuscript and Haydock espoused a largely medical theory of dreaming. Thomas Tryon published another notable dream treatise. Like Thomas Hill, Tryon was a self-educated writer of handbooks on a variety of topics. Tryon's *A treatise of dreams & visions* first published in 1689 was printed again in 1695 and 1700 and was perhaps the most popular manual of dreams in the period. In 1706 it was re-titled *Nocturnal revels* and extended into two volumes, the second volume being a handbook of oneiromancy published by Andrew Bell. This edition was then reprinted by other publishers in 1749, 1750, 1767, and finally in 1789. Within his original work, Tryon discussed the diverse kinds of dreams, their causes and overall meaning. Although Tryon supported the existence of supernatural dreams, he also argued that certain dreams were "natural" and caused by either the humors, thoughts of the day, or the planets. Ideas of natural dreams were thus also promoted in early modern English dream treatises and were endorsed alongside supernatural dreams as an important subcategory of dreams. Throughout this chapter I will therefore draw from medical handbooks of health as well as dream treatises to explore theories of natural dreams.

**Humors and Digestion: Porous Bodies, Moist Brains**

Before discussing the relationship between dreams, sleep and the humors, it is first necessary to outline briefly early modern humoral models of the body. Galen's model of the humoral system, adopted from Hippocrates, was the most flexible and prevailing model of

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10 Haydock, *Oneirologia*.
11 Thomas Tryon, *Treatise of dreams & visions* (1689); *A treatise of dreams & visions* ... (London: T. Sowle, 1695); *A treatise of dreams & visions* ... (London: T. Sowle, 1700).
12 Anon, *Nocturnal revels: or, a general history of dreams. In two parts. Shewing I. the Nature, Causes, and various Kinds of Dreams and Visions: And of the Nocturnal Communications of the Soul with Good and Evil Angels* ... (London: Printed for Andrew Bell, 1706); *Nocturnal revels; or, an universal dream-book. In two parts complete* ... (London: Printed for F. Noble, T. Wright and B. Stichall, 1749); *Nocturnal revels; or, a universal dream-book* ... (London: Printed and sold at Sympson's Warehouse, 1750); *Nocturnal revels; or, a universal dream-book* ... (London: Printed for H. Serjeant, 1767); *Nocturnal revels: or, universal interpreter of dreams and visions* ... (London: Printed for J. Barker, 1789).
health and disease in the early modern period, only declining in the late eighteenth century as new developments in anatomy and medicine slowly eroded the significance of the humors. In this system, the body, mind and soul were understood as an organic, symbiotic unit that was particularly vulnerable to both internal and external stimuli. The body itself was also a kind of nebulous entity, its boundaries porous and sensitive to "noxious" vapours in the air and surrounding environment. Within the fragile bounds of the body, the four humors, black bile, yellow bile, blood and phlegm affected every aspect of the individual's health, including everything from personality, digestion, sleep, complexion, moods and, as I will discuss, dreams. The body was a veritable cauldron for the "concoction" of fluids, vapours and spirits. Elyot's The castel of helth had helped to popularize the Galenic model of health in early modern England by offering a comprehensive summary of Galen's theories in the vernacular. In Elyot's manual sleep as one of the six "non-naturals" (air, movement and rest, food and drink, sleep and vigil, excretion and retention, passions and emotions), was fundamental to the overall health of the individual.

Showing the flexibility of the humoral system, medical writers christianized Galen's pagan writings to show how the events recounted in Genesis had resulted in the imbalance of the perfect humoral complexion of mankind. Christian readings of Galen saw bodies after the Fall as subject to inevitable imbalances and sensitive to outside stimuli, noxious vapours and intangible forces. In his work The breviarie of health (1st edition 1547), Andrew Boorde (1490? - 1549) explained the cause of the humors as follows, "God made them in man, when he

13 Mary Lindemann, Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 68.
14 Thomas Elyot, The castle of health, corrected, and in some places augmented by the first authour thereof, Sir Thomas Elyot knight (London: Printed by W. Jaggard for the Company of Stationers, 1610), 70-72. The first edition of this text, as mentioned earlier, was printed in 1539.
made man, & he did make man perfect of foure humours, in true porcion, but after that
thorow sensualitie man did alter his humours or complexion, setting them out of order and
frame."\textsuperscript{15}

In the christianized Galenic system, sleep was understood as a merciful balm to labour
and God's benign gift to help to alleviate the punishment of sin. Richard Haydock explained in
his manuscript on dreams,

For were it possible for the exact equipage of humours to bee founde which noe doubt
with Adams fall transgressed theire appointed limitts: this naturall dreame
(discoveringe only the distemperature and disease) should there cease. For sicknes
followed sinne. Yet whether Adam in his intigritie should have binne subject to the
other kinde of dreames, is hard to judge: except wee may probably callest that hee
should have had noe use of sleepe, and soe consequently not of dreames. Insomuch as
sleepe was granted as a remedye against defatigation by laboure, and laboure and
sweat of browes was part of the reward for sinne. As for that sleep which Adam was in
when God tooke the woman out of his side, it seemeth to bee extraordinary and
compulsive.\textsuperscript{16}

In the humoral system, the early modern body was conceptualized not as a neat model of
organs and ordered processes; rather it was a vessel filled with a commingling of fluids, flesh,
temperatures and spirits.\textsuperscript{17} The body was dynamic, in constant flux, and its fragile economy was
bursting at the seams so that the fluids seeped out through the skin with excessive sanguine
dispositions causing ruddy cheeks and red hair.\textsuperscript{18} The interior regions of the body were also
porous and contained a primordial soup of fluids, which permeated through to the major organs,
moving upwards from the stomach to the brain in sleep, and through the heart to the exterior

\textsuperscript{15} Andrew Boorde, The breviarie of health wherin doth folow, remedies, for all maner of sicknesses &
diseases, the which may be in man or woman ... (London: Printed by Thomas East, 1587), 65(r).
\textsuperscript{16} Haydock, “Oneirologia,” f. 15; E.P. Scarlett, “Richard Haydock: Being the Account of a Jacobean
Physician Who Is Also Known to History as ‘The Sleeping Clergyman’,” Canadian Medical Association
Journal 60 (1949): 177–182; An extract of Richard Haydock's Oneirologia, British Library, MS
Landsdowne 489, f. 138 b.
\textsuperscript{17} Lindemann, Medicine and Society, 12.
\textsuperscript{18} Elyot, Castle of health (1610), 3.
members in waking life. According to the principles of Aristotelian natural philosophy, "animal" and "vital spirits" were also part of the fungible body and moved through its members to bring animation to the limbs in waking life. Sleep ensued when vapours or "spirits" produced by digestion ascended from the stomach to the brain during the process of "concoction." The healthy person only wakened, it was believed, once this process had been completed. The German physician Wilhelm Scribonius (1550 - 1600) explained in his treatise of natural philosophy (translated into English in 1621),

\[\text{Sleepe is the resting of the feeling facultie: his cause is a cooling of the braine by a pleasant abounding vapour, breathing forth of the stomacke, and ascending to the braine. When that vapour is concoct, and turned into spirits, the heate returneth, and the sences recovering their former function, cause waking.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{19}}\]

Not only was the interior region of the body in flux and fundamentally porous, but the boundaries of the body itself were also permeable and vulnerable to the fumes, fluids and temperature of the external environment. Benign and noxious fluids and vapours seeped through the fragile and porous boundaries of the skin to merge with the interior fluids causing further imbalances, diseases and maladies. Air and temperature were additional catalysts in heating or cooling the fluids and organs of the body, resulting in excessive dryness, or moistness: heat or cold further added to the commingling of vapours, spirits and fluids of the body.\[\text{\textsuperscript{20}}\] In this system, women's bodies were believed to be excessively cold and moist while

\[\text{\textsuperscript{19} Wilhelm Scribonius, Naturall philosophy, or, A description of the world, namely, of angels, of man, of the heavens, of the ayre, of the earth, of the water and of the creatures in the whole world. Translated by Daniel Widdowes (London: Printed by J.D. for John Bellamie, 1621), 50. Widdowes's translation was based on Scribonius' Latin work Rerum naturalium doctrina methodica post secundam editionem denuò copiosissimè adaucta, & in III. libros distincta: vnà cum Isagoge sphaerica methodicè proposita first published in 1538. The English edition was published three times in the seventeenth century.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{20} Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Bvii(r); Anon., The problems of Aristotle with other philosophers and phisitions. Wherein are containyd divers questions, with their answers, touching the estate of mans bodie (Edinburgh: Printed by Roger Waldgrave, 1595), E4(r)- E5(r); Thomas Cogan, The haven of health ... (London: Printed by Anne Griffin for Roger Ball, 1636), 274; Francis De Valangin, A treatise on diet, or the management of human life; by physicians called the six non-naturals ... (London:}
men's bodies were fundamentally hot and dry; the sex of the individual further adding to the complex system of the humors. Digestion or "concoction" was one of the major functions of the body and one that was understood to provide nourishment for the entire body, often at the expense of the discomfort of individuals, depending on their diet and regimen of exercise and sleep.21

As Karl H. Dannenfeldt explained in his article on theories and practices of sleep in the Renaissance, as one of the "six non-naturals" described by Galen in his Tegni or Ars parva, sleep was viewed as essential for the overall health of the individual body and mind.22 Moderation of all the "six non-naturals" was the ultimate key to good health. In his The castle of health Elyot argued that "moderate sleep" allowed digestion to occur and that a perfect sleep made "the body fatter, the minde more quiet and cleere, the humors temperate."n23 Since the ideal body was fat and moist, sleep was an important procurer of perfect health. In the manual Approved directions for health (1612), Sir William Vaughan (1575-1641) explained that sleep "strengtheneth all the spirits, comforteth the body, quieteth the humours and pulses, qualifieth heat of the liver, taketh away sorrow, and asswageth furie of the minde."24 Excessive "waking" or "vigilance," on the other hand, caused the body to become "dull, oblivious, lazy, faint, heavy,

Printed for the author by J. and W. Oliver, 1768), 275-276; Anon., Directions and observations relative to food exercise and sleep (London: Printed for S. Bladon, 1772), 9, 22-23.
21 Thomas Walkington, The optick glasse of humors. Or The touchstone of a golden temper wherein the foure complections sanguine, cholericke, phlegmaticke, melancholick are succinctly painted forth ... (London: Printed by John Windet for Martin Clerke, 1607), 29-30; William Vaughan, Approved directions for health, both naturall and artificiall derived from the best physitians as well moderne as auncient ... (London: Printed by T. Snodham for Roger Jackson, 1612), 58-61; Levine Lemnie, The touchstone of complexions: expedient and profitable for all such as bee desirous and carefull of their bodily health ... (London: Printed by E.A. for Michael Sparke, 1633), B1(r)-B2(r), 90-95.
23 Elyot, Castle of health (1610), 70.
blockish."^{25} Levine Lemnie (1505 - 1568), a Dutch medical writer popular in England, wrote in his treatise on the complexions,

So againe, watching being not within mediocrity and measure used, dryeth the braine, affecteth the sences, empayreth memory, dimmeth eyesight, marreth the spirits, wasteth naturall humour, hindereth concoction, and finally consumeth all the grace, beauty, comlinesse, and state of the whole body.^{26}

Sleep therefore acted as a kind of equalizer for the body, helping to restore the proper balance of humors, temperature, moistness and fundamentally assisting in the overall health of the individual.

Following the ideas of Aristotle, the most important function of sleep, according to medical writers throughout the entire period, was to allow for digestion or "concoction" to occur. According to Thomas Hill in *The moste pleaasunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames*, sleep "much helpeth digestion" since it allowed heat to turn inward to "suffuseth" the inner organs involved in "concoction."^{27} These ideas of the importance of sleep in the process of "concoction" persisted throughout the period. Even as late as 1768, Francis de Valangin (1725 - 1805), a physician and Fellow of the Royal College of London, argued that in sleep "the Coction of the Aliments, the Assimilation of all the Humours all over the Body, the Functions of the Stomach and of all the Viscera are performed happily and without Interruption; all the Parts are gently and agreeably moistened and relaxed."^{28} During this process vapours were believed to arise from the stomach to ascend to the brain. The brain as a cold and moist organ was

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^{25} Lemnie, *Touchstone of complexions*, 95.
^{26} Ibid.
^{27} Hill, *Interpretacion of dreames* (1576), Cvii(r).
^{28} De Valangin, *Treatise on diet*, 269-270.
overwhelmed by the heat and quality of these fumes which also served to block the external senses causing sleep.\textsuperscript{29}

The relationship between sleep and dreams becomes clearer by studying humoral theories of digestion and the body, since the excess fumes from digestion not only procured sleep, but also mysteriously caused natural dreams. In his discussion of sleep and dreams Scribonius elaborated,

Affections of sleepe are Dreames, Nightmare, and Extasie, & c. A dreame is an inward act of the minde, the bodie sleeping: and the quieter that sleepe is the easier bee dreames: but if sleepe be unquiet then the minde is troubled. Varietie of dreames is according to the divers constitution of the bodie. The cleare and pleasaunt dreams are when the spirits of the braine, which the soule useth to imagine with, are most pure and thin, as towards morning when concoction is perfected.\textsuperscript{30}

Dreams understood in this sense were intertwined with the physiology of sleep and were conceived as the natural by-products of the sleeping body and mind and their natural functions. In this way, dreams and sleep were perceived to have a kind of symbiotic relationship, one affecting the other. Consequently, a close inspection of one's dreams allowed the individual or physician to gain a better sense of the overall health of the body and mind of the individual. If one's sleep and dreams were disturbed and "frightful" then this was clear sign of ill health.

Within the humoral system, the vast varieties of dreams were understood to be the result of the individual constitution or "complexion" and the shifting imbalances of the humors. In his tract on \textit{The terrors of the night} (1598), Thomas Nashe (1567 - 1601) wrote, "What heed then is there to be had of dreames, that are no more but the confused giddie action of our braines, made drunke with the innundation of humors?"\textsuperscript{31} While critics of dreams such as Nashe attacked

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{30} Scribonius, \textit{Naturall philosophy}, 51.
\textsuperscript{31} Thomas Nashe, \textit{The terrors of the night or, A discourse of apparitions} (London: Printed by John Danter for William Jones, 1594), Eiili(v).
contemporary beliefs in supernatural dreams as facets of superstition and ignorance, they fully endorsed ideas of natural dreams as products of humoral imbalances.

In a consensus throughout the early modern period, English medical writers and writers of dream treatises understood sleep as the state in which "natural" dreams occurred. In sleep the body lay dormant, the external "senses" hindered or "oppressed," enabling the body's internal operations (respiration and concoction) to function more "perfectly" whilst the body's members were at rest. According to Thomas Hill, "sleepe is the reste of the spyrites, and the wakinge, the vehemente motion of theym, and the vayne [natural] dreame is a certayne tremblinge and unperfitt motione of theym." In his *Treatise of dreams & visions* Tryon further explained,

> Sleep is the natural Rest of a living Creature, or a partial temporary Cessation of animal Actions, and the functions of the external Senses, caused (immediately) by the weakness of the Animal Faculty, proceeding from a sweet and stupifying Vapour, arising from the Concoction and Digestion of the Alimentary Food Exhaled from the Stomach, and thence ascending to the Brain and watering and bedewing it with unctious Fumes whereby the operations of the Senses are for a time obstructed, to the end the powers both of the Mind and Body may be recruited, refreshed and strengthened. But besides the Exhalations from the Concoction of the Food received, and the native frigidity (or coolness) of the Brain, congealing those exhaled Vapours, there are many accidental Causes, which by consuming the Spirits, occasion Sleep.

Sleep therefore was ultimately viewed as a restful, restorative state in which digestion was the primary catalyst. The vapours that rose from the stomach in sleep permeated the flimsy boundaries of the brain, obstructing the external senses. In this respect, sleep was a passive state in which the body's natural functions operated autonomously and unhindered whilst the external senses and body's members were inactive.

Within the humoral system, the four humors not only affected the quality of sleep, but also via the faculties of the memory and imagination directly produced the images and emotions

32 Cogan, *Haven of health* (1636), 268-270.
33 Hill, *Interpretacion of dreames* (1576), Diii(v).
34 Tryon, *Treatise of dreams & visions* (1695), 11-12. The italics in this passage are Tryon's own.
of dreams themselves. In this schema different humoral temperaments or "complexions" determined the nature, quality and length of sleep as well as the kinds of dreams. Elyot asserted that a sanguine person was believed to "sleepe much" and have "dreames of blody things, or thinges pleasant." Individuals with a phlegmatic complexion, on the other hand, sleep little and dreamt of "things watery or fish," whilst choleric persons also slept little and dreamt of "fire, fighting, or anger." Melancholic persons suffered from "much watch," that is periods of waking or insomnia, and were terrified with "dreames fearfull." This description changed little over the period and we find these humoral schemas of dreams in other medical works and dream treatises, only disappearing in the mid- to late eighteenth century. Thomas Tryon presents a more extensive explanation of how the complexions affect dreams:

As for Complemental Dreams, they proceed from vapours flying up from that Humour which is most predominant in the Body, unto the Brain, and thence Imagination with Representations suitable to such humour; As persons of a Sanguine Complection, or in whose mass of humours the Blood bears sway, have generally pleasant cheerful and delightfull Dreams, That they are in Merry Company, Entertain'd with Musick, Conversing with Persons, fine, beautiful and obliging, drest in splended Robes, and the like divertive objects. Persons of Cholerick Complexions dream of Anger, Wrath, Brawling; of Quarrelling or Fighting; that they use some violent motion or struggling; that they meet with Bears, Lyons, Dogs, or the like, and are in danger to be hurt by them. Such in whome Melancholy abounds, are continually disturbed with frightfull Phantasies and Ideas full of Horror, of being surrounded with Darkness, or confined to some close Dungeon, left alone in a Wilderness, oppresed with Poverty, Want and Despair, ready to be torn to pieces, with evil Spirits. Lastly, The Phlegmatick person is

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35 Ibid., 11-12.
36 Elyot, Castle of health (1610), 3.
37 Ibid., 3-5.
38 Ibid., 1-5; Boorde, Brevarie of health, 44(v); Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Dv(v)-Dvi(r); Nashe, Terrors of the night, Ciiiii(v); Walkington, Optick glasse of humors, 30; Thomas Wright, The passions of the minde in generall. Corrected, enlarged, and with sundry new discourses augmented ... (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for Walter Burre, 1604), 65; Vaughan, Approved directions for health, 61-65; Helkiah Crooke, Mikrokosmographia a description of the body of man ... (London: Printed by William Jaggard, 1615), 500; Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, edited by Holbrook Jackson (New York: NYRB, 2001), Part. I, 160; James Ferrand, Erotomania or A treatise discoursing of the essence, causes, symptomes, prognosticks, and cure of love, or erotique melancholy (Oxford: Printed by L. Luchfield, 1640), 182-183; Felltham, Resolves, 83; Tryon, Treatise of dreams & visions (1695), 11-12; A collection of miscellany letters, selected out of Mist's Weekly Journal, Vol. 1 (London: N. Mist, 1722), 164.
less apt to remember his *Dream*, but they are generally about water, fear of falling
from on high down into some great River, and being drown'd, or the like. As these
several *Humours* are more or less mixed or prevailing in any persons Constitution, so
his or her common ordinary *Dreams* will be diversified accordingly.\(^{39}\)

The knowledge that individual complexions affected dreams was known amongst the wider
populace. The prolific dreamer and cleric Ralph Josselin (1617 - 1683) mused in his journal,
"they say dreams declare a mans Temperament."\(^{40}\) Katherine Austen (1629 - 1683), also
interested in dreams, wrote in her private memoirs quoting Jeremy Taylor's sermon on the fear
of God, "Dreames are without rule, and without reason. They proceed very much from the
temper of the body and trouble of the minde."\(^{41}\)

It was this understanding that the humors directly influenced dreams themselves that
made dreams a most useful source of prognosis for physicians. Thomas Wright explained in *The
passions of the minde in generall* (1604), "And in effect we proove in dreames, and Physitians
prognosticate by them, what humor aboundeth, for Choler causeth fighting, blood and wounds;
Melancholy, disgrace, feares, affrightments, ill sucesse, and such like."\(^{42}\) While Thomas Nashe
argued that dreams were neither predictive nor meaningful, he did acknowledge that "Phisitions
by dreames may better discerne the distemperature of their pale clients."\(^{43}\) Although the
credibility of dreams as predictive oracles or as divine revelations was debated during the
period, the idea that dreams might provide essential insight into health and disease was both
uncontested and long-standing.

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\(^{39}\) Tryon, *Treatise of dreams & visions* (1695), 53-55.
\(^{42}\) Wright, *Passions of the minde*, 65.
\(^{43}\) Nashe, *Terrors of the night*, Eii(v)-Eiii(r).
Within the humoral schema of the body and health terrible dreams were understood to be the result of an excess of melancholy and a symptom of ill health. According to Sir William Vaughan (1575 - 1641), the inward cause of terrible, natural dreams are "evill humors, specially melancholicke, which through blacknesse thereof, doth darken the light of understanding" and "imprints" fearful images on the brain. Thomas Nashe argued that "melancholy was the mother of dreames, and of all the terrours of the night whatsoever." Similarly, Robert Burton, the seventeenth-century expert on melancholy, explained that this humor stirred up in the imagination "many monstrous and prodigious things, especially if it be stirred up by some terrible object, presented to it by the common sense or memory." He thus advised, "Against fearful and troublesome dreams, incubus, and such inconveniences, wherewith melancholy men are molested, the best remedy is to eat a light supper, and of such meats as are easy of digestion." The four humors therefore directly affected the content of and dominant emotions felt in dreams. Due to this process, dreams themselves were conceptualized as a useful means of indicating to physicians and dreamers the source of their disease and their individual "complexion." However, as mentioned earlier, the humors were also linked to the inner faculties of the mind that in sleep mysteriously stimulated the imagination to produce dreams from incoherent fragments of memory and fantasy.

**The Imagination and Inner Senses: Dreaming as a "Litigation of the Senses"**

Whilst the humoral model of the body dominated writings on sleep and dreams, throughout the period the mind and its inner senses and functions were understood as "intimately connected" to the workings of the body and its overall health. Francis de Valangin

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45 Nashe, *Terrors of the night*, CiIII(v).
noted in his 1768 work on diet, "The Body and the Mind are so intimately connected, that whatsoever affects the one, constantly influences the other." 48 During sleep, medical writers and natural philosophers argued that the external senses – taste, touch, smell, sight and hearing – were inhibited or "bound" so that only the inner sense of the imagination, or "fancy" was freed, producing dreams. Robert Burton described it as a "litigation of the senses" that was caused by an "inhibition of spirits, the way being stopped by which they should come." 49 Thomas Cogan (1545 - 1607), a Manchester physician, suggested that sleep makes us senseless even to the point of imbecility:

In sleep the senses be unable to execute their office, as the eye to see, the eare to heare, the nose to smell, the mouth to tast, and all sinowy parts to feele. So that the senses for a time may seeme to be tyed or bound, and therefore Sleepe is called of some ligamentum sensuum. And for this imbecility, for that Sleepe after a sort maketh a man senselesse, and as it were livelesse, it is called in Latine Mortis imago. 50

Since the senses were bound and the body lay in an immobile state, early modern people often compared sleep to death. The cultural metaphor of death as sleep was a popular theme of funeral sermons, and Thomas Cheesman, the minister of East-Ilsey, Berkshire, published his sermon Death compared to a Sleep in a Sermon to commemorate the death of Mary Allen who died February 18, 1695. 51 Similarly, across the Atlantic the prolific clergyman, Cotton Mather (1663 - 1728), published his funeral sermon Awakening thoughts on the sleep of death (1712) in which he wrote, "that to Dy is to go to Sleep. Sleep is the Rest of certain Spirits in us; which

50 Cogan, Haven of health (1636), 268-269.
51 Thomas Cheesman, Death compared to sleep in a sermon preacht upon the occasion of the funeral of Mrs. Mary Allen, who died Feb. 18, anno Dom. 1695 ... (London: Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, 1695).
Retire to be recruited. We shall find a *Rest* in *Death*; and because it will bring us *Rest* with it, therefore it will be a *Sleep* unto us.\(^{52}\)

In early modern English religious culture dreaming was frequently conceived as a kind of soul-sleep in which the mind or soul wandered at will. For example, in the polemical pamphlet *The strange witch at Greenwich* (1650), the author wrote, “the bodies of the Saints are a sleepe in the Lord ... that they sleep with their Fathers, they go into their Graves as into their beds.”\(^{53}\) The idea of soul-sleep was one that appealed to Martin Luther and such early English reformers as William Tyndale and John Firth. However, it met with increasing criticism in Calvinist circles and in seventeenth-century English Protestant texts.\(^{54}\) In spite of this controversy, the idea remained attractive and underlies English beliefs in dreams, death and the afterlife. Isaac Ambrose (1604-1664), a Cambridge-taught clergyman, wrote in 1650, “When all is done ... we sleep again, and go from (our grave) the bed, to (that bed) our grave. *A sleep*? that is too quiet, it is nothing but a dream ... all our worldly pleasures are but waking dreams, so at last Death rouzeth our souls that have slept in sinne.”\(^{55}\)

In medical writings early modern English models of the mind involved the complex and ambiguous workings of the "inner senses" that were believed to reside in the brain. The "inner senses" were "phantasy" (imagination), "common sense" (reason) and memory. Each of these faculties worked to regulate the functions of the mind and was involved in both waking and

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\(^{52}\) Cotton Mather, *Awakening thoughts on the sleep of death. A short essay, on the sleep, which by death, all men must fall into; the meaning of that lively metaphor, the nature of the sleep and the method by which we may enter into an happy rest, when we fall asleep ...* (Boston: Printed by Timothy Green, 1712), 10.

\(^{53}\) Hieronymus Magomastix, *The strange witch at Greenwich, (ghost, spirit, or hobgoblin) haunting a wench, late servant to a miser, suspected a murtherer of his late wife ...* (London: Printed by Thomas Harper, 1650), 14.


sleeping life. Of these faculties the most important in producing dreams was the imagination, and, to a lesser extent, memory. As Robert Burton explained,

The affections of these senses are sleep and waking, common to all sensible creatures. "Sleep is a rest or binding of the outward senses, and of the common sense, for the preservation of body and soul" ... for when the common sense resteth, the outward senses rest also. The phantasy alone is free, and his commander, reason: as appears by those imaginary dreams, which are of divers kinds, natural, divine, demoniacal, etc. which vary according to humors, diet, actions, objects, etc.  

According to early modern models of the mind, all sensory stimuli passed through the faculty of memory into the imagination. Dreams occurred when the imagination drew images and thoughts from the storehouse of memory to create chimeras of its own design. Consequently, Thomas Nashe wrote, "a dreame is nothing els but a bubling scum or froath of the fancie, which the day hath left undigested; or an after feast made of the fragments of idle imaginations." Dreams, according to these writers, were therefore meaningless chimeras of the mind, delusions of the imagination, serving no purpose other than to befuddle the senses into thinking scenes perceived were in fact real.

While the role of the imagination as a primary instigator of dreams was unquestioned by writers on dreams, the role of the soul in sleep was much more controversial. The most famous debate on the activity of the soul in sleep and in producing dreams was raised in the mid-eighteenth century between the writer Thomas Branch (fl. 1738 - 1753) and the Scottish philosopher Andrew Baxter (1687 - 1750). In his work An enquiry into the nature of the human soul (1733), Baxter grappled with the problem of the soul and its involvement in dreams.

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58 Nashe, Terrors of the night, Ciii(v).
According to Baxter, in sleep spirits injected dreams or images into the mind in what was a kind of possession. A participant in the growing critique of the many unresolved vagaries of humoral medicine, Baxter attempted to develop a new theory of dreaming. For him it seemed ridiculous that the soul should terrify itself in sleep with fearful dreams: "It is inconceivable what [sic] the soul could design by these extravagancies [dreams], always deceiving, and often terrifying itself." Since the soul could not act without the individual being conscious, it followed that in sleep the soul retired and became inactive. This difficulty is solved by Baxter's idea that "our dreams are prompted by separate immaterial Beings," who "act upon the matter of our bodies, and prompt our sleeping visions." Dreaming then, Baxter radically asserts, is nothing "but possession in sleep" by spiritual beings. Seen in this way, the mind itself was a porous entity, vulnerable to outside forces like spirits who mysteriously "injected" dreams into the sleeping mind.

Baxter's idea of dreaming as a form of "possession" was controversial and naturally met with criticism. Thomas Branch launched the most overt critique in his work *Thoughts on dreaming* (1738). Branch argued that "this new Hypothesis," though "ingenious," was "unwarrantable, as well as unphilosophical," since it divests "the Soul of its active Power; and incapacitates it for the Exercise of its proper Functions." Branch intended to show that "our ordinary Dreams are not effected by Spirits; but that the Sensory is not immediately necessary to the Soul for producing the common Appearances of Dreaming." Branch extrapolates that during the day the "Soul, by its imaginative Power, forms Multitudes of Appearances and

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60 Andrew Baxter, *An enquiry into the nature of the human soul; wherein the immateriality of the soul is evinced from the principles of reason and philosophy* (London: Printed for James Bettenham, 1733), 201.
64 Branch, *Thoughts on dreaming*, 3–6.
Scenes, which never existed together in the Mind before." Therefore, it was possible that in sleep the soul took fragments of memory and made a conglomerate of compound images the result of which were dreams. He further speculated, "Have we two Sensories, one for sleeping the other for waking Use?" This was a question that perplexed John Locke in his *Essay on Human Understanding* and led later thinkers to the idea of the unconscious. Although Branch did not entirely rule out supernatural dreams he described the state of sleep as the "province of the imagination:"

I look on Sleep as the Province of the Imagination; here it reigns. Corporeal Objects are shut out and cannot approach the Soul in this State, but myriads of incorporeal Ideas, presented by the Memory and the Imagination, and principally the latter, afford it Exercise and Entertainment. It has a World of its own Creation and peopling to range in, and converse with, tho' then imprisoned in a sleeping Body.

Throughout the early modern period, and more so towards the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the faculty of "fancy," or the imagination was frequently portrayed as a kind of dangerous and uncontrolled wild force in the mind linked to delusion and madness, which freed itself in sleep and reigned unchecked by its "commander" reason. The "wildness" of dreams themselves was evidence of the dangerous force of the imagination. David Hartley wrote, "There is a great Wildness and inconsistency in our Dreams." Authors frequently argued that the imagination was deceptive and a dangerous generator of delusions, madness and flights of fancy in the human mind. Dreams in this schema were false perceptions of reality that deceived the senses into believing that what was perceived was real. John Trenchard (1669-

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1723), a landowner and publicist, commented on the problems of false perceptions in dreams in his work on *The natural history of superstition* (1709):

'Tis this Ignorance of Causes, & c. subjects us to mistake the Phantasms and Images of our own Brains (which have no existence any where else) for real Beings, and subsisting without us, as in Dreams where we see Persons and Things, feel Pain and Pleasure, form Designs, hear and make Discourses, and sometimes the Objects are represented so Lively to our Fancies, and the Impressions so Strong, that it would be hard to distinguish them from Realities, if we did not find our selves in Bed.70

The danger for the individual was therefore to lose the ability to distinguish between reality and fantasy, resulting in madness and delusion or, by ascribing to their dreams a supernatural origin and message, to succumb to the social dangers of "enthusiasm" and "superstition," the twin evils of the enlightenment. This was an argument made in the seventeenth century by Henry More, Meric Casaubon and Thomas Hobbes, and in the eighteenth century by noted philosopher David Hume as well as writers such as John Trenchard.71 Dreams, in this sense, were potential catalysts of disorder in the mind of the dreamer and, hence, dangerous for the mental health of the individual and, as Lucia Dacome noted, the "Mind Politic."72

Whilst dreams might act as problematic instigators and reflections of mental illness, they might be useful, according to some writers, in as much as they provided insight into the moral and psychological state of the dreamer. Early modern writers were well aware that natural dreams often contained daily preoccupations or "thoughts of the day." This was an idea that


originated in the works of both Plato and Aristotle. Additionally, the knowledge that natural dreams were also caused by thoughts of the day was also more widely appreciated. The Elizabethan diplomat and Dean of Canterbury Nicholas Wotton (1479-1567) was renowned for his accurate predictive dreams. In a famous incident Wotton foresaw in a dream the incarceration and execution of his nephew for treason. Forewarned, he managed to have his nephew arrested by the Queen on false pretences, and so, foiled his fate. His biographer, Izaak Walton, in 1670 commented, "Doubtless, the good Dean did well know, that common Dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts; or, of the business of the day past; or, are the result of our over ingaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest." Walton himself was clearly rather perturbed by the faith the "good Dean" had in predictive dreams.

However, it was not simply thoughts which we harbour during the day that were understood to influence dreams, but also the individual dreamer's occupation and personality. Moses Amyraut (1596 - 1664), a French Protestant theologian and metaphysician, whose much-admired work on divine dreams was translated into English in 1676, suggested that,

Natural dreams are such as proceed from those employments of our life, to which we apply our selves with great intention of mind; for studious men dream of books, covetous men of money, Souldiers imagine they see battalions of foot and squadrons of horse, and generally those who are delighted in any employment dream of things relating thereunto.

Thus, a person's profession or private preoccupation gave rise to dreams based on their daily experiences. This rationale was drawn from the ancient practice of oneiromancy established by

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74 Izaak Walton, *The lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Richard Hooker, Mr George Herbert ...* (London: Printed by Thomas Newcomb for Richard Marriott, 1670), 15. This work was originally published in 1651.
75 Amyraut, *Discourse concerning divine dreams*, 15.
practitioners such as Artemidorus who advised dream interpreters to obtain information about the dreamer's occupation before attempting to interpret his or her dream.76

Early modern English writers also understood that our dreams are born of our wishes, desires and anxieties. Roger North (1651-1734), the English lawyer, politician and writer explained, "Wee dream of some such and of which we are concerned as at the university boys dream of being at head: and folk that are marryed of being marryed again, & such like nonscence."77 Thomas Tryon explored this notion in more detail and wrote that one of the uses of dreams was to understand better the "secret bent of our minds:"

That since the Heart of man is deceitful above all things, therefore for him that would truly know himself, it has by the wise Doctors of Morality been always advised to take notice ... of his usual Dreams, there being scarce any thing that more discovers the secret bent of our minds and inclinations to Vertue or Vice, or this or that particular Evil, as Pride, Covetousness, Sensuality or the like, then these nocturnal sallies and reaches of the Soul, which are more free & undisguis'd & with less reserve than such as are manifested than we are awake.78

For some writers therefore, dreams were useful for better understanding the self and helping to edify the self against undesirable thoughts and unchristian vices. Inherent in the idea of dreams as mirrors to the soul is the underlying notion that sleep was a particularly vulnerable state, not just for the body but even more so for the soul. Our sinful thoughts, desires, wishes and anxieties of the day autonomously recur in the night by replaying in our dreams. As I will explore in more depth in Chapter 3, dreams in this sense could be important sources of spiritual edification and introspection, potentially offering insight into the health of the soul.

Tryon was not alone in viewing dreams as providing useful insights into the self or soul of the dreamer. According to several other writers, a study of dreams offered insight into our

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78 Tryon, Treatise on dreams & visions (1695), 6-7.
secret "inclinations." Owen Felltham surmised, "Dreams are notable means of discovering our own inclinations. The wise man learns to know ourselves as well by the nights black mantle, as the searching beams of day." Sir Thomas Browne also supported the idea of dreams as a significant "mirror to the self" and wrote in his essay on dreams,

But the Phantasms of sleep do commonly walk in the great road of naturall & animal dreams: wherein the thoughts or actions of the day are acted over and echoed in the night ... However dreames may be fallacious concerning outward events, yet may they bee truly significant at home, & whereby wee may more sensibly understand ourselves. Men act in sleep with some conformity unto their awakened senses, & consolations or discouragements may bee drawne from dreams, which intimately tell us ourselves.

In the eighteenth century, letters written by John Byrom to Joseph Addison printed in The Spectator in August 1714 reveal several ideas of the way that dreams are produced by fears and anxieties as well as thoughts of the day: "Dreams are certainly the Result of our waking Thoughts, and our daily Hopes and Fears are what give the Mind such nimble Relishes of Pleasure, and such severe Touches of Pain, in its midnight Rambles." David Hume also commented in his treatise on human understanding that "several moralists have recommended it [dream interpretation] as an excellent method of becoming acquainted with our own hearts," indicating that the idea that dreams were potentially useful for understanding the self and secret "inclinations" was still circulating.

**Environment: External Factors and Their Effect on Sleep and Dreams**

In the state of sleep not only were the body and mind subject to internal forces, both were also vulnerable to a host of external stimuli. From the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth

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79 Felltham, *Resolves*, 82.
century, natural dreams were also conceptualized as being directly affected by environmental factors that had both positive and negative effects on the health of the sleeping individual. These factors included both physical and immaterial stimuli hidden to the naked eye, but nonetheless, detrimental or beneficial to the sleeping individual. Included in the list of environmental factors influencing sleep and dreams were noises, air, temperature, beds, the position of the body, movements of the planets, and the manipulations of spirits. Each of these factors was believed to have a profound effect on the quality of sleep, the overall health and the dreams of men and women. In his 1791 medical dissertation on sleep, Samuel Forman Conover, a New Jersey physician, noted the importance of studying sleep to arrive at a better understanding of health: "An accurate knowledge of the effects of sleep, upon the human system, will enable us to see the propriety of fortifying the body, in the morning, with either the durable or diffusible stimuli, against the noxious quality of the air at certain seasons of the year."83

One of the most important environmental factors understood to affect the dreams and health of the individual was the air and temperature of the bedroom or place in which the person slept. Noxious fumes were believed to stifle the sleeping body and permeate the vulnerable pores of the skin to hasten ill health and imminent disease. The surrounding air, its quality and heat were also said to influence dreams. This model of dreams drew on contemporary ideas about the symbiotic relationship between the macrocosm and the microcosm of the human body as vulnerable to the influences of the natural material world. Thomas Wright explained that natural dreams were caused by the effects of the "heavens" and "ayre" on the humors in the body.84 These ideas continued throughout the period well into the eighteenth century when James Beattie wrote, "When the air is loaded with gross vapour, dreams are generally

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83 Samuel Forman Conover, *An inaugural dissertation on sleep and dreams; their effects on the faculties of the mind, and the causes of dreams ...* (Philadelphia: T. Lang, 1791), 14.
84 Wright, *Passions of the minde*, 65.
disagreeable to persons of a delicate constitution.\textsuperscript{85} The quality of the air was thus understood to have a profound effect on both dreams and sleep.

The spatial topography of bedrooms was considered another important facet of procuring good health and quiet sleep. According to Thomas Cogan, the ideal place to sleep should be "somewhat dark, defended from the Sunne beames, and from the light: it must be temperate in heate and cold, yet rather inclining to cold than heat ... for if wee sleepe in a place very hot, we are in danger to fall into a swoune, by reason of the contrariety of sleepe and heat."\textsuperscript{86} Cogan's ideal sleeping conditions excluded excessive warmth on the assumption that, according to Lemnie, in sleep the body's warmth moved to the interior regions of the body to assist in concoction.\textsuperscript{87} In sleep the body was already a cauldron of heat and vapours to which the added febrile air could potentially cause unnatural and unhealthy "swoons" and related ailments.\textsuperscript{88} The position of the body in bed was also an important part of procuring pleasant sleep and dreams. In 1772 the anonymous author of \textit{Directions and observations relative to food, exercise and sleep} advised sleeping on the right side, with the head "raised higher than other parts of the body" so that the vapours from "concoction" arising from the stomach were freely able to ascend to the brain.\textsuperscript{89}

In addition to writing a treatise on dreams, Thomas Tryon wrote extensively on the importance of well-ventilated bedrooms for promoting the health of the sleeping inhabitants. An eclectic writer, vegetarian and promoter of general health, Tryon penned numerous works that emphasized the importance of clean beds and well-ventilated rooms for the overall preservation

\textsuperscript{86} Cogan, \textit{Haven of health} (1636), 272-273.
\textsuperscript{87} Lemnie, \textit{Touchstone of complexions}, 90.
\textsuperscript{88} Cogan, \textit{Haven of health} (1636), 273.
\textsuperscript{89} \textit{Directions and observations}, 23.
of health. In *A treatise of cleanness in meats and drinks* (1682) Tryon included a section on the "excellence of good airs and the benefits of clean sweet beds:"

Cleanness in Houses, especially in Beds, is a great Preserver of Health. Now Beds for the most part stand in Corners of Chambers, and being ponderous close Substances, the refreshing Influences of the Air have no power to penetrate or destroy the gross Humidity that all such Places contract, where the Air hath not its free egress and regress. In these shady dull Places Beds are continued for many Years, and hardly see the Sun or Elements. Besides, Beds suck in and receive all sorts of pernicious Excrements that are breathed forth by the Sweating of various sorts of People, which have Leprous and Languishing Diseases, which lie and die on them: The Beds, I say, receive all the several Vapours and Spirits, and the same Beds are often continued for several Generations, without changing the Feathers, until the Ticks be rotten.

Beds and bedrooms were consequently important contributors to good and bad health, which, like the porous body, were vulnerable to the noxious fumes of vapours and diseases circulating in the air. Interestingly, Tryon believed beds themselves were porous bodies that housed diseases as well as bugs in the mattresses and bedstands.

From Tryon's discussions we get a vivid picture of the unhealthiness of early modern beds and bedrooms. His various works on health also illustrate the fact that the sleeping person's environment was perceived as a source of disease and discomfort for sleeping persons. Bed bugs, as Tryon notes, were a common hazard of early modern sleep, which, according to him, are germinated by the unclean excrements of the human body itself. To combat the combined evils of unclean beds and noxious vapours in the bedroom, Tryon advises his readers to ventilate their bedrooms, destroy all bug-ridden beds, wash and clean the "woollens" and "linens"

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90 Thomas Tryon, *A treatise of cleanness in meats and drinks of the preparation of food, the excellency of good airs and the benefits of clean sweet beds also of the generation of bugs and their cure ...* (London: Printed for the Author, 1682); *Healths grand preservative: or The womens best doctor ...* (London: s.n., 1682); *The good house-wife made a doctor, or, Health's choice and sure friend being a plain way of nature's own prescribing to prevent and cure most diseases incident to men, women, and children by diet and kitchin-physick only ...* (London: Printed for H.N. and T.S., 1692); *Miscellania: or, A collection of necessary, useful, and profitable tracts on variety of subjects which for their excellency, and benefit of mankind, are compiled in one volume ...* (London: Printed by T. Sowle, 1696).

91 Tryon, *Treatise of cleanness in meats*, 5.

regularly "at least three or four times in a Year." Finally, for promoting the best sleep and overall health of the family, Tryon suggests that "moderate Clothing, hard Beds, Houses that stand so as that the pleasant Briezes of Wind may air and refresh them" are best.93

In addition to the physical environment, air and temperature of the sleeping individual, the planets were also believed to influence one's dreams. Both writers of dream treatises, Thomas Hill and Thomas Tryon, wrote of the influence of astrological forces in permeating and shaping the dreams of humankind. In *The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames* (1576) Hill explained, "But well consideringe that the ayre is the outward cause of dreames, because in the first it receiveth the impression of the starres, and after touchethe the bodies of men and beastes, whiche are altered of it yea in the daye tyme."94 Considering the popularity of astrological medicine, and contemporary beliefs about the macrocosm and microcosm, it is unsurprising that early modern medical ideas of natural dreams involved the influence of the planets. Thomas Tryon listed astrological factors as one of his seven-fold theory of dreams and wrote as follows,

> Others [dreams] are occasion’d by the influx of the Planets predominate in [the dreamer's] Nativity, or at such or such times by Direction, Transit, or the like, if we may believe the notions of Astrologers, whose science as far as modestly it contains its self within the Bounds of Nature with a Resignation alwayes to the over-ruling Pleasure of Omnipotency, seems not altogether to be contemned [sic].95

In this way the planets were deemed to be additional external environmental forces, which were believed to influence the content of dreams.

Another significant external stimulus affecting dreams as well as the quality of sleep was the noises of the environment. As A. Roger Ekirch illustrates, early modern sleep was frequently

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93 Ibid., 10.
94 Hill, *Interpretacion of dreames* (1576), Bvii(r).
95 Tryon, *Treatise of dreams & visions* (1695), 48-49.
interrupted by noises of the external world. The noises of night watchmen calling in cities in the midnight hours, babies crying, animals baying, barking and bellowing, as well as the frightening noises of the weather – wind, thunder and lightning – all interrupted sleep and were believed to infiltrate the dreams of sleeping individuals. Conventional dream-lore dating back to Aristotle stated that night noises permeated the dreams of men and women, causing them to dream of what they unconsciously heard in sleep. Thomas Nashe summarized this notion in his discussion of the causes of night terrors, "Our dreames (the Ecchoes of the day) borrow of anie noyse we heare in the night. For example if in the dead of the night there be anie rumbling, knocking, or disturbance neere us, wee straight dreame of warres, of thunder." Noises heard in sleep were believed to affect dreams throughout the period. Joseph Addison remarked upon instances wherein the dreams of his readers were shaped and abruptly ended by the unwanted noises of chimney sweeps, watchmen and other "noisy slaves" in the early hours. He wrote in *The Spectator* on Wednesday, September 22, 1714,

I have received numerous Complaints from several delicious Dreamers, desiring me to invent some Method for silencing those noisy Slaves, whose Occupations led them to take their early Rounds about the City in a Morning, doing a deal of Mischief, and working strange Confusion in the Affairs of its Inhabitants. ... A fair Lady was just upon the Point of being married to a young, handsome, rich, ingenious Nobleman, when an impertinent Tinker passing by, forbid the Banns; and an hopeful Youth, who had been newly advanced to great honour and Preferment, was forced by a neighbouring Cobbler to resign all for an old Song.

Unfortunately for early modern folk, the noises of the night and early morning were a common complaint and led to intermittent sleep. Elizabeth Drinker, an eighteenth-century diarist, wrote,

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97 Nashe, *Terrors of the night*, Ciïii(v).
98 Bond, *Spectator*, 41.
"Did not sleep an hour all night" due to the "screaming in the street, howling of dogs, and a thumping as I thought in our house." More disturbing interruptions to sleep include the following nocturnal adventures that prevented an English traveler from sleeping in Scotland in 1677: "We might have rested, had not the mice rendezvoused over our faces." The idea that noises directly influenced the content of dreams was also proved by experiments made on unknowing sleepers. James Beattie recounted a trick played on a sleeping soldier by his fellows, "I have heard of a gentleman in the army; whose imagination was so easily affected in sleep with impressions made on the outward senses, that his companions, by speaking softly in his ear, could cause him to dream of what they pleased."

As mentioned earlier, in addition to the importance of a quiet and healthy sleeping environment, the physical position of the body in sleep was also believed by writers of health manuals to affect the quality of sleep, dreams and directly cause sleep disorders such as the "nightmare," "deade sleep" and "vigilance." According to most writers, drawing from Avicenna, the best position of the body at the outset of sleep was to sleep on the right side first, and then move to the left side, after the "first sleep." William Vaughan advised his reader to sleep "upon his right side, untill the meat which he hath eaten, be descended from the mouth of the stomack (which is on the left side) then let him sleepe upon his left side, and upon his belly." While this was ideal for those with strong digestive systems, persons suffering from "feeble digestion," according to Thomas Elyot, were advised to sleep on their bellies. The theory of

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100 Quoted in Ekirch, *At Day’s Close*, 293.  
101 Ibid.  
103 Avicenna had also written about dreams as useful for diagnosing illness in his *Canon of Medicine*, a commonly used textbook of medicine in the medieval period, believed to have been written in 1025 CE. For a discussion of the ideas of dreams in Avicenna, Aristotle and Scaliger, see, Kristine Louise Haugen, “Aristotle My Beloved: Poetry, Diagnosis, and the Dreams of Julius Caesar Scaliger,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 60: 3 (2007): 819–851.  
104 Vaughan, *Approved directions for health*, 59  
105 Elyot, *Castle of health* (1610), 72.
"concoction" and the humors dictated that for digestion to occur most "perfectly," the body had to be in the best possible position in sleep so that digestion could occur uninhibited, allowing for a more "perfect sleep" and "quiet dreams." Sleeping on the back was "to be utterly abhorred" since this was believed to instigate the nightmare, or *Incubus*, as the following section explores.\textsuperscript{106}

**Sleep Disorders: Causes and Remedies**

The inability to sleep and chronic terrifying dreams were noted symptoms of ill health in early modern England. Medical writers were clearly aware of several common sleep disorders that affected people of all ages. In manuals of health, writers defined sleep disorders with a list of their symptoms and recommended cures. Perhaps the most frequent complaint was that of excessive "waking" or "vigilance" – the inability to sleep. The commonality of problems with sleeping can be proven by the numerous complaints of insomnia found in the medical notebooks of Richard Napier, a seventeenth-century astrologer and physician. According to Michael MacDonald's figures based on an extensive survey of Napier's medical notebooks, 20 percent of all cases of men and women who saw Napier reported trouble sleeping. Of these, 2.7 percent complained having "fearful dreams."\textsuperscript{107} A closer survey of Napier's notebook entries reveals more detail about the frequency and detail of his patients' sleeping problems. Ann Roor of Filgrath, aged 37, came to see Napier on the 29th of January 1629, complaining of "fearfull dreams and a bad stomach." The same year, on September 7th, Amy Amoson of Monmouth, aged 40 years, reported having "17 nights very fearfull dreams, head ill."\textsuperscript{108} Mrs. Doggil of

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{108} Richard Napier, Medical Notebooks, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 407, ff. 36, 125.
Storm, Stratford, aged 26, came to Napier because she was one night "fright in her sleep ... head ill," while Joseph Sparo, aged 11, "was fryghtfull in the night" and couldn't sleep.109

Insomnia or "vigilance" was conceived as a serious illness or sleep disorder caused by the excessive "hot and dry brains" of individuals whose humoral complexions were imbalanced. The result was a wasting away of the body and a deterioration of the overall complexion of the insomniac. Robert Burton explained, "It causeth dryness of the brain, frenzy, dotage, and makes the body dry, lean, hard, and ugly to behold ... the temperature of the brain is corrupted by it, the humors adjust, the eyes made to sink into the head, choler increased, and the whole body inflamed."110 Other causes, according to Andrew Boorde, were "a weknes of the brayne, or els thorow sicknes, anger, or fasting, or els thorowe solicitude des of repletion or extreme heate, or extreme colde in the feete or such like."111

Physicians prescribed remedies that were designed to restore the balance of the humors and remoisten the brain so that natural sleep could ensue. Diets that included moist foods such as lettuce were frequently advised. Levine Lemnie wrote, "sleep must be provoked with Lettice and other salter herbes, that doe humect [sic] and refresh the braine, and all parts of the body."112 In addition to moist foods, other substances used to procure sleep were proscribed, such as breast milk and opiates. Andrew Boorde gave a remedy for insomnia as follows, "Take of the oyle of violettas an unce, of Opium halfe an unce, incorporate this together with womans milke, and with a fine linnen cloth lay it to the temples."113 In addition to unctions and moist foods, early modern writers also suggested that insomniacs use the supernatural properties of gems to procure sleep. Nicholas Culpeper (1616 - 1654), an extremely popular medical writer,
wrote in his medical handbook *Culpeper's school of physick* (1659) that the gem Jacinth assisted in procuring sleep whilst others such as granite, worn about the body, took away sleep.\(^{114}\)

In addition to insomnia or "vigilance," another common sleep disorder was "starting out of sleep" or abrupt waking. Andrew Boorde saw this disease as caused by "a melancholy humour or els of an angry or a feareful heart, or els of a pencifull mynde, or a fearfull dreame."\(^{115}\) As a remedy, he advised listening to pleasant music, avoiding lying "upright" or going to bed with a full stomach.\(^{116}\) Those sensitive to waking abruptly, according to Levine Lemnie, were believed to suffer from too much study and excessive moist brains: "But they that have the nookes and cells of their braine slenderly moist, are ready to awake at every little stirring or wagging, for that the thin vapour and small fume which possetheth the heat, being nothing thicke, doth quickly vanish and passe away."\(^{117}\)

In addition to sleep disorders, the problem of "fearful dreams" and the nightmare were common complaints in the period. James Beattie himself suffered from "terrible" dreams and recounted how "Once, after riding thirty miles in a high wind, I remember to have passed part of a night in dreams, that were beyond description terrible: insomuch that I at last found it expedient to keep myself awake."\(^{118}\) Similarly, the prolific diarist Nehemiah Wallington was also plagued with "fearfull dreames" and recounted in his notebook, "And as for my sleepe that I

\(^{114}\) Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's school of physick, or, The experimental practice of the whole art wherein are contained all inward diseases from the head to the foot ...* (London: Printed for N. Brook, 1659), 263, 266.

\(^{115}\) Boorde, *Breviarie of health*, 48(r).

\(^{116}\) Ibid.

\(^{117}\) Lemnie, *Touchstone of complexions*, 92.

\(^{118}\) Beattie, *Dissertations moral and critical*, 228.
could not quietly: for my distempered thoughts keept mee waking, and when I did sleep oh
the fearefull dreames and sites that I had then."  

As Chapter 4 explores in detail, terrifying dreams such as the nightmare, a form of sleep
paralysis involving visions of malevolent beings, were believed caused by either supernatural or
natural stimuli. Against terrifying supernatural dreams "injected" by God or the Devil, writers
on dreams suggested prayer and private meditation before sleep. A prayer book written by
Richard Day in 1578 included the following prayer to be said, "when we be redy to sleep:"

O Lord our governour, & defender, both to shield us now lying unable to help our
selves from the craftines & assaults of our cruell enemy: & also to call us then unto
thee, when we shalbe yet more unable at the finishing of the race of this life, not for our
own deserts, but for thy own mercy sake ... And now let us so fall a sleep in thee, as
thou only, & those exceding, great, & incredible good thinges may in such wise be
present alway before us by the insight of our minds, as we may not be absent from thee,
no not even in sleep: that such dreames may doth keep our beds, and bodies pure &
undefiled, and also chere our harts with that blessed joy of thine.  

Philip Goodwin also recommended private meditations before sleep to aid against the threat of
demonic dreams. The physician and philosopher Sir Thomas Browne (1605 - 1682) said his
prayers before sleep and wrote, "I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an half adieu to the
world." His nocturnal prayer from his work, Religio Medici (1635) was as follows,

The night is come, like to the day,
Depart not Thou, great God, away.
Let not my sins, black as the night,
Eclipse the lustre of Thy light: ...
Thou, Whose nature cannot sleep,
On my temples Centry keep:

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120 Richard Day, A booke of Christian prayers, collected out of the auncie[n]t writers, and best learned
in our tyme, worthy to be read with an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and
troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull unto us (London, s.n., 1578),
9(v)-10(r).
121 Goodwin, Mystery of dreams, 75.
Guard me 'gainst those watchful foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close.
Let no dreams my head infest,
But such as Jacob's temples blest.
While I do rest, my Soul advance;
Make my sleep a holy trance. 122

The Fifth Monarchist John Rogers admitted in his spiritual handbook that as a child "before I durst sleep" he made sure to "say my prayers, and my Our Father, and I believe in God & c, and the Ten Commandments" for fear of the Devil's assaults as he slept. 123 When prayers did not work writers advised avoiding certain foods. Burton suggested, "To procure pleasant dreams and quiet rest" his readers should avoid eating "beans, pease, garlic, onions, cabbage, vension, hare, [using] black wines, or any meat hard of digestion at supper, or [lying] on their backs." 124

The ideal sleep most beneficial for health was therefore either quiet or filled with pleasant dreams. As Chapter 4 explores, the bulk of medical writings argued for a natural theory of the nightmare, as the result of indigestion, sleeping supine or problems of the circulation of the blood.

Above all, the way to perfect sleep and pleasant dreams was believed to be by moderating the diet, exercise, sleep and passions of the individual. The dangers of excess threatened to lead the body, mind and soul into sloth, distemper, disease and even death. While too much "watch" was debilitating for the body, so was "immoderate sleep," which "maketh the body apt unto palsies, apoplexies, falling sicknesse, rheumes and impostumes." 125 According to the moral economy of the body, Thomas Cogan warned that afternoon naps and immoderate

123 John Rogers, Ohel or Beth-shemesh A tabernacle for the sun ... (London: Printed for R.I. and G. and H. Eversden, 1653), 419–420.
125 Elyot, Castle of health (1610), 71.
sleep made "a man slothfull ... causeth head ach" and "breedeth rhumes." Consequently, the proper time for sleep was only at night and its duration should be typically “7, 8 or 9 hours.” As an indication of how little these ideas changed throughout the period, by the late eighteenth century similar advice was recommended in prescriptive manuals. The author of the tract, Directions and observations relative to food, exercise and sleep (1772), recommended no “less than six nor more than nine Hours in a Day.” A popular work by William Buchan, Domestic medicine (1772), also urged moderation in sleep, promoting what historian Lucia Dacome described as a form of “bodily domestication.” Buchan gave this advice to readers, “Sleep, as well as diet, ought to be duly regulated. Too little sleep weakens the nerves, exhausts the spirits, and occasions diseases; and too much renders the mind dull, the body gross, and disposes it to apoplexies, lethargies, and such like.” The custom of “indolent and slothful” people who indulged in “lolling a-bed” for more than nine hours was, therefore, deemed to be conducive to a weak and disease-prone constitution.

The time of sleep was also important for one's overall constitution. Robert Burton had recommended, "the fittest time is two or three hours after supper, whenas [sic] the meat is now settled at the bottom of the stomach." Francis de Valangin argued that "night was the most proper time for Sleep," and ideally the best sleep was "enjoyed before Midnight." Showing

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126 Cogan, Haven of health (1636), 271.
127 Ibid., 275.
128 Ibid.; Directions and observations, 22.
129 William Buchan, Domestic medicine: or, a treatise on the prevention and cure of diseases by regimen and simple medicines (London: Printed for W. Strahan, 1772), 108; Dacome, "To What Purpose Does It Think," 395.
130 Buchan, Domestic medicine, 108.
131 Directions and observations, 23.
132 Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, Part. II, 100.
133 De Valangin, Treatise on diet, 272-273.
the sleeping habits of people in the eighteenth century, Valangin complained that modern city life had led people to unnatural long hours of wakefulness:\textsuperscript{134}

We need not look far to find many striking Instances of the Necessity of Sleeping in the Night, and of reserving the Day for Labour and Action; for we see, that Country People who go to Bed betimes, and frequently soon after Sun-set, although they rise again with the Sun, after but a few Hours Rest, are generally healthy and strong, whilst most of our London and Towns-People, who keep awake till Midnight, and pass a proportional Part of the next Day in Sleep, are wan, pale, and always ailing.\textsuperscript{135}

The way to an ideal health was therefore to sleep at night and wake at dawn. To deviate from this advised regimen of sleep was to risk a variety of ailments and diseases. Above all, the ideal type of sleep was ultimately quiet and filled with pleasant dreams.

**Conclusion**

The relationship between sleep, dreams and health in early modern medical and dream treatises was closely intertwined. Sleep was understood as the passive state in which natural dreams occurred while dreams themselves were the symptoms and products of good and bad health. From the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, the ideas of the humors dominated models of health as well as underlying theories of sleep and dreams. Moderate sleep was viewed as part of the essential regimen of health whilst dreams themselves were fundamentally understood as products of the physiology of sleep and as useful clues to the imbalances of the four humors and hence of the overall physical and mental health of the individual.


\textsuperscript{135} De Valangin, *Treatise on diet*, 277-278.
Writings on sleep and dreams also reveal the porous model of the body and mind that were vulnerable to internal and external stimuli ranging from the inner senses, air, noises, the planets, supernatural beings and the physical surroundings of the sleeping individual. According to early modern medical writings, in sleep we are particularly vulnerable to a wide range of forces, which in turn also infiltrate and directly influence our dreams. Underlying all ideas about natural dreams is the acute sense of the vulnerability of the early modern individual in sleep. Whilst we can seize a degree of control over diet and the length of sleep, we can neither control our dreams, nor the autonomous internal and external forces beyond our control. Within the framework of health, dreams offered important clues not only to the health of the body but also that of the mind and soul. Writers who promoted a more psychological model of dreaming argued that dreams could also reveal the secret "inclinations" and preoccupations of the sleeping mind as well as providing significant insight into the moral or spiritual health of the soul.

In addition to ideas of natural dreams, the idea that dreams had a supernatural origin and offered insight into the future of the dreamer was also persistent throughout the early modern period. English dreambooks, such as those authored by Thomas Hill, and abridged editions of Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*, emerged in the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, popularizing a model of dreams as lexicons to the fortunes of dreamers. The practice of oneiromancy and dreambooks survived well into the eighteenth century, as the following chapter will elucidate.
Chapter 2
Dream Divination and Thomas Hill’s *The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames*

Saturday night I dremed that I was deade, and afterward my bowels wer taken out I walked and talked with diverse, and among other with the Lord Thresor [sic] who was com to my howse to burn my bokes when I was dead, and thought he loked sourely on me.

*John Dee, Diary, November 24, 1582.*

My heart affected with things, I went to bed and wisht I might even foreseeingly dreame: being on the road in my thoughts. I thought there was a great concourse, and I overheard a commissioner say, as for our ecclesiasticks I know not what they are, whether the ministers of Jesus Christ or not we must give them the test. waking. the secret of the lord is with them that feare him. I will doe so. and I interpreted this for good.

*Ralph Josselin, Diary, January 5, 1679.*

**Introduction**

In addition to the idea that dreams provided insight into the physical and mental health of the dreamer, the belief that dreams were predictive and, if correctly interpreted, could offer glimpses of the future of dreamers and their families, was persistent in English culture throughout the early modern period. Evidence for belief in predictive dreams can be found in the private records of men's and women's diaries and memoirs as well as in the continued market for dreambooks, fortune-telling books, books of knowledge, courtesy books and courtship manuals that contained sections of oneiromancy circulating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Records of dreams appear in many well-known private records, such as the writings of John Dee (1527–1609), the Elizabethan astrologer and mathematician; Simon Forman (1552–

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1611), an astrologer and physician; Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645); Nehemiah Wallington (1598–1658), a London turner; Ralph Josselin (1617–1683), the vicar of Earls Colne, Essex; Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), an astrologer and antiquary; Thomas Vaughan (1621–1666) an alchemist and cleric; Katherine Austen (1629–1683), Alice Thornton (1626–1707) and Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), to name a few. Each of these individuals recorded multiple dreams in the course of their lives. While historians such as Charles Carlton, Peter Burke, Reid Barbour and Patricia Crawford have studied these dream narratives through the lens of modern psychology, fewer studies have sought to understand in depth how early modern dreamers themselves might have understood their dreams. A study of the dreams recorded by these and other authors demonstrates how the idea that dreams could predict the future was prevalent from the sixteenth through to the eighteenth centuries, at least among the literate.

All the authors whose writings I examined recorded dream narratives of death, sickness, fortune and misfortune. Katherine Austen, Alice Thornton, Thomas Vaughan and Ralph Josselin

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clearly attempted to interpret their dreams as auguries, trying to predict the future. Similarly, Elias Ashmole, John Dee and William Laud also recorded the approximate time of the dream, or used astrology to determine whether it was true or false. While some records of dreams appear to have been recorded after their prediction was proven, as in the case of Ralph Josselin and Katherine Austen, other writers such as John Dee, Elias Ashmole, William Laud and Samuel Pepys recorded them before a dream proved true. This suggests they recorded the dream either because it seemed particularly significant, or in case later it proved true.

Early modern diarists recorded certain dreams that unquestionably lingered in their conscious minds; dreams of death, in particular, are frequently documented. Archbishop Laud recorded his first dream in his diary on 14 December 1623: “Sunday night, I did dream that the Lord Keeper [John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (d.1625)] was dead: that I passed by one of his men, that was about a monument for him; that I heard him say, his lower lip was infinitely swelled and fallen, and he rotten already.” In November 1660, Samuel Pepys dreamt that his wife had died after he quarreled with her over whether the dog should stay in the house, so that he “slept ill all night.” Thomas Vaughan dreamt frequently of his dead wife and saw one particular dream as presaging his own death.

Records of dreams that accurately foretold the death of the dreamer or members of his or her household and community are also common in private writings of the period. Samuel Pepys wrote in his diary how the wife of an acquaintance correctly dreamt both of her uncle’s death.

5 Austen, MS Add. 4454, 60(v)–61(r); Josselin, Diary, 325; Thornton, Autobiography, 123, 169; Thomas Vaughan, Notebook, British Library, MS Sloane 1741, ff.102–103.
6 For example, on 12 July 1647, Elias Ashmole wrote in his diary, “a note of horary question: 5 hours after noon/ whether the dream I now dreamed of the woman eaten with the crows will prove any hurt to me/ or London/ or thereabout.” (Ashmole, His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, 454).
7 Laud, Works, 144.
8 Pepys, Diary, Vol. 1, 284-285; Vaughan, MS Sloane 1741, ff. 10, 90, 91, 103, 104.
and her own. John Aubrey also reported on several men and women whose dreams predicted death in his *Miscellanies* (1696). One of the most notable examples referred to a time when his neighbour, Old Farmer Good, dreamt that he met with a dead friend, who warned him “that if he rose out of his bed, that he would die.” The farmer’s death occurred as the dream foretold: “he awaked and rose to make Water, and was immediately seized with a shivering Fit, and died of an Ague, aged 84.” Ralph Josselin believed dreams could tell the future and recorded no less than thirty-four descriptions of his own in his diary, including several from his wife and children. The following entry in his diary for 30 June 1654 shows Josselin’s reflections on a dream he believed predicted the deaths of his wife and children:

I had a sad dreame in ’48, of the death of wife and children, none left but Jane afterwards in ’49. I buried Mary and Ralph: in ’51: I dreamed 3 branches of a hedge growing in my house cut downe sprouted again, which I feared as a continuence of the trouble of my first dreame, but I hope god intends by this wife, and so I am persuaded that intended, that the 3 children god had taken from mee, he would make up again out of this stocke and now god hath graciously bestowed 2 upon me and hopes of their life.

Evidence for belief in predictive dreams is also apparent in women’s private writings. Alice Thornton, the fifth child of Charles Wandesford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, noted several dreams in her autobiography. In 1660 she recorded this “warning dream,” “For that very morning, before the balyes came, I dreamed for a certaine that Nettleton had sent his bailys to drive all our goods, and to seize on all we had, for the debt which Mr. Thornton ingaged. And I

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11 Josselin, *Diary*, 183.
was in deepe concerne as soone as I wakned out of sleepe affter it.”

When she woke from her dream, Thornton summoned her maid, Jane Flower, to ask her if indeed the “baileys” had arrived. Incredulously, Flower asked Thornton how she knew this, and whether anyone had already told her. Thornton answered, “None; but my God gave me warning in a dreame which I had dreamt this morning.” From this exchange it is clear that Thornton believed God had forewarned her in a dream about the arrival of the bailiffs.

Katherine Austen also recorded several dreams as well as those of others she had heard or read about and believed to be predictive in her journal “Book M.” One entry in particular, highlighted the significance of dreams:

Some Dreames are not to be slited. As that young man who Dreamet he should be slaine by a Lion. which because that Beast did never come in their Country, He was laughing at it, while he was in the Temple of the Gods. And their, out of a Confidence of this impossibility. He put his hand in to the mouth. of the Lion figured for ornament, a Serpent bit him, and he died. This dream warned the young male dreamer to avoid lions in his waking life, which would result in his death. The moral of the story: ignore the warnings in dreams at your peril. In her journal, Austen also discussed the various causes and meaning of dreams. Showing how the frameworks of health, prediction and spiritual dreams were known amongst the wider literate populace, Austen's writings illustrate knowledge that some dreams were natural and caused by the imbalances of the humors, and that other dreams might be supernatural, either being divine or demonic.

14 Ibid., 137.
15 Austen, MS Add. 4454, f. 33(r).
16 Austen wrote the following in her notebook quoting Jeremy Taylor, Sermon IX, "Of Godly Fear;" Part III, *Eniautos*, 114-24:
Sarah C.E. Ross and Barbara Todd have recently shown how Austen's notebook was a compilation of her personal experiences, meditations, as well as prayers and excerpts from a variety of texts she was reading, including sermons by Jeremy Taylor, John Donne, John Gauden and Daniel Featley. Thus, sections she included on the meaning and problem of dreams were often excerpts she gathered from oral, printed, or manuscript sources. Yet, the fact that Austen included these excerpts shows that she was contemplating the meaning of dreams. In her writings Austen noted the problem of discernment – distinguishing divine from demonic dreams – and quoted excerpts from Jeremy Taylor's sermon on godly fear. Demonstrating an awareness of contemporary debates about dream divination, she included references to the tendency of some to be misled by irrational fears, and their consequent engagement in “superstitious” observations by dreams. Despite being aware of the problematic practice of dream interpretation, Austen compiled both her own dreams and those of others that she

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Ross, Katherine Austen's Book M, 70.

Austen wrote, again quoting Jeremy Taylor, Sermon IX, "Of Godly Fear;" Part III, Eniautos, 114-24:

But fear is Dul, and sluggish, miserable, and foolish. And from henc proceeds observation of signes, and of unlucky dayes and erra pater. If men doe listen to wispers of fear, and have not reason, and observation enough to confute trifles they shal be affrighted with the noise of Birds and the Night Raven. And every old woman shal be a prophetes. And the events of our affaires which should be managed by the conduct of counsel, of reason, and religion, shal by these vaine observations, succeed by chance, by ominous Birds, by the faling of the salt, or the decay of reason, of wisdome, and the just religion of a man. And to these trifling superstitions may be reduced observations of Dreams, on unsecure expectation of evills that never shal happen. [Austen, MS Add. 4454, f. 25(r)].
believed were predictive. The following is an example of one of Austen’s dreams, from an entry from November 1664:

It pleased God to take away an honest servant Williame Chandeler, who had dwelt in my house almost Ten yeares. He served me faithfully. I trust he is gone to a better service ... He was buried 11: Nov: aged 38 yeares. flower nightes before he died I dreamet I saw him fall downe dead before me. And I did see him die. Tho when I waket I hopet he wud not die, And he coming downe the night before he died and thought himself pretty well. Death came upon him in the space of 3 howeres, when before that he thought he might doe well. But after the minister had prayed with him and he setled what he had to say to his friends, he died all the way. And was apprehensive of every decay. His coffe left him. Noe ses he I shal bid you goodnight.20

This dream, Austen clearly believed, presaged the imminent death of her long-standing servant, Williame Chandeler, whose death she foresaw in the dream four nights before.

Austen documented several other dreams that she believed were predictive, including a lengthy one involving her late husband that she interpreted as an augury of the outcome of her battles over her husband's estate.21 In her dream in which she was attending a wedding, she climbed some stairs to a room where she found her husband "discoursing with a gentleman." Austen left the room, descending "a few steps" and then she saw her husband again. After asking him how he could have left the room without her seeing him, she, "forgetting my Muffe," went up the back stairs, "but I had not gone up above 8: or 9: steps but I waket."22 This dream stayed with Austen and she was convinced the number of stairs she ascended and descended were significant. On reflection, she wrote in her journal,

This ran in my minde divers dayes afterwards, and I concluded, the first paire of staires signified to me to the end of Janr, and the second was so many dayes in febr: and then something wud fall out to me. And indeed I was troubled that some unhappy adventure wud come, as I in dreaded every day wishing ffebr out. It came to pase that on the 9th

20 Ibid., f. 38(v).
21 Austen, MS Add. 4454, ff. 60(v)-61(r).
22 Ibid.
of feb: I was appointed to be that day at the commencement of parliament: And when I came into the Roome it was the same as I saw in my Dreame, the situation of the Roome the same with the Table. And as soone as I cast my eye on Sr John Birkenhead, I was confident he was the very same man I saw my Hus: with. This busines was a weading: for it was a Contract, a Confederacy to take away our estate. And I shall noe more be of that opinion gennerally observed in Dreames that a weading foretels a burnig, and a burnig a weeding. But that it is danger of Conspiracy against one, as this was to us.23

Austen is unusual in recording and writing about how she interpreted her dream. For this reason, as Patricia Crawford has shown, this excerpt offers a rare glimpse into the mental worlds of early modern women.24 For the history of dreams, such an interpretation also shows how dreams were interpreted within predictive frameworks. Austen believed dreams were encoded clues to the future that predicted important events in the dreamer's life. In Austen's view, this dream offered foresight into the outcome of the legal battles over her estate following the death of her husband.25

In the aforementioned excerpt, Austen also shows an awareness of the popular notion that a dream of a wedding or marriage indicated a death.26 As I will discuss later in the chapter, this interpretation was based on the classical theories of oneiromancy deriving from Artemidorus and was an example of the law of contraries, which stipulated that particular dream-symbols indicated opposite or contrary outcomes. What is also clear from Austen's writings on dreams is that, like Thornton, Austen believed she was privileged to have had these

23 Ibid.
25 For further details of her legal battles over property see, Barbara J. Todd, “Property and a Woman’s Place.”
26 Barbara Todd has interpreted and transcribed Austen's use of "burnig" to mean "burying" which makes more sense since in dreambooks to dream of a death foretold a wedding. There is no mention of the nature of that death in dreambooks.
predictive dreams as warnings from God. The idea that God sent warning dreams derived from the Bible and unquestionably helped bolster early modern belief in predictive dreams. These were, above all, proof of God's providence, grace and mercy. In this way, Austen and Thornton were able to reconcile their Christian beliefs with the practice of oneiromancy.

Dreams of death and the dead feature prominently in the private records of Austen and Thornton, amongst others. The possibility that a dream might predict the death, illness or misfortune of a member of one’s household or community seems to have haunted the conscious and unconscious minds of men and women such as Austen, Laud, Josselin and others. As not all dreams were necessarily significant and were subject to the laws of contraries and similitudes, oneiromancy required a specialized knowledge of the multifarious meanings of dream-symbols. While the law of contraries held that dreams should be interpreted according to their opposite outcomes, the law of similitudes stipulated that certain dreams should be interpreted according to like symbols and predicted similar outcomes. For example, according to Thomas Hill's *A little treatise of the interpretation of dreams* (1567), to see the dead alive again "dothe signifie that the desperate matter, shal come unto a hope," while to see the dead put on the clothes of the dreamer, "signifieth deathe to ensew." As I will discuss in detail later in this chapter, a specific dream-symbol might have a positive or negative outcome that also depended on the sex, social and marital status of the dreamer.

Dream divination handbooks therefore offered readers a valuable tool for understanding dreams, giving easily referenced interpretations based on comprehensive lists of dream-symbols. Moreover, according to English writers of dreambooks and fortune-telling books, an accurate

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27 Austen, MS Add. 4454, ff. 54(r), 60(v), 64(r), 66(v)-97(r).
understanding of one's dreams allowed for a potential disaster to be averted. Thomas Hill gave this argument about the usefulness of dream divination in his dreambook of 1576:

What a comfort wil it be to hym that examining the cyrcumstances in their due tyme & order, shal prognosticate what such things portende. And thereby may solace himself with good happes, and labour to prevent or hinder the imminent mysffortune, or at the least arme hymselfe so stronglye wyth patience as quietly to beare them.

The desire to understand the meaning of dreams and the belief that they could predict the future helps to explain why diarists may have recorded certain dreams above others. Being at the mercy of fortune and providence in the form of death, disease, accidents and supernatural forces beyond their control, the desire to know the future, and thereby prepare for or avert it, appears to have led many men and women to seek clues from their dreams. Hence, records of dreams reveal another facet of the individual dreamer’s sense of vulnerability to the combined forces of providence and fate – the unknown.

Unfortunately, in private memoirs only a few writers offer insight into how they interpreted their dreams. The majority of writers merely record their dreams without providing any reflection or interpretation. One source that can provide more detail of early modern cultural beliefs in predictive dreams is the handbooks of dream divination that circulated in the period. While we have little evidence as to who precisely read and purchased English dreambooks, the fact that they continued to be printed well into the nineteenth century does support an ongoing

29 William Lilly, A groats worth of wit for a penny, or, The interpretation of dreams ... by Mr. Lilly (London: Printed for W.T., 1670), 5. While Lilly was listed as the author of this work it is possible, given the discrepancy between this and his other works, that the publishers ascribed this work to Lilly as a marketing ploy.

30 Thomas Hill, The moste pleasuante arte of the interpretacion of dreames whereunto is annexed sundry problemes with apte aunsweares neare agreeing to the matter, and very rare examples, not like the extant in the English tongue ... (London: Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1576), Avi(r)-Avi(v).
interest in and market for them.\footnote{Maureen Perkins, “The Meaning of Dream Books,” History Workshop Journal 48 (Autumn 1999): 103–114. A close reading of Perkin's study suggests that she was actually discussing fortune-telling books that included sections of dream interpretation, rather than dreambooks as I define them.} Similarly, the simple format and content of dreambooks suggest they were marketed at a broad audience.

While dreambooks focused solely on the interpretation of dreams, fortune-telling books, books of knowledge, courtesy books and courtship manuals appealed to a broader audience by offering an eclectic range of practical information not limited to dreams. Fortune-telling books contained brief sections of a variety of divination techniques, including numerology, astrology, palmistry and moleoscopy.\footnote{See for example: Anon., Oniropolus, or dreams interpreter. Being several aphorisms upon the physiognomy of dreams made into verse. Some of which receive a general interpretation: and others of them have respect to the course of the moon in the zodiack ... (London: Printed by Thomas Dawkes, 1680); Anon., Aristotle's legacy: or, his golden cabinet of secrets opened. In five treatises 1. The wheel of fortune. 2. The art of Palmestry. 3. A treatise of moles 4. The interpreter of dreams. 5. Observations on fortunate and unfortunate days ... (London: Printed for J. Blare, 1699); Anon., The High Dutch fortune-teller wherein all those questions relating to the several states, conditions and occasions of humane life, are fully resolv'd and answer'd ... (London: Printed by W. Onley, 1700); The Old Egyptian fortune-teller's last legacy: containing, I. The wheel of fortune by pricking with a pin. ... VII. Omens of good and bad luck ... (London: s.n., 1775).} Books of knowledge were designed to be useful handbooks with all manner of “profitable” and practical information. These works included everything from directions for dream divination to lists of local fairs and markets, medical cures and astrological prognostications, some even including blank pages so they could be used as diaries or notebooks.\footnote{Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (London: Penguin, 1991), 347. See also for example: Samuel Strangehopes, A book of knowledge. In four parts: Part first. Shewing the nature of astrology, by the caelestial signs and planets. Measures of time movable terms, for 20 years, &c. Divers things necessary in trade and dealing, &c. (London: Printed for Eben. Tracy and B. Deacon, 1679); Anon., The compleat book of knowledge: treating of the wisdom of the antients and shewing the various and wonderful operations of the signs and planets, and other celestial constellations, on the bodies of men, women and children ... (London: Printed by W. Onley, 1698).} Courtesy and courtship manuals were designed as handbooks of social etiquette that gave useful advice on proper and effective methods of courtship, letter-writing and social
etiquette for both men and women, as well as several techniques of divination. English dreambooks and other manuals typically recycled excerpts of dream interpretations from Artemidorus’ *Oneirocritica* and popular medieval manuals accredited to the biblical dream interpreters *par excellence*, Daniel, Solomon and Joseph. In these cumulative works, dream divination was promoted as useful practice for a broad literate audience.

In addition to these cheap, short manuals, lengthy handbooks of dreams also circulated in the period. In the seventeenth century, dream discourses were written and compiled by Thomas Hill and Thomas Tryon. In the eighteenth century Tryon's *A treatise of dreams & visions* (1689, 1695) was re-issued as a two-volume edition and re-titled *Nocturnal revels* (1706). This title went through four subsequent editions. Later in the eighteenth century David

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34 See for example, *Wits Cabinet or A Companion for Young Men and Ladies; Containing I. The Whole Art of Wooing and Making Love, with the Best Complemental Letters ... III. The Interpretation of All Sorts of Dreams ...* (London: Printed for John Smith, 1684); Anon., *The art of courtship, or, The School of delight containing amorous dialogues, complemen
tal expressions, poems, letters and discourses upon sundry occasions relating to love and business ... to which is added the significance of moles ... : as likewise the interpretation of dreams* (London: Printed by I.M. for I. Back, 1686); *A new academy of complements: Or, the lover’s secretary. Being wit and mirth improved by the most elegant expressions used in the art of courtship, in divers Examples of writing or inditing letter ... The Signification of Moles, and Interpretation of Dreams ...* (London: Printed for S. Bates, 1727); L. G., *The amorous gallant’s tongue tipp’d with golden expressions: or, The art of courtship refined, being the best and newest academy. Containing ... III. The interpretation of all sorts of dreams ...* (London: Printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes, 1741).

35 Thomas Hill, *A pleaunt treatise of the interpretation of dreames, gathered part out of Ponzettus, and part out of the Greek Author Artemidorus* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1559) not extant; *A little treatise of the interpretation of dreams, fathered on Joseph; The most pleaunt arte of the interpretation of dreames whereunto is annexed sondrie problemes with apte aunsweares neare agreinge to the matter, and very rare examples ...* (London: Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1571) partial copy; *The moste pleasuante arte of the interpretacion of dreames whereunto is annexed sundry problems with apte aunsweares neare agreeing to the matter, and very rare examples, not like the extant in the English tongue ...* (London: Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1576); Thomas Tryon, *A treatise of dreams & visions ...* (London: s.n, 1689); Thomas Tryon, *Pythagoras his mystick philosophy reviv’d; or, The mystery of dreams unfolded ...* (London: Printed for Thomas Salisbury, 1691); Thomas Tryon, *A treatise of dreams & visions ...* (London: Printed by T. Sowle, 1695); *A treatise of dreams & visions ...* (London: Printed by T. Sowle, 1700). Anon, *Nocturnal revels: or, a general history of dreams. In two parts ...* (London: Printed for Andrew Bell, 1706); *Nocturnal revels; or, an universal dream-book. In two parts complete ...* (London: Printed for F. Noble; T. Wright and B. Stichall, 1749); *Nocturnal revels; or, a universal dream-book ...* (London: Printed and sold at Sympson’s Warehouse, 1750); *Nocturnal revels; or, a
Simpson and Malcolm Macleod published discourses on dreams that had only one edition apiece; their success was perhaps hindered by their sober warnings against dreams and extensive length.\(^3^6\) Dream treatises differed greatly from the shorter and more practical handbooks on dreams in that they discussed the causes, meaning, history and codification of dreams in some depth, while sometimes providing longer sections on the techniques of dream interpretation. These works drew explicitly from sacred and profane history as well as classical and contemporary dream-lore to explain the meaning and codification of dreams. Yet throughout the period, these more serious works were far outpaced in popularity by the cheaper, shorter simplified dream interpretation handbooks.

**Thomas Hill: Life, Works and Dreambooks**

To facilitate a deeper understanding of the framework of prediction and the history of dream divination handbooks in the period, I will focus on a close reading of two of the earliest known English dream interpretation manuals, Thomas Hill’s lengthy dream treatise *The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames* (1576), and to a lesser extent his shorter dreambook *A little treatise of the interpretation of dreams* (1567). In the history of dreams in early modern England Hill's dreambooks are significant as the first surviving vernacular works that offered a sophisticated manual of dream divination for lay audiences. Emerging from the trade in lay scientific works in the mid- to late sixteenth century, Hill's dreambooks pioneered a model that combined the specialized oneirocritic knowledge of classical authors and medical theories of natural dreams with more simplified techniques of dream interpretation. While

\(^3^6\) David Simpson, *A discourse on dreams and night-visions, with numerous examples ancient and modern* (Macclesfield: Printed by Edward Bayley, 1791); Malcolm Macleod, *The mystery of dreams discovered* ... (London: Printed by and for J. Roach, 1794).
historians have briefly studied Hill's larger dream treatise, to date no extensive studies have been made of both texts. As Peter Holland argued in his important essay on the history of dreams in the Renaissance, Hill’s 1576 dreambook “is the most substantial attempt in English Renaissance writing to produce an account of dream theory.” As such, a close study of Hill's dreambooks offers us important insight into both the emergent early modern practice of oneiromancy and the way that dreams were interpreted and understood within the framework of prediction.

Thomas Hill (1528–1572/6) was a prolific writer and transcriber of lay scientific works. He produced handbooks on a variety of topics, including gardening, astrology, palmistry, dreams, arithmetic, midwifery and physiognomy. Hill’s overall aim was to provide vernacular handbooks that distilled learned and popular lore for a wider audience, making knowledge previously confined to the learned minority more accessible. This aim also extended to his two extant dream divination handbooks, *A little treatise of the interpretation of dreams* (1567) and *The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames* (first edition 1559, extant only in a 1576 edition). In these two dream handbooks Hill offered readers a novel synthesis of learned and popular theories about dreams and their interpretation, drawing from Artemidorus, Galen, Aristotle and Averroes as well as medieval dreambooks ascribed to Daniel, Solomon and Joseph.

Artemidorus Daldianus (fl. 2nd century CE) wrote the *Oneirocritica*, perhaps the most influential dreambook in the western tradition. As I will show, this work is the main source of Hill's larger dreambook *The moste pleaunante arte of the interpretacion of dreames*. The most authoritative edition of Artemidorus circulating in the sixteenth century was the Latin translation

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made by the Saxon Humanist scholar Janus Cornarius (1500–1558), published by
Hieronymus Froben in 1539. This edition entitled *Artemidori Daldiani ... De somniorum
interpretatione, libri quing[ue]* was reprinted by Froben in 1544, and another edition was issued
from the Parisian printing house of S. Gryphium in 1546. It is likely that the Froben 1539
dition was the copy that Thomas Hill consulted for his 1576 dreambook. Hill could have had
access to this edition of Artemidorus in John Dee’s library. This speculation is based on the
fact that Hill thanks Dee in his work *The contemplation of mankinde* (1571):

Somewhat I have seene by experience, all that thou hast here, gatheredoute of the best
wryters: muche more I have reade, and the best of that, I also give thee. So many as
shall receyve any fruit or commoditie by me, let them give thankes unto the worshipfull
and high learned man, Mayster Dee, by whose helpe and ayde at the beginning, I
receyved such monuments and principles, as gave me great light unto this knowledge,
and unto whom also thou art greatly bound: for that he wisheth well unto his Countrie
men, and hath taken great paynes to do his Countrie good.

Dee had a substantial library with over 2,000 titles held at his house at Mortlake. In the self-
compiled index of his collection, Dee records owning “Artemidoriy de somnys lay 8o frob
1539.” According to Francis R. Johnson in his study of astronomical thought in Renaissance
England, Dee was known to take on students and allow scholars to consult and use his library. It

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38 *Artemidori Daldiani ... De somniorum interpretatione, libri quing[ue]/iam primum à Iano Cornario medico physico Francofordensi, Latina lingua conscripti* trans. Janus Cornarius (Basileae: Per Hieronymu[m] Frobenium & Nicholaum Episcopiu[m], 1539); *Artemidori Daldiani ... De somniorum interpretatione, libri quing[ue]/iam primum à Iano Cornario medico physico Francofordensi, Latina lingua conscripti* trans. Janus Cornarius (Basileae: Per Hieronymu[m] Frobenium & Nicholaum Episcopiu[m], 1544); *Artemidori Daldiani ... De somniorum interpretatione, libri quing[ue]/iam primum à Iano Cornario medico physico Francofordensi, Latina lingua conscripti* (Lugduni: Apud S. Gryphium, 1546).
40 Thomas Hill, *The contemplation of mankinde conteyning a singuler discourse after the art of phisiognomie, on all the members and partes of man, as from the heade to the foote, in a more ample maner than hytherto hath beene published of any ...* (London: Printed by Henry Denham for William Seres, 1571), Aiv(r)–Aiv(v).
is therefore possible that Hill was given access to Dee’s collection and consulted the work of Artemidorus at Mortlake.\footnote{Francis R. Johnson, \textit{Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645} (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), 41–42.}

In both of his dream handbooks Hill also drew from popular medieval dreambooks ascribed to Daniel, Solomon and Joseph. As Steven Kruger shows in his study of dream interpretation in medieval Europe, these manuals circulated extensively in the Middle Ages in manuscript form, with different authors adding to each version so that multiple editions and versions exist.\footnote{S.F. Kruger, \textit{Dreaming in the Middle Ages} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 10.} In the medieval period the most popular “dreambook proper,” as defined by Steven Kruger, was the \textit{Somniale Danielis} a dreambook ascribed to the Old Testament dream interpreter that included brief summaries of dreams with their corresponding interpretation.\footnote{Lawrence T. Martin, ‘The Earliest Versions of the Latin "Somniale Danielis"," \textit{Manuscripta} XXIII (1979): 131–141. For a Latin-English modern edition see, Steven R. Fischer ed., \textit{The Complete Medieval Dreambook} (Bern und Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982). Early modern printed examples of this dreambook include, but are not limited to, \textit{Interpretationes seu somnia Danielis prophete revelata ab angelo missus [sic] a deo primo de diebus Lune} (Rome: Johannes Bulle, 1479); \textit{Somnia Salomonis David regis fili una cum Daniellis prophete somniorum interpretatione: novissime ex amussim recognita oibus mendis expurgata} (Venetiis: M. Sessam & P. de Ravenis, 1516).} The authors of medieval dreambooks sought to establish credibility for their texts by ascribing them to biblical figures and consequently these works were bolstered by the strong tradition of prophetic and predictive dreams in the Bible.\footnote{Kruger, \textit{Dreaming}, 10.}

The \textit{Somniale Danielis} included short descriptions of dreams with their interpretation, sometimes ordered alphabetically by the content of the dream. The basic model of “this dream means this outcome” in medieval dreambooks was one that authors of early modern English
dreambooks, including Hill, emulated. Hill himself acknowledges that his dreambooks drew inspiration from such medieval “pamphlets” entitled “to be Josephs,” “out of the worke of the wise Solomon” and “Daniell the Prophet.” Although it is impossible to verify which particular editions Hill was working from, we can speculate that he drew the shorter sections of dream interpretation from sixteenth-century copies of the Somniale Danielis and similar dreambooks ascribed to Solomon and Joseph.

Little is known about Thomas Hill’s origins and life outside of his career as a compiler, translator and writer. As mentioned earlier, Hill wrote a wide variety of texts that cover a remarkable range of topics, everything from gardening, astronomy and arithmetic to dream interpretation, and his works sold for as little as two pence and up to one shilling. Historians Francis R. Johnson and Bernard Capp have reached different conclusions on the extent of Hill’s education. The year of Hill’s birth is based on the small woodcut showing an attractive portrait of Hill with the engraving “AETATIS SUAE 28” in his 1556 tract, A briefe and moste pleasaunte epitomye of the whole art of phisiognomie, printed by John Wayland. We know that he spent much of his adult life in London, since his works were printed with “Thomas Hill, Londoner” on their title pages. However, little is known about his origins and early life, and his death can only be roughly placed between 1572 and 1576. These dates are based on the Preface

46 The final section of Hill’s The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames (1576) includes a section “Certain briefe Dreames out of the Pamphlettes of the wyse Solomon holye Joseph, and Daniell the Prophet, with others now newlye added.” (Nvi(v)–Pvi(v)). Similarly, his 1601 and 1626 shorter dreambooks were entitled: A most briefe and pleasant treatise of the interpretation of sundrie dreames intituled to be Josephs, and sundry other dreames out of the worke of the wise Salomon.


of Hill’s last work, *The newe jewell of health*, posthumously published by Henry Denham in 1576 and introduced by an English surgeon, George Baker, who wrote that Thomas Hill had taken great “paynes in this worke, but before it coulde be brought to perfection, God tooke him to his mercie.”

The precise details and extent of Hill’s education are also hazy and while Francis R. Johnson asserts that he received the “usual grammar school education of the time but no more,” Bernard Capp writes that Hill matriculated at Cambridge. I have not been able to find any evidence that Hill was university educated and find Johnson’s detailed portrait of Hill more convincing. Besides, Hill himself wrote in his tract, *The contemplation of mANKINde* (1571),

> Even so I in doubtfull maner dreaming of Momus, when I least thinke of him, shall finde me encountered of him: for what fault is there so small, which Momus will not finde. If the learned sort brought up always, under Minerva, are sometymes touched of him: much more I who never tasted of the learned Lake, but rather alwayes rudely taught, among the Smithes of Vulcanus forge, must needes be stung by him.

In this closing passage Hill makes this apologia either as a sincere request to excuse any faults in his work or as a conventional literary technique to present the author as humble and virtuous. Above all, this excerpt suggests that Hill had only a standard grammar school education. As a result, his accomplishments as a prolific compiler and translator of numerous classical Latin, Italian and Greek texts are even more notable.

During his career, Hill produced nine original works that went through multiple editions and were published by several printers including Thomas Marshe, William Copland, Edward

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50 Ibid., 338; Thomas Hill, *The newe jewell of health wherein is contayned the most excellent secretes of phisicke and philosophie, devided into fower bookekes. In the which are the best approved remedies for the diseases as well inwarde as outwarde ...* (London: Printed by Henry Denham, 1576), Aiïïïïï(r).


52 Hill, *Contemplation of mANKINde*, Hhvi(r)-Hhvii(r). By "him" Hill is referring to Momus/Momos the God of censure, blame or criticism in Greek mythology.
Sutton and Henry Denham. Hill was also one of the earliest English almanac writers; his first
almanac appeared in 1560 with eight more editions ensuing, including one with the novel
invention of extra blank pages to serve as a pocket diary.\(^{53}\) Hill’s first larger publication was a
translation of a compilation of classical works on physiognomy originally authored by
Bartolomeo della Rocca, also known as Cocles (1467–1504), an Italian scholar of chiromancy,
astrology and physiognomy.\(^{54}\) This edition was successful in launching Hill's career as a
translator and writer and was re-titled *The contemplation of mankind* and printed by William
Seres in 1571. Another cheap edition appeared in 1613, titled *A pleasant history: declaring the
whole art of physiognomy* and was printed by William Jaggard. In this and all his subsequent
works, Hill sought to make classical knowledge available to a wider audience by offering a
fusion of learned and popular lore.

Hill's most popular work by far was a handbook of gardening, *The moste profitable arte
of gardening*, originally printed by Thomas Marshe in 1560. Nine editions circulated in England
from 1560 to 1608 and Henry Bynneman published a posthumous edition in 1577 entitled *The
gardiner's labyrinth* giving Hill the pseudonym Dydymus Mountaine.\(^{55}\) This version was also
successful and ran through a further seven editions.

During his career as a compiler and translator of practical scientific works, Hill
published two original dream divination handbooks, a shorter and a longer text, both which went
through multiple editions. Hill’s first dreambook, *A pleasaunt treatise of the interpretation of
\(^{53}\) Thomas Hill, *An almanack published at large, in forme of a booke of memorie necessary for all such,
as have occasion daylie to note sundry affayres, eyther for receytes, payments, or such lyke ...* (London:
Printed by Henry Denham, 1571); John Considine, "Hill, Thomas."

\(^{54}\) Thomas Hill, *A brief and most pleasau[n]t epitomye of the whole art of phisiognomie, gathered out of
Aristotle, Rasis, Formica, Loxius, Phylemo[n], Palemo[n], Consiliator, Morbeth the Cardinal and others
many more, by that learned chyrurgian Cocles ...* (London: Printed by John Wayland, 1556).

labyrinth containing a discourse of the gardeners life, in the yearly travels to be bestowed on his plot of
earth, for the use of a garden ...* (London: Printed by Henry Bynneman, 1577).
dreames, gathered part out of Ponzettus, and part out of the Greek Author Artemidorus was first published by Thomas Marshe, one of the original members of the Company of Stationers, in 1559 and reprinted in 1563 and 1567.\footnote{See Johnson, "Thomas Hill," 341–351; Hill’s list in \textit{The contemplation of mankind} (1571), Hhvii(v)-liv(r). The copyright for this work was listed in the Registers of the Company of Stationers by Thomas Marshe as “a boke of sertayne Dreames made by Artemidorus” between July 1558 and July 1559. Edward Arber ed., \textit{A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640}, Vol. 1 (London: Privately Published, 1875), 33.} However, no copies of these early editions are known to exist. In 1571 Thomas Marshe published in octavo a lengthy treatise on dream divination by Hill entitled \textit{The most pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames, whereunto is annexed sondrie problemes with apt answeres}. Although only fragments of this text survive, a full copy exists of the second edition published by Marshe in 1576.\footnote{The fragment of Hill’s 1571 edition held by the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery is only a title page. On the verso is an interesting notation that reads: “This booke solde by me William Barlowe servaunt to Thomas Marshe wiche I warrant to be perfecte or els to change it.”} It is possible that this edition and the 1571 version were based on Hill's first dreambook published in 1559. Yet since this early edition has not survived it is impossible to compare the two texts.\footnote{It is also curious that Hill never mentioned this forthcoming dream handbook in his 1571 publication list, and the Company of Stationers’ records do not reveal whether Marshe registered a new text by Hill, since their records are unfortunately missing for the period 1571 to 1577.} Therefore, it is not possible to verify whether this was a new text compiled by Hill or merely the re-edition of the 1559 dreambook for which Marshe already had the rights.

In 1567 William Copland printed another shorter simplified handbook of dream interpretation by Hill titled \textit{A little treatise of the interpretation of dreames, fathered on Joseph}.\footnote{Johnson, "Thomas Hill," 341–351; Hill’s list in, \textit{The contemplation of mankind} (1571), Hhvii(v)-liv(r); Arber, \textit{Transcript of the Registers}, 339.} He registered this text with the Stationers between July 1566 and 1567 under the title “a breaf and pleasaunte treatese of the interpretation of Dreames.”\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, 154.}
copy is held at the John Ryland's Library in Manchester and is largely intact, although the
title page and the first page of the preface are missing.\textsuperscript{61}

In 1601 the printer Simon Stafford bought Copland’s patent and reprinted Hill’s 1567
shorter dreambook as \textit{A moste briefe and pleasant treatise of the interpretation of sundrie
dreames intitled to be Josephs}. The rights were then sold to Francis Williams on 16 January
1626 who published the tract one last time with few changes to Stafford’s edition.\textsuperscript{62} As with the
1601 edition, Hill’s name was removed as the author. Fortunately, complete copies of the 1601
and 1626 edition survive. A close comparison between the Copland 1567 Hill dreambook and
the 1601 and 1626 editions show that both the later editions recycled almost \textit{verbatim} this
earlier copy only omitting a small section of dreams of the dead and of descending to hell,
amongst others.\textsuperscript{63}

Overall, there are two original handbooks on dream divination that survive written by
Hill, the shorter, simplified dreambook, \textit{A little treatise of the interpretation of dreams, fathered
on Joseph} (William Copland, 1567) and the longer handbook, \textit{The moste pleasaunte arte of the
interpretation of dreames} (Thomas Marshe, 1576). Combined, these two extant works offer us
important insights into early modern English ideas and practices of dream divination and will be
the foundation for the following discussion.

\textsuperscript{61} My thanks are due here to Anne Anderton, Carol Burrows and Thomas Gordon at the John Rylands
Library for arranging for the copying of Hill's 1567 dreambook.
\textsuperscript{62} Johnson, "Thomas Hill," 344.
\textsuperscript{63} The 1601 and 1626 editions omit Hill's interpretations of seeing oneself in the looking glass, seeing
oneself in water, dreaming one descends to Hell, seeing oneself called by a dead person, seeing one's
wife arisen again, seeing the dead alive, touching the dead and so on. It's not clear why these dreams
were omitted.
Thomas Hill’s *The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames*

Hill’s first surviving lengthy dream divination handbook *The moste pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames* (1576) contains a fusion of theories and interpretations of dreams based on a composite of the writings of Aristotle, Averroes and Artemidorus with a shorter section at the end taken from “pamphletts” or dreambooks ascribed to Daniel, Joseph and Solomon. At 230 pages long, the overall work consists of twelve subsections with discussions about the causes of dreams, the opinions of physicians on dreams and general questions and answers about dreams and sleep. Combined, these initial sections introduce the reader to learned theories about natural and supernatural dreams and the practice of dream divination, drawing in particular from the essays *De somnis* and *De somno et vigilia* by Aristotle and commentaries by Averroes. These short sections also demonstrate how Hill supported and reconciled both a natural and supernatural etiology of dreams; by incorporating learned natural theories, he sought to make his treatise more credible.

The bulk of Hill’s text is devoted to the section, “Of those Dreames whiche were reported to have bene proved,” including dream narratives with their interpretations taken directly from Artemidorus. This section makes up two-thirds of the dreambook and is Hill’s main concern. A comparison between Artemidorus and Hill's main section of dream interpretation illustrates that the author essentially translated Books 1, 2, 4 and 5 from the *Oneirocritica verbatim*, although in a convoluted order with some notable omissions. Following this is a final shorter section entitled, "Certain briefe Dreames gathered out of Pamphlettes of the wyse Salomon holye Joseph, and Daniell the Prophet, with others now newlye added." This final section is most likely a close transcription of the *Somnialis Danielis* and/or *Sompnile*.
Joseph, both common Latin dreambooks that circulated in the late medieval period.  

Another possible contender is the Somnia Salomonis, a Latin dreambook that included dream interpretations according to the three prophets mentioned by Hill, published in Venice in 1516. Yet, this is purely speculative and unfortunately a survey of all the possible sources of Hill's final section is beyond the scope of this dissertation. At the very least, this section shows how Hill drew from not only learned writings on dreams, but also popular medieval dreambooks still circulating in the mid-sixteenth century.

Overall, Hill’s 1576 dreambook is a compilation of pre-existing works and theories of dream divination with little original content. His primary aim was to produce English compilations of classical and contemporary lore for a literate yet not necessarily scholarly audience. This aim also extends to his other publications including handbooks on gardening, physiognomy, astrology, palmistry and physic. Rather than being an original thinker, Hill was a talented compiler and translator who aimed to provide practical handbooks of classical learning otherwise inaccessible to most readers.

Although Peter Holland asserts in his short essay on Renaissance dreams that Hill’s work relied heavily on the writings and dream theories of Aristotle and Averroes, in fact it draws more extensively on the work of Artemidorus and was fundamentally concerned with being a practical handbook of interpretations of dreams rather than a detailed summary of dream theories. Based largely on the Oneirocritica, itself a professional handbook of oneiromancy, Hill’s 1576 dreambook was designed as a guide for helping readers to learn “the moste

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64 Kruger, Dreaming, 10.
66 Hill, Whole art of phisiognomie; Contemplation of mankinde; Gardeners labyrinth.
67 Holland, "Interpretation of Dreams," 142.
pleasaunte arte of the interpretacion of dreames.” Dream divination in Hill’s text is presented as both a serious, learned practice and simultaneously a “pleasaunte” pastime for the reader’s leisure. In this way, Hill attempted to adapt the classical practice of oneiromancy, as one of the divinatory sciences, to the needs of a broader early modern English audience, also seeking to appeal to the emerging interest in fortune-telling tracts and debased astrological works.

Another of Hill’s principal aims was to present dream interpretation as a credible science or “art” in the face of critics. In his Preface Hill explained,

If it be superstitious (gentle Reader) and therefore denied of some men, to have a foresyghte and judgmente in thinges to come, whye is [it] not then denied to learned Physitions, skillful warriours, weary husbandemen, and polytycke Captains, to have knowledge in the Artes of divination: If they be condemyned which bee of such antiquitye, so generallye recyved, and so often confirmed by the sundry workes of learned men, who then shall dare presume to open the secreates of dreames, wherein is contayned so high, and so many mysteries. But great pitty it were that so noble a knowledge, so necessarie to all men bee troden under fote, and so lightly estemed.68

Hill argues that oneiromancy is one of the most useful and “worthy” arts of divination.69 To critics of the practice he explains that the dream interpreter requires “dexterity in learning,” while the art itself was modulated by certain “unfallible rules.”70 He pleads to his readers thus: “Let not the misusage of some men, take awaye or deminish the commendation, that is incident to so good an Art.”71 In addition to demonstrating Hill’s aim to promote dream divination, these comments also show how in the sixteenth century the practice of dream divination was a continuing source of controversy.

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68 Hill, Interpretacion of dreams (1576), Aiiii(v).
69 Ibid., Av(r).
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid., Av(v).
In defense of oneiromancy Hill reminds his readers that the Bible also supports the practice of dream interpretation: “I see not nowe [sic] that the rashe judgement of the ignorante, can rightlye condemne the knowledge of this Arte, seeing the learned, yea & holy Scriptures, do bothe allow and witnesse of Dreames.” He refers readers to the examples of the biblical dream interpreters, in particular Daniel, Joseph and Solomon, adding that the “Apostles and other holy men, were taught and warned by dreames.” Like many authors of dreambooks who came after him, Hill drew from the Scriptures to reinforce the credibility of oneiromancy as an orthodox Christian practice. To promote dream divination as a serious science he warns his readers to use discretion and good judgment when interpreting dreams:

Beleeve nothing rashlye, nor to pronounce anye thinge without good judgment but first to practisit wythe thyselfe secretlye and then if the judgementes fall out rhygte, thou maist the bolder communicate it wythe the other. If not, condemn it not, but leave it to their judgementes, whose learning byeing more profonde, or knowledge more parfitte can better and more sincerelye interpret the same. 73

Overall, Hill’s Preface presents dream divination as a useful and credible practice, fit for Christians and “profitable” for all “grave and sober” persons of good judgment and education.

Showing how he reconciled contemporary theories of natural and supernatural dreams, another argument made by Hill for the credibility of dream interpretation is that dreams confer useful insight into health. He explains, “The phisicians also dooe observe, that dreames in a maner doo declare the disposicion [sic] of our bodies, as eyther to helth or sicknes, whiche parhappes oughte rather to bee searched out and learned by Arte.” 74 According to Hill, whilst some dreams are supernaturally inspired and predict the future, others are natural and show the imbalances of the humors. Drawing from the co-existing framework of health and classical

72 Ibid., Aiii(r).
73 Ibid., Avii(v)–Aviii(r).
74 Ibid., Dii(v).
theories of natural dreams expounded by Galen, Hill explains that melancholy causes “blacke visiones, lyke as the drye earthe obscure or dead men,” foretelling “customed sicknesses” caused by “melancholy humoure.”

Here Hill refers to well-known contemporary ideas about natural dreams to provide more evidence for dream interpretation as a credible science. This excerpt also shows how contemporary ideas about natural dreams, as explored in Chapter 1, were not necessarily contradictory to supernatural or predictive theories for early modern writers, but were rather complementary and able to fit into long-standing classical etiologies of dreams. Although Hill’s chief concern was with predictive dreams, his discussions of the various causes of dreams, both natural and supernatural, served his larger aim of defending and establishing the practice of dream divination as a credible and ultimately useful science.

Hill drew from Artemidorus to outline the qualities necessary for a successful practitioner of dream divination. In Book 1 of the Oneirocritica Artemidorus advised that an accurate dream interpretation requires the interpreter to “know the dreamer’s identity, occupation, birth, financial status, state of health and age.” According to Hill, “it shalbe necessarye for the interpretoure to consider and knowe what the persone tradeth or occupyeth, & of what birth hee is & what possessions he hath & what state he is in for the healthe of the bodye & of what age he is also which seeth the dreame.” Artemidorus’ schema of dream divination also stipulated that the actual interpretation and outcome of a particular dream narrative varied depending on the age, sex, marital status, profession, health and wealth of the dreamer. For example he wrote that,

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75 Ibid.
77 Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Bvi(r).
To have hair that is long and beautiful, and to be proud of it, is good, especially for a woman. For women, for the sake of beauty, sometimes use the hair of others. It is also good for a wise man, a priest, a prophet, a king, a ruler and for stage performers, since it is customary for some of these men to let their hair grow long. It is the profession of the others that lets them grow their hair long. It is also auspicious for other men, but less so. For it simply signifies riches, not pleasant but involving trouble, since the grooming of long hair demands great care and attention.\(^78\)

A dream interpreter, according to both Artemidorus and Hill, must also know the complete narrative of the dream without any omissions or fabrications.\(^79\) Above all, Hill urges that “none also but the wise and discreet parsons, may rightly discern and Judge of Dreames.”\(^80\) Dreams that occur to individuals “whose spirits are occupied” with “irrational imaginations,” or who are “overcharged” with “the burden of meat or drink, or superfluous humors,” are not true, but rather are “named vain dreams, no true signifiers of matters to come but rather shewers of the present affections and desires of the body.”\(^81\) This example shows how authors such as Hill were able to reconcile the frameworks of health with that of prediction. Hill draws the emphasis on the body as a site where the humors and soul could be corrupted from contemporary Christianized readings of Galen, outlined in Chapter 1. This understanding of the relationship between dreams, the body and health is largely absent from Artemidorus, yet these ideas are present in Aristotle and early modern medical writings on dreams.

To defend oneiromancy as a credible practice, Hill also emphasizes that the "expounder of dreams" should possess a degree of learning and “not to be ignorant, howe that the doings & busines of men doe daylye alter through the one, and through the other by the disposition of the

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\(^80\) *Ibid.*, Aii(r)–Aii(v).
\(^81\) *Ibid.*
bloude and spirits.” That is to say the ideal dream interpreter should have a good understanding of natural dreams and the way the four humors affect the body and produce certain dreams. These requirements were designed to help promote the credibility of oneiromancy and also illustrate how the frameworks of health and prediction were reconciled.

While Artemidorus developed a sophisticated classification of dreams in his *Oneirocritica*, Thomas Hill largely ignores this schema, preferring to distinguish dreams into the broad categories of “vain” and “true.” According to Hill, there are “divers kyndes of dreames,” and the astute interpreter of dreams should be able to discern true from false or “vain” dreams. The movements of the humors in the body, or the natural process of digestion resulting from “meates and drinkes” cause false dreams. These dreams are merely byproducts of physiological processes and are therefore meaningless. Certain foods such as the “heads of Garlick, the Coleworts, the Onyones, the Beanes” were particularly good catalysts for “vain” and humoral dreams. Other non-predictive dreams were caused by the “cares cogitations, matter as committed to memorye, feare, hope, gladnes, heavines or sadnes of mynde hatred and love.” Here we can see again the way that Hill drew on the co-existing frameworks of natural dreams, health and the physiology of sleep to help bolster the art of dream divination as a credible science. By acknowledging that some dreams were natural and meaningless, whilst

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82 Ibid., Bv(r).
83 Artemidorus divided dreams first into two main categories: (1) *enhypnion*, or things which occur in sleep that are meaningless and (2) *oneiros*, significant dreams. He divides significant dreams into two further categories: (1) *theorematic* or direct predictive dreams needing no interpretation, and (2) *allegorical* dreams encoded in symbols which require interpretation. *Allegorical* dreams can then be subdivided into five categories: (1) *personal* (involving the self), (2) *alien* (involving others), (3) *common* (involving self and others), (4) *public* (involving public places) and (5) *cosmic* dreams, (involving “cosmic” symbols such as planets, stars etc., which predict “cosmic” outcomes). (Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* [1975], Book 1, 14–16).
84 Hill, *Interpretacion of dreames* (1576), Dv(r)–Dv(v).
85 Ibid., Dvi(v).
86 Ibid., Dvii(r).
upholding others as indeed divine, supernatural and meaningful, Hill sought to qualify oneiromancy and defend the art against potential critics and natural theories of dreams. This position was not necessarily new and derived from long-standing ideas about dreams as being fundamentally divided into natural and supernatural etiologies.

Like Artemidorus, Hill is fairly circumspect regarding the causes of “true” dreams, and only mentions in the epistle that those seen by “grave & sober persons, do signifie matters to come, and a spirite undoubtedlie shewinge to them, whiche by her nature is a Prophetesse.”87 Thus, Hill demonstrates a rather superficial interest in the causes of dreams in light of his greater aim to provide a practical handbook of dream divination. Yet, with all the variety of dreams and their causes, the dream interpreter had to be able to discern which dreams were meaningful and significant, and what exactly the dream predicted. However, Hill is largely unhelpful in distinguishing the different kinds of dreams, leaving this to the judgment of the dream interpreter.

According to early modern theories, dream divination was believed to rest on two principal rules, the “law of similitudes” and the “law of contraries.” The law of similitudes most likely derived from Artemidorus, who asserted that certain dream-symbols corresponded to similar outcomes, persons and meanings. The head signified the head of household, while the limbs symbolized the children and members of the household. Similarly, certain dreams could be easily interpreted, such as to steer a ship well was fortunate, and portended good, while tempests at sea indicated evil and harm:

87 Ibid., Aii(v). Artemidorus wrote, “I do not, like Aristotle, inquire as to whether the cause of our dreaming is outside of us and comes from the gods or whether it is motivated from something within.” (Artemidorus, Oneirocritica [1975], Book 1, 21).
He that thinketh in his dreame, to governe a shippe wel, and wyselye, signifiyth goode to all personnes. For not without feare and labour it is governed and brought to any port. But if they be vexed with tempestes or come to shyppewracke, it doth portende a myghtye evill or harme to ensue which hath often bene observed.88

Hill includes another example, a dream of marriage equals death, since “marriage is also similar to death and is represented by death” in dreams.89 According to Hill, the astute interpreter of dreams therefore "ought to bee a moste arteficiall judger, which well knoweth similitudes, in that all dreams fall not out right, for in this case everye one maye easelye judge those dreames as the same happneth of the notes. ... Also he ought to know how to discusse from like to like."90

Similarly, the law of contraries also most likely derived from a reading of Artemidorus, who wrote in Book 2 of the Oneirocritica, “fulfillments are always contrary to dream images. ... Weeping and mourning for a dead man or for anyone else and grief itself foretell rightly and logically that one will rejoice in something and take delight in a successful business venture.”91 This law may also have been disseminated through the popular medieval dreambooks accredited to Daniel, Joseph and Solomon. It is easy to see how this rule complicated the art of dream interpretation for early modern men and women interested in decoding their dreams. According to it, particular dream-symbols corresponded not to their obvious interpretation, but rather to the opposite outcome. The death of friends, for example, indicated they were in good health, and vice versa.92

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88 Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Lv(r).
89 Artemidorus, Oneirocritica (1975), 130; Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Niii(v)–Niiii(r).
90 Ibid., Biiii(v).
91 Artemidorus, Oneirocritica (1975), 130.
92 Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Niiii(v).
Other sixteenth-century writers knew the law of contraries. Reginald Scot recounted an English proverbial joke in his *The discoverie of witchcraft* (1584): “Albeit that here in England, this Proverbe hath beene current; to wit, Dreames proove contrarie: according to the answer of the priests boy to his master, who told his said boy that he dreempt he kissed his taile: yea maister (saith he) but dreames proove contrarie, you must kisse mine.” Thomas Nashe, derisively criticized the practice of dream interpretation in his work *The terrors of the night* (1594):

Those that will harken any more after Dreames, I referre them to Artimidorus, Synesius, & Cardan, with many others which onely I have heard by their names, but I thanke God had never the plodding patience to reade, for if they bee no better than some of them I have perused, every weatherwise old wife might write better. What sense is there that the yolke of an egge should signifie gold, or dreaming of Beares, of fire, or water, debate and anger, that everything must bee interpreted backward as Witches say their Pater-noster, good being the character of bad, and bad of good.

Contemporary awareness of the law of contraries shows how by the end of the sixteenth century these rules pervaded and complicated the art of oneiromancy so that an accurate interpretation required a specialized knowledge of dream-symbols and their encoded meanings.

The time, day and season in which dreams occurred were important indicators of the truth-value of the dream. According to Hill, “morning” dreams were widely believed to be more “true.” The power of morning dreams was a common belief in England and is related to the Galenic model of health and the physiology of sleep. According to Steven Kruger, this idea can be traced to twelfth-century writings on dreams, particularly those by Adelard of Bath, Gregory

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of Tours and Guillaume de Conches. The credibility of morning dreams was based on the idea that after midnight and towards dawn the body had completed digestion, allowing the soul to commune more freely with spirits. Drawing from Aristotle, Hill explained in his section on “certain demaundes and their answers both of sleepe and of those matters, through which, some time we dreame:”

Why dreames which are caused in the morning, be parfiter and to more reason, then the others in the night tyme. To which the philosopher answere that in the morning the midle devision betweene the common sence and the Organe reservative is sufficient quiet, through which the fumes of the meat elevated then, are sufficiente weake, and of this cause trewer, and parftyter dreames.

Reginald Scot also acknowledged this belief stating, “dreames in the dead of night are commonlie preposterous and monstrous,” while in the morning “when the grosse humors be spent, there happen more pleasant and certaine dreames, the blood being more pure than at other times.” This is another example of the way that approaches to dreams were reconciled so that the frameworks of health and prediction were complementary rather than contradictory.

Astrological principles also helped to determine the truth-value of dreams; it was believed that the virtue of the morning dream was also due to the movements of the sun and moon. With the nearing of the dawn and the proximity of the sun, dreams themselves were accordingly more likely to be true: “for that the sonne is the authour of the true and constante thinges,” Hill explained.

Early modern English diarists frequently recorded the time of their dreams and proximity to morning, indicating an awareness that morning dreams were more potent and true. The

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95 Kruger, Dreaming, 72.
96 Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Ci(v).
97 Scot, Discoverie of witchcraft, 183. Here Scot is referring to the ideas of Giambattista della Porta in his work, Magiae naturalis (1558).
98 Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Dviii(r).
astrologer Elias Ashmole was careful to note the approximate time of his dreams in his diary, as did William Laud who wrote in one entry, “Monday. This morning between four and five of the clock, lying at Hampton Court, I dreamed that I was going out in haste.”99 Ralph Josselin noted in his diary entry for 5 October 1656, “I dreamed in the night towards the lords day morning of many things, at length of the unrulines of souldiers in quartering.”100

In addition to the temporal occurrence of the dream, the season and precise date were also significant factors in assessing the truth-value of a dream. Hill advised his readers, “men have truer dreames in the Sommer and the Wynter then in the Springe, and the Harveste.”101 This was because summer and winter were longer, more stable seasons, while spring and autumn were transitory and therefore ambiguous. Drawing from medieval notions of the influence of the planets, moon and sun on dreams, Hill also emphasized that the astrological position of the sun and moon influenced when the dream would be fulfilled:

And if in the Kalendes of any moneth, or in the entrance of the Sonne into anye signe then within a moneth. And if in the same way of the Sunnes enteraunce, eyther into the Solstice or Equinoctiall, then shall the effecte ensue within three monethes. And if in the houre of the full Moone or Chaunge, then within two dayes after. And if at the Sun rysinge on the Sondaye; then within seven dayes after.102

Dreams associated with specific feast days were also considered especially fortuitous. According to Hill, dreams were particularly “marvelous” when they occurred on Christmas day, “the day of the salutation of the virgin Marye” and on Easter, the “daye of the resurrection.”103

The influence of the Christian liturgy is evident here in shaping early modern ideas of dream

99 Laud, Works, 364; Ashmole, His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, 386, 442, 456.
100 Josselin, Diary, 364.
101 Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Dvii(v)–Dviii(r).
102 Ibid., Eii(r).
103 Ibid.
divination, as is the close relationship between oneiromancy and other divinatory sciences, such as astrology.

One of Artemidorus’ most influential theories about dream interpretation was the idea that the dream body corresponded to the social body. This was a schema of oneiromancy linked to the law of similitudes that was emulated in Hill's dreambooks as well as in other later seventeenth-century fortune-telling tracts. In Book 1 of the Oneirocritica, Artemidorus explained,

But those [dreams] which involve the body or a part of the body, or external objects such as beds, boxes, or baskets, as well as other articles of furniture ... although they are personal, often have the tendency to affect others too, depending on the closeness of the relationship. For example, the head indicates one’s Father; the foot indicates a slave; the right hand indicates one’s Father, son, friend or brother; the left hand indicates one’s parents, wife or children.104

Book 1 is devoted to a detailed study of dream interpretations based on the particular body parts appearing in the dream. The major organs acted as symbols for the dreamer’s immediate family, with the heart and lungs signifying the male dreamer’s wife, while the liver indicated the son. The gallbladder was a symbol for women in the dreamer’s life, and the belly and guts signified his or her children.105 Thomas Hill included this list of dream-symbols, transcribing it almost verbatim from Artemidorus, yet notably omitting the section on the penis and groin. According to Artemidorus, the genitals “indicate one’s parents, wife, or children.”106

Sexuality and sexual dreams were discussed in detail in the original Oneirocritica. Artemidorus offered interpretations of dreams about sodomy, sex with one’s mother,

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104 Artemidorus, Oneirocritica (1975), 17.
105 Ibid.
106 Artemidorus, Oneirocritica (1975), 17, 38–39.
masturbation, lesbian sex, sex with gods and goddesses, necrophilia and sex with animals.\(^\text{107}\)

In both Hill’s dreambook and later seventeenth-century English translations of Artemidorus, these dreams are most often omitted, perhaps indicating the early modern belief that such topics were unfit for a Christian audience. Yet, in his section on sexual dreams, Hill includes Artemidorus’ interpretations of dreams involving visiting brothels, having sex with known and unknown women, sex with one’s wife, sex with one’s servant, sex with one’s brother and adultery.\(^\text{108}\) However, Hill omits discussions about dreams involving sex with one's mother, kissing one’s own penis, fellatio with one's self, lesbian sex, sex with gods/goddesses, sex with the moon, sex with corpses and sex with animals.\(^\text{109}\) English editions of Artemidorus also omitted these sections, skipping over all sexual dreams to the section on dreaming of sleep.\(^\text{110}\)

However, without knowing which translation he was transcribing, it is unclear whether Hill and the later seventeenth-century authors of the English editions of Artemidorus censored these dreams, or whether this was a modification made by earlier translators.

While dream interpretation handbooks contained few examples of sexual dreams, this is not to say that early modern men and women did not have sexual dreams. Elias Ashmole recorded several dreams he had of the women he was courting in his personal diary that leave little doubt about their sexual nature.\(^\text{111}\) Samuel Pepys also wrote of the intense pleasure he derived from a dream, “which I think is the best that ever was dreamed – which was, that I had

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\(^\text{107}\) Ibid., 58–66.
\(^\text{108}\) Hill, Interpretacion of dreams (1576), Lv(r)–Lvii(r).
\(^\text{109}\) Artemidorus, Oneirocritica (1975), 58–66.
\(^\text{110}\) See for example any seventeenth- or eighteenth-century English edition of Artemidorus, eg. The interpretation of dreams, digested into five books by that ancient and excellent philosopher, Artimedorus … (London: Printed by Bernard Alsop, 1644).
\(^\text{111}\) Ashmole, His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, 386.
my Lady Castlemayne in my armes and was admitted to use all the dalliance I desired with
her.”

In addition to sexual dreams, death, dying and the dead are also important themes in both
Hill’s and Artemidorus’ original dreambooks. These were not only significant dream-symbols
but also occurred as common outcomes of dreams in Artemidorus’ schema of oneiromancy.
Dreaming of death often foretold marriage, and “if a married man dreams that he is dead, it
means he will be separated from his wife. It also indicates that associates, friends, and brothers
will part and be separated from one another.” Thomas Hill explained,

And to a man not havinge a wyfe, it foreshewethe Mariage to ensue. For that mariages
and death be thoughte both as the endes to men, and do always be shewe a lyke together.
So that to sicke persone to marry a wyfe, and to kepe the Brydale, signifieth death
to ensue. For that the same happen to both, in that feastes be kept as well at the
Burialles, as at the Marriages.

Dreaming of eagles, teeth falling out, the dead stealing your possessions and clothes, also
signified death to the dreamer. Similarly, “to dreame that he seeth his mother deade declareth
joye” and “to see the majestye of God, signifieth death or a most greevous syknesse.” In
both Hill and Artemidorus, dreams of the dead, or those indicating outcomes of death and illness
are pervasive.

It is clear that Artemidorus is the major source of Hill’s 1576 text, which is ostensibly an
abridged edition of the Oneirocritica wedged between discussions of the causes, distinctions
and meanings of dreams based on Aristotle, Averroes and Galen. However, in his final section,

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112 Pepys, Diary, Vol. 6, 191.
113 Artemidorus, Oneirocritica (1975), 126.
114 Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Niii(r).
115 Ibid., Mv(v), Mvi(v), Nv(r).
116 Hill, Interpretation of dreams (1567), Pi(r).
Hill leaves the aforementioned authors behind and compiles excerpts from "pamphlettes of the wyse Solomon holye Joseph, and Daniell the Prophet." Although this section is unquestionably similar to that of his shorter dreambook, *A little treatise on the interpretation of dreams, fathered on Joseph* (1567), it is in fact largely different in content. While certain dreams are also included in the earlier, shorter dreambook, the majority of dreams listed are from another source. Hill’s final section differs considerably from those previous, consisting simply of a list of dreams with brief interpretations. Examples of dream-symbols are as diverse and random as trees, gold, silver, birds, angels, God, friends and enemies.

Within this final section, Christian symbols that appear in dreams are given secular interpretations. For example, “To see and talke with an Angell, declareth a happiness to followe. To clyme to heaven or to praye to God signifieth a great tradition. That he goeth to churche to praye, or executeth the office of minister, signifieth the greate gladnes to follow.” The practice of dream divination was ostensibly based on a pagan system of oneiromancy, and therefore religious dreams were often interpreted within a framework that viewed them not as relating to the Christian tradition of visions or spiritual meditations, but rather as encoded symbols of personal fortune. In Hill’s final section even the Devil is secularized, and to dream “To be vext of a devil, signifieth happy gain.”

It was perhaps this aspect of oneiromancy that irked later critics of dream who saw such interpretations as either superstitious or ridiculous.

The final part of Hill’s longer dreambook points to the future format of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dreambooks. Although such dreambooks had existed since the twelfth century and possibly earlier in England and Europe, these works were copied in Latin and Greek and thus were confined to a smaller readership. In seventeenth-century England, dreambooks

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117 Ibid., Oi(r).
118 Ibid., Oii(r).
began to emerge that were aimed at a broader, less educated audience who merely sought cheap, quick reference guides to their dreams. English editions of Artemidorus omitted much of his original discussion about the codification of dreams and the complex notions of dream divination. Instead, they simply listed the dreams with their brief interpretations.\textsuperscript{119} Like Hill’s excerpts of the \textit{Oneirocritica}, these English editions of Artemidorus were abridged, debased versions that omitted discussions of pagan gods and sexually explicit imagery, modernizing the original, culturally specific Greek terms to ones that were more familiar to English audiences. A reference to a dream of a gladiator became, for example, the dream of a warrior, while a dream of a slave became one about a servant. However, it may be true that these modifications were already present in the earlier copies of the \textit{Oneirocritica} that Hill and the later authors of English editions transcribed.

Hill's 1567 dreambook \textit{A little treatise on the interpretation of dreams} provides further insight into sixteenth-century practices of oneiromancy. Published by William Copland and at only 48 pages (8vo), this shorter simplified dreambook was designed by Hill as a quick, easily referenced, dictionary of dream interpretation. Within this handbook, 161 dreams are interpreted, including everything from dreaming of one's teeth falling out, animals and the dead, to eating fish. The first section of the dreambook briefly discusses the kinds of dreams, the qualities of the ideal "expounder of dreams," as well as summarizing Aristotle's views of dreams. Following this shorter section is a longer one that includes brief summaries of dreams

\textsuperscript{119} See the first sections of Book 1 in all English seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of Artemidorus: \textit{The judgement, or exposition of dreames}, written by Artimodorus, an auntient and famous author, first in Greeke, then translated into Latin, after into French, and now into English (London: Printed by R. Braddock for William Jones, 1606); \textit{The interpretation of dreams ...} (London: Printed by Bernard Alsop, 1644); \textit{The interpretation of dreams ...} (London: Printed by Elizabeth Alsop, 1656); \textit{The interpretation of dreams digested into five books by that ancient and excellent philosopher, Artemidorus ...} (London: Printed for B.G. and S.K, 1690); \textit{The interpretation of dreams: by the most celebrated philosopher Artimedorus, and other Authors ...} (London: Printed by J. Fuller, 1755); \textit{The interpretation of dreams, by that most celebrated philosopher Artimedorus} (London: Printed for J. Bew, 1786).
with their interpretation and predictive outcome. In this shorter dreambook, the interpretations of dreams are taken not from Artemidorus, but rather from another dreambook circulating at the time ascribed to Joseph.¹²⁰

Like Hill's 1576 dreambook, this handbook is clearly gendered and is primarily aimed at a male audience with the default dreamer being male. Hill's longer dreambook refers mostly to the interpretation of men's dreams, or alternately, the significance of dreams according to the fortunes of men. In his earlier, shorter dreambook, of the 161 dreams that are interpreted, only six refer to a female dreamer. The few dreams that are significant for female dreamers contain what must have been viewed as particularly female dream motifs such as giving birth and the moon.¹²¹ For example, according to Hill, if a woman dreamt of giving birth to a peach tree, this indicated she would give birth to a son "of honeste conditions," yet that he would live only a short time.¹²² Men's dreams of women appear more frequently in the text as well as interpretations of dreams that relate to the significant women in the male dreamer's life, such as his mother, wife and daughter. For a man to dream he marries a widow indicated "the compassinge of olde matters or businessess," while to dream your wife married another man indicated divorce or the "alteratione of actions."¹²³ More positively, to dream one opens a new door, predicted the male dreamer would marry a "wiffe proffitable unto hime."¹²⁴ Dreams that predicted unfaithful wives were also included. To dream one saw a ram indicated an adulterous woman, and to dream a ram "smote" you with its horns predicted the male dreamer would marry a woman who would "after playe the harlott." On the other hand, to dream one rode a "fayre

¹²⁰ Unfortunately, a comparison between Hill's 1567 dreambook and others circulating at the time, (which may no longer be extant), is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Yet this would certainly help shed light on the original source(s) for Hill's text.
¹²¹ Hill, Interpretation of dreams (1567), Biv(v), Bviir-Bvii(v), Cviv(v).
¹²² Ibid., Cvii(v).
¹²³ Ibid., Bviii(v)-Biv(r).
¹²⁴ Ibid., Bv(r).
Mare," denoted a happy and prosperous marriage with a wealthy wife. In this way, dreams were a useful way of foretelling whether one would get married and whether one's wife would be faithful. While women figure as important symbols in dreams and as significant for the outcome of dreams, on the whole, Hill's dreambooks are gendered with the default dreamer being male.

Other important themes in Hill's shorter dreambook involve health, death and the dead. Dream outcomes that predicted death, good or bad health for the dreamers and their loved ones are prominent throughout the text. For example, to dream one saw a "foul figure" in a mirror indicated sickness, while to dream one went to hell foretold a long sickness and eventual death. Of the 161 dreams, 27 pertain to dreams of the familiar and strange dead. It was believed better to see the familiar dead, one's parents in particular, as these dreams foretold more positive outcomes, whereas to dream of the unknown dead, was particularly ominous. Similarly, to dream of dead friends was better than to dream of one's enemies, which predicted "good or lesser evils." Dreams of tombs or graves were also significant and to dream "to dresse or trime thye grave signifieth that eyther thow (which so dreameth) or some of thine, shalbe greatlie spokine of and commended longe after." To dream one saw a grave full of "Serpentes" indicated "the elders of hime or his predicessours weare wicked parsons." Examples of dreams that foretold the deaths of dreamers, or their families and friends included being called by the dead, having the dead steal one's clothes, seeing the dead sleeping and

125 Ibid., Ci(r), Bvii(v).
126 Ibid., Bii(r).
127 Ibid., Biii(r).
128 Ibid.
129 Ibid., Cvi(v)-Cvii(r).
having a ship enter one's house and leave again. The deaths of children were also predicted through dreams. If a woman dreamt of giving birth to fish, this indicated she would give birth to a "dumb" child who would die soon after. Similarly, to dream of one's teeth falling out, with much pain and blood, predicted the death of one's wife or daughter. According to Hill's 1567 dreambook, dreams of the dead were thus particularly significant and numerous dreams were believed to portend death.

According to Hill's defense of dream divination in his 1576 dreambook, to know the outcome of dreams was to help alleviate anxiety about the future and help ultimately prepare one for good or bad fortune. He believed that forewarned was forearmed so that even if one had a dream that predicted death, illness, betrayal or misfortune, a correct knowledge of dreams enabled the prevention or emotional preparation for these outcomes. On the other hand, knowledge of more positive outcomes, such as the birth of healthy, successful children, imminent success in business and a happy marriage, offered the dreamer hope for the future. Additionally, the outcome of a specific dream also depended on the wealth, marital status, social status and occupation of the dreamer. Therefore, a correct interpretation of dreams depended on an astute knowledge of the rules, symbols and interpretations of dreams.

Overall, in both Hill's dreambooks, dream divination was presented as an "art" which required a specialized knowledge of dreams. In this way, dreambooks such as Hill's helped ensure a correct interpretation of one's dreams. For readers seeking knowledge of their dreams and future fortunes, dreambooks may have offered a useful repository of information, acting as

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130 Ibid., Bii(r), Bii(v), Bv(v).
131 Ibid., Bvii(r)-Bvii(v), Civ(v).
132 Hill, Interpretacion of dreames (1576), Avi(r)-Avi(v).
133 Ibid.
134 Ibid., Bvi(r).
easily referenced dictionaries to dreams, and helping to alleviate the sense of vulnerability to the combined forces of fate and providence.

**Conclusion**

Hill’s dreambooks enjoyed a modest success in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, his two surviving handbooks of dream divination each going through three editions, the last printed in 1626. The compiler’s achievement was to develop a fusion of learned and popular knowledge of dream interpretation for a broad literate audience in addition to promoting dream divination as a credible and "profitable” practice. Drawing most extensively from Artemidorus’ *Oneirocritica*, along with the writings and ideas of Aristotle, Averroes and Galen, as well as popular medieval dreambooks, Hill’s works were comprehensive yet sophisticated manuals of dream interpretation that reconciled natural and supernatural ideas of dreams.

Although more lengthy discourses on dreams continued to appear in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including those written by Thomas Tryon, David Simpson and others, they were far outpaced by the numbers of shorter dreambooks and chapbooks. The ongoing persistence of these cheaper, more ephemeral publications, and the popularity of an abridged, debased English edition of Artemidorus in the seventeenth century, shows there was a marked interest in handbooks that interpreted dreams within the framework of prediction. Even if we may never know who precisely read these works, or how they were utilized, the simplified content and format suggests they were marketed for a broad literate audience.

In addition to the framework of prediction, spiritual frameworks of dreams were equally pervasive in early modern England. However, the idea that God, angels or the Devil sent supernatural dreams in sleep was also highly contested in the period, particularly during the Interregnum, as a response to the claims of radical sectarians to divine dreams. Writers
concerned with the spread of "enthusiasm" and false claims to divine inspiration began to assert a medicalized theory of dreams. In response to the contested subject of divine dreams, Philip Goodwin wrote his important work, *The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed* (1658), as I will explore in the following chapter.
Chapter 3
Spiritual Frameworks: Philip Goodwin's *The mystery of dreames and the Pastoral Care of the Soul*

Dreames go much in the dark, as they usually be in the dark night, so of a darke nature: so vailed and covered, as they commonly require an Interpreter. A Dream is a close covered Dish brought in by night for the Soul to feed on; And is it not meet for a man, after to uncover the Dish, to see and know upon what Meat he hath eaten?

Philip Goodwin, *The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed* (1658).¹

Introduction

Unlike Thomas Hill, the clergyman Philip Goodwin was not concerned with dreams as predictive oracles, nor did he subscribe to classical oneirocritic frameworks. Instead, he espoused a purely spiritual framework of dreams, advocating them as useful tools for obtaining insight into the state of grace of the soul, cultivating a closer relationship with God and deepening piety. For Goodwin, as the epigraph above illustrates, dreams were a "mystery," a "close covered Dish brought in by night for the Soul to feed on."² Contrary to other early modern supernatural ideas of dreams as oracles or revelations, in Goodwin's schema dreams were in essence food for the soul, offering the godly spiritual nourishment. Yet, by their very nature dreams were also often "darke," "veiled" and "covered."³ Thus, they required careful interpretation to reveal their true hidden meaning. As such, Goodwin's work *The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed* (1658) offered readers a spiritual handbook for interpreting dreams and revealing their inherent mysteries.

¹ Philip Goodwin, *The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed; or A treatise; wherein is clearly discovered, the secret yet certain good or evil, the inconsidered and yet assured truth or falsity, virtue or vanity, misery or mercy, of mens differing dreames ...* (London: Printed by A.M. for Francis Tyton, 1658), A8(r)-A8(v).
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
Spiritual frameworks of dreams in the early modern period were a legacy of the long-standing Christian prophetic tradition. As Goodwin and other writers on dreams were well aware, the Bible contained numerous dreams and visions, most significantly those of Daniel and Joseph, as revelations that gave visionaries a potent source of spiritual authority in their communities. Yet, while the Bible promised that God would send dreams and visions to men and women in the last days (KJV Joel 2:28, Acts 2:17), the Scriptures also warned against "hearkening" to false prophets and dreams (KJV Deut. 13:1-5, Jer. 14:14-16, 29:8), making the Bible a contradictory source of authority on spiritual dreams. In early modern England the spiritual framework of dreams was persistent from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. However, ideas of dreams as sent by God, angels or the Devil were also contested in this period, particularly during the Interregnum, as a result of the claims of radical sectarians and others to divine dreams.¹

Although Goodwin suggested that divine dreams continued and were best understood as useful tools for individual spiritual edification, other contemporary English writers concerned with social and religious order, such as Thomas Hobbes, Henry More and later John Spencer, argued that prophets and visionaries, rather than being mouthpieces of God, were victims of

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melancholy and "enthusiasm." Within this schema, as part of concern with "enthusiasm" as a form of false divine inspiration, divine dreams became re-inscribed into a medicalized discourse of "religious enthusiasm" and pathologies of madness that would evolve later in the eighteenth century into a direct challenge to all revealed religion. According to these authors, visionaries mistook natural for supernatural dreams. Thus, at the heart of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century discussions about divine dreams and "enthusiasm" was the problem of dream discernment – whether dreams were natural or supernatural in origin.

However, the contested significance and meaning of spiritual dreams was neither unique to England, nor to this period and shows another continuing facet of cultural ideas, attitudes and debates about dreams. Debates about the discernment of dreams – whether they originated from God or the Devil, or were natural or supernatural in origin – were a long-standing issue in Christian theology and part of the problem of the discernment of spirits (discretio spirituum). The early Church Fathers had attempted to resolve how to distinguish divine from demonic, natural from supernatural dreams. The contested meaning of spiritual dreams was not resolved in these earlier periods and continued to be a serious issue for the Western Church throughout the medieval period. Although concern with discerning natural from supernatural dreams had

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existed in England long before the Civil Wars, the emergence of sectarian visionaries and their claims to spiritual authority through dreams and visions in the 1640s and 1650s, served to reignite debates about dreams as potentially divine.

The need to define dreams clearly was thus timely when Philip Goodwin published his treatise *The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed* in 1658. As this chapter seeks to highlight, contrary to other authors writing about spiritual dreams, for Goodwin, divine and demonic dreams were best understood as a productive way for Christians to gain insight into the soul's state of grace. In part a response to the "vain and false" dreams of visionaries who were drawing away the faithful into sectarianism, sin and delusion, one of Goodwin's aims was to re-align dreams firmly, safely and productively within a Puritan practice of intense spiritual introspection. By promoting dreams as part of the useful spiritual tool-kit for Christians, and by supporting the continuation of divine and demonic dreams, Goodwin also aimed to counter the arguments of critics of divine dreams such as Reginald Scot, John Gaule and Moïse Amyraut, who suggested that divine dreams had ceased and demonic dreams were entirely natural in origin. In Goodwin's view, dreams were still meaningful and some were indeed supernatural in origin. Above all, his work endeavored to provide a lasting practical handbook for Christians to better understand their dreams, not as visions in the tradition of revelations, but rather as instructive mirrors to the soul.

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As I have been suggesting throughout this thesis, early modern English writings on dreams reveal the sense of the vulnerability of the dreamer to a range of external and internal natural and supernatural stimuli. In this chapter, I will also suggest that Goodwin's treatise on dreams reveals another facet of the perceived vulnerability of the individual dreamer, in particular to a host of dangerous attacks by the Devil who sought through demonic dreams to mislead the Christian into sin and delusion. According to Goodwin, in sleep we are particularly vulnerable to the assaults of the Devil, who seizes on our waking sinful thoughts to send "filthy dreams." Additionally, in sleep the Christian dreamer was also subject to "terrifying" dreams sent from God to scare the soul into repentance and remorse. Thus, in Goodwin's schema of dreams, in sleep we are vulnerable to both divine and demonic dreams, which arise without our consent. Since demonic dreams are sent to "defile" and divine dreams are designed to "instruct" the dreamer, Goodwin's handbook offered readers techniques for both protecting against and profiting from demonic dreams and, conversely, preparing for receiving divine "instructive" dreams. In a sense Goodwin's treatise conferred on readers a form of control over their dreams.

A close reading of Philip Goodwin's treatise *The mystery of dreames* also provides useful insight into the way an English cleric promoted a spiritual understanding of dreams within a Puritan framework. While English historians have long debated about who were "Puritans" and what constituted the Puritan worldview and religious praxis, scholars now view Puritanism as a "variety of Reformed Protestantism" and Puritans as a "fissiparous" group within the broad spectrum of English Protestantism, difficult to distinguish as individuals yet identifiable by the intensity of their spiritual praxis.\(^\text{10}\) While Puritans were not a homogenous group, and incorporated a spectrum of positions from moderate Puritanism to separatism, they were

recognizable to each other in their own communities.\textsuperscript{11} Although containing a diversity of religious views and practices, particularly during the Interregnum, overall the culture of Puritanism was one that emphasized individual salvation, preaching, expounding the Scriptures and intense spiritual introspection.\textsuperscript{12}

Goodwin's work offers a detailed case study of the way that one Puritan cleric sought to understand spiritual dreams during the Interregnum. As a cleric whose work and religious ideology sat firmly within the Puritan tradition of preaching, intense spiritual introspection and concern with individual salvation, Goodwin's work on dreams provides us with important insight into the way that dreams were understood in the "fissiparous" culture of Interregnum Puritanism. As the only extant English Puritan discourse on dreams, his work is an important example of one of the "symbolic codes" or cultural frameworks through which dreams were understood.

This chapter is designed to provide a close reading of Goodwin's handbook on dreams and is organized into five sections. The first section places Goodwin in the historical context of his parish of Watford as well as providing an overview of his collective works. The ensuing section then presents a summary of Goodwin's theories of dreams in general and his agenda of presenting a practice of dream interpretation as part of the pastoral care of the soul. Following this, I examine the way that Goodwin understood sleep as a particularly vulnerable state for the dreamer in which individuals were especially susceptible to the delusions and attacks of the Devil. Next, the chapter explores the way that Goodwin urged his readers to a program of intense introspection giving practical advice on the way to prevent sinful, demonic dreams and prepare for receiving "instructive" divine dreams. Finally, I explore evidence for the practical

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.

application of the spiritual framework of dreams as outlined by Goodwin in the earlier records of dreams in the notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington. Although Wallington died the year of the publication of Goodwin's treatise, his understanding of dreams as offering insight into the soul of the dreamer shows how this spiritual framework of dreams was not confined to Goodwin's work, suggesting that such an approach to dreams was perhaps more widely practiced by Puritans during the mid-seventeenth century.

**Philip Goodwin: Watford and his Publications**

Despite his career as a writer of pastoral works, little is known about Goodwin and his life as a pastor of Watford during the Interregnum. What we do know paints a portrait of a well-educated cleric, genuinely interested in the pastoral care of his parishioners, whose income was enough to leave a legacy of 400 pounds and four properties to his five children and widow. Philip Goodwin's origins are also something of a mystery and little evidence is left of his birth date, parentage and early life. What is known is that Goodwin matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge in 1623 and graduated B.A. in March 1627. It may be that at St. John's, Goodwin developed his Puritan beliefs and connections since the college was renowned for its strong

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13 PROB 11/324/453, Will of Philip Goodwin, 29th August 1667. Another will exists in the National Archives for a Philip Goodwin who was a rector of Liston from 1673 until his death in 1699. Both Edmund Calamy, the nonconformist biographer, and Gordon Goodwin, the author of the nineteenth-century DNB biography, wrongly concluded this was Goodwin's will. They argue that following his ejection for nonconformity in 1661, Goodwin later conformed in 1673. However, a comparison between this will and the earlier one of 1667, suggests that the latter was Goodwin's. H.R. French (see footnote 16) has since correctly identified the 1667 will as Goodwin's and my account here offers further clarifications of Goodwin's career. PROB 11/451/8, Will of Philip Goodwin, Clerk of Liston, Essex, 01 June 1699; Edmund Calamy and Samuel Palmer, The Nonconformists Memorial; Being an Account of the Lives and Sufferings, and Printed Works of the Two Thousand Ministers Ejected from the Church of England ..., Vol. II, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for Button and Son and T. Hurst, 1802), 314; Gordon Goodwin, "Goodwin, Philip (d. 1699), Divine," in Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1890) http://www.oxforddnb.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/olddnb/10995 (accessed June 12, 2013).

Puritan ideologies.\textsuperscript{14} Immediately upon graduation Goodwin was ordained a deacon and priest at Peterborough and proceeded to the M.A. in 1630.\textsuperscript{15} Some time after 1630 Goodwin married Sarah King of Watford. The couple had five children living in 1667, John, James, Philip, Joseph and a married daughter, Sarah Walker.\textsuperscript{16} Around 1633 Goodwin was appointed the curate of All Saint's Church in Hertford; four years later he was appointed as curate at Watford, becoming vicar in 1643. Earlier, in 1642, Goodwin was recommended for two lectureships by Parliament, one in Pinner, Middlesex and the other at Hemel Hempstead. Yet for reasons not entirely clear, Goodwin only accepted the position at Pinner.\textsuperscript{17}

Due to his career as a lecturer and the significance of sermons in his works, including his treatise on dreams, Goodwin's career must be viewed against the background of the history of lectureships in the Interregnum. As Paul Seaver demonstrated, the period 1640 to 1662 was the "last great age of the lectureship."\textsuperscript{18} After Puritan factions won control of Parliament, during the Interregnum a rush of petitions ensued for lectureships, including from Goodwin's parish and its surrounding areas.\textsuperscript{19} This "Puritan institution" had been considerably suppressed under the policies of Arminians in the 1630s who saw lecturers as a particular threat to the established church since, as the posts were appointed by the laity, lecturers were ostensibly outside the control of church authorities.\textsuperscript{20} Additionally, Arminians believed that lecturers' emphasis on

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{14} John Spurr, \textit{English Puritanism 1603 - 1689} (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 68.
\item \textsuperscript{16} PROB 11/324/453.
\item \textsuperscript{17} H.R. French suggests that Goodwin was appointed to and accepted both positions; yet this would have been impossible as Goodwin could not have possibly held two simultaneous positions as Sunday lecturer. (See footnote 15).
\item \textsuperscript{18} Paul S. Seaver, \textit{The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662} (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1970), 267.
\item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid.}, 43-44.
\item \textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid.}, 240-266.
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preaching and the "Word" undermined the importance of ritual worship. The advent of the Long Parliament and subsequent "Puritan ascendancy" in the Interregnum revitalized the significance of preaching ministers and lectureships.

The numerous petitions for preaching ministers in the parishes demonstrate the lay appetite for sermons. As Patrick Collinson also famously demonstrated, "sermon-gadding" was an increasingly popular facet of voluntary religious practice in the period. Moreover, as Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales noted, moderate Puritans, Presbyterians and separatists alike demonstrated a "deep commitment" to attending sermons during the Interregnum. Certainly, in Watford and its surrounding areas, the parishioners’ petitions for lecturers in the 1640s demonstrated an active interest in attending sermons and sponsoring preaching ministers.

Goodwin certainly profited from the renewed call for lecturers. As mentioned previously, in his early career Goodwin was offered two lectureships to supplement his income, one at Hemel Hempstead and the other at Pinner, Middlesex. However, showing the common problem of tensions between lecturers and incumbents, as noted by Paul Seaver, as well as between separatist and conforming preachers, Goodwin experienced clerical resistance to his placements both at Pinner and Hemel Hempstead. On May 31, 1642 the inhabitants at Pinner petitioned Parliament for a lecturer claiming that their curate "seldom preaches." By August 17, 1642 Goodwin had been appointed to the post. Yet, illustrating the competition between

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21 Ibid., 5.
22 Ibid., 267-288.
25 Many thanks to Barbara Todd for helping sort out the particulars of Goodwin's early career.
lecturers and incumbents in parishes, the curate at Pinner, Mr. Willis, attempted to prevent
the parishioners attending Goodwin's sermon by expounding the homilies "every Afternoon, till
Six of Clock."\textsuperscript{28} Parliament responded by ordering "that Mr. Goodwyn do preach every Sunday
in the Afternoon, in the said Parish Church of Pinner; and that he begin his Sermon at Three of
Clock in the Afternoon: And that Mr. Willis, the Curate of the said Parish, do permit him quietly
to exercise his Ministry there at the said Time, without any Interruption or Hindrance."\textsuperscript{29}

Around the same time Goodwin seems to have encountered resistance due to local
nonconformity and Anabaptism in the other lectureship he was nominated for at Hemel
Hempstead, a significant market town five miles north of Watford. According to the journals of
the House of Commons, on June 6, 1642, in response to a petition for a lecturer in Hemel
Hempstead, Parliament recommended Goodwin to take up the important post as Sunday and
market-day lecturer. The local vicar, John Taylor, was ordered to "suffer the said Mr. Goodwin
to have the free Use of his Pulpit, without Interruption, to preach accordingly."\textsuperscript{30} It is uncertain
whether Goodwin turned down the post or was rejected by the community. There was a
subsequent petition on August 22, 1642 from the inhabitants of Hemel Hempstead that George
Kendall instead be appointed lecturer for the community.\textsuperscript{31} Due to the sequestering of John
Taylor's livings for "his tavern and alehouse haunting, drunkenness, [and] uncleanness," Kendall

\textsuperscript{28} HCJ, 2, 17 August 1642.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{30} HCJ, 2, 6 June 1642.
\textsuperscript{31} "Upon the humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Hemsted in the County of Herts, desiring
Mr. George Kendall, an orthodox Divine, and in Orders, to be their Lecturer, and to preach there every Sunday in the Afternoon, and on Thursdays in the Morning, being their Market Days; the House doth recommend the said Mr. Kendall to be their Lecturer accordingly; and do require Mr. Taylor the Vicar of the said Parish, and his Curate, to permit the said Mr. Kendall to exercise his Ministry at the Times desired, without any their Lett or Interruption." (HCJ, 2, 22 August 1642).
was made vicar at Hemel Hempstead on March 14, 1643.\textsuperscript{32} Not long after on February 19, 1644, Kendall, in addition to a lay preacher named Baldwin, was accused of spreading nonconformity and Anabaptism in the community and was soon after deprived of his position by Parliament.\textsuperscript{33}

Apart from illustrating the tensions between incumbents and lecturers, separatist and conformist ministers, the events at Hemel Hempstead also shows how nonconformity and Anabaptism were active in Goodwin's community. According to the report of Dr. Burgess, (who was ordered to preach in the community), to the House of Lords on March 2, 1644, the people at Hempstead were "much possessed with Anabaptism and Antinomianism, and other sects."\textsuperscript{34} Later records also indicate the presence of nonconformist and Anabaptist conventicles in Watford in 1669.\textsuperscript{35} It may well be the active presence of Anabaptism and nonconformity in the Watford area that led Goodwin to formulate his concerns about separatism, and the Baptist movement in particular, expressed in his later treatise on dreams.

Goodwin was an adept preacher and we can obtain a clear sense of the intelligence, rhetorical skill and power of his sermons from his printed works, which were primarily based on his sermons. Goodwin's success as a preacher in the community is also evidenced by the fact that in 1645 he was confirmed as the vicar of Watford by the ordinance of the House of Lords.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{32} William Urwick, \textit{Nonconformity in Herts. Being the Lectures Upon the Nonconforming Worthies of St. Albans, and Memorials of Puritanism and Nonconformity in All the Parishes of the County of Hertford} (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney Ltd., 1884), 430.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ibid.}, 429–434.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ibid.}, 432. This was most likely Cornelius Burges who was vicar of Watford from 1618 until 1643.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.}, 360.
\textsuperscript{36} Urwick records that Goodwin was appointed as vicar by the Committee for Plundered Ministers on the 16th December 1643 (Urwick, \textit{Nonconformity in Herts}, 354). However, the \textit{Journal of the House of Lords} only mentions an ordinance later on the 16th April 1645, which orders that "Mr. Phillip Goodwin to be made Minister of Watford; and to settle Dr. Burges to be Lecturer at Paules." \textit{Journal of the House of Lords} 7: (1644), 16 April 1645, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=33285&strquery="Phillip Goodwin" (accessed June 16, 2013).
This appointment was made to replace Cornelius Burges, an influential figure in Parliament during the 1640s, who was promoted to the esteemed position of Sunday lecturer of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. However, as Burges was a pluralist, Goodwin would have been already playing an important pastoral role as curate of Watford from 1637 until his appointment as vicar. According to the report of the Committee for Plundered Ministers in 1650, "Philip Goodwin is here, a very able preacher." Other than this small comment, little evidence remains of Goodwin's reputation and activities as a minister in his parish. However, since we know that Goodwin was given an annuity of an additional 30 pounds per annum in 1646, and was appointed to act as an assistant to the Tiers of Hertfordshire by Parliament in 1654, it stands to reason that he must have maintained a good reputation as vicar in the eyes of Parliament and his community during the 1650s.

Goodwin's career as a minister finally ended in June 1661 when he was ejected for nonconformity.

The parish of Watford itself is situated 20 miles north-west of London. In the seventeenth century it was a prosperous market town and a thoroughfare for goods and travelers to London. The historian Nigel Goose has estimated that in 1660 Watford housed a population of approximately 1080.

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38 Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts*, 347. It seems that Burges was reluctant to hand over the keys to the vicarage due to his investment of £400 in its restoration. As a result of this complication, Parliament stepped in and ordered Burges to relinquish possession of the keys in an ordinance of February 6, 1645. (Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts*, 354).
39 Ibid., 357-358.
40 Ibid. The Tiers were committees set up by Parliament whose function was to evaluate the worthiness of applicants for benefices in 1654 as part of the Cromwellian church reforms (Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 118).
41 Calamy, *Nonconformists Memorial*, 314.
42 "Watford: Introduction."
have more than doubled in size when Watford became the site of a Parliamentary garrison in 1645. This occurred after the estates of the Morrisons, an influential local gentry family, were confiscated by Parliament due to the loyalty of Lord Arthur Capell, (the head of the Morrisons through marriage), to the monarchy. The Watford manor of Cassiobury, which had been the property of the Morrisons for a hundred years, was granted in 1645 to Robert Devereaux, the Earl of Essex and leader of the Parliamentary forces. Essex subsequently quartered 500 horses and placed 1,000 men at Watford to be at the disposal of Sir Thomas Fairfax.44 The presence of the New Model Army would have also exposed Watford to various forms of sectarianism and radical religious thought, since the army included Levellers, Fifth Monarchists, Baptists and other Independent factions.45

Seventeenth-century Watford was a parish with strong Puritan traditions. In addition to the evidence of requests for lecturers for the parish, the Morrisons had a history of Puritanism, reaching back to Sir Richard Morrison (1513 - 1557).46 The Morrisons remained a strong Puritan presence in Watford and Hertfordshire using their ownership of the advowson (held since 1582-83) to choose vicars for the parish who best fit their Puritan agenda.47 After the death of Sir Richard in 1557, his widow Lady Bridget held the family's manor Cassiobury in Watford for the rest of her long life. In 1566 she married Francis, Earl of Bedford, and it was from him that the Morrison family acquired the advowson of Watford in 1583.48 It was Lady

44 "Watford: Manors" and "Watford: Introduction."
46 Urwick, Nonconformity in Herts, 348; Seaver, Puritan Lectureships, Appendix C.
47 The descent of the advowson has been traced through a combination of records cited in the Victoria Country History records (hereafter VCH) for Watford and the work of William Urwick (pp. 348-54).
48 Urwick, Nonconformity in Herts, 349. The VCH says the conveyance was made to Richard and Bridget's son, Charles Morrison, but Urwick (p. 349) cites an act book of the diocese of St Albans that identifies Bridget as the patron of Watford in 1594; according to the VCH, the advowson was attached to the manor and thus it seems it was part of Bridget's widow's estate.
Bridget who nominated the vicar with strong Puritan views, Anthony Watson (see below), in 1587. When Bridget, (now dowager countess of Bedford), finally died in 1600, her son Sir Charles had predeceased her in 1599 and the advowson may have passed to his widow, Lady Dorothy Morrison. Although Lady Dorothy did not choose a vicar under the advowson, she demonstrated her Puritan views by endowing a house, Watford Place, as a residence for "four almswomen and a lecturer" in 1613.\(^{49}\) When the long-serving Watson was finally displaced in 1618 (see below), it was Lady Dorothy's son, another Sir Charles, who nominated Cornelius Burges. After this Sir Charles died in 1629; his only child, a daughter Elizabeth, who had married the pious royalist Arthur Capell, inherited the manor and advowson. Although Burges could have chosen his own curate, doubtless Elizabeth and her husband would have been consulted about the choice of Philip Goodwin as curate in 1637. As pointed out above, Capell's estates, including the advowson, were confiscated for his adherence to the king, and the House of Lords appointed Goodwin as vicar in 1645.\(^{50}\)

As a further indication of a Puritan tradition in Watford, before the Civil Wars vicars in Watford were reprimanded for their clerical nonconformity.\(^ {51}\) Anthony Watson served as vicar in the community from 1587 until he was deprived of his living in 1618 for acts of nonconformity. In 1599 it was reported that Watson "hath not worn the surplesse; he hath omitted the cross in baptism; and he administers the communion to people standing."\(^ {52}\) Later in 1606 Watson was tried by ecclesiastical authorities for "not wearing his surpless always, for not having a cloke with sleeves ... and for not having a square cap."\(^ {53}\) As an indication of local

\(^{50}\) At the Restoration the estates were restored to the Capell family who continued as patrons of Watford until modern times.  
\(^{52}\) *Ibid.*, 351.  
support for Puritan clerics, on January 27, 1599 the churchwardens at Watford were also prosecuted for failing to report Watson's clerical nonconformity.\textsuperscript{54}

Watson's successor, Cornelius Burges (Goodwin's direct predecessor), was trained at Oxford and appointed as vicar in 1618. Burges rose to the position of chaplain to Charles I at the ascension of the King. However, Burges' strong Puritan agenda caused him to lose favour at court and earn the enmity of Archbishop Laud after a controversial sermon in which he urged his audience, "If your minister preach Popery or Armenianism [sic], you may change your dwellings, and not trouble the peace and order of the church."\textsuperscript{55} Goodwin's parish of Watford therefore had a strong tradition of Puritanism both amongst its parishioners (including members of the local elite), and its ministers. It seems that in Watford, particularly during the Interregnum, Goodwin found a spiritual home where his Puritan religiosity could be freely practiced and supported both by Parliament and the local community.

In his four published works of practical divinity and in his career as a pastor, Goodwin espoused a program of further ecclesiastical reform, moderate sabbatarianism, and a strict program of spiritual introspection for the individual and the family.\textsuperscript{56} Each of his four publications was designed as a practical guide for correct religious worship. Moreover, each of Goodwin's works, including his treatise on dreams, appears to have been based on sermons given to his community. In 1649 Goodwin published his first work, \textit{The evangelicall communicant in the eucharisticall sacrament, or, a treatise declaring who are to receive the

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textit{Ibid.}, 354.
\item Goodwin, \textit{Evangelicall communicant}; Philip Goodwin, \textit{Dies dominicus redivivus; or, The Lords Day enlivened or a treatise, as to discover the practical part of the evangelical Sabbath: so to recover the spiritual part of that pious practice to its primitive life: lamentably lost, in these last declining times} (London: Printed by J.L. for Andrew Kembe, 1654); Philip Goodwin, \textit{Religio domestica rediviva: or, Family-religion revived. Or A treatise as to discover the good old way of serving God in private houses: so to recover the pious practice of those precious duties unto their primitive platform} (London: Printed for R.W. Leybourn, for Andrew Kemb, 1655); Goodwin, \textit{Mystery of dreams}.
\end{enumerate}
supper of the Lord. This treatise was intended to instruct his readers on the proper understanding of the sacrament of the Eucharist and the "duties preparatory to this present Supper."57 As Elliot Vernon explained in his study of Presbyterianism in Revolutionary England, "the Interregnum saw the development of a new and pious sacramentalism."58 In particular, clerics such as Goodwin espoused a renewed fervour for the Lord's Supper as "the seal of the covenant of grace." As a result of its spiritual importance, writers such as Goodwin stressed the need for religious preparation before receiving its merits.59 This renewed emphasis on spiritual preparation for the sacrament resulted in a number of new handbooks, of which Goodwin's was an important addition.60 Representative of a moderate Puritan stance on access to the Eucharist, Goodwin advocated a middle-line between unlimited access and a more restrictive ritual.61 Yet, he urged readers that only those properly spiritually prepared for the Sabbath were worthy of receiving its blessings.62 Whilst some contemporary Puritan ministers such as Ralph Josselin in Essex and Goodwin's predecessor, Cornelius Burges in Watford, advocated a more restrictive ritual and attempted to bar unworthy communicants from the sacrament, most, as Arnold Hunt explained, were wary of such measures since it was typically met with extreme resistance and censure in their communities.63

57 Goodwin, Evangelicall communicant, 18.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Spurr, English Puritanism, 126.
62 Goodwin, Evangelicall communicant, 77.
63 Burges claimed in a sermon that he was simply following the Prayer Book rubric, requiring all communicants to be able to recite the catechism to be admitted for the sacrament. (Arnold Hunt, “The Lord’s Supper in Early Modern England,” Past & Present 161 [November, 1998]: 66); Josselin took more extreme measures was summoned to the archdeacon’s court in 1664 because “he hath not administered the Sacrament of the Supper the whole year and the parisoners want it.” (Alan Macfarlane,
Like Goodwin's subsequent works, *The evangelicall communicant* was an extension of his aim to provide practical pastoral guides in a period where all facets of religious worship were unclear, divisive and heavily disputed. Goodwin's concern with correct religious practice was a response to the religious disorder and growth of sectarianism in the period and is evident in all his works. In *The evangelicall communicant* Goodwin expressed his concern with the "mighty Mistakes" and "severall errours, both in speculative and practicall matters, that now abound" concerning the sacraments due to the proliferation of sects and religious dissent in England.\(^{64}\) Goodwin's agenda in this and subsequent works, including his treatise on dreams, was therefore to engage in "the instruction of people" and "discharge that duty wherein I look upon my self obliged both in respect of my Ministeriall calling, and in respect of the solemn covenant made with God."\(^{65}\) That is to say, Goodwin sought to protect his flock and readership from error and schism by instructing them on correct forms of worship. A comparative reading of all Goodwin's works reveals a man who took his "ministeriall calling" extremely seriously and sought to extend his pastoral influence from his parish though his published works to a wider audience. Similarly, as we learn from his third work on family religion, dedicated to his parishioners, through writing his practical guides to piety Goodwin aimed to leave a more lasting legacy of practical instruction for the pastoral care of the soul.\(^{66}\)

Goodwin's second publication was an extension of the agenda of his first work to provide a practical guide for religious worship. *Dies dominicus redivivus, or, The Lords Day enlivened* (1654) attempted "to recover the spiritual part of that Pious Practice to its primitive

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\(^{64}\) Goodwin, *Evangelicall communicant*, A5(v).

\(^{65}\) Ibid.

\(^{66}\) Goodwin, *Religio domestica rediviva*, Epistle.
life: Lamentably lost, in these last Declining times." The treatise was addressed to the "Worshipful the Justices of the Peace" in England, calling them to uphold a proper observance of the Sabbath since "the Sabbath observed, is the Compendium and Epitome of the whole practice of Piety. As the transgression of the Sabbath is the violation of the whole Law of God." Goodwin's Sabbatarianism was typical of Puritans in the period who called for a more strict observance of the Sabbath. As Christopher Durston explained, during the Interregnum a revitalized sabbatarianism ensued as a result of the new policies of government that "continued to be endorsed by a succession of often weighty theological tomes." One such work was Goodwin's notable handbook. As an extension of Goodwin's aim to provide practical guides for Christian piety, this work outlined a meticulous program of spiritual meditation, prayer and introspection in preparation for the Sabbath. Showing the Puritan concern with correct worship and a more intense kind of religious practice, Dies dominicus redivivus bewailed the decline of England's religious condition.

Goodwin's publication a year later, Religio domestica rediviva: or, Family-religion revived (1655), presented a complete handbook of family religion for the spiritual edification of

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67 Goodwin, Dies dominicus redivivus, Frontspage.
68 Ibid., A3(v).
70 Ibid., 209.
72 "Here I might take occasion to bewail bitterly Englands woeful declinings, both in matters of doctrine and practice, concerning the Sabbath. In former times, no Reformed Church was so famous, either for soundness in judgment, or exactnesse in conversation, in relation to the Lords Day. But our Apostasie began to be Notorius, when the Book for the allowing of Sports, on that day, was promoted, to gratifie the profane and Popish party, then predominant in England." (Goodwin, Dies dominicus redivivus, Preface).
the entire family. Goodwin outlined an extensive program for private religious worship in families that included individual and communal prayers, spiritual meditation and Bible-reading. He dedicated this work to his parishioners at Watford, seeking to give them a lasting legacy of spiritual guidance.

In his dedication to his parish we are given insight into Goodwin's deep commitment to his pastoral duties as a minister:

Dear Neighbours, Deep consideration of divers things hath drawn me forth to meet you in this manner. First, That a Ministers main Duty is to endeavour and labour others everlasting good. ... That People which God in his Providence hath placed a Minister amongst, he ought principally by the use of such several wayes to seek their souls good. They are the City he is to watch and keep, the Vineyard he is to dresse and plant, the Field he is to plough and sowe. ... By writing, a Ministers pains may be with his people more permanent. Sermons are as showers of rain that water for the present, when as Books are as Banks of snow, that lie longer upon the earth, and whereby the corn is kept warm in Winter.

For Goodwin then, publications were a way to reach a larger audience and leave a more enduring legacy for both his parishioners and a wider readership.

**Goodwin and The mystery of dreams**

Goodwin's last work, *The mystery of dreams, historically discoursed* (1658), in many ways was an extension of his earlier religious handbooks and aimed to provide a useful, practical guide for using dreams to assist in the pastoral care of the soul. Published towards the end of his career as vicar of Watford, Goodwin's handbook of dreams is unusual when

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73 Manuals of family religion were popular in the period and were part of the Puritan agenda to promote intense religious devotion. For an informative article on manuals of family religion by nonconformists in the period see, Andrew Chambers and Michelle Wolfe, “Reading, Family Religion, and Evangelical Identity in Late Stuart England,” *The Historical Journal* 47:4 (2004): 875–896.

74 Goodwin, *Religio domestica rediviva*, A2(r) - A5(r).
compared to other early modern English dream handbooks such as Thomas Hill's *The moste pleasant arte of the interpretacion of dreames* (1576) and Thomas Tryon's *A treatise of dreams & visions* (1689). As a treatise on dreams, Goodwin’s work deviates from traditional oneirocritic and religious tracts, seeing dreams as more "profitably" understood as a mirror to the soul. That is to say, rather than see dreams as predictive or as divine revelations, Goodwin proposed a theory of dreams as products of individual spirituality combined with the influence of supernatural agents – most especially God and the Devil. Consequently, for Goodwin, dreams could best serve the Christian dreamer as a means to cultivate Christian piety and spiritual edification. He argues that knowledge of dreams is profitable, since "a right knowledg of these Dreames, may much incite to such pious practices, and profit Gods people, both asleep and awake." Overall, Goodwin's treatise on dreams is another addition to his pastoral handbooks. Throughout the treatise Goodwin provides a guide for how to use dreams to gain insight into the soul of the dreamer, how to prevent demonic dreams and prepare oneself for receiving divine dreams, and finally, how to distinguish divine from demonic dreams. Although Goodwin's work is innovative in the history of dream discourses, his handbook is a companion to the many devotional works of practical divinity circulating in the period, popular amongst the godly.

*The mystery of dreames* is also an erudite Protestant manual of dreams. In his text, Goodwin adds credibility to his arguments and clearly demonstrates his learning by drawing on an eclectic and impressive range of classical and Protestant contemporary works. In support of his theory of dreams, Goodwin refers to the works of classical authors such as Aristotle, Galen, Hippocrates, Plutarch, Plato, Pliny and Virgil, amongst other lesser-known authors of antiquity. Similarly, he merges the ideas of the classics with works of the Church Fathers, Augustine,

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75 Thomas Hill, *The moste pleasuante arte of the interpretacion of dreames* ... (London: Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1576); Thomas Tryon, *A treatise of dreams & visions* ... (London: s.n., 1689).
76 Goodwin, *Mystery of dreams*, B6(r) - B6(v).
Tertullian and Ambrose, and more contemporary Protestant authors such as Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Jerome Zanchi and Louis Lavater as well as referring to the sermons of contemporary English preachers. Above all, the Bible features as the most pervasive influence and source for Goodwin's ideas on dreams and his text is suffused with scriptural quotations and exegeses. One of Goodwin's main arguments for why dreams are so fundamental for Christians comes from a close reading of the Bible.

Like Goodwin's earlier religious handbooks, his dream treatise appears to have been modeled on sermons he wrote for his parish and is structured and written using the Ramist method.\textsuperscript{77} Evidence for his method of turning series of his sermons into larger pastoral works can be found in his earlier text, \textit{The evangelical communicant} where he explains his reasons for writing the work in the Epistle: "To answer the desires, and meet the encouragements given by severall friends who heard some part of it as it was preached, preparatory to the Sacrament, in severall Sermons, through whom I have thought God might speak."\textsuperscript{78} The Ramist logic and dialectical method, developed by the French Humanist Peter Ramus (1515-1572), greatly appealed to Puritans and also flourished at Cambridge, the site for Goodwin's professional education.\textsuperscript{79} Designed as an eloquent method of discourse, stripped bare from the rhetorical tropes of Humanist rhetoric, the method was believed particularly useful for discussing aspects of theology and religion as well as writing sermons. The natural orderliness and logic of the


\textsuperscript{78} Goodwin, \textit{Evangelicall communicant}, A7(v).

Ramist method appealed to the Puritans’ appreciation of simplicity and was often used to interpret and understand the Scriptures. The natural logic to the Ramist method was also believed to act as a potent mnemonic device. The carefully orchestrated shifts from the general to the particular as well as the use of diagrams were believed also useful in structuring sermons.\footnote{Francis J. Bremer and Tom Webster, \textit{Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia} (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 517–518.}

In his handbook of dreams, Goodwin adeptly employs the Ramist method, leading the reader through his nuanced discussion of dreams in a way that facilitates a greater overall comprehensibility than the disorderly morass of Thomas Hill's writing. As in a sermon, each section is opened with a proof text, on which he elaborates with a detailed exegesis. As in his earlier works, in his text on dreams Goodwin consistently moves from the general to the particular, branching points and sections in diagrams, making the text an orderly comprehensive discourse which is easy to follow and sophisticated in structure.

One of the most innovative aspects of Goodwin's treatise is that he suggests dreams are most useful as mirrors to the soul and a powerful means for the individual to combat sin and foster piety. Showing an awareness of natural theories of dreams and their use for physicians he wrote, "And if it were \textit{laudable} in them, to look into Dreames to learn out the state of mens \textit{bodies}, may it not be \textit{commendable} in others, thereby to discover the case of mens \textit{souls}."\footnote{Goodwin, \textit{Mystery of dreams}. Any italics included in Goodwin's quotations are his own. I have chosen to keep these to reflect more accurately Goodwin's own emphasis on certain words. Also, Goodwin's Preface is incorrectly paginated so that page A10(r) appears as A2(r). I have followed the correct pagination starting from the first page of the Preface at A3(r) onwards. The pagination also shifts from print signatures to modern numerical pages after the Epistle.} While Goodwin shows a clear awareness of contemporary dream theories, he deliberately chooses to ignore oneirocritic writings, seeking instead to establish dreams as more productive within a practice of spiritual introspection.
Another significant agenda of Goodwin's treatise is to show the problems of blindly believing in visions and dreams as revelations from God. In his section on "False and Deluding Dreams" Goodwin warns readers against "false dreams" as catalysts for disorder and schism in the church, in addition to their danger for the individual soul. Yet, despite this warning, Goodwin also asserts that heeding dreams is in fact a "duty" of the godly Christian. On the problem of dreams he wrote in his epistle,

Dreames may be ambiguous [sic], and to deed them may be dangerous; Or on the other side, proceeding from Dreames to deeds, maybe a duty. And therefore though Dream impressions may make strong propensions, and cause Inclinations to act, yet a man wise and well instructed, will weigh all in Gods balance before, by suitable actings he seeks to fulfill the same.82

The ambiguity of dreams and the problem of discerning demonic from divine dreams was a recurring problem for early modern writers. In his work Goodwin helpfully provided clear criteria for distinguishing divine from demonic dreams, seeking to resolve the contemporary issue of divine dreams. Critics of dreams argued in works of demonology, anti-astrology and anti-enthusiasm that divine dreams had ceased, or were in fact merely symptoms of an excess of melancholy and "enthusiasm." But Goodwin endeavored to assert the continuity of divine dreams as legitimate expressions of divine inspiration. However, in his schema divine dreams, rather than being revelations, were instructive messages from God to assist in the spiritual edification of the dreamer.

According to Goodwin, there were two main kinds of dreams, natural and supernatural. Natural dreams were "such thoughts in sleep as the mind emits or sends out by its own intrinsecall power, the proper Product of mans own head and heart," while supernatural dreams

82 Ibid., A10(r).
were "such thoughts in sleep as are immitted or sent into the mind through some extrinsecall principle," that is to say, by supernatural agents. Goodwin explained further that,

Dreams are the agitations, the egressions or Sallyings out of the Soul in thoughts of the mind, while the Body lyeth bound by sleep in the bed. A Dreame indefinitely and at large is the transacting of the reasonable Soul in the sleeping Body, through the coassisting help of those admirable Faculties. The Phantasie, and the Memory.

As Chapter 1 demonstrated, this theory of dreams was an old one and in no way innovative. Here, Goodwin was drawing from a long-standing theory of dreams as products of the inner senses set free when the external senses were bound by sleep.

In addition to the umbrella categories of natural and supernatural dreams, Goodwin added divine and demonic dreams under the rubric of supernatural dreams. Divine dreams were those dreams "from God" whilst demonic dreams were those "wherein the Devil hath his industrious dealing for mens monstrous defiling and deluding." Much of Goodwin's treatise is concerned with demonic dreams. According to Goodwin, Christians were particularly vulnerable to demonic or "evil dreams," since "by such Diabolicall delusions, have severall in daies past been seduced, and drawn upon such actions, as have proved their destructions." The knowledge of how to distinguish or discern demonic from divine dreams was deemed fundamental for all Christians, since "the Soul is secret that conceives them, & Satan is subtill to conceal them." Dream discernment for Goodwin was therefore necessary since "to discover and finde out false Dreames: This is indeed difficult, through Satans designs and Mans heart

83 Ibid., 13.
84 Ibid., 10.
85 Ibid., A11(v).
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid., 24.
deceits ... Sinne and Satan much seek to hide their foot-steps."88 To help resolve these difficulties, Goodwin presented criteria for discernment. He suggested that dreams from God were "deeply different" from those sent by the Devil and were "made up of things, Highly eminent in the sight of God, & wholly consonant to the Word of God." On the other hand, demonic dreams "be about matters of no such eminency in the one, nor any such consonancy to the other." They were "filled with foolish frivolous, vain and ridiculous things, and at all times they are opposite and repugnant, either in whole or in part, to the pure and precious Word of God."89

Goodwin also argued that divine dreams could be easily recognized by the moderateness, orderliness and the wonderful "effects" they had on the dreamer, such as by revealing the sins of pride and cultivating piety. Demonic dreams, on the other hand, were disorderly and contained the "pills of poisonous errors" and were easily discerned by their violence, confusion and bad effects on the mind, body and soul of the dreamer:

Secondly, the Manner after which they are wrought in, is also differing. Dreams from the Devil they come in a man. As more Hasty, So more Hidden. In these Dreamings the Devils drivings are like to the drivings of Jehu, furious and fierce, thoughts throng in and thrust out with violence and force, so that thereby reason is oft darkened, brain distempered and powers disturbed, foot-steps so frequently confused, that little is orderly discerned. Thoughts be in the minde like Rebekahs twins in her womb, strugling together: but they do not like them come forth, one holding the heel of another; but be full of inconsistencies, lubricities, slippery, severed and unsetled, rushings in and rollings about. Reason so roving from one thing to another, that the minde makes miserable non-sence.90

88 Ibid., 39.
89 Ibid., 41.
90 Ibid., 42-43.
As will be discussed in more detail in a later section, Goodwin believed that in sleep we are particularly vulnerable to demonic dreams, which threatened to lead the dreamer into sin, delusion and irreligion.

Demonstrative of the complexity of Goodwin's schema of dreams, in addition to the categories of divine and demonic dreams, he elucidated numerous other subsets of dreams. These subsets formed the structure of his chapters in the treatise. First and foremost were "False and Deluding dreames," which included dreams mistaken for divine visions that were actually demonic in origin. The second category created by Goodwin was "Filthy and Defiling dreames," those dreams sent by the Devil, which drew on the inherent sinfulness of the dreamer and "defiled" the body, mind and soul of the individual. Thirdly, were "Vain and Idle Dreames," which were "worldly" dreams that corrupted the dreamer by infusing his or her thoughts with "vain" wishes and images. A fourth category was "Troublesome and Affrighting dreames" that were sent by God himself, in the tradition of Job, to test and scare the dreamer into piety and repentance. Finally, Goodwin delineates the category of "Profitable and Instructing Dreames" that included divine dreams sent by God for the spiritual instruction of the Christian dreamer. Each of these categories of dreams was given an entire chapter that firstly defined the kind of dream and then provided practical help on how to use the dream for the spiritual edification of the dreamer. Even demonic dreams might be useful, according to Goodwin, since they revealed the "secret" sinful state of the dreamer and allowed one to discover and expunge sins, which might otherwise remain hidden.91

91 Ibid., A12(r)-A13(r).
Dreams and the Pastoral Care of the Soul

In his introductory section, Goodwin makes several arguments for the utility of dreams for pious Christians. Firstly he suggests, "by the Knowledg of Dreames, much of mans rationall soul may be certainly known." Secondly, he argues that "a Conjecturall knowledg" of dreams is practical since "men may imagine when awake, from many motions and suggestions in sleep, what may be their advantages." These "advantages" include knowledge of our "secret sins," the need for faith and repentance, and ultimately through "instructive" dreams, cultivating a closer relationship with and knowledge of God. According to Goodwin, knowledge was power and the ultimate protection against the deceits of the Devil. Knowledge of God and God's grace was also an important "commodity" of knowledge of dreams. He explained, "Much of Gods sanctifying grace in men, may through this be known: That near access and close converse ... between a glorious God and a gracious soul, in times of sleep, does testifie much in man of the grace of God." Furthermore, a "right" knowledge of dreams, according to Goodwin, also offered another means to combat, not only our own inherent sinfulness, but also the "delusions" and spiritual attacks of the Devil in the vulnerable state of sleep. Goodwin's preoccupation with sin is evident throughout the treatise and the bulk of his discussion is concerned with understanding and combating demonic dreams in the form of "false," "vain," "idle," "filthy" and "defiling" dreams:

Sin in Generall, men may hereby discerning as concerning themselves, its certain excellency, close adherency, continual activity, & c. What is said of mans soul, the same may be said of mans sin; Age does not enfeeble it, nor sleep surprise it, but 'tis always vigorous and vigilant, even in the night time it puts forth in evil Dreames: So that by this we may learn the condition of mans sinne, and mans sinfull condition.

92 Ibid., A9(r)-A9(v).
93 Ibid., B3(v).
94 Ibid., A12(v).
According to Goodwin, and contrary to the orthodox Catholic and Protestant stance on sins committed in dreams, we are responsible for our sins in dreams and should repent and seek to prevent them: "But both waking and sleeping, man hath his bounds set, which to transgress is sinne." The godly therefore, are instructed to take pains during the day to prevent having sinful thoughts so that their dreams at night might be more "instructive" and pious.

Divine or "instructive" dreams could serve as powerful tools for the spiritual edification of the dreamer. Goodwin offers an extensive commentary on the way to prepare oneself for divine dreams so that "Requisite Knowledg may much be promoted by that Communion a good man may thus have, both with God and himself, during the darkest seasons of the night." Godly Christians can prepare themselves for receiving such dreams by taking "paines in Prayer, preparing all day for Gods visits in the night." It was each individual dreamer's "duty" therefore to prepare during the day for divine dreams at night. Through a correct knowledge of dreams and a practice of spiritual introspection during the day, dreamers could nurture their souls by using both good and evil dreams to their advantage.

Above all, dreams also were most useful in understanding God's grace and power: "Much of God may by this means be manifest, as not only the certainty of his being, that he is, but the transcendancy of his being; what and how great he is, in his power, prudence, providence, vigilance, omniscience, goodness etc." In addition, a deeper knowledge of "Gods sanctifying grace in men" may also be known through dreams by the "close converse" the

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96 Goodwin, Mystery of dreames, B2(r) - B2(v).
97 Ibid., B4(r).
98 Ibid., B3(r).
individual dreamer can establish with God. Overall, Goodwin argues for a positive and practical view of dreams as essential tools for cultivating piety, edifying the soul, developing a sincere appreciation of "the grace of God" and as a result, nurturing a closer relationship with God.

One of the reasons why a correct understanding of dreams was most useful for Christians was that it gave insight into the soul in sleep. According to Goodwin, the soul was active in sleep and was the main instigator of dreams. However, the role of the soul in dreams was a controversial issue in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writings on dreams. Writers such as Richard Haydock, the "sleeping preacher," also argued that sleep is a "binding" of the faculties of sense and that dreams are the result of the soul putting together incoherent images from the fantasy. In Haydock's view, in sleep the soul works on the "phantasy" and stays in body. According to Henry More, who subscribed to natural theories of dreams, "For what are Dreams but the Imaginations and perceptions of one asleep, which notwithstanding steal upon the Soul, or rise out of her without any consent of hers, as is most manifest in such as torment us, and put us to extreme pain till we awake out of them." The rational soul in More's schema was therefore inactive in sleep and overcome by the power of the Imagination, which forced dreams into the mind without its consent. The co-existing theory of natural dreams as products of the body and mind's baser functions, based on the traditional ideas of Aristotle and Galen, deprived the soul of any agency in the production of dreams. This notion, according to Goodwin, was to divest the soul of its God-given merits, its immortality and to subordinate it to profane bodily impulses and lesser mental faculties.

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99 Ibid., B3(v).
100 Richard Haydock, “‘Oneirologia, or, a Brief Discourse of the Nature of Dreames' Dramatic and Poetical Miscellany, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS J.a.1. Vol. 5, f. 10.
101 Henry More, Enthusiasmus triumphatus, or, A discourse of the nature, causes, kinds, and cure, of enthusiasm ... (London: Printed by J. Flesher, 1656), 3.
Goodwin therefore argues against Aristotelian views of dreams, seeing dreams as products of the rational or "intellective," rather than "sensitive" soul. He suggests that through Dreams, "The rationall soul in its Thought-working, hereby comes to be discovered. ... So that by the Knowledg of Dreames, much of mans rationall soul may be certainly known."\textsuperscript{102} Goodwin further suggests that the content of dreams, as a product of the imagination and cognitive faculty, transcends mere sensory stimuli and therefore was a creation of the higher faculty of the rational soul. While Goodwin acknowledges that in some dreams "Reason acts irregularly," others show a clear evidence of rational thought, so that "Men may finde as effectuall use of Reason in their sleep as when wide awake."\textsuperscript{103}

The problem of whether Reason or the rational soul was active or inactive in sleep was an ongoing problematic issue for writers on dreams since the absurdity of certain dreams served to undermine the credibility and virtue of the rational soul or intellect. As discussed in Chapter 1, other later writers such as Thomas Branch and Andrew Baxter argued that in sleep the soul lay dormant and was not involved in creating dreams since the ridiculousness and disorder of some dreams served to undermine the rationality and perfection of the soul.\textsuperscript{104} Goodwin himself argued that the Soul was like a "lamp" which burned bright in sleep and caused dreams:

Yea as there is the Soul in a man, so there is Reason in the Soul ... In the dark night into divers Dreames man is led by the light of this candle, 'tis the Soul of man endowed with Reason, and 'tis Reason in man as the endowment of the Soul, in and by which such Dreams are drawn out.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{102} Goodwin, \textit{Mystery of dreames}, A9(r).
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., 5-6.
\textsuperscript{104} Thomas Branch, \textit{Thoughts on dreaming} ... (London: Printed for R. Dodsley and J. Jolliffe, 1738); Andrew Baxter, \textit{An enquiry into the nature of the human soul; wherein the immateriality of the soul is evinced from the principles of reason and philosophy} (London: Printed for James Bettenham, 1733).
\textsuperscript{105} Goodwin, \textit{Mystery of dreames}, 4-5.
In Goodwin's view, to divest the Soul of its involvement in dreams and its faculty of Reason was to undermine the immortality and nature of the soul itself, which could never sleep.\textsuperscript{106} This rationale helped support Goodwin's view of dreams as fundamental expressions of the dreamer's spiritual state, or as potential messages from God.

**The Vulnerability of Soul in Sleep: Delusions of the Devil**

The soul, though active, was particularly vulnerable in sleep to the attacks of the Devil. According to Goodwin, "Time is divided into *Day* and *Night*, now both night and day may men fall into falshoods. ... In the *night* time does this danger undoubtedly endure."\textsuperscript{107} The Devil was a coward who attacked sleepers' souls when they were most vulnerable, when the outward senses were asleep and sinful thoughts were unbound:

In *time* of sleep men may be in more hazard of sinfull delusions than in their waking-seasons. When men are awake, they may escape mistakes through the help of their hearing, seeing and those outward senses then assisting, which in sleep lye bound and do not benefit them, or better inform them. In sleep *Satan* can assault the heart, and mislead the mind, and be less observed. The mind even of waking man, that looks out with an *acute* eye upon others errors, yet is ever slow, much more in sleep, to take notice of its own defaults through *Satans* deceits: so that mans sleep-time is to *Satans* designes very advantagious.\textsuperscript{108}

Therefore, the period of the night and state of sleep were particularly dangerous for Christians since the Devil waited during the day to attack sleepers' souls at night and through dreams incite them into sin and delusion.

The role of the Devil in dreams was one that Goodwin extensively outlined as part of his agenda to instruct dreamers in cultivating knowledge of dreams for their spiritual edification.

\textsuperscript{106} *Ibid.*, 4-8.
\textsuperscript{107} *Ibid.*, 53.
\textsuperscript{108} *Ibid.*, 54.
According to Goodwin, "The Devil and the World we grant are great Deceivers" and the "perils of false dreams" in addition to "filthy" and "defiling" dreams endangered the soul of the dreamer. However, the Devil was not allowed to do anything without the permission of God and also was unable to send sinful dreams if sinfulness was not already instilled in the dreamer. Goodwin explained, "The Devil need not bring any thing with him, onely improve the evil that is already, unto the forming of most filthy Dreames ... For he comes thus to work, because they invite him in the day." The mind and heart "were the Devils dung-cart, into which both day and night he throws his dirt and filth" resulting in "filthy" and "sinful" dreams. "Evil men" were especially prone to "filthy" and "defiling" dreams since they spent their day in sinful thoughts which were "products of mans own evil heart." Thus, Goodwin believed that sinful dreams were essentially the result of man's own inherent sinfulness that the Devil manipulated for his own malevolent designs.

Even "Gods saints" were not free from sin and were also vulnerable to demonic dreams, since in sleep they were subject to sinful thoughts. As “affrighting” dreams in the Bible had tested Job, both God and the Devil tested the “saints” through dreams. By virtue of their "godliness" the saints were the prime targets of the Devil who strove to "make them more sinfull." The Devil was a "cunning coward" who "comes at night: when the servants of God are asleep in their beds, he surprises them by putting sinful thoughts into their mind." However, the saints had the power of prayer to combat the Devil in dreams: "Good men when they sleep from sinne and hold close to the service of God, they supplant Satans throne, their prayers are as

109 Ibid., 49.
110 Ibid., 122-123.
111 Ibid., 108.
112 Ibid., 123.
113 Ibid., 125.
great guns and batter the Devils buildings."\textsuperscript{114} Here, Goodwin sought to offer some spiritual comfort to godly dreamers, reassuring them of God's protection. The aim of the Devil in sleep and via dreams was therefore to subvert the godly into sin and also to nurture the sinfulness already pre-existing in dreamers.

The importance of sin in Goodwin's theory of dreams was paramount and part of his agenda to provide a useful pastoral guide for Christian dreamers. It was due to the inherent sinfulness of human beings that the Devil was able to instigate so successfully this range of demonic dreams. In Goodwin's view, the heart of humankind was fundamentally prone to sin as a result of the corruption of the flesh: "The flesh is the first root and chief spring, out of which proceeds these puddle streams" of "filthy dreams."\textsuperscript{115} Sin itself was a "contagion," a "gangrene" in the souls of human beings that "seizing upon one part soon corrupts the whole: As the sinnes of the soul bubble up and break out in the body, so the sinnes of the body soak and sink down into the soul; so that in filthy Dreames both body and soul are defiled."\textsuperscript{116} The corruption of the soul by "filthy" dreams was therefore the direct result of the corrupting power of the body.

But what exactly were "filthy" and "defiling" dreams? Goodwin outlined "filthy" dreams as those "Foul and filthy Dreames about wicked matters, and for satisfaction of sinfull lusts."\textsuperscript{117} These dreams "defiled" and polluted both the body and the soul through the "filthiness" of sinful thoughts and actions they instigated in dreams and in reality. In this category of dreams Goodwin includes sinful dreams that cause "nocturnal emissions" in men caused by lustful thoughts had during the day:

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 124.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 102.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 101.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 91.
The Sinne of filthiness: Or that particular sinne of uncleanness strictly so called. This is a deep dish or puddle-pit, into which a man may be miserably plunged by the meer imaginations of his minde, Matth. 5:28. As a man that hath no body with him, when abroad, may at mid-day be an adulterer in the adulterous thoughts of his heart: so a man that hath no body with him in his bed, may in the sleeping time of the night, be adulterously naught by the filthy Dreames of his minde: and commonly those filthinesses that a mans minde is fixed upon in the day when awake, will visit him in the night, finde him out and fasten upon him in his sleep.118

In Goodwin's view, "filthy" dreams were especially dangerous not only because they polluted the body with "vile" thoughts and "emissions," but more importantly, because they "defiled" the heart and soul.

However, dreams with a sexual content were not the only ones Goodwin included in his discussion of "filthy" dreams. Dreams of "Luxury, Gluttony, Avarice, Envy, Pride, Prodigality," were also included under this rubric of demonic dreams.119 While the Devil was the prime instigator of "filthy" dreams, it was the pre-existent sinfulness of the individual that allowed the Devil to send "defiling" dreams. Through God's permission and his own cunning skills, the Devil was able to influence the imagination and produce sinful images in the minds of sleeping Christians:

As referring to Satan that filthy and unclean spirit, who hath no little hand in such loathsome Dreames. The Devil indeed not having a body himself, cannot commit bodily filthiness, but he can conform himself so to the phantasies, as to further his mental filthiness in and with others. Very strange things (as to appearance) men may do by the power of Satan ... And may not Satan by himself immediately mannage marvellous matters, causing shapes and forms to appear of all kinds of creatures, as to mans ocular part or his eye without ... So to mans imaginary power interpose himself, causing things and persons to appear to the putative faculty effecting these filthy Dreames.120

118 Ibid., 95-96.
119 Ibid., 95.
120 Ibid., 96.
In Goodwin's theory of "filthy" dreams, the Devil was a kind of trickster and shape-shifter of the imagination who sent illusions to mislead the dreamer into greater sin and delusion. Goodwin surmised that if the Devil were able to manifest as a "roaring Lion, to affright a waking Christian; cannot he present himself as an enticing Damsell, to affect a sleeping man, and effect these filthy Dreames?"\textsuperscript{121}

In addition to "filthy" dreams, the Devil also sent "false and deluding" dreams, which were potentially more destructive, being able not only to mislead the individual dreamer, but potentially, through them, the entire community. "False" dreams, according to Goodwin, were dreams sent by the Devil that masqueraded as "true" but which were in actuality "the sleights of Satan."\textsuperscript{122} Moreover, "false" dreams were especially dangerous because through them, "since the Apostles died, in Dreams have divers been seduced."\textsuperscript{123} According to Goodwin, the plethora of false visionaries and prophets on the Continent and in England were suffering not from divine revelations but rather from "dreaming delusions" whose author was the Devil.\textsuperscript{124} The "sparks" of these dreams had fallen from the Continent onto English ground.\textsuperscript{125} As a result, sectarian visionaries had flourished. Because of their "false dreams" sectarians had abandoned their parishes:

\begin{quote}
Dreames declaring how God did advise them, counsell them, command them what wayes to forbear, and which wayes to bend themselves. So some have of late years deserted our publicke Assemblies, into separated companies, as being warned of God in Deames so to do. The last Instance I heard related, was of a Woman in a neighbouring Town, who dreamed that God one night said to her, Come out from among them, and be ye separate, & c. She awaked, fell asleep again and heard the same from God; so that, said she, the Dreame was doubled, to shew the certainty. In obedience to which, she
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 97.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 28.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 32.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., 36.
ever after forsook all publicke Ordinances, though many years after she did not live. Her own Sister, who received this same from her mouth, is yet alive to witness it.126

Here we can see the heart of the problem of "false" and "deluding" dreams for Goodwin. As a minister with the sincere desire to protect the spiritual welfare of his parish, Goodwin saw the spread of sectarianism and false claims to divine dreams as the deliberate work of the Devil, whose ultimate aim was to lead England into religious dissent and schism. The most effective method for combating "false" dreams, according to Goodwin, was to obtain knowledge of the dangers and nature of "false" dreams so as to be able to correctly discern "true" from "false" dreams.127 Although Goodwin certainly did not deny the possibility that God did continue to send divine dreams, he argued that this was a rare occurrence. "False" dreams were like lumps of "sugar" – coated with sweet Scripture, yet hiding the poisonous errors within.128

In Goodwin's section on "False and Deluding dreams," he explicitly refers to the dreams of the "Anabaptists," whose erroneous beliefs and dreams "in times remote" spread from Münster, Germany, "as Seed sown by Satans hand on English ground."129 Here Goodwin is referring to the infamous history of Münster when Anabaptists seized control of the city in 1534 and proclaimed it the New Jerusalem under the leadership of the radical visionary, John of Leiden. As J.F. McGregor notes, the incidents at Münster remained, for well over a century, a potent example for contemporaries of the dangers of popular religious heresy.130 On the problem of "false" dreams in England Goodwin elaborated further that,

126 Ibid., 37.
127 Ibid., 40.
128 Ibid., 42.
129 Ibid., 36.
In later times Men have had here at home many a mistaking Dreame: Dreames drawn in by the Devil, which they have taken as tendred to them by the hand of a Holy God. Concerning, What God would do for them, & What they should do for God. Dreames declaring how God would advance them, raise them, use them, and make them high for his honour; promoting persons of the same Principles, to great possessions, transactions; setting them upon bold presumptions, proud predictions, as have appeared from some in their printed Pamphlets.\footnote{Goodwin, \textit{Mystery of dreames}, 36-37.}

In this passage Goodwin articulates his concern with the claims of contemporary English sectarians to divine dreams. He refers to their "proud predictions" and "printed Pamphlets" showing how he was responding to sectarians whose divine dreams and prophetic visions were publicized in printed pamphlets during the late 1640s and more so 1650s.\footnote{Examples include the printed works of the Fifth Monarchists Anna Trapnel and Arise Evans, as well as the Independent clerics, John Rogers, Vavasor Powell and Henry Jessey, amongst others. Anna Trapnel, \textit{Strange and wonderful newes from White-Hall: or, The mighty visions proceeding from Mistris Anna Trapnel, to divers collonels, ladies, and gentlewomen, concerning the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland} ... (London: Printed for Robert Sele, 1654); Arise Evans, \textit{An eccho to the book called A voyce from heaven} ... (London: Printed for the Authour, 1653), 8–9, 25, 78, 82; Arise Evans, \textit{The bloudy vision of John Farly, interpreted by Arise Evans} ... (London: s.n., 1653); Vavasor Powell, \textit{Spirituall experiences, of sundry beleevers Held forth by them at severall solemne meetings, and conferences to that end} ... (London: Printed by Robert Ibbitson, 1653), 234, 278, 357, 369; John Rogers, \textit{Ohel or Beth-shemesh A tabernacle for the sun, or, Irenicum evangelicum: an idea of church-discipline in the theorick and practick parts, which come forth first into the world as bridgroom and bride} ... (London: Printed for R.I. and G. and H. Eversden, 1653), 424-425, 430-431, 434-435; Henry Jessey, \textit{The exceeding riches of grace advanced by the spirit of grace, in an empty nothing creature viz. Mrs. Sarah Wight} ... (London: Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton and Hannah Allen, 1647), 58, 86, 89, 148–150.}

While it is difficult to know from Goodwin's brief reference to English "printed Pamphlets" which specific sectarian works he was responding to, his exclusive reference to and concern with Anabaptism was most likely triggered by the presence of Baptist and nonconformist conventicles, discussed earlier, in the vicinity of Watford during the 1640s and 1650s. Although overall Goodwin endeavoured to write a "historical" treatise on dreams, this excerpt suggests a more contemporaneous agenda. His inclusion of a lengthy discussion of "false and deluding dreams" shows how Goodwin sought to present an alternate explanation for
contemporary claims to divine dreams. He argued that such dreams were not true revelations, rather they were demonic dreams disguised as divine. Thus, in his view self-proclaimed visionaries were not suffering from "enthusiasm," neither were they mistaking natural for supernatural dreams, as other authors such as Thomas Hobbes and Henry More had suggested; rather, according to Goodwin's spiritual framework of dreams, they were victims of the Devil, who sought through "false" dreams to mislead individuals and their communities into sin, delusion and schism.\footnote{Hobbes, Leviathan, 175, 344, 429; More, Enthusiasmus triumphatus, 2-6, 24-31.}

Above all, the best protection against the wide range of demonic dreams, according to Goodwin, was a "due understanding" of dreams combined with pious religious observation. A correct understanding of the different kinds of dreams, their causes and meanings for the Christian dreamer, would help combat the delusions of the Devil and alternately prepare the dreamer for "instructive" divine dreams. The value of Goodwin's work, he believed, was that he provided a detailed guide to understanding and discerning divine from demonic dreams. One of his suggestions to prevent "sinful" dreams and to "interrupt the Devils work is, to bereave him of what he cannot work without: Not to nourish or cherish the deceits of sinne, least thereby men furnish and establish the designs of Satan."\footnote{Goodwin, Mystery of dreames, 74.} In other words, Goodwin advised his readers to avoid sinful thoughts and actions during the day. As a protection against the "false" dreams of others, the best remedy was to "stop ears, not to hear them; and the best way to hinder deceits, is not to hearken to deceivers." "Deceivers" were the "Devils Brokers" who "trim up his old rotten raggs, and sell them off for new clothes."\footnote{Ibid., 76.} Above all, the best protection against the nocturnal assaults of the Devil was to fear God and keep his commandments: "Fear towards the God of Truth, this is a good Antidote against Satans poison, preventing the vanities of deluding
Dreames." God's saint was also advised to set "his soul to watch while his body sleeps" through prayer and by cultivating piety.

**Spiritual Reflections on Divine Dreams**

On the other side of the spectrum of supernatural dreams, according to Goodwin, were "divine dreams." As mentioned earlier, "divine dreams" could be carefully distinguished from demonic dreams by their moderation and "differing effects" on dreamers. Divine dreams could be "instructive," as well as in rare instances, revelations. As part of his aim to establish dreams as useful for the pastoral care of the soul, and to counteract the spread of sectarian dreams, Goodwin spoke in depth about the genre of dreams he labeled "instructive." These kinds of dreams served a manifold function of fostering piety and combating sin and delusion. Divine dreams could "drive out pride" and cultivate the "truth of Gods Word." Similarly, divine dreams "bring such a light into mans heart, and leave such dints thereupon, as makes him more humble, awfull, dreading God and denying himself. Whereas delusions in Dreames drawn in by the Devil, do deeply dispose mens minds, to Corrupt Conceptions and to Proud Presumptions." Above all, "true Dreames" ultimately lead to "the glorification of God" and the "edification of men."

Moreover, "Profitable" or "Instructive" dreams made manifest "the mercy of God, and the mystery of godliness." These kinds of dreams were also believed to be sent by God's

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angels who sit "about mens Beds when asleep; as to prevent Satan in Dreames that be bad"
as well as sending warnings of impending misfortune to good Christians in the form of
dreams:142

When Satan by night with a sinfull fire brought from Hell would set mens souls on a
flame; Angels bring a blessed fire from Heaven, that burns and heats mens hearts in
holy Dreames. As God hath sent Angels to watch over some asleep, for their protection:
so to work in some asleep, for their instruction. God hath appointed his Angels to carry
his mind down to some on earth, while their bodies have been asleep in their beds.143

The fact that God continued to send warnings through dreams was proven by examples recorded
in the Bible, as well as in contemporary Protestant hagiographies such as Foxe's Acts and
Monuments. Goodwin specifically mentioned the tale of Theodore Beza (1519 - 1605), a French
Protestant theologian and disciple of Calvin, who was apparently warned by a dream that
Geneva was threatened by a "desperate plot." Believing his dream true, Beza warned the
governors of the city and sure enough the conspirators were discovered and "the perill prevented
and the people preserved."144

Goodwin also advised his readers on the way to prepare for receiving divine dreams
since "such Dreames from God are to be desired, because of the excellency that is in them, &
because of the commodity that is by them."145 According to Goodwin, these dreams were
fundamental for the spiritual instruction of the dreamer and the edification of the soul.
Furthermore, divine dreams also led to a closer, more immediate relationship with God, since to
have divine dreams was to converse directly with God. To illustrate this point, Goodwin
narrated the tale of a pious Christian who suffered "for want of Christ:"

142 Ibid., 272.
143 Ibid., 273.
144 Ibid., 281.
145 Ibid., 284.
Thus a poor Christian who having been for divers dayes in doubts and deep distresse for want of Christ, in whom are laid the treasures of wisdom and knowledg; the Lord at length hath come in a Dreame by night, which hath made his soul to sing & leap, saying; Christ my Redeemer is come, is come, I have him, I have him, which proves more than a Dream.\textsuperscript{146}

In this way, divine dreams could instill deep spiritual comfort as well as being useful for the "instruction" of the Christian dreamer. Divine dreams were also potentially edifying for clergymen according to Goodwin, and he lists the example of a "precious Minister" who fell asleep whilst meditating on "the Resurrection at the last day." He jumped out of bed after a dream saying, "Let me go to the pulpit and impart to the people the sweet comforts I have had in my soul this night!"\textsuperscript{147} Through this example, Goodwin shows how "instructive" and "profitable" dreams might be useful for the spiritual edification of the dreamer.

However, not all divine dreams were comforting according to Goodwin. In sleep we are also vulnerable to terrifying divine dreams. God not only sent "instructive" and "profitable" dreams to the pious dreamer, but also sent "Troublesome" and "Affrighting Dreames," not to "instruct," but rather to terrify them into repentance and fear. Goodwin uses the example of Job who was terrified by dreams at night in his test of faith by God. Chapter 5, "Of troublesome and affrighting dreames," is essentially a meditation and exegesis on the "wearisome nights" of Job in the Bible (KJV Job 7:14): "Then thou skarest me with Dreames, and terrifiest me with visions." Goodwin discusses the way that these kinds of dreams are deliberately sent by God to test the faithful by "admonishing and dismaying" dreamers into piety and repentance for sins committed against God. The idea of God as a majestic and terrifying figure is apparent here as Goodwin believes that "affrighting" dreams are meant to illustrate the "terrible" and "surpassing

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., 293.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 293-294.
excellency of *Gods* Majesty, [that] dismayes the mind, and makes it tremble with fear."148 In this section we can obtain insight into the Puritan views of God as a gracious, merciful, yet terrible and awe-inspiring figure. For Goodwin, God was all of these things and thus to obey and fear God were the most important commandments of all.

Goodwin concludes his spiritual handbook with a guide on how to prepare oneself for receiving divine dreams. Believing divine dreams fundamental for the pastoral care for the soul of the dreamer, he advised his readers how "to *procure* and *encrease* good Dreames: A knowing Christian herein, becomes diligent hereupon, and takes paines in Prayer, preparing all day for *Gods visit* in the night."149 Through sincere prayer and intense spiritual reflection on sin and God's grace, as well as through a regular attendance of sermons and Bible-reading, Goodwin believed the pious Christian could not only improve the condition of the soul, but also combat demonic dreams, by nipping sin in the bud. Against potential critics of divine dreams Goodwin asked,

> And why might not the minds of men move and be moved in holy and heavenly, as well as in idle and foolish Dreames, were diligence used, and duties discharged? I doubt not but divers of *Gods* dear Saints in these secret workings of their sanctified *souls*, have many sweet cælestial sights, when the eyes of their bodies be close shut upon their sleeping beds, and see not.150

To seek divine dreams and combat evil, demonic visions was the "duty" of a Christian. The soul was ostensibly a battleground for the war waged between sin and piety, God and the Devil. Yet, although vulnerable, "God's saints" were not completely helpless in the face of these demonic assaults and could through spiritual introspection, have a degree of agency in controlling their dreams and protecting their souls against the assaults of the Devil. Similarly, despite the terrors

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of demonic and divine dreams, all dreams could be instructive and useful according to Goodwin's spiritual system of dream interpretation.

**Nehemiah Wallington's Dreams**

Evidence for a spiritual approach to dreams that anticipates Goodwin's schema can be found in the notebooks and records of dreams of the London turner, Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658). In his abundant collection of notebooks, of which seven survive, Wallington recorded a compilation of spiritual meditations, prayers, accounts of his life, with excerpts of sermons, newsbooks, letters and pamphlets. Due to their richness and sheer volume, Wallington's notebooks have attracted the attention of historians interested in the social and inner lives of Puritans. Paul Seaver presented the most extensive micro-history of "Wallington's world," while David Booy recently published a collection of excerpts of his notebooks.¹⁵¹ Within his notebooks Wallington recorded numerous dreams, which he meditated on upon waking. Amongst these records are dreams that he interpreted in ways that resonate with Goodwin's later schema of "instructive," "fearful" and "affrighting" dreams showing how Puritans such as Wallington were already utilizing these ideas of dreams in the period before Goodwin's publication. As Goodwin would later assert, Wallington saw dreams as a useful source of spiritual edification and insight into the soul. For Wallington, dreams were both a source of spiritual comfort and anxiety, serving to reveal his inherent sinfulness as well as God's mercy and grace. Like Goodwin, Wallington also subscribed to the idea of the vulnerability of the soul in sleep to the assaults of the Devil. Wallington saw night as a particularly dangerous time in which he believed himself attacked by dreams and manifestations of the Devil. Above

all, for Wallington, dreams were significant spiritual experiences, which conferred on him insight into his spiritual welfare, as well as being "instructive" messages from God either meant as warnings of his inherent sinfulness or as evidence of his election and God's merciful grace.

In many ways Wallington was an exemplary student of Puritan spiritual regimens of daily prayer, Bible-reading and introspection. Throughout his adult life Wallington engaged in a rigorous program of spiritual introspection, waking often between one and six am to pray, write his notebooks, read the Bible and meditate on his life. He also frequently attended sermons, on one occasion, heroically attending "ninteene sarmones in one weeke." Having been raised in a godly household, Wallington learned early to practice a strict regimen of spiritual exercises that he assiduously incorporated into the center of his family and private life as an adult. Perhaps due to his tendency to meditate on all aspects of his life and thoughts, Wallington records numerous dreams that he clearly believed to be important clues to his spiritual welfare and election.

In the midst of the night hours, Wallington would frequently awaken terrified by dreams or convinced he was being assaulted by the Devil. Like Goodwin, Wallington saw the night as a vulnerable time for Christians, and wrote, "It is the terroure of the night which is so much the more terrible because it walketh in the darke, and surpriseth a man before he is aware." Wallington suffered from acute depression and spiritual anguish in his early years, being tempted by the Devil to commit suicide on numerous occasions. During this period and later in his life he records seeing the Devil in waking and sleeping visions. In his "Record of Gods Marcys, or Thankfull Remembrance" notebook, Wallington reflects on these experiences and wrote, "I being then troubled in my mind and Mellincollic I did thinke verily that the Divell did

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153 Ibid., f. 380.
apeare unto me flying about the chamber like unto a blacke crooe." As these appearances often occurred in the midst of the night, Wallington perhaps developed a deep-seated dread of the late hours.

Wallington often experienced what he described as "fearfull dreames," which resonate with Goodwin's idea of "instructive" and "affrighting" dreams sent by God to terrify the faithful into repentance and piety. On January 1, 1629 Wallington experienced a "fearefull dreame" in which he had a vision of heaven and hell:

For one night I dreamed I was dead and the day of judgment was come, and I was raised, and stood betwixt heaven and hell, but whether I should goe I knew not. Heaven I did see, was a glorious place and as it might be to my apprention a [very] spaces large rome and their sate in the mides of it our Saviour Jesus Christ very glorious I cannot expresse it, and round about heaven sate all the saintes that ever was. And on the left hand: I saw hell a large deformed darke place: only a kind of fire burning there, and the damned spirits taring one another. then thought I oh whither shall I goe, and I thought I had one fote in heaven. One while I did thinke I should goe into heaven and another while I thought I should not and oh that I would I were one the earth againe, I would live better than ever I have done and oh that I had beleved that theire was a heaven I would have had more care over my waies to have lived more uprightly and holy then every I have done. And thus strugeling with my thoughts I did awake out of my sleepe in a masse, and I tooke this dreame for a great warning of God to have a gratter regard of my life then ever I had.155

Wallington saw this dream not as a revelation, but rather as a private warning to him from God to live a more godly life. In essence this dream reflects Wallington's acute anxieties about his election, whether he was among the elect, or the damned. This kind of dream was in Goodwin's later schema, deemed an "affrighting" divine dream, sent by God to warn the dreamer of their potential damnation and to lead a more godly life. In his notebooks Wallington records numerous other "fearful" and "fritefull dremes" which he saw as warnings from God. On another occasion in October 1654 he woke at 4 a.m. "out of some fritefull dreme" to "serch my

154 Ibid., f. 8.
155 Ibid., ff. 47-48.
heart and find a stey of all filth." The dream caused a deep anxiety in Wallington, yet he comforted himself with meditating on Christ's sacrifice and thanked God for "keeping me from gros sinns."156

As described earlier, Goodwin also outlined what he defined as "vain dreams," that is those dreams that focused on and revealed a preoccupation with worldly vanities. Wallington also records a number of dreams that he described as "vain." In his notebook entitled "The groth of a Christian," in an entry dated November 22, 1642, Wallington wrote, "And dreming this night many vaine dremes and so wakeing with vaine worldly thoughts, It grived me sore that I could bit greet my heart of the world, and set on high with my God."157 Wallington's "vaine dreams" led him to strive harder to godliness and he saw them as a warning that he was dangerously preoccupied with worldly vanities. In October 1654 Wallington recorded another "vaine worldly dreme," which he saw as showing that "my imaginations of my heart are evill continually." The dream led him to rise, examine his conscience and meditate on the story of Doctor Faustus. Being humbled by his own inherent sinfulness, Wallington comforted himself with the fact that "God presents his deare and only sonn to me with all his merrits and free grace," for which he thanked God.158 Clearly for Wallington, in line with Goodwin's later idea of "vain dreams," such dreams were warnings from God to strive towards spiritual excellence and a contemplation of spiritual above worldly matters. These kinds of dreams, although being sources of anxiety, could be "instructive" for the godly dreamer, who could utilize them as messages from God and as indications of the deeper spiritual welfare of the soul. "Vain" dreams, viewed through a Puritan framework of spiritual instruction, were viewed as indications

that the dreamer was falling into an ungodly preoccupation with "worldly" thoughts, being ultimately a warning from a gracious God.

In addition to several "vain dreames," Wallington also recorded dreams through which he derived great spiritual comfort. In 1643 on Easter Monday, Wallington recorded a "heavenly drem" in which he was in his shop meditating on Psalms 125:1-2 that gave him great comfort. Wallington awoke from the dream that assured him he "was the Lords" and that "I never found the life of Grace so stering in my heart as now."\(^{159}\) These spiritually reassuring dreams are reminiscent of the category of "instructive dreams" outlined by Goodwin that were designed by God to edify and instruct the dreamer into a correct appreciation of God's mercy and grace. In June 1643, Wallington also records another dream in which Thomas Fairfax, the hero of the Parliamentary army, entered his shop. The dream left Wallington with a sense of deep spiritual joy so that on waking he meditated on the dream to understand its larger meaning. He saw the dream as a metaphor for God entering "the house of my soule in private and publike" and wrote "these meditations tho with teeres filled my soule with joy in thinking what admiering at one anothers Joy that will be then."\(^{160}\) Evidence for Goodwin's later schema of "Instructive" dreams which served to lead the dreamer into a deeper spiritual meditation and appreciation of God's grace and mercy is therefore evident in Wallington's earlier records and meditations on his dreams, showing that for early to mid-seventeenth-century Puritans, dreams could be understood as offering special insights into the soul as well as being spiritually edifying.

While Wallington never read Goodwin's treatise on dreams, (he died in August 1658), his views of dreams as a fundamental part of his spiritual experiences and as messages designed to warn, instruct and provide comfort from God, were most likely derived from his Puritan

\(^{159}\) "Groth of a Christian," f. 83(v).
\(^{160}\) Ibid., f. 104.
upbringing, extensive reading of godly handbooks and private practice of intense spiritual introspection and meditation.\textsuperscript{161} For Puritans such as Wallington, dreams were another important facet of their spiritual edification, which could be scrutinized and meditated on as messages from God or as clues to their state of grace. As Goodwin had attempted to establish in his dream handbook, dreams were a "profitable" source of spiritual introspection and contained, for those who prepared themselves in the day, "instructive" messages from God that were meant to assist in the spiritual edification of the dreamer. In this schema even demonic dreams could be instructive and offer evidence of God's protection, whilst serving to test the faithful. What links these authors together is undoubtedly that both Wallington and Goodwin shared a common spiritual worldview and religious praxis. Goodwin's handbook on dreams should therefore be seen, not as emerging from the tradition of dreambooks or oneiromancy, or from the Christian tradition of revelations, but rather as part of a Puritan regimen of spiritual introspection and lived practice. Wallington's records and reflections on his dreams suggest how Goodwin's particular schema of dreams was not created in a vacuum but emerged from a Puritan practice of intense spiritual introspection.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Goodwin's last work \textit{The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed} is a useful case study of the way a Puritan framework shaped an understanding of the origin, meaning and interpretation of dreams. For Goodwin dreams were important clues to the spiritual health of the dreamer as well as to the complex ministrations of God and wiles of the Devil. A correct understanding of dreams, their causes and hidden meanings could provide "God's Saints" with fundamental tools for spiritual introspection and ultimately cultivate not only piety, but also a

closer relationship with God. Goodwin saw dreams as multifarious and complex, dangerous yet ultimately "profitable." Above all, as his title suggests, dreams according to Goodwin were a "mystery" and a "secret" that needed to be correctly understood, interpreted and revealed.

In a period where divine dreams were understood to be controversial messages from God, Goodwin sought to establish dreams as spiritually productive and "instructive," regardless of whether they were divine or demonic in origin. Whilst divine dreams were clearly invaluable for the spiritual welfare of the soul and "profitable" for teaching Christians the virtues of godliness, "affrighting" and "troublesome" dreams were designed to terrify the dreamer into repentance and a sincere fear and faith in God. Even demonic dreams might be appropriated as useful tools for the spiritual instruction of the dreamer, since a proper knowledge of their author and his nefarious aims gave the "saints" powerful protection against sin and delusion. Similarly, demonic dreams in all their variety, whether "filthy," "vain," or "false" could be useful in revealing the secret, hidden sins and sinfulness of the dreamer. Therefore, in Goodwin's view, a correct knowledge of dreams could "profit Gods people, both asleep and awake."¹⁶²

What is also significant about Goodwin's treatise on dreams is that it reveals another facet of the idea of the perceived vulnerability of the soul in sleep, specifically to attacks of the Devil, who, in Goodwin's view, was active in the world. Sleep was a particularly dangerous state for Christians since the Devil took advantage of the vulnerability of the soul left unprotected by the external senses and Reason. In Goodwin's view, dreams were sometimes extremely dangerous experiences that threatened not only the individual soul, but through "false" and "deluding" dreams, the souls of the entire Christian community. The spread of sectarian "false prophets" and visionaries in Europe and in England, even in the vicinity of Goodwin's own parish at Watford, served to threaten the spiritual authority of ministers and the

¹⁶² Goodwin, Mystery of dreams, B6(v).
souls of their flocks. Goodwin's *The mystery of dreames* is, in part, a response to the religious dissent and schism of the Interregnum. However, unlike other writers on dreams, Goodwin attempted to present a more positive view of dreams and educate his readers on a more useful way of interpreting dreams as part of the pastoral care of the soul. Underlying Goodwin's schema of dreams is an acute sense of the vulnerability of the dreamer to external supernatural forces beyond his or her control. This perceived vulnerability is also echoed and demonstrated in early modern writings on the nightmare, as the following chapter explores.
Chapter 4
The Nightmare in Premodern England

Those that in their sleep are troubled with the *Incubus* or *Night-Mare*, they seem to be of a temper contrary to the former [sanguine complexion], *Melancholy*, of few gross *spirits*, and abounding with *Phlegm*, and in children and young people through Fear, and sleeping supine, and lying on their backs: And tho the Vulgar, when they are thus affected, conceive it some external thing comes and lies upon them, which they fancy to be some Ghost, or Hob-Goblin, yet the truth is, it proceeds from inward Causes.

*Thomas Tryon, A treatise of dreams & visions* (1695).¹

**Introduction**

As Chapter 1 explained, in early modern medical writings sleep was understood as a particularly vulnerable state in which individuals were subject to a host of internal and external forces beyond their control. Additionally, within the regimen of health, moderate, quiet sleep was also understood to be most conducive to good health. Throughout the early modern period disruptions to sleep in the form of sleep disorders such as terrifying dreams were understood within medical circles as symptoms of a disordered body and mind, and in chronic cases, were warnings of impending illness. Within this schema dreams themselves were seen to be useful clues to the health of the individual body and mind.

Ideas about the causes of "fearfull dreams" can be loosely categorised into natural and supernatural etiologies. As I explained in the previous chapter, writers such as Philip Goodwin argued that terrible dreams could be caused by the Devil or demons and were injected into the mind to "defile" the soul or mislead the sleeper into sin, delusion and heresy.² Goodwin also explained that "Troublesome and Affrighting dreams" might derive from God himself to scare the dreamer into piety and repentance for sins committed in waking life.³ Parallel to these ideas were natural theories of dreams, explored in Chapter 1, which suggested that such dreams

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² Philip Goodwin, *The mystery of dréames, historically discoursed* ... (London: Printed by A.M. for Francis Tyton, 1658), A11(r) -A11(v).
affected sleep as a result of natural processes, such as indigestion or humoral imbalances. Thus, a variety of ideas circulated about "fearful dreams" that incorporated several genres, including (but not limited to) natural, demonic and divine dreams.

Within the medical discourse on dreams, writings on the nightmare, also known as the "Incubus" or "mare," help to reveal the way that dreams were sites where both natural and supernatural forces were believed to infiltrate the vulnerable body and mind. These forces permeated the porous boundaries of the body, mind and soul, resulting in a serious sleep disorder understood to give rise to the most dramatic and terrifying manifestations of dreams. John Bond (fl. 1750), a physician who trained in Edinburgh, defined the phenomenon in his work *An essay on the incubus, or night-mare* (1753):

> The Night-mare generally seizes people sleeping on their backs, and often begins with frightful dreams, which are soon succeeded by a difficult respiration, a violent oppression on the breast, and a total privation of voluntary motion. In this agony they sigh, groan, utter indistinct sounds, and remain in the jaws of death, till, by the utmost efforts of nature, or some external assistance, they escape out of that dreadful torpid state.⁴

Bond himself was a chronic sufferer of the nightmare and here described the typical symptoms associated with the experience. As Bond's excerpt illustrates, medical theories saw the nightmare as characterised by several symptoms including an acute paralysis of the body, trouble breathing, palpitations, terrifying dreams and a heightened state of terror. Although a variety of symptoms were involved in the overall experience of the nightmare, the "first" or primary symptom was a vivid terrifying dream of a malevolent being crushing its victim. The secondary symptoms, such as palpitations, suffocation and terror, were, in effect, physiological responses to the dream.

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The idea of the close relationship between the nightmare and dreams was not unique to Bond. In 1547 the physician and suffragan bishop of Chichester, Andrew Boorde (1490-1549), explained that the nightmare arose when humors suffused the brain "bringing a man sleeping into a dream, to think that which is nothing is somewhat, & to feel that thing that he feeleth not, & to see that thing that he seeth not."\(^5\) Thomas Willis (1621-1675), a well-respected English physician who was the Sedleian Professor of natural philosophy at Oxford, wrote in his chapter on the nightmare in his work *De anima brutorum* (1672), "But although we grant the monstrous shape of the Incubus (which is conceived) to be a mere dream; the Precordia to be truly affected, is apparent."\(^6\) Therefore, according to early modern medical authors, the central feature of the nightmare experience was a terrifying dream resulting from natural causes.

One of the most detailed medical descriptions of the experience occurs in the seventeenth-century physician, Edmund Gardiner's *Phisicall and approved medicines* (1611):

Many, which are taken with this disease, imagine that a man of monstrous stature sitteth on them, which with his hand violently stoppeth their mouth, that they can by no means cri out, and they strive with their arms and hands to drive him away, but all in vain. Some ledde with vain fantasie, thinke him who oppresseth them, to creepe up by little and little on the bed, as it were to deceive them, and none to runne downe againe. They seeme also to themselves to heare him.\(^7\)

While medical authors understood the nightmare as a vivid dream instigated by disorders of the body's natural physiology, this experience led many victims to conclude that they had been

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\(^5\) Andrew Boorde, *The breviarie of health ...* 2nd ed. (London: Printed by Thomas East, 1587), 45(r). The first edition was published in 1547.

\(^6\) This work was translated into English in 1683 by S. Pordage. Thomas Willis, *Two discourses concerning the soul of brutes which is that of the vital and sensitive of man. The first is physiological, shewing the nature, parts, powers, and affections of the same* (London: Printed for Thomas Dring, 1683), 142.

\(^7\) Edmund Gardiner, *Phisicall and approved medicines, aswell in meere simples ...* (London: Printed by E. Allde for Mathew Lownes, 1611), 55.
subject to the real assaults of demons, witches or spirits. Thus, there were two schools of thought concerning the nightmare in early modern England. Firstly, are those writers who understood the nightmare as a disorder of the body manifesting in a terrible dream of a malevolent being suffocating its victims. Secondly, are those who conversely saw it as the real assaults of witches, demons or spirits, which I will define as the "hag-riding" tradition.

At the heart of debates about the nightmare experience was therefore the problem of discerning between dreams and reality, natural and supernatural causes, as well as doubts concerning the reliability of the senses. Writings on the nightmare therefore reveal another important facet of the discourse of dreams. Additionally, writings on the nightmare reveal insight into the perceived relationship between health and dreams, since the terrifying dreams associated with the nightmare in medical discourse were considered serious symptoms of ill health. Finally, as I will demonstrate, writings on the nightmare show how dreams were a locus for discussions about what distinguished dreaming from waking states.

In medical writings the nightmare itself was traditionally conceptualized as a disease symptomatic of humoral excess and the strange affects of the body on the mind and imaginative faculty. Although today we use the term "nightmare" to encompass all kinds of bad dreams, early modern writers understood the nightmare as an experience involving a specific set of symptoms, caused by either supernatural or natural forces. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, 

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8 Like Bond, John Augustine Waller (fl. 1816-1822), a surgeon of the Royal Navy, was also a chronic victim of the nightmare. He explained in his work, *A Treatise on the Incubus, or Night-Mare* (1816), "It is by no means an uncommon thing for the person labouring under the Night-Mare to see, or at least to imagine that he sees, some figure, either human, or otherwise, standing by him, threatening him, or deriding, or oppressing him." John Waller, *A Treatise on the Incubus, or Night-Mare* (London: E. Cox and Son, 1816), 26. According to Waller, the closeness of the dream-environment to the real environment of the sleeper made it difficult for the victim of the nightmare on waking to distinguish between reality and the dream (Waller, *Treatise on the Incubus*, 28).
writings on the nightmare reveal a complex spectrum of theories that incorporate fragments of classical lore, traditional beliefs and contemporary medical understandings of the body and mind. Throughout this chapter I will use the early modern terms "nightmare," "Incubus" or "mare" to refer specifically to premodern understandings.

Ideas about the nightmare also help reveal that early modern people believed that they were acutely vulnerable to a variety of supernatural and natural forces largely beyond their control. Victims of the nightmare who believed themselves assaulted by demonic beings, saw themselves as vulnerable to supernatural forces in sleep, their bodies rendered helpless by paralysis, subject to strangulation and suffocation by demonic forces, while their minds and souls were defenceless against the evil designs of their assailants. According to medical theories, sufferers of the Incubus were vulnerable to the chimerical disorders of their own minds, and deluded into a false sense of reality. Both supernatural and natural understandings of the nightmare therefore reveal an inherent sense of human vulnerability to agents within and without.

In sleep research today the nightmare is conceptualised as "sleep paralysis," a sleep disorder that is still not well understood. According to scientists, this is an experience that typically occurs in either the hypnagogic (sleep onset) or hypnopompic (sleep offset) state when feelings of intense terror are stimulated by the vision of an "ominous, numinous being" who allegedly creeps towards victims and assaults them.9 Those afflicted with this disorder also suffer physical paralysis and a sense of being suffocated.10 As historians Owen Davies and

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Willem de Blécourt have suggested, drawing from the pioneering work of the cultural anthropologist David Hufford, premodern accounts of the nightmare in the form of "hag-riding," were often associated with witchcraft and can be attributed to sleep paralysis.\textsuperscript{11}

Davies' and Blécourt's articles were two of the first historical studies of the nightmare. To date only two other articles have examined this aspect of early modern culture. Lucia Dacome surveyed ideas of the nightmare in her article on dreams in eighteenth-century England, and Caroline Oates explored cultural ideas of the mare in relation to food, in particular, cheese, in early modern popular culture.\textsuperscript{12} Dacome's article is most important for my own work since she directly dealt with the medicalization of dreams and the "domestication" of the Incubus. According to Dacome, debates about dreams in the eighteenth century reveal the development of "conceptualizations of dreams as instances of mental derangement."\textsuperscript{13} Mindful of the eighteenth-century debates about "religious enthusiasm" and due to the influence of John Locke's ideas of dreams as "thoughts in motion," Dacome argues that writers increasingly sought to "neutralise" and "domesticate" the disorderliness of dreams. While exploring the debates about dreams as revealing a "doubling of consciousness," Dacome suggests that eighteenth-century writers began to present dreams as symptomatic of madness and disorder in the "Mind Politic."\textsuperscript{14} As such, "sleep and dreams fell at the centre of a debate on the status of mental images" so that dreaming became more closely associated with madness. In her study


\footnotesize{13} Dacome, "To What Purpose Does it Think," 395.

\footnotesize{14} \textit{Ibid.}, 396.}
Dacome thus argues that eighteenth-century debates on dreaming led ultimately to the "pathologization of dreaming," which helped establish "a new model of the credible mind."\textsuperscript{15}

In addition to examining debates on dreams, Dacome also discussed the nightmare as the most "dramatic" manifestation of these disturbed states. She suggested that,

Because of their violent and dramatic manifestations, nightmares ended up occupying a special place in the mid-century debate on the nature of uncontrolled mental images. As dramatic instances of the work of the mind during sleep, they lay at the centre of the dispute between those who took dreams to be the effect of supernatural intervention and those who regarded them as manifestations of bodily illness.\textsuperscript{16}

This is an important point, which my own research fully endorses. In her article Dacome also studied John Bond's mid-century medical treatise on the \textit{Incubus} as an avenue into understanding medical ideas on the nightmare and the attempts to "domesticate the \textit{Incubus}" as a facet of dreams.

As a study of the shifting ideas and understandings of the nightmare my work builds on the work of Dacome. While Dacome focuses on debates about dreams within the shorter period of the eighteenth century in medical and philosophical discourses, my research seeks to gain a larger perspective of the nightmare outside these literary and chronological parameters. I would suggest that viewed from this broader trajectory, ideas about the "pathologization of dreams" are revealed as being much older long-standing ideas, deriving from the Ancient Greeks and prominent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Stuart Clark demonstrated in his history of vision, the problems of the reliability of mental images reached back to the intellectual debates of the Renaissance and even earlier. He writes, "we can always speak of attempts to rationalize sight and of there being, within cultures, rational and irrational ways to

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, 397.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid.}, 405.
These debates and "ocular" doubts pervaded much of early modern writing on dreams and visions. Dreams as forms of involuntary visions were, therefore, long held as problematic expressions of reality, and frequently coupled with madness and the disorderly, distempered imagination.

While Dacome's reading of Bond and other works also suggests that the nightmare could be understood as revealing a disorderly mind, she does not discuss the shifts in theories of the nightmare from the stomach to the brain as well as the increasing emphasis on the root cause deriving from an obstruction or stagnation of the blood. As I will also demonstrate, Bond elaborated on developing eighteenth-century theories of the nightmare as a disease or disorder of the body arising from problems of the circulatory system. His and other medical writers' assertions of the circulation problems of the blood adapted William Harvey's discoveries of the circulatory system postulated a century earlier, and applied them to medical theories of the Incubus. Yet, while Bond provided the most detailed synopsis of the theory of the relationship between the stagnation of the blood and the nightmare, other later writers argued that his theory was "far from satisfactory." Although Bond's theories were never entirely accepted in the medical community, his ideas reveal further the perceived vulnerable body and mind, at the mercy of the motions of the blood.

While the studies by Davies, Oates, Blécourt and Dacome have pioneered a history of the nightmare, more work needs to be undertaken on an important aspect, not only of witchcraft beliefs, but also of medical knowledge and common lived experience. The aforementioned

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18 Ibid., 300.
19 Robert Whytt, *Observations on the nature, causes, and cure of those disorders which have been commonly called nervous hypochondriac, or hysteric, To which are prefixed some Remarks on the Sympathy of the Nerves* (Edinburgh: J. Baldour, 1765), 317–318.
articles view ideas of the nightmare in relation to either witchcraft or medicine. In this chapter I seek to unravel the collective understandings of the nightmare in relation to both. I would suggest that to appreciate more fully the complexity of early modern ideas and cultural beliefs in the nightmare as a facet of the history of dreams, we need to first examine the broader notions surrounding it and study parallel natural and supernatural theories.

A survey of medical ideas about the causes and cures of the nightmare over the period also shows how slowly these notions evolved and indicates that most writers drew their conclusions from Classical humoral medicine. The majority of medical texts argued that the Incubus was caused by indigestion, the supine position of the body in sleep, or humoral imbalances. Similarly, cures for the Incubus also changed little from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, with physicians and medical writers continuing to counsel a strict regimen composed of a moderate diet, bloodletting and purging, and an avoidance of the supine position in sleep.

However, this is not to suggest there were no changes in medical theories about the nightmare. As I will show, while eighteenth-century writers such as John Bond sought to establish more empirical models for the nightmare, other contemporary writers also posited that this disease was a symptom of the nervous condition of the "Spleen," or "Hypochondria" and "Hysteria."20 As the emphasis on the Incubus shifted from the humors to the circulatory and nervous systems in the eighteenth century, the primary site for the mare's origin also shifted from the stomach to the brain.

Although both lay health manuals and learned medical treatises described the Incubus as a natural disease of the body, there is some evidence that the supernatural theory of the

20 Richard Blackmore, A treatise of the spleen and vapours: or, hypocondriacal and hysterical affections. With three discourses on the nature and cure of the cholic, melancholy, and palsies. Never before Published (London: J. Pemberton, 1725), 16; Whytt, Observations on nature, 317-318.
nightmare persisted well into the nineteenth century. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century medical writers frequently complained about their patients' belief that the nightmare was a supernatural assault by spirits. Moreover, incidents of being "hagged," "hag-ridden" and "witch-ridden," continued in English records of witchcraft. Owen Davies has found evidence of men and women accusing persons of "hag-riding" or sending the "mare" to them in the areas of Somerset and Dorset as late as 1875. Therefore, the development of premodern ideas about the nightmare in England reveals a degree of complexity and continuity in dream theories of that period.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section I explore the definition and etymology of the nightmare to trace its complex meaning in the English language. Following this I briefly review several accounts of experiences of the mare in English witchcraft and medical records in order to link ideas of the nightmare to lived experience. In the third section I review and highlight both shifts and continuities in medical theories surrounding the nightmare in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medical writings. Finally, in the fourth section I focus on eighteenth-century medical writings with a case study of John Bond's treatise An essay on the incubus, or night-mare (1753).

**Definition and Etymology**

The etymology of terms associated with the nightmare in the English language shows how its origins were firmly situated in beliefs that saw it as a supernatural assault by nocturnal demons or spirits. While the precise origins of the term "nightmare" are still something of a mystery, "mare" most likely derived from the Anglo-Saxon root word "mara" meaning "crusher." Another alternative, as Owen Davies suggests, is that "mare" derives from the

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Germanic "mahr," or the Old Norse "mara," both referring to "a supernatural being, usually female who lay upon people's chests at night, thereby suffocating them." According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "nightmare" itself, most likely derives from the Low German derivative of Nachtmahr, Nachmaar. The linguistic root words from which the English term "nightmare" originates reveal the earlier associations of the experience with assaults by nocturnal demons. These clues also highlight the key feature of the terrifying encounter as being centred on the experience of a malevolent being suffocating, crushing and physically oppressing the victim. As Davies argued, European derivatives of the "nightmare" also reflect this important facet of "pressure:"

The sense of pressure of weight is integral to the nightmare both as a concept and as an experience, and so it is not surprising that it is also prominent in the linguistics. The first element of French cauchemar derives from caucher ("to tread on"). The second element of Icelandic martröd comes from troda, meaning "to squeeze, press, ride." The idea of pressure is also present in other terms for the nightmare experience that do not share the mare element. In German we find alpdrücken ("elf-pressing") and hexendrücken ("witch-pressing"). The term for the nightmare in medieval French appesart, Italian pesuarole, Spanish pesadilla, and Portuguese pesadela all derive from the verb peser, meaning "to press down upon." ... Hungarian boszorkany-nyomas means "witches pressure."

The sense of being pressured or strangled by a supernatural being is also prominent in early modern accounts of the nightmare, as well as in modern descriptions of sleep paralysis, so that

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22 Davies, "Nightmare Experience," 183.
researchers today view it as a central feature of the disorder.\textsuperscript{25} One of the first known English uses of "nyghtesmare" appeared in Chaucer's \textit{Miller's Tale} in 1410 in reference to protecting a house against "every evyl wyght ffor the nyghtesmare."\textsuperscript{26} Early modern English authors referred to the experience as the "Nyghte mare," "Nightmare," "Night-mare," "Mare," \textit{Ephialtes}, \textit{Incubus}, and the "Hag," whilst the verbs being "hag-ridden," "witch-ridden," "wizard-pressed" or "hagged" were used colloquially.\textsuperscript{27}

English references to the nightmare in medical writings also use the Ancient Greek term \textit{Ephialtes} or the Latin, \textit{Incubus}, to refer to the same experience as a disease of the body. In classical Latin \textit{Incubus} was used to refer to a male nocturnal demon, while \textit{Succubus} referred to the female species. \textit{Incubus} derives from the Latin \textit{incubare} meaning "to lie upon," and was used in medieval and early modern works of theology and demonology, alongside \textit{Succubus} to refer to night demons who assaulted their victims either physically or sexually. This tradition might be linked to the later early modern English "hag-riding" phenomenon. \textit{Ephialtes} in Greek is probably etymologically related to a verb meaning "to leap upon" and was also used in medical texts alongside \textit{Incubus} to refer to the nightmare as a natural disease.\textsuperscript{28} Thus, from at least the sixteenth century onwards, medical authors appropriated the terms originally associated with supernatural beings \textit{Incubus} and \textit{Ephialtes} to refer to the nightmare as a disease or disorder of the body. All derivatives of the original terms used to refer to the nightmare suggest a supernatural being, who comes at night when dreamers are sleeping and creeps or lies on their chests, inducing in their victims a state of heightened fear. Due to the intense feelings of acute terror and helplessness associated with the encounter, "nightmare" became later used in English

\textsuperscript{25} Cheyne, "Ominous Numinous," 5.
\textsuperscript{26} Chaucer, "Miller's Tale," Cambr. Dd.4.24, 3485 quoted in "nightmare n. and adj." \textit{OED}.
\textsuperscript{27} "nightmare n. and adj.," \textit{OED}.
\textsuperscript{28} My thanks are due here to Professor Emeritus R. B. Todd for his views regarding the etymology of \textit{Ephialtes}.
around the nineteenth century to describe any oppressive, frightening or unpleasant dream, losing its earlier specificity as referring to a particular kind of dream experience.\(^{29}\)

In early modern medical tracts and dictionaries, definitions of the nightmare also reveal further details of the etymology as well as the close relationship between the supernatural and natural etiologies. Philip Barrough (fl. 1560-1590) a licensed physician at Canterbury, wrote in his medical tract *The methode of physicke* (1583), "*Ephialtes* in Greeke, in latin *Incubus* and *Incubo*. It is a disease, where as one thinketh him selfe in the night to be oppressed with a great weight, and believeth that some thing commeth upon him, and the pacient thinketh him selfe strangled in this disease. It is called in English the Mare."\(^{30}\) Andrew Boorde discussed at length the different views of the nightmare and explained,

\begin{quote}
*Ephialtes* is the greke word. *Epialtes* is the barbarus word. In latin it is named *Incubus* and *Succubus*. In English it is named the Mare. And some say that it is a kinde of spirite the which doth infest and trouble men when they be in their beddes sleeping, as Saint Augustine sayth. *De civitate dei*. Cap. rr. and Saint Thomas of Alquine [sic] sayth in his first parte of his divinitie, *Incubus* doth infest and trouble women and *Succubus* doth infest men. Some holdeth opinion that Marlin was begotten of his mother, of the spirite named *Incubus*, Esdras doth speake of this spirit, and I have red much of this spirite in *Speculum exemplorum*, and in my time at saint Albones here in England, was infested an Ancresse of such a spirite as she shewed me, and also to credible persons, but this in my op[in]ion that this *Ephialtes* otherwise named the Mare, the which doth come to man or woman when they be sleeping, doth come of some evil humour, considering that they the which be thus troubled sleeping, shal thinke that they doe see, heere, and feele, the thing that is not true. And in such troubles sleeping, a man skarse draweth his breath.\(^{31}\)
\end{quote}

From Boorde's discussion it is evident that the nightmare was the site of two competing ideologies, one which saw it as the real supernatural assaults of demonic beings and the other which saw it as a natural disease, resulting in terrifying dreams. These descriptions changed

\(^{29}\) OED, "nightmare n. and adj.," def. 2a.
\(^{30}\) Philip Barrough, *The methode of physicke* ... (London: Printed by Thomas Vautroullier, 1583), 34.
\(^{31}\) Boorde, *Breviarie of health*, 44(v). In addition to Merlin, Luther was also according to legend, the offspring of an *Incubus* and a nun.
little into the eighteenth century, so that in Steven Blankaart's *The physical dictionary* (1702) we find, "*Ephialtes*, or *Incubus*, the Night-Mare, is a depraved Imagination, whereby People asleep fancie that their Wind-pipe is oppressed by some superincumbent Body, that their Breath is stop'd." A decade or so later, in Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopedia* (1728) the nightmare is defined as, "*Incubus*, or the Night-Mare, is the Name of a Disease consisting in an Oppression of the Breast, so very violent, that the Patient cannot speak, or even Breathe." As I will explore, while the descriptions of the disease are remarkably similar, medical theories saw the nightmare as caused by a mixture of physiological and psychological factors which, combined, produced the horrifying dream of a creeping being suffocating the dreamer.

**Supernatural Theories and Experiences of the Nightmare**

The majority of narratives of the nightmare come from witchcraft trials and are part of the "hag-riding" tradition. In these records witches and their demonic familiars were believed to assault their victims supernaturally while they slept by creeping onto their paralyzed bodies to suffocate and "ride" them. As Owen Davies and Willem de Blécourt have shown, records of the nightmare appear in witchcraft trial records both in England and Europe. This form of *malificia* was known colloquially in England as being "hagged," "hag-ridden" or "witch-ridden." Victims of these nocturnal assaults also often recounted how witches sent the mare.

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32 Steven Blankaart, *The physical dictionary. Wherein the terms of anatomy, the names and causes of diseases, chyrurgical instruments, and their use are accurately describ'd ...* (London: Printed for Samuel Crouch and John Sprint, 1702), 124; Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia: or, an universal dictionary of arts and sciences ...*, Vol. 2 (London: James and John Knapton et al, 1728), 382.

33 Davies, "Nightmare Experience;" Blécourt, "Bedding the Nightmare."

34 Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part. I, 123; Edward Strother, *An essay on sickness and health; wherein are contain'd all necessary cautions and directions, for the regulation of diseas'd and healthy persons: In Which Dr. Cheyne's Mistaken Opinions in his late Essay, are occasionally taken Notice of ...* (London: Charles Rivington, 1725), 159–160; Anon., *The Ladies dispensatory: or Every woman her own physician. Treating of the nature, causes, and various symptoms, of all the diseases, in"
In an English witchcraft trial at York in 1595 Dorothy Jackson accused her neighbour of witchcraft, claiming that she was “ridden with a witch three times of one night, being thereby greatly astonished and upon her astonishment awakened her husband.” In a Northumberland trial of 1680 Nicolas Raynes accused Elizabeth Fenwick of “hag-riding” his wife, who “after being threatened, has been continually tormented by Elizabeth, a reputed witch, who rides on her, and attempts to pull her on to the floor.” Similarly, in March 1650 the child of Sara Rodes of Bolling, Yorkshire, suffered from a serious nocturnal assault, which she believed was made by a witch. Sleeping in the same bed, Rodes woke up one evening to find her child trembling and terrified, saying, “Mother, Sikes wife came in att a hole att the bedd feete, and upon the bedd, and tooke me by the throate, and wold have put her fingers in my mowth, and wold needs choake me.”

In 1660 Elisabeth Simpson was accused of “hag-riding” Frances Mason, who complained that while in bed, “she lay miserably tormented, crying out that the said Elisabeth did pinch her heart and pull her in pieces.” Similarly, using almost identical descriptors, Jane Milburne testified in 1663 that Dorothy Stranger bewitched her “soe intollerably that she could not rest all the night and was like to teare her very heart in pieces and this morning left her.”

Indicative of the persistent belief that witches sent the mare into the eighteenth century, a letter printed in The Spectator, discussing the existence of witches in 1711, gave the account of old Moll White, a reputed witch, whose crimes included “giving Maids the Night-Mare.”

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*disorders, natural or contracted, that most peculiarly affect the fair sex ...* (London: James Hodges, 1739), 95.

35 Davies, "Nightmare Experience," 186.
Premodern experiences of the nightmare could also incorporate tales of being assaulted by demonic animals. In the account of witchcraft written by Edward Fairfax concerning the bewitchment of his daughter, Helen Fairfax, is an incident in which she was "laid" upon by a demonic cat on November 3, 1621. Subject to numerous nocturnal assaults by demonic beings, Helen complained to her parents sleeping beside her, that "a white catt hath laid longe upon mee, and drawne my breath and hath left in my mouth and Throate so filthy a smell that it doth poyson mee."\(^{39}\) Similarly, in the trial records of the possession of Richard Dugdale, a Lancashire gardener who became bewitched in July 1695, one of the witnesses testifying to his possession, John Fletcher, a husbandman of Harwood, reported to the jury how he was one night "in bed with the said Dugdale, and I felt something come up towards my knees; then I felt it creep up till it came towards my heart, and it was about the bigness of a little dog or cat."\(^{40}\) The descriptions of being laid upon by demonic beings, which "creep" and steal the breath of their victims suggests symptoms distinctly associated with the nightmare experience.

In addition to records of witchcraft trials, early modern English accounts of the nightmare can also be found in the medical notes of Richard Napier (1559-1634). While few explicit narratives of the nightmare are present in Napier's notebooks, they do show that men, women and children of all ages and from all kinds of backgrounds consistently complained of "fearfull dreams" and of being afraid at night in the dark, lest some "divel" should attack them. Napier's notebooks include one incident where a woman suffered from the nightmare proper. Elizabeth Banebery of Fenny, Stratford, aged 22, saw Napier in 1618 about several symptoms following a difficult pregnancy. Napier concluded that Banebery's symptoms pointed to a


\(^{40}\) Anon, *Evidences of the kingdom of darkness: being a collection of authentic and entertaining narratives of ... ghosts, demons, and spectres: together with several wonderful instances of the effects of witchcraft. To which is prefixed, an account of haunted houses ...* (London: Printed for T. Evans, 1770), 225.
mental disorder, noting she was “mightily afflicted in mind, not sick in Body.”\textsuperscript{41} She complained to Napier of dreams that made her “mopish” and added that she was suffering from violent mood swings. On one occasion, she was “tempted to kill herself and had a knife in her hand.” On 13 March, Banebery confided in Napier, “After her child birth [she] fell with a dream and was frighted as if something lay upon her and since has been troubled with worldly matters.”\textsuperscript{42} While a modern doctor might diagnose her with post-natal depression, this was in seventeenth-century terms a serious bout of the nightmare or \textit{Incubus}. Additional evidence for the persistence of supernatural etiologies of the nightmare can be found in medical manuals and dream treatises. Authors of medical works and dream treatises repeatedly complained that the “vulgar” masses still believed that the nightmare was in fact a supernatural phenomenon. Edmund Gardiner wrote in his medical treatise of 1611, "this dreadfull griefe (which some being much deceived, thinking that it must onely proceede of witchcraft)."\textsuperscript{43} Similarly, in 1684 Thomas Willis wrote in his discussion of the nightmare, "The common people superstitiously believe, that this passion is indeed caused by the Devil, and that the evil spirits lying on them, procures that weight and oppression upon their heart. Though indeed we do grant, such a thing may be, but we suppose that this \textit{symptom} proceeds oftenest from mere natural causes."\textsuperscript{44} Similarly, Thomas Tryon declared in his \textit{A treatise of dreams \& visions} (1689), "And tho the Vulgar, when they are thus affected, conceit it some external thing comes and lies upon them, which they fancy to be some Ghost, or Hob-Goblin, yet the truth is, it

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Ibid.}, 276.  
\textsuperscript{43} Gardiner, \textit{Phisicall and approved medicines}, 55.  
\textsuperscript{44} Willis, \textit{Practice of physick}, 142.
proceeds from inward Causes." In the eighteenth century, in an anonymous medical work, *A treatise of diseases of the head, brain & nerves* (1714), the author commented,

"As from the great Oppression the Patient groans, so also are the inward Senses of many so disturb'd as that they believe it was a Spirit that held them, or that they were hag-ridden, (whence comes the Name) or that some Witch or Devil, sometimes in one Shape, sometimes in another, as of a Dog, a Cat, Bear & c. lyes upon and oppresses them, and will positively tell you, and themselves verily believe it, that they struck the Devil or Witch, when at the same time they never stirr'd their Hands or Arms, as aforesaid, an Hairs breadth from the Place."

These comments indicate persistence in the belief that the nightmare was a supernatural physical or psychic assault, as well as revealing the experience as a nexus for cultural tensions surrounding ideas of natural and supernatural forces which converged on the body and mind. In the nightmare experience the lines between reality and dreams were also fundamentally blurred.

**Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Medical Theories**

In early modern England medical theories of the nightmare co-existed with supernatural ones, both drawing from ideas that went as far back as antiquity. Galenic medicine suggested that humoral imbalances were the root cause of the disease. Most writers of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English medical books asserted that the *Incubus* was caused by an excess of melancholy, phlegm or "vital spirits," which arose as a result of indigestion or eating "hard meats" and drinking liquors. Therefore, it was believed that the body's excess humors caused "vapours" to ascend to the brain, triggering the imagination to produce horrible visions in the mind. Richard Haydock explained the process in detail in his manuscript on dreams, the *Oneirologia* (1605),

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46 *A treatise of diseases of the head, brain & nerves* (London: s.n., 1714), 74-75.
In the Incubus, or Night-mare, the vitall and Animall spirits are soe oppressed with the multitude of grosse vapours, that men thinke themselves overlaine by some hagge, or oppressed with some ponderous burthen. By which examples it is evident, that the actions of the minde close prisoned in the body, in time of Sleepe (it selfe never sleepinge) are distorted and missed by similitude of the cheife swayeinge humours, nowe become ixorbitant by inequality of temperature. Where a carefull difference is to bee put betweene this first naturall kinde of Dreame, and the seconde: insoemuch as these vapours stirre the Phantasie to make and forme images answerable to their owne nature without the helpe of preinherent formas in the Phantasie: whereas in the other the Phantasie workes only upon the late imprinted formas and Ideas of the matters last thought of, or earnestly intreated of, the senses beeinge nowe kindely bounde by a temperate and milde ascendinge vapour. And this is the cause, why they are formall, rationall, and coherent: when these are only materially significative, from the Elementary part of the man, beeinge forerunners of a subsequent disease, as smoake is of fier.47

According to Haydock, the humors oppressed the animal or vital spirits so that the imagination produced dreams of being "oppressed" by "some hagge" or "some ponderous burthen." The mind was therefore misled by the senses into believing what was dreamt was in fact real. Thus, the difficulty here was discerning between reality and fantasy, dreaming and waking states.

Similarly, Samuel Collins (1618 - 1710), a well-respected English anatomist and physician, wrote in his medical treatise "Of the nightmare" that the disease was "chiefly" made "by a gross vapour coming from thence to the braine." These "grose vapours" obstructed the "passages of the braine" so that the "nerves" were affected as well as the "phanacy." The result was a difficulty breathing and bad dreams of "horrible" objects.48

The growing market for medical manuals in England led to the translation and publication of several continental medical texts and works of natural philosophy in English in

47 Richard Haydock, "Oneiologia, or, a Brief Discourse of the Nature of Dreames," Dramatic and Poetical Miscellany, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS j.a.1 Vol. 5., ff. 16-17.
48 Samuel Collins, "Of the nightmare," British Library, MS Sloane 1821, ff. 95-96. Collin's brief treatise fills 24 folios and is part of a larger collection of medical writings bound as one manuscript volume that includes eight medical treatises, which discuss subjects such as "Of the crampe" and "Of the plague." The section "Of the nightmare" (ff. 90 - 114) is also reproduced in the same volume in Latin as "De incubo" (ff.127-140). According to the British Library catalogue, all eight treatises were written by Samuel Collins.
the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These works also supported the idea that the primary cause of the Incubus was humoral imbalance. Wilhelm Scribonius' treatise Natural Philosophy: or, A description of the world (1621) explained that the nightmare happened "when the vitall spirits in the braine" were "darkened" by melancholic and phlegmatic vapours, ascending from the stomach.\(^49\) Similarly, Walter Bruele wrote in his Praxis medicinae, or, the physicians practice (1632), "It is caused by a grosse and cold Phlegme, as also from grosse and melancholy bloud settled about the heart and veines of the brest, from whence grosse vapors are belched out, wherewith, as often as raw vapors caused by gluttony are mingled."\(^50\) For both English and continental medical writers, the nightmare experience was entirely natural in origin, and was therefore significant only as a disorder of body.

Above all, melancholy was considered the mother of all terrible dreams including those associated with the nightmare. The Cambridge-trained physician, resident at St Bartholomew's Hospital, Timothie Bright (1551?-1615) in his A treatise of melancholy (1586) saw “fearful dreams” and the nightmare as a symptom of melancholy and indigestion.\(^51\) Bright argued that humoral excess affected the mind so that experiences such as the Incubus were,

Whelpes of that Melancholicke litter, and are bred of the corrupted state of the bodie altered in Spirit, in Bloud, in substance and complexion, by the abundance of this setting of the Bloud which wee call Melancholy. This increaseth the terrour of the afflicted minde, doubling the feare and discouragement.\(^52\)

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\(^49\) Wilhelm Scribonius, Naturall philosophy, or, A description of the world, namely, of angels, of man, of the heavens, of the ayre, of the earth, of the water and of the creatures in the whole world. Translated by Daniel Widdowes (London: Printed by J.D. for John Bellamie, 1621), 51.

\(^50\) Gualtherus Bruele, Praxis medicinae, or, the physicians practice wherein are contained inward diseases from the head to the foote ... (London: Printed by John Norton, for William Sheares, 1632), 51.

\(^51\) Timothie Bright, A treatise of melancholy ... (London: Printed by William Stansby, 1613), 238.

\(^52\) Ibid.
Black thoughts, sadness, madness and terrible visions of the devil, demons and witches were common symptoms of melancholy whose victims were besieged by an “abundance” of black bile. According to Bright, the mind laboured in the prison of the body, while the senses were deceived.\(^{53}\)

The terror the melancholic person felt in dreams was the result of the body’s ill-effects on the mind. A false perception of reality was the result of the body’s noxious fluids rising from the stomach suffusing the brain with deceptive images. Within this schema, the terrible dreams associated with the nightmare were conceived as a deception by the senses and a symptom of melancholy. The afflicted person was therefore unable to distinguish between dreams and reality. In the late sixteenth century, doubts already existed concerning the reliability of the senses and mental images that led writers to link "fearfull dreams" with disordered mental states. These ideas were thus, already long in circulation before the eighteenth century.

Robert Burton further developed Bright's theories in his authoritative work *The anatomy of melancholy* (1621). Burton’s treatise helped to promote the idea of melancholy as the cause of all bad dreams. In his discussion of the imagination Burton explained, “In melancholy men this faculty is most powerful and strong, and often hurts, producing many monstrous and prodigious things, especially if it be stirred up by some terrible object.”\(^{54}\) Referring particularly to incidents of the *Incubus*, Burton extrapolated further on the force of the imagination:

This we see verified in sleepers, which by reason of humours and concourse of vapours troubling the phantasy, imagine many times absurd and prodigious things, and in such are troubled with *incubus*, or witch-ridden (as we call it); if they lie on their backs, they suppose an old woman rides and sits so hard upon them that they are almost stifled for want of breath; when there is nothing offends but a concourse of bad humours, which trouble the phantasy.\(^{55}\)

As I discussed in Chapter 1, Burton believed that "terrible dreams" such as the nightmare were caused by indigestion, arising from eating certain foods. In his section on "Waking and terrible Dreams rectified," Burton explained that "hard meats" caused fearful dreams and bouts of the Incubus so that "the best remedy is to eat a light supper, and of such meats as are easy of digestion, no hare, venison, beef, etc., not to lie on his back, not to meditate or think in the daytime of any terrible objects." In his discussions of the force of the imagination and symptoms of melancholy, Burton dismissed the experience of being "witch-ridden" in the nightmare as merely a terrible dream, resulting from indigestion and humoral imbalances.

Physicians had different opinions about the Incubus' site of origin. Some argued that it was an affliction of the heart, others believed it began in the stomach, while writers such as Thomas Willis attached more influence to the distempered brain. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries debased editions of Willis' works were marketed as handy medical reference books for the public. In the mid-eighteenth century John Bond read Willis carefully in order to understand his own affliction more fully. According to the debased edition of Willis' work, Dr Willis's practice of physick (1684), the nightmare was in fact a “distemper” of the brain:

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57 Scribonius, Naturall philosophy, 51; Gardiner, Phisicall and approved medicines, 54-55; Boorde, Breviarie of health, 44(v); Thomas Walkington, The optick glasse of humors ... (London: Printed by John Windet for Martin Clerke, 1607), 30; Helkiah Crooke, Mikrokosmographia a description of the body of man. Together with the controversies thereto belonging ... (London: Printed by William Jaggard, 1615), 500.
58 Thomas Willis, Dr. Willis's practice of physick being the whole works of that renowned and famous physician wherein most of the diseases belonging to the body of man are treated of, with excellent methods and receipts for the cure of the same ... (London: Printed for T. Dring, C. Harper, and J. Leigh, 1684).
59 Bond, Essay on the incubus, Preface.
In truth, the Symptoms which are wont to be raised up in the distemper called the 
Incubus or Night-mare, viz. loss of speech, and a mighty weight or load that seems to 
lye upon the breast, proceed altogether from the morbisick matter fixed in the confines 
of the Cerebel, and obstructing the passages of the Spirits destined for the 
Praecordia.\textsuperscript{60}

English physicians offered variations on this theme. Helkiah Crooke (1576–1648), the 
anatomist, physician to James I and the "keeper" at Bethlem Hospital, suggested that the 
problem lay in the "strangling" of the animal spirits "residing in the Ventricle of the Braine."\textsuperscript{61}

In seventeenth-century medical theory the brain was considered a porous and fragile organ, 
subject to the effects of spirits and vapours which, as I explained in Chapter 1, ascended from 
the stomach during sleep. Experts at the time believed the brain was sensitive to both internal 
and external stimuli. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the emphasis on the primary 
location of the Incubus shifted from the stomach to the brain.

Drawing on long-standing ideas, seventeenth-century writers also argued that the 
"supine" position of the body in sleep frequently gave rise to the dreams of the nightmare. 
Samuel Collins explained, "the nightmare is ... a more dangerous malady of the braine. Because 
the kinder passages of the brayne are truely obstructed, from which the body being layed in a 
supine posture do Chiefely labour with this disease."\textsuperscript{62} Physicians generally believed that this 
position encouraged the noxious vapours of hard meats to ascend to the brain. Indeed, a typical 
cure for the Incubus, according to most manuals of health, was to avoid the supine position, and 
instead, lie on one's side during sleep.

Not all medical works in this period were written by “eminent phisitians”; there were 
simplified manuals produced anonymously such as The Problems of Aristotle, which were

\textsuperscript{60} Willis, Practice of physick, 92.
\textsuperscript{61} Crooke, Mikrokosmographia, 500; Richard Hunter and Ida MacAlpine, eds., Three Hundred Years of 
\textsuperscript{62} Collins, MS Sloane 1821, f. 95.
perennially popular in the book market. This work, ascribed to Aristotle, was first published in 1595 and went through eleven editions by 1684. Indicative of the way that early modern writers split the body into parts, the section “Of Backs” contains a discussion of the *Incubus.* The author of this work explained that it was the result both of humoral imbalances of the body and the corruption of the imagination or “the fantasie.” The format of the book was dialectical:

Q. Why hath a man which lieth on his backe horrible Visions?  
A. Because then the passage or sinewe of the fantasie is open, which is in the forepart of the braine, and so the fantasie is destroyed, and then those visions followe. Another reason is, because that when a man dooth lye on his backe, the humours are disturbed and moved upward where the fantasie is, which is so by that meanes is disturbed.  
Q. Why is it naught to lie on the backe?  
A. Because, as the Phisitions do say, that doth dispose a man to leprosie, madness, and to an *Incubus.* Where you may note, that Mania, or madness is the hurt or disturbance of the forepart of the braine, with a taking away or deprivation of the imagination: but *Incubus,* that is, the nightmare, is a passion of the heart, when a man dooth thinke himselfe to bee strangled in his sleepe, and somewhat lie heavie upon his stomacke, which he would put off.

As with other sleep disorders, the dangers of excess were also used to explain the moral and physiological causes of the nightmare. In 1651 Thomas Hobbes dismissed belief that the nightmare was a demonic assault as mere superstition. To Hobbes the real cause of the *Incubus* was that this disease sprung from “gluttony, it makes men believe they are invaded, opprest, and stifled with a great weight.” The dangers of excess included the sins of excessive drinking, eating, sex and even sleep. According to Samuel Collins, the chief causes of the disease were

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64 The problemes of Aristotle with other philosophers and phisitions. Wherein are contayned divers questions, with their answers, touching the estate of mans bodie (London: Printed for Arnold Hatfield, 1597), D5(r)-D5(v). This work has been ascribed to Pseudo-Aristotle.  
"overmuch drinking" and a "gross vaporous diet." This schema is indicative of the way that diseases in this period were considered part of the moral economy of the body and conceived as divine retribution for immoderate excesses of all forms. The body itself was a potential vehicle of punishment for those who indulged too much in their appetites.

Excessive indulgence also led to a dangerous overabundance of the body’s natural fluids. Thomas Tryon noted that the Incubus caused an abundance of “Phlegm” that impeded the animal spirits, resulting in a temporary paralysis of the body’s natural functions. The dangers of excess could lead to a deadly commingling of humoral fluids in the stomach that rose to the brain, causing the terrifying dreams associated with the nightmare of being physically oppressed by a malevolent being. Samuel Collins explained, "the cause is to be grosse flegme or Melancholy (not lodged in the braine but about the midriffe) from which growing turgide by immoderate drinking and crudity of ill concocted ailmente the diaphrame and lunges are oppressed, and from a grosse vapours, conveyed into the fauces & braine." 

As I explained in Chapter 1, moderation was seen to be the key to good health in premodern English physic: restraint of the body’s excessive appetites was viewed as essential for the overall well-being of the individual. Robert Bayfield, an English physician who wrote both medical and religious works, suggested that the best prophylactic for the Incubus was “a

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66 Collins, MS Sloane 1821, f. 97.
67 Tryon, *Treatise of dreams & visions*, 24-25.
slender diet,” in addition to an avoidance of the supine position. Thomas Tryon's *A treatise of dreams & visions* (1689) also counselled moderation:

The Cure is to be effected by a regular diet, and such as may generate good spirits; and prevent the increase of *Melancholy* and *Phlegm*; avoid full *Suppers*, and excess in *Liquors*, which oft occasion the Disease; use convenient purging, and sometimes breathing a Vein may be expedient, especially in *Women*, in certain Obstructions peculiar to that Sex: the Black Seeds of the Male *Piony* are much commended in this Distemper.

Francis Bacon also recommended using a powder of the peony seed as a cure for the nightmare, as did Nicholas Culpeper in his work *The English physitian* (1652).

The general consensus among physicians about prophylactic treatments for the *Incubus* was therefore to counsel moderation or a “slender diet,” especially for supper. They also advised patients to avoid drinking liquors, restrain excessive alcohol consumption and temper “gluttony.” Phillip Barrough explained, "This vice is caused of excess of drinking, and continuall rawnes of the stomake, from whence do ascend vapours grosse and cold, filling the ventricles of the brain, letting the faculties of the braine to be dispersed by the senewes.”

Through excess physicians believed bouts of the nightmare could become chronic and lead to more serious illnesses such as “epilepsie,” “palsy” or “apoplexy.” According to Barrough, “It is good to remedie this evill at the first: for if it continewe, it induceth and sheweth before some grevous disease, as the *Apoplexie*, the falling sicknes, or madnesse.”

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69 Robert Bayfield, *Tes iatrikes kartos, or, A treatise de morborum capitis essentiis & pronosticis adorned with above three hundred choice and rare observations* ... (London: Printed by D. Maxwel, 1663), 65.


71 Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum: or A naturall historie in ten centuries* ... (London: Printed by John Haviland and Augustine Mathewes for William Lee, 1627), 259; Nicholas Culpeper, *The English physitian, or An astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation being a compleat method of physick* ... (London: Printed by Peter Cole, 1652), 193.

72 Barrough, *Methode of phisicke*, 34.

As Lucia Dacome suggested for the eighteenth century, and I have been suggesting in this chapter, these earlier authors also sought to moderate the nightmare as a symptom of the disordered body and mind. Prophylactics and cures were designed to regulate the excess fluids and balance the distempered body as a form of "bodily domestication."\(^7^4\) I would suggest such methods offered a form of agency against internal forces beyond the control of the conscious individual. The terrifying dreams associated with the nightmare were already in this earlier period closely linked to madness and revealed the disorderly and diseased body and its affects on the mind. As I show in the following section, since the primary symptom of the nightmare was a terrifying dream, the ideal sleep, according to eighteenth-century physicians like John Bond, was a dreamless one.\(^7^5\)

**John Bond and Theories of the Nightmare in the Eighteenth Century**

Early eighteenth-century medical works typically recycled the same notions of causes and remedies for the nightmare as expounded by their seventeenth-century predecessors. In his work *Medicus novissimus; or, the modern physician* (1722) Philip Woodman explained,

> The Cause is from an Obstruction, of the Animal Spirits, entering the Nerves, which carry Motion to the Muscles ... the Obstruction of the Animal Spirits, is caused by an incongruous inbred Acid, which is promoted by Errors committed in Diet; that is, eating late at Night, such things as breed gross viscid Humours, which are all such as are Salt, Acid, and Smoak-dried Meats, and such as are of a hard Digestion.\(^7^6\)

Theories about the influence of the humors were slow to disappear from early modern medicine.

A popular book of knowledge *The British Apollo* (1726) advised its readers that the *Incubus* was

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\(^7^4\) Dacome, "To What Purpose Does it Think," 397.

\(^7^5\) *Ibid.*, 395.

\(^7^6\) Philip Woodman, *Medicus novissimus; or, the modern physician: shewing the chief signs, causes and most material prognosticks of all the principal diseases incident to mankind: together with their cures according to the Newest and Best Method of Practice now in Use ...* (London: J.H., 1722), 191.
caused by either a "thick, melancholick blood," or "malignant vapours ascending to the brain" during sleep.\textsuperscript{77} Similarly, the medical work, \textit{A treatise of diseases of the head, brain & nerves} (1714), published four times in the early eighteenth century, also ascribed the primary cause of the nightmare to, "Vapours which chiefly obstruct the hinder part of the Brain, by which the Flux of Animal Spirits being stop'd, Breathing is hinder'd."\textsuperscript{78}

However, during the mid-eighteenth century physicians began to shift away from humoral theories. Instead they began to assert that the nightmare was instigated by disorders of the circulatory and nervous systems; this indicated a move away from Galenic medicine. New ideas about the circulatory system, brain and nerves were incorporated into older explanations of the \textit{Incubus}. John Radcliffe wrote in his \textit{Pharmacopoeia Radcliffeanna} (1718), "In an \textit{Incubus}, the plentiful Repast at Bed-time distends the Bowels, and the supine Posture in Sleep, causes the Victuals to press upon the descending Artery, so that nothing can circulate freely to the lower Extremities; and the whole Blood oppresses the Brain." This obstruction of the arteries caused the "nerves" to be compressed "so that we find a Sense of some Weight upon us" during attacks of the nightmare.\textsuperscript{79} In \textit{The physical dictionary} (1702) Steven Blankaart stated, "This [\textit{Incubus}] proceeds from a compression of the Cerebellam, when the Ventricles are too full of moisture: Or of those who are thus affected lye upon their Backs, then the whole bulk of the Brain lies upon the Cerebellum." The "weight" of the brain on the nerves prevented the "spirits" from

\textsuperscript{77} Anon., \textit{The British Apollo: containing two thousand answers to curious questions in most arts and sciences, Serious, Comical, and Humorous, approved of by many of the most learned and ingenious of both universities, and of the Royal-Society}, Vol. 1, 3rd ed. (London: Theodore Sanders, 1726), 744–745.

\textsuperscript{78} \textit{A treatise of diseases of the head, brain & nerves} ... (London: s.n., 1714), 73. This medical tract was published a further three times in 1721, 1727 and 1738.

\textsuperscript{79} John Radcliffe, \textit{Pharmacopoeia Radcliffeanna: or, Dr. Radcliffe's prescriptions, faithfully gather'd from his original recipe's. To which are annex'd, useful observations upon each prescription}, 3rd ed. (London: Printed by Charles Rivington, 1718), 111.
circulating and thus, the lungs became "oppressed," resulting in the sensation of suffocation, a key symptom of the *Incubus.*

Innovations in understanding the nervous system also led to new ideas being circulated about older nervous diseases, such as "Hypochondria," "Hysteria" and the "Spleen." "Hysteria" was long conceptualized as a female illness and it was believed that women's delicate nervous systems led to a number of peculiar ailments that fundamentally affected the natural functions of the female body. While Hysteria was primarily associated with the uterus before the seventeenth century, Thomas Sydenham's *Schedula monitoria* (1688) explained it was rather a nervous disorder associated with the brain and the nervous system. Yet, not all medical writers saw only women as susceptible to the nightmare and nervous disorders. Sir Richard Blackmore (1654–1729), the physician-in-ordinary to William III, viewed the *Incubus* as a symptom of "Spleen," a disease associated with "hypochondria," considered a specifically male nervous disorder. According to Blackmore, this illness was "interwoven with the first Principles of Life, where they lie quiet and unconcealed, till the active Ferments of Puberty or adult Age unfold them." During adolescence "the Hypocondriacal Seeds disentangled and let loose, begin to shoot and come forward" so that the spleen itself "becomes now dark and livid." In brief, the nightmare was merely one of many symptoms of the "Spleen;" others included "cold clammy sweats" and "short and interrupted" respiration.

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83 Blackmore, *Treatise of the spleen*, 16.
84 Ibid., 23-24.
Robert Whytt (1714–1766), the Royal Physician and President of the Royal College of Physicians, also viewed the *Incubus* as a symptom of "hypochondria" and the "disordered state of the stomach," which resulted from food settling uncomfortably in the stomach due to the supine position. Whytt further explained,

> We are only affected with the nightmare in time of sleep, because the strange ideas excited in the mind, in consequence of the disordered state of the stomach, are not then corrected by the external senses, as when we are awake; nor do we, by an increased respiration, or other motions of the body, endeavour to shake off any beginning uneasy sensation about the stomach or breast. The *Incubus* generally seizes one in his first sleep, but seldom towards the morning, because at this time the stomach is much less loaded with food, than in the beginning of the night.

By emphasising the importance of the stomach and indigestion as the root cause of the *Incubus*, Whytt rejected newer models of the nightmare in favour of older ideas. Above all, according to Whytt, the dreams associated with the *Incubus* were "strange ideas" stimulated in the mind by the disordered body, the senses ultimately deceived into believing what was dreamt was in fact real.

By conceptualizing dreams as "ideas" Whytt drew from John Locke's notion of dreams as merely "the having of ideas, whilst the outward sense are stopped." According to Locke in his highly influential treatise *An Essay on Human Understanding* (1690), these "ideas" were presented to the mind, often "oddly put together," yet consisting of a conglomerate of "the waking man's ideas." In this philosophical view dreams were deemed meaningless random thoughts in motion. As Lucia Dacome asserted in her article, Locke's theories were the most influential on learned understandings of dreams in the long eighteenth century. Above all, his

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88 Dacome, "To What Purpose Does it Think," 397-398.
conceptualization of dreams as insignificant sleeping thoughts helped undermine older ideas of dreams as both meaningful and supernatural.

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century medical texts the natural theory of dreams continued to influence ideas of the terrible dreams associated with the nightmare. However, this does not necessarily mean that these medical models were embraced by all. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Andrew Baxter argued that a natural theory of the nightmare which described it as a "distemper of the brain" was nothing less than "absurd." In his important work *An enquiry into the nature of the human soul* (1733), he posited that the true cause of this phenomenon could be explained as a form of demonic possession. In sleep, according to Baxter, the body and mind were vulnerable to the assaults of intelligent "beings" who "wait for, and catch the opportunity of the indisposition of the body, to represent at the same time something terrifying also to the mind." In Baxter's view it was an absurdity to conceive that the rational soul would torment itself with terrifying dreams and instil such disorder into the mind. He argued that the disorder of the body associated with the nightmare and "the disagreeable vision made to accompany it, are two different things." Here Baxter endeavoured to untangle the dreams associated with the nightmare experience from the disease itself.

In Baxter's view dreams were products not of the individual sleeper's body or mind, but rather of supernatural beings who "represent" or inject dreams into the mind in what was essentially a form of possession in sleep. In this way, as Dacome explains, Baxter sought to solve the problem of the "doubling of consciousness" evident in dreams by ascribing the involuntary thoughts and actions in dreaming to an outside supernatural agent. Although

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89 Andrew Baxter, *An enquiry into the nature of the human soul; wherein the immateriality of the soul is evinced from the principles of reason and philosophy* (London: Printed for James Bettenham, 1733), 203.

90 Ibid.

91 Dacome, "To What Purpose Does it Think," 402.
Baxter’s ideas were critiqued, particularly by Thomas Branch, the fact that he was able to put forward such theories in the eighteenth century shows that not all intellectuals were committed to a natural theory of dreams. However, Baxter was unusual in asserting a supernatural etiology of dreams and the nightmare in the mid-eighteenth century. Most medical writers, including John Bond, scoffed at these theories as "wild opinions" smacking of superstition and an ignorance of natural causes.

John Bond’s *An essay on the incubus or night-mare* (1753) was one of the first printed English medical works to focus solely on explaining the causes, nature and cure of the phenomenon. Bond’s work endorsed the growing medical view that the nightmare was the result of the stagnation of blood, a disease that resulted in terrifying dreams, temporary paralysis and intense feelings of dread. Little is known about Bond other than that he was a physician who submitted a Latin version of his work on the *Incubus* for his doctorate at the University of Edinburgh in 1751. The commonness of his name and the few clues left beyond his medical texts, make piecing together his biography difficult. Lucia Dacome has surmised that Bond's earlier Latin dissertation should be read in light of his desire to enter the network of the Royal Society in London since he dedicated the text to the President of the Royal Society, Martin Folkes. Richard Hunter and Ida MacAlpine included a brief biography of Bond in their magisterial *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry 1535-1860*, describing Bond as an Irish-born physician who studied at Edinburgh University and moved to North Carolina. Evidence for his transatlantic move to the colonies can be derived from the fact that he dedicated his English

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94 Blackmore, *Treatise of the spleen*, 16.
95 John Bond, *Dissertatio medica inauguralis, de incubo: quam ... pro gradu doctoratus ... eruditorum examini subjicit Joannes Bond ...* (Apud T. & W. Ruddimannos, 1751).
96 Dacome, "To What Purpose Does it Think," 408.
97 Hunter and MacAlpine, *Three Hundred Years*, 393.
treatise on the nightmare to Arthur Dobbs "the Governor and Captain General of the Province of North Carolina." It is possible that with this dedication Bond sought the patronage of an influential figure in his new home of North Carolina. However, beyond this, few clues remain of Bond's life and career beyond his writings on the nightmare.

Bond's doctoral dissertation *De incubo* is a brief synopsis of the causes, prognosis and cure of the nightmare, which also includes excerpts of poetry by Dryden, Horace and Lucretius. Written in Latin and spanning only 22 pages, Bond's dissertation is similar in content to his enlarged English essay on the nightmare. Some notable discrepancies include the obvious structural differences as a formal medical dissertation and the intended audience aimed at those educated in professional medicine. Other notable differences include Bond's more clinical approach to explaining the nightmare in detailed medical terms as well as including a symptom, not included in his later English edition, of the ringing of the ears. In his section on the symptoms of the disease, Bond includes sections describing the seven key symptoms associated with the *Incubus*: terrifying dreams; the perception of a great weight on the chest; the harsh noise or ringing in the ears; an immobility of the body; an indistinct voice, groaning and heavy breathing and finally, a palpitation of the heart.

Bond's English treatise *An essay on the incubus, or night-mare*, at 83 pages, is an accessible, though learned and expanded medical treatise on the *Incubus* as a natural disease. The chapters discuss prior medical theories and Bond's own theory of the nightmare as well as including case studies, cures and prophylactics. As Lucia Dacome suggested, and a comparison between his medical dissertation and subsequent English edition illustrates, Bond clearly aimed

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99 Bond, *De incubo*, 9-10.
his English edition at a wider audience.\textsuperscript{100} The text is written in a plain style, yet also refers extensively to medical theories and writings of ancient and contemporary medical authors including Galen, Hippocrates, Paracelsus, Gerard Van Swieten (1700-1772), Lorenzo Bellini (1643-1764), Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), and Richard Lower (1631-1691), amongst others. Although evidently directing his work at a broader audience, Bond aspired to producing a text that would also appeal to the learned. He explained in his Preface to the reader, "My aim has been to convey my sentiments with as much brevity and perspicuity as possible. If I have transgress'd this rule, in occasionally introducing some things known, in order to explain others, it was to be the more intelligible; I therefore hope, the more learned will excuse me."\textsuperscript{101}

As I mentioned earlier, Bond himself was a chronic sufferer of the nightmare. In his preface he explained the reason for his interest in the \textit{Incubus}:

Being much afflicted with the Night-mare, self-preservation made me particularly inquisitive about it. In consulting the ancient Physicians, I found little information concerning it, except dreadful prognostics; nor could a rational account of it be expected from them, as they were unacquainted with the circulation of the Blood.\textsuperscript{102}

Bond was critical of most previous ideas and writings on the nightmare. He believed that the paucity of medical knowledge about it was due to the lack of empirical studies of the disease and a consequence of the fact that previous authors had not experienced the phenomenon themselves.\textsuperscript{103} In his treatise, Bond revealed details of his own experience of the nightmare and referred to contemporary advancements in knowledge about the circulation of the blood to suggest that “The Night-Mare is commonly, and, I believe, justly, attributed to a stagnation of the Blood; but how this stagnation is produc’d has not been explain’d, so far as I know, in a

\textsuperscript{100} Dacome, "To What Purpose Does it Think," 408.
\textsuperscript{101} Bond, \textit{Essay on the incubus}, A4(r).
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Ibid.}, A3(r).
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Ibid.}
The real cause of the nightmare lay in the inhibition of blood, caused by the supine sleeping position:

When the Body lies supine, the Heart necessarily falls on the Vertebrae of the Spine; and therefore, by its own gravity, must compress the left Auricle and Pulmonary Veins, which, at that time, lie directly under its basis; and, by that means, the course of the Blood through the Lungs will be stop'd. Thus the Blood will be collected in the Pulmonary Vessels, and the right, or rather superior Ventricle, not being able to discharge itself into the Pulmonary Artery, will be oppressed by the Blood returning from the Extremities; which, being gather'd in the vessels about the superior part of the Heart, will increase its gravity, and consequently augment the cause of the obstruction. In this manner the return of the Blood from the Head will be prevented, the tender dilatable vessels of the Brain will be over-distended, the nervous influence obstructed, and the vital motions, in a great measure, if not altogether, stopt. This I take to be a real fit of the Night-mare.  

Bond's emphasis on the cause of the nightmare lying deep within the vessels and circulatory system, reduced the dreams associated with this experience to the mere reflections of a suffocated brain. As Bond explained in his discussion of the primary symptoms of the disease, the terrifying dream that announced the onset of the illness was the central feature or "first symptom" of the disease. All other symptoms were secondary and were the body's natural physiological responses to the dream of a malevolent being that lay on the victim's chest, suffocating him or her. The horrible dream associated with the nightmare experience, as Lucia Dacome explained, was one of the most dramatic examples of dreams as disordered mental images.  

According to Bond's theory, the heart was responsible for instigating a stagnation in the blood, due to its weight resting on the spine in sleep. The pressure of the heart resulting from its compression on the spine in turn placed pressure on the veins, causing the blood to stop.
circulating through the lungs whilst simultaneously preventing the blood from returning from
the head. In essence, in his schema the nightmare was a symptom of a disordered body whose
vital fluids were impeded by the position of the body in sleep. Yet, despite the ingenuity of
Bond's theory, as later authors such as Robert Whytt would declare, if Bond's ideas, "were true,
some degree of the night-mare ought to happen to every person that lies on his back, especially
after eating a full meal."107

Bond's theory of the nightmare as a problem of the circulatory system, stimulated by the
position of the heart in sleep, was unprecedented in medical discourse. In his influential work
proving the circulation of the blood, Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in
Animalibus, first published in Frankfurt in 1628, William Harvey never commented on diseases
associated with the stagnation of the blood.108 Other medical authors who discussed the
nightmare also neglected to provide a detailed explanation for why the blood stagnated and
resulted in the disease. It is likely that Bond derived this idea from his training at Edinburgh, as
well as from his reading of other medical treatises on anatomy and disease.

Alexander Munro's ideas of the circulatory problems arising from the motions of the
heart, and difficulties arising from the supine position, most likely gave Bond inspiration for his
theory of the nightmare. In his English treatise on the nightmare Bond acknowledged his
intellectual debt and the "hints" he derived from his "Preceptor Mr Monro." Alexander Monro
(1697-1767) was a well-respected professor of anatomy who taught at Edinburgh University
during the time of Bond's studies. In his career, Monro published important works on anatomy,

107 Whytt, Observations on nature, 317-318.
108 Here I consulted one of the earliest English translations of De Mortu Cordis, William Harvey, The
anatomical exercises of Dr. William Harvey professor of physick, and physician to the Kings Majesty,
concerning the motion of the heart and blood (London: Printed by Francis Leach for Richard Lowndes,
1653).
smallpox and the structure of the bones. In his treatise *The anatomy of human bones and nerves*, first published in 1726, (followed by a further eight editions), Monro appended an additional section on "An Account of the reciprocal Motions of the Heart" to his third edition. In this section Munro explains the motion of the heart and its relation to the nervous system. According to Munro, all muscles and organs depend on the "influx of blood" pumped from the heart. During a contraction of the heart, pressure is exerted on the "ventricles" of the nervous system, interconnected with the heart. This results in the flow of blood in the "arteries" becoming impeded so that the blood becomes stagnated. It follows that "if then the Nerves do not exert their Office, and Access is denied to the Blood, this Muscle, the Heart must become paralytic or unactive."  

Further information that strongly supports Munro as the source of inspiration for Bond's theory of the nightmare is found in Bond’s doctoral dissertation. Following his discussion of the primary cause of the *Incubus* as a stagnation of the blood, Bond wrote, "Our most famous Professor of Anatomy most certainly had this malady before his eyes when he observed in the things discussed above that no one was able to lay on his back every day lest he experience great disturbance and anxiety."

While according to Bond, the first cause for the nightmare was the result of the heart's compression on the ventricles of the blood, in his English essay on the *Incubus*, Bond also speculated on secondary causes for the nightmare, drawing on older ideas about the dangers of excess. In Bond's view, the *Incubus* was "generally the offspring of excess" caused by a superabundance of blood, fluids and solids. This excess of bodily fluids was directly caused by excesses.

109 Alexander Monro, *The anatomy of the human bones and nerves: with an account of the reciprocal motions of the heart, and a description of the human lacteal sac and duct. By Alexander Monro, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, and F. R. S.* (Edinburgh, Printed for Mr. W. Monro and W. Drummond, 1741), 72–75.

110 Bond, *De incubo*, 7.
moral excess, so that "young persons of gross full habits, the robust, the luxurious, the drunken, and they who sup late, are most subject to the Night-mare." While Lucia Dacome argued that this theory was inspired by the eighteenth-century anti-luxury literature and also by the "low regimen" rules of health of George Cheyne, as I demonstrated in the previous section, notions of the dangers of excess were a long-standing facet of ideas about the natural causes of the nightmare appearing in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medical writings. In fact, the majority of Bond's ideas recycled established views of the nightmare's natural causes, namely the supine position, stagnation of the blood, indigestion and the dangers of excess. What was new about Bond's treatise was his attempt to explain in detail the precise physiological causes of the *Incubus* in relation to the circulation of the blood.

According to Bond, one of the "first Symptoms" of the *Incubus* was "frightful dreams." Since the body and mind were united by a special "harmony and connection," the "Diseases of the one always affect the other in a very sensible manner." The "hideous association of ideas" that formed "frightful spectres" in the imagination during attacks of the mare were a product of this relationship. Bond even suggested that these dreams were perhaps "intended as a stimulus to rouse the sentient principle in us" so that the sleeper would shift their position and "by that means avoid the approaching danger." The most "perfect sleep," according to Bond, was a dreamless one, since the terrible dreams associated with the nightmare were conceivably "a Disorder of the Body" that prevented "perfect rest." Although Bond did not presume to

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112 Dacome, "To What Purpose Does it Think," 408.
114 Ibid., 23.
"pretend to account for all kinds of dreams in a mechanical manner" he saw the dreams of the nightmare as caused by natural disorders in the body.\textsuperscript{116}

Bond's idea of dreams as products of disorders of the body at first glance appears to support Dacome's idea of the pathologization of dreams in the eighteenth century. Yet, as I showed in the previous section, ideas about dreams as linked to doubts concerning the reliability of the senses and mental images, associated with madness and disease, were in fact present in medical writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including those of Timothie Bright and Robert Burton. Showing how dreams were still the subject of debate and understood within a spiritual framework in the eighteenth century, Bond deliberately refrained from claiming to account for all dreams, linking his position on dreams with traditional medical approaches. In this way he avoided engaging with the controversial issue of the role of the soul in dreams and ideas of supernatural and divine dreams. In his medical dissertation he explained,

> Some people seem to have pointlessly dreamed up a lot about dreams! But insofar as [dreaming] is an affection of the soul [rather than of the body] it has no relevance at all for the physician. In fact I am not going to say whether [dreaming] occurs (a) through the vessels of the brain being at the time excessively swollen with blood compressing the common sense-organ and thereby arousing frightening images, or (b) through a specific law [of nature] established by our supremely wise creator to ensure that the mind is conscious of the impending collapse of the body. This is a problem that I leave to be solved by natural scientists and metaphysicians more learned [than I].\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 22.

\textsuperscript{117} My thanks here are due to Dr Kathleen Gibbons for her translation of Bond's dissertation as well as to Professor Emeritus R. B. Todd in refining the translation.

De somniis multa incassum somniasse videntur nonnulli; sed quatenus est affectio animi, ad medicum haud pertinet. An vero a vasis cerebri sanguine tunc nimium distensis, quae sensorium commune comprimunt, ideoque imagines horrendas excitant, an quadam lege a nostro creatore sapientissimo instituta, ut animus corporis ruinae imminentis conscius esset, accidat, non dicam; hoc theorema physiologicis et metaphysicis peritorioribus solvendum relinquo; situm vero corporis horizontalem ad somnia in mente excitanda, multum conducere versimile videtur. (Bond, \textit{De incubo}, 9).
However, while Bond was careful to avoid commenting on the role of the soul in dreams, he was notably more confident than earlier medical works about the fundamentally natural origins of dreams. He is also innovative in suggesting that dreams act as sentinels against disease. Bond suggested that in fits of the nightmare terrifying dreams arose in the mind to wake up the individual and stop the experience. This idea points towards new ways of understanding dreams.

According to Bond, the terrible dreams experienced during the nightmare were in fact false perceptions of reality. These dreams were disordered mental images that deceived the senses of the victim leading him or her to believe that the vision of a "frightful spectre" was in fact real, while the real causes were internal. In Bond's view, the sense of pressure or weight "always felt in this Disorder" derived from the internal pressure of the heart resting and impeding the circulation of the blood through the lungs and head:

The vast oppression on the Breast, and immobility of the Body, which are always felt in this Disorder, probably arise from the quantity of Blood collected in the Lungs, Vena Cava right Ventricle, and Auricle of the Heart. ... In this case the Mind generally ascribes the immobility of the Body to some great weight laid on the Breast; whereas the cause is really internal.  

Dreams, thus, were not necessarily symptomatic of mental illness, but rather of a dysfunctional body. Bond's theory of dreams associated with the nightmare as entirely natural yet disordered ideas in the mind is in line with Locke's idea of dreams as inferior thought processes. In his text, Bond described the terrifying dreams associated with the nightmare as the "hideous association of ideas," thereby deeming them meaningless products of the disordered mind labouring under the diseased body.

As Lucia Dacone noted, the case studies of the nightmare Bond includes to illustrate his theories are dramatic. While Bond himself subscribed to a purely medical and natural theory of the nightmare, he included accounts from individuals who believed they had been assaulted by the Devil or night demons. For example, Bond included the case of a clergyman who suffered from the *Incubus* and believed he had been attacked by the Devil:

A corpulent Clergyman, about fifty years old, who is very fond of strong beer and flesh suppers, but so subject to the Night-mare, that he is obliged to stint himself to a certain quantity every night; whenever he happens to take an over-dose, he groans so loudly that he often awakes all the People in the house. He has assur'd me, that, in these fits, he imagin'd the Devil came to his bedside, seiz'd him by the Throat, and endeavour'd to choak him. Next day he observ'd the black impressions on his hard Fingers on his Neck.

While physicians such as Bond viewed this experience as a disease, victims of the nightmare therefore often believed themselves to have been subject to supernatural nocturnal assaults by the Devil, or other demonic beings.

At the beginning of his work, Bond made sure to distance himself from supernatural theories and "superstitious" beliefs and wrote, "I have not introduc'd any thing in this Essay that did not appear serious or probable. I have therefore omitted an inquiry into the origin of old epithets and quaint names commonly given to this Disorder; such as *Hag*-riding, *Wizard*-pressing, *Mare*-riding, *Witch*-dancing &c. nor did I think it requisite to mention particularly the curious Charms adapted to each superstitious name." Bond elaborated further that the word "Nightmare" itself, a "strange term," most likely derived from "superstitious notions which the

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119 Dacone, "To What Purpose Does it Think," 407.
British had, and perhaps still have, of it." Similarly, in his dissertation Bond ridiculed authors who supported the idea of the nightmare as the assault of demons:

To solve this phenomenon other metaphysical authors introduced actual demons that mock the mind with false images and they put up a vigorous fight on behalf of these [demons]. This is so absurd an idea that it needs no refutation. It is because a variety of horrendous ideas are aroused that we have adequate evidence as to whether the brain or its membranes are inflamed by an external force or by a humour amassed in the ventricles. Also, if an inflammation occupies the auditory passage, then immediately crashing sounds arise and a ringing in the ears without any external sound. That [phenomenon] seems to depend more on the vibration of the filaments of the auditory nerve, and therefore on what compresses the common sense-organ, than on those noisy demons of theirs.  

While supernatural ideas of the causes of the mare still circulated, Bond as a physician laboured rather to present a serious medical treatise on the natural causes of the Incubus, as a naturally occurring yet dangerous disease of the body.

One of Bond's more novel theories was that women were particularly vulnerable to bouts of the nightmare due to the excess blood that accumulated in their bodies before menstruation and during menopause. In his treatise, Bond included testimonies of experiences by eighteenth-century women – presumably his patients or those of his colleagues – which reportedly occurred “before the eruption of the Menses:”

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122 Ibid., 2.
123 Thanks again to Dr Kathleen Gibbons and Professor Emeritus R. B. Todd for this translation.

124 Bond, Essay on the incubus, 46-47. I have not been able to find any other evidence that other medical authors saw women as especially susceptible to the nightmare during menstruation or menopause.
A young Lady, of a tender, lax habit, about fifteen, before the Menses appear’d, was seiz’d with a fit of this Disease, and groan’d so miserably that she awoke her Father, who was sleeping in the next room. He arose, ran into her chamber, and found her lying on her Back, and the Blood gushing plentifully out of her Mouth and Nose. When he shook her, she recover’d, and told him she thought some great heavy Man came to her bedside, and, without farther ceremony, stretched himself upon her. She had been heard moaning in sleep several nights before.\footnote{Bond, \textit{Essay on the incubus}, 47.}

Bond argued that this woman suffered the nightmare due to an excess of menses, that was cured, when “she had a copious eruption of the Menses, which, for that time, remov’d all her complaints.”\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, 48.} The concentration of blood in the female body oppressed the brain, which resulted in the terrible dreams of the nightmare. Once the proper balance of blood in the female body was restored after menstruation, the nightmare ceased. As Dacome suggested, the regulation of bodies and their excess fluids, was a part of the overall tendency of physicians in the eighteenth century to counsel a regulation of the body and its appetites.

According to Bond, due to the natural process of menstruation, women's bodies were therefore particularly susceptible to a stagnation of the blood and the nightmare. Yet, Bond also believed men were also prone to the nightmare, particularly those who indulged in their appetites. As mentioned earlier, drinking and eating to excess were important secondary causes of the nightmare, activities typically linked to male behaviour. While women's bodies were subject to naturally occurring excess blood and circulatory disorders such as the nightmare, men's bodies succumbed to the disease through excessive appetites, so that their afflications were the wages of excess.

In line with contemporary ideas, Bond postulated that the \textit{Incubus} was not dangerous unless it became chronic and was accompanied by "cold Sweats, and a palpitation of the
Persons who suffered from chronic bouts of the nightmare were in danger of more serious illnesses: "We should endeavour to stop it in the beginning; for, when it returns every night, it portends either Madness, the Epilepsy, or a Mortification." Similarly, by adopting traditional medical views of the Incubus as a forerunner of more serious illnesses, as discussed by Philip Barrough, Thomas Cogan and Walter Bruele in the previous century, Bond argued that the nightmare also heralded an approaching apoplexy, palsy, vertigo and even "sudden death." To prove that chronic nightmares were the forerunners of fatal disease, Bond included the following dramatic case study:

A Gentleman, about thirty years old, of a full sanguineous habit, and a little intemperate, was tormented with the Night mare almost every night for two years. He bled often, which gave him short ease; but was at length seiz'd with an Apoplexy, while he had the glass in one Hand, and the pipe in the other, and expir'd immediately.

He gave several other examples of the dangers the nightmare posed for chronic sufferers, warning them against not taking the Incubus seriously as a real threat to their health. He asked his readers to reflect, "Does not this disease kill many who go to bed in perfect health, and are found dead in the morning? Does not the Night-mare carry many drunkards out of this world?" The dangers of excess therefore resulted in fatal diseases of which the nightmare was a herald.

While the body and mind in the nightmare were subject to uncontrollable internal forces, Bond, like many of his predecessors, offered advice on several ways to cure and prevent the Incubus by moderating the excessive appetites, fluids and position of the body in sleep. In the

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127 Ibid., 63.
128 Ibid., 62.
129 Ibid., 63; Barrough, Methode of phisicke, 34; Thomas Cogan, The haven of health ... (London: Printed by Anne Griffin for Roger Ball, 1636), 274; Bruele, Praxis medicinae, 51.
130 Bond, Essay on the incubus, 64.
131 Ibid., 70.
final section of his book, Bond offered several cures and prophylactics to prevent the return of the nightmare. One of his principal recommended techniques was to rouse the sleeper in the midst of the attack "as soon as possible," by shaking or pinching him or her, and calling his or her name aloud. Above all, it was imperative to shift the body's position from its dangerous supine pose. Bond counselled that the afflicted should never sleep alone, and keep someone close by who could rouse the sleeper in the throes of the nightmare. In retrospect, he acknowledged that,

I have often been so much oppress'd by this enemy of rest, that I would have given ten thousands worlds like this for some Person that would either pinch, shake, or turn me off my Back; and I have been so much afraid of its intolerable insults, that I have slept in a chair all night, rather than give it an opportunity of attacking me in an horizontal position.\(^{132}\)

As a further countermeasure, Bond suggested sleeping on the side "with the Head rais'd, and the Limbs bent inwards to the trunk of the body." To counteract the dangers of excess and indigestion, secondary causes of the *Incubus*, he also recommended "temperate living," and a diet of "vegetable and flesh meat of easy digestion."\(^{133}\) Should the person continue to suffer attacks, then a "gentle bloodletting" would help to promote the vitality of the blood.

By these remedies, Bond endeavoured to give his readers techniques for preventing an onset of the nightmare, offering a form of protection. However, underlying his discussions of cures and prophylactics is the sense that the nightmare was often uncontrollable and chronic. Throughout Bond's treatise, particularly in his own reflections on the illness and case studies, we are given insight into the deep sense of terror and helplessness of persons who suffered the nightmare. Most terrifying of all was the vivid dream of a malevolent being, who attacked its

\(^{133}\) *Ibid.*, 80.
victims in sleep, creating a sense of suffocation and pressure. These dreams arose from the distempered mind as involuntary visions against which there was little recourse. Overall, Bond's aim was to educate his readers on the natural causes of the *Incubus* and the precise physiological reasons for its onset. By seeking to understand the nightmare and relegate it to the problems of the circulatory system, Bond ultimately sought to understand his own disease and to create an awareness of its seriousness in the medical and broader community.

**Conclusion**

As I demonstrated in this chapter, ideas about the medical causes of the *Incubus* evolved slowly. Natural theories circulated from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries with the majority of medical works reiterating the long-standing ideas. Medical authors argued that the experience of being assaulted or laid upon by a malevolent being in the nightmare was in fact a terrifying dream, that resulted from humoral imbalances, indigestion, the supine position, or a physiological consequence of dangerous excess. Several authors also adhered to long-standing notions that the dreams associated with the *Incubus* were a product of the senses deceived by the "chimeras" of the imagination, a symptom of a disordered brain. Rather than a new "pathologization" of dreams, the history of the nightmare reveals a continuation of medical theories, with subtle shifts in explanations for the primary causes of the disease.

However, this is not to suggest that there were no significant developments in theories of the nightmare. Whilst older ideas were recycled by the majority of authors, in the eighteenth century medical writers such as John Bond attempted to present more empirical theories of the nightmare based on new developments in knowledge of the body and disease. They postulated that the *Incubus* was ultimately a symptom of the stagnation of blood, or alternately of "Hysteria" and "Hypochondria." However, these new models largely failed to impress
contemporaries such as Robert Whytt and later authors of the medical professions such as John Waller, both of whom tended to cling to more traditional views of the natural causes of and cures for the nightmare.

Showing how continuity rather than change characterises the history of dreams, belief that the nightmare was the supernatural assaults of demons, witches and spirits also appears to have persisted amongst the broader populace, despite the long-standing coexistence of natural theories. Whilst physicians may have thought their patients suffered from the Incubus as a natural disease, patients themselves often believed otherwise. This tendency gives further support to Owen Davies' observations that supernatural and natural theories of the nightmare were neither contradictory nor mutually exclusive in premodern culture. However, more extensive research will need to be undertaken to find more conclusive evidence of the persistence of supernatural beliefs amongst the larger populace.

Finally, both natural and supernatural ideas about the nightmare reveal the acute sense of the vulnerability of the sleeping individual to forces beyond their control. The victim of the mare was afflicted by a terrifying vision of a malevolent being who crept towards him or her, stifling his or her breath, making sleep the object of intense dread. Within medical theories, the patient was believed to be subject to humoral excess and the autonomous processes of digestion, both of which instigated a terrifying dream that deceived the senses into believing that what was dreamt was in fact real. On the other hand, supernatural beliefs viewed victims as the helpless prey to the real assaults of demonic beings, witches or otherwise, against whom there was little defence. In a state of sleep, victims of the nightmare were fundamentally helpless, unable to move, or even breathe and crippled by paralysing fear.

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134 Davies, "Nightmare Experience," 187-188.
Thus, at the heart of debates about the nightmare experience was the problem of discerning between dreams and reality, natural and supernatural causes, as well as doubts concerning the reliability of the senses. Above all, writings on the nightmare, as linked to discussions of natural dreams, reveal insight into premodern concerns with health and disease as well as uncontrollable natural and supernatural forces believed to affect the body and mind. As with other forms of natural dreams, the vivid horrifying dreams associated with the nightmare revealed insight into the diseased body and disordered mind. Only the restoration of good health could end these terrifying dreams.
Conclusion

The central aim of this thesis has been to explore early modern English understandings of dreams. As I have shown, writings on dreams reveal a broad range of ideas that provide distinct insight into premodern culture and experience. In the preceding chapters I have suggested that early modern English approaches to dreams can be loosely categorized into three principal frameworks: (1) health of the body and mind, (2) prediction and (3) spirituality. These frameworks coexisted and continued throughout the period, yet were at the same time shaped by historical factors such as the events of the Civil Wars, the popularity of divination handbooks and new developments in medicine and natural philosophy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Finally, I have also argued that writings on dreams reveal an acute sense of the vulnerability of dreamers to a variety of internal and external forces, beyond their control.

In Chapter 1 I outlined theories of natural dreams within the framework of health, and showed how they were a fusion of classical and contemporary medical ideas that primarily understood dreams in relation to the physiology of sleep. Early modern medical writers saw dreams as inherently linked to the state of sleep and as by-products of the natural processes of the sleeping body and mind. In medical writings natural dreams were understood as caused by imbalances in the humors, a result of indigestion, or as the chimeras of imagination mixed with memories. Medical writers asserted that natural dreams were useful in revealing insight into individual health and disease. These theories continued throughout the period and were largely uncontested, unlike spiritual and predictive frameworks.

Understood in relation to the physiology of sleep, medical writings on dreams also reveal the inherent vulnerability of the individual dreamer to the uncontrollable forces of internal physiological and psychological stimuli. Fluids, spirits and forces converged inside the body and
gave rise to dreams in the sleeping mind. In sleep the dreamer was subject to these autonomous natural forces, the spirits and fluids of the body mysteriously ascending to the brain from the stomach, producing particular kinds of dreams. Similarly, external environmental factors such as the air, temperature and noises also affected the dreams of sleeping individuals, permeating their unconscious minds and shaping the content of dreams.

In theories of natural dreams psychological forces were also understood to influence dreams, further showing the vulnerability of dreamers to another range of internal forces beyond their control. Within this schema dreams were conceptualized as the vivid, chaotic products of the active Imagination let loose in sleep. Writers warned against the powerful force of the Imagination as an unchecked, unruly force in the sleeping human mind. In this way psychological theories of natural dreams revealed the dangerous force of the Imagination, which in sleep threatened to undermine an individual's ability to distinguish between dreaming and conscious states, fact and fiction, madness and sanity.

Yet, while in sleep we are sensitive to a host of internal and external forces outside our control, according to early modern English medical writings we can prevent sleep disorders and "fearful dreams" by moderating the body’s excesses. Sleep disorders that included the inability to sleep and "terrifying dreams" ensued when the individual engaged in immoderate sleep, sex, food and drink. In this way medical handbooks offered some techniques for controlling our dreams and countering sleep disorders, helping to induce a more "perfect sleep" believed to be conducive to good health. In the eighteenth century writers such as John Bond also began promoting the idea of the "perfect sleep" as ostensibly a dreamless one. Overall, early modern medical ideas reveal not only the vulnerability of the body but also the inherent exposure of the individual mind and soul to a range of dangerous internal and external forces in sleep, made manifest in dreams.
In Chapter 2 I suggested that early modern people sought clues to their future through dreams as a means to strive against the forces of fate, providence and fortune. The idea of predictive dreams was also a long-standing facet of not only English, but also of Western beliefs, reaching back to the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus and medieval dreambooks. Within the early modern English practice of oneiromancy dreams, accurately interpreted, offered dreamers a form of knowledge or protection over supernatural forces that influenced their futures. According to writers such as Thomas Hill forewarned was forearmed. Handbooks of dream divination that fused the dream interpretations of Artemidorus with medieval dreambooks such as the *Somniale Danielis* circulated throughout the early modern period in England. These kinds of manuals are exemplified in the shorter dream book of Thomas Hill and later abridged and debased dreambooks and fortune-telling books that were embraced by readers interested in seeking insight into their futures. One possible explanation for the persistence of these handbooks is therefore the desire to assuage the fear of the unknown by knowledge of the future.

Spiritual frameworks were also an ongoing feature of early modern cultural approaches to dreams. The dominant view saw particular dreams as originating from God, angels, or the Devil. According to supernatural ideas of dreams, in sleep we are vulnerable to benign and malevolent beings that send us dreams. While God and the angels were understood to send "warning dreams" to help prepare the dreamers against impending calamities or simply as a conduit for messages from God, the Devil sent demonic dreams, disguised as divine, to mislead dreamers into sin and delusion. The difficulty for individuals was, consequently, the ability to discern between divine and demonic dreams.

As a countermeasure to public interest in oneiromancy and prophetic dreams, other writers such as the demonologists Reginald Scot and Thomas Ady suggested such dreams were
merely natural in origin. They argued that divine dreams had ceased altogether or were, at best, rare occurrences. From the mid-seventeenth century writers concerned with religious "enthusiasm," such as Henry More and Thomas Hobbes, argued that reported divine dreams were rather symptomatic of a form of religious madness. Dreams, understood in this way, were undermined as the meaningless hallucinations of a distempered mind. Rather than being divinely inspired, visionaries were rather pathologically ill and prey to the power of their overactive imaginations, even victims of melancholy. Yet, as I also suggested in Chapter 3, the critique of supernatural dreams was also a long-standing facet of western discourse on dreams. The problem of discerning between demonic and divine, natural and supernatural dreams was neither unique to England nor to this period and can be traced back to the writings of the early Christian Church as part of the problem of the discernment of spirits (*discretio spirituum*).

Although criticism about belief in supernatural dreams emerged in the period other writers such as Philip Goodwin attempted to defend beliefs in supernatural dreams whilst simultaneously developing more productive schemas of spiritual dreams. In response to the contemporary problem of false prophecies and visions Goodwin appropriated divine and demonic dreams as part of his program of spiritual introspection and the pastoral care of the soul. In sleep, according to Goodwin, we are especially vulnerable to both demonic and divine dreams. The Devil nurtures our sinful natures with "filthy dreams" whilst God also sends "troublesome" or "affrighting" dreams to steer the dreamer back on course. The novelty of Goodwin's handbook *The mystery of dreams historically discoursed* (1658) was that he offered his readers the techniques to combat demonic dreams and to prepare for and cultivate divine or "instructive" dreams. Consequently, Goodwin attempted to give readers useful methods for spiritually harnessing supernatural dreams.
As Chapter 4 outlined, the diverse theories, beliefs and experiences of the nightmare also reveal the inherent vulnerability of individuals to either natural or supernatural forces beyond their control. The central feature of the nightmare experience was the vision of an "ominous numinous" figure creeping towards the victim in a paralyzed state in sleep. While medical writings defined this encounter as the *Incubus*, a natural symptom of the diseased body, supernatural beliefs accredited the same experience as the terrifyingly real attacks of malevolent beings – witches or demons. Both these ideas persisted in the period. Medical theories largely drew from ideas of the physiology of sleep and humoral medicine to suggest that the *Incubus* was merely the product of indigestion or imbalances in the humors. In particular, this illness was associated with melancholy and perceived as a warning of other imminent serious illnesses such as apoplexy and palsy. While humoral ideas of the nightmare dominated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the eighteenth century new ideas of the circulation of the blood and the nervous system led to innovative ideas about the primary cause of the *Incubus*. John Bond argued that this disease was, in actual fact, caused by the stagnation of the blood, instigated by the supine position in sleep while secondary causes included indulging in excess. Although natural theories of the nightmare dominated in medical circles there is evidence for the continuation of supernatural etiologies of this experience amongst the wider populace even into the nineteenth century. However, regardless of whether one believed in natural or supernatural causes of the nightmare both these etiologies reveal victims as inherently vulnerable to either internal natural forces or external supernatural forces, both beyond their control.

In addition to outlining the three major frameworks of dreams this study has made several other significant contributions to the history of dreams in premodern England. Firstly, I have shown that discussions of dreams were important aspects of a variety of key discourses thus far unstudied by historians. I also provided close readings of little-studied key texts on
dreams, including dream discourses and dreambooks. Throughout the dissertation dream narratives were also examined and discussed in order to link ideas about dreams with actual lived experience. I also demonstrated how a history of dreams complicates ideas of the "disenchantment of the world," believed to take place in the early modern period and particularly in the eighteenth century. In the previous chapters I also illustrated how early modern people had a complex and sophisticated range of understandings of dreams that saw dreams as arising from a spectrum of internal and external stimuli. Finally, I suggested that these collective ideas revealed an inherent sense of the vulnerability of dreamers in sleep to internal and external factors beyond their control. In the following section I will outline in more detail these major points.

One of the most important results of this study was to show that dreams and dreaming were significant facets of a variety of discourses hitherto unexplored, including but not limited to: works of medicine, natural philosophy, demonology, theology and the occult. In addition to these discourses, writings on dreams also featured in numerous private records, in particular in diaries and memoirs. However, the most extensive discussions of dreams in early modern England occurred in lengthy dream discourses, most notably those of Thomas Hill, Philip Goodwin, Thomas Tryon and John Bond. An important contribution of my research was to provide an in-depth analysis of these significant little-studied texts on dreams. Although historians such as Peter Holland, Lucia Dacome and Katherine Hodgkin have briefly discussed these works, no substantial studies have been made of these key texts.

Dream discourses were, however, far outpaced in print by the numerous dreambooks and fortune-telling books appearing in greater numbers in the seventeenth century. Since no other historical studies of dreams have examined the contents of early modern dreambooks, my study of English dreambooks is an important addition to our knowledge of the dream in early modern
English culture. Yet, while I have been mainly concerned with outlining the history of theories of dreams through these diverse writings, I have also sought to link these ideas to actual experiences of dreams.

As I have also demonstrated, private narratives and reflections on dreams do support a general knowledge of the three major frameworks, or lenses, through which dreams were understood. In these writings dreams were linked to a person's temperament, or physiology, as well as to psychological fears and wishes. As I showed in Chapter 2, individuals such as Katherine Austen and Ralph Josselin also understood dreams to be sometimes predictive. They related dreams that accurately foretold the deaths, illnesses and fortunes of not only dreamers, but also members of their families and communities. Evidence of a broad acceptance of spiritual dreams, and divine dreams in particular, can be found in the persistence of support for and continuing experience of prophetic visions. Moreover, evidence for a spiritual approach to dreams that anticipates Philip Goodwin's schema can be substantiated by the records and reflections of dreams in the notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington.

By charting early modern English theories of and beliefs in dreams through the period 1550 to 1750, I have shown that a history of dreams complicates ideas of the rise of rationality or the Weberian "disenchantment of the world." Natural theories of dreams, that saw them as by-products of the body and mind’s natural processes, not only continued throughout the period but also were prominent as early as the sixteenth century. These ideas, being rather than reflective of a rise of rational or scientific thought, were instead indicative of the continuation of classical medical notions of dreams. At the other end of the spectrum supernatural theories of dreams were just as pervasive in the eighteenth century as they were in the sixteenth, so that beliefs of the nightmare as a demonic encounter with spirits or ideas about the predictive power of dreams, continued into the eighteenth century. A history of dreams therefore reveals a
historical continuity of ideas rather than a process of clear change. Such findings suggest that we need to think more carefully about how to deal with histories that demonstrate continua and slower more subtle evolutions in culture and thought rather than clearly demarcated changes, a distinctly more difficult task.

What is also clear from this study is that while modern western notions of dreams are largely limited to psychological models, early modern English writers saw dreams as caused by a wider variety of natural and supernatural, internal and external factors. Premodern ideas of dreams, unlike modern conceptualizations, saw them as providing insight, not only into our past history, but also into our present and future. According to early modern English theories, dreams were useful as offering insight into the health of the dreamer's body, mind and soul. Consequently, dreams were in fact considered in a way which was perhaps more holistic than modern western approaches to dreams. Dreams were viewed as useful as part of the diagnosis of disease and health of the body as well as into the mind. Additionally, dreams were important spiritual experiences that, according to Philip Goodwin, revealed spiritual insight into the dreamer's sin and piety. They might also bring one closer to God, and more terrifyingly, the Devil.

Another important finding that has emerged from examining the diversity of writings and ideas of dreams is the implicit vulnerability of the dreamer to a variety of uncontrollable internal and external forces and stimuli. According to natural and supernatural theories of dreams, the dreamer's body, mind and soul were porous entities, susceptible and vulnerable to physiological, psychological, environmental and supernatural stimuli, believed to be manifest in dreams. Not only was the body a porous entity, vulnerable to imbalances in fluids, spirits and temperature as well as external environmental factors such as air, temperature and supernatural beings, the mind and soul also had liminal boundaries that were susceptible to a host of internal
psychological and external supernatural agents. According to early modern writers, sleep was a particularly dangerous state since our external senses and faculties of reason were dormant and overridden by the unruly, uncontrollable forces of the Imagination and vulnerable to supernatural agencies. Dreams could be "injected" without consent into the mind of the dreamer by both benign and malevolent beings. Dreamers were therefore vulnerable on every level to forces fundamentally beyond their control. Against this perceived weakness or porosity, writers of spiritual handbooks of dreams such as Philip Goodwin offered their readers the skills and knowledge to confer a degree of control over their dreams or at least the means in waking life to prepare the individual for these "visions of the night."

However, this study is by no means exhaustive. More work needs to be undertaken on how the three major frameworks I outlined interacted or were utilized by early modern people. Firstly, a more extensive study of dream narratives collected from a wider array of private writings would help test these frameworks and assist with charting shifts in cultural approaches to dreams. Secondly, as dreams were closely linked to visions and other supernatural phenomena such as apparitions, a study of the discussions about the distinctions and boundaries between each in printed and private writings would also facilitate a more nuanced history of dreams. Thirdly, I would suggest that cross-cultural studies of dreams could also allow for a more complete history of dreams in the broader premodern culture. One obvious possibility would be to conduct a comparative survey of English and Continental or Protestant and Catholic writings on dreams during the early modern period. Another option would be to open up the geographic scope more broadly and conduct a cross-cultural study of beliefs and theories of dreams in the premodern Christian, Judaic and Islamic traditions. Finally, a cross-cultural study could be made of the dream in subaltern transatlantic cultures, in particular those of colonial Native American and African slave cultures.
Clearly, in spite of recent research, more work could be profitably undertaken to enlarge our understanding of the importance of dreams in past cultures. Above all, in my own work to date I have sought to illustrate that, as Amira Mittermaier recently commented about dreams in modern Egypt, dreams "mattered" to premodern English men and women.¹ Regardless of how dreams were interpreted or understood, what is pervasive is the sense that dreams were important individual and collective experiences that deserved to be recorded and contemplated, interpreted and decoded.

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———. Evidences of the kingdom of darkness: being a collection of authentic and entertaining narratives of the real Existence and Appearance of ghosts, demons, and spectres: together with several wonderful instances of the effects of witchcraft. To which is prefixed, an account of haunted houses, and subjoined a Treatise on the Effects of Magic. London: Printed for T. Evans, 1770. ESTC.
The High Dutch fortune-teller wherein all those questions relating to the several states, conditions and occasions of humane life, are fully resolv'd and answer'd, according to the rules of art used by the ancient and famous Egyptian magi, or wise men and philosophers. To which is added, a judicial account of phisognomy and palmistry; as it was practised by the ancient Egyptians, (from whom the same was originally derived) shewing a person's good or bad fortune, by the lines and marks that are found in the face and hands, &c. The whole being more correct, than any thing of this nature hitherto published. Licens'd and enter'd according to order. London: Printed by and for W. Onley, 1700. EEBO.


The Ladies dispensatory: or Every woman her own physician. Treating of the nature, causes, and various symptoms, of all the diseases, infirmities, and disorders, natural or contracted, that most peculiarily affect the fair sex, in all their different situations of life, as maids, married women, and widows; under the following heads: Of contracted weakness, before marriage especially; with proper advice concerning it. ... With variety of proper remedies, in words at length, adapted to each particular case, agreeably to the best modern practice: by the help of which any maid or woman, who can read English, may not only come at a true knowledge of her indisposition, but be enabled to cure it without applying, or even discovering her condition, to any person living. Also, a compleat index, an explanation of difficult terms, and a copious preface, including a pathetick address to all fashionable mothers, in behalf of themselves and their tender off-spring. London: Printed for James Hodges ... and John James, 1739. ECCO.

A new academy of complements: or, the lover's secretary. Being wit and mirth improved by the most elegant expressions used in the art of courtship, in divers examples of writing or Inditing letters, relating either to Love or Business. Also, the silent language: or, A Compleat Rule for discoursing by Motion of the Hand, without being understood by the Company. Together with Instructions for writing Figure Hand, Bills of Exchange, Receipts, casting Accompts, &c. The Signification of Moles, and Interpretation of Dreams. A never-failing Method for Women to get good Husbands. Likewise a pleasant Dialogue between six merry Gossips paying a Visit to a Lying-in-Woman. To which is added, a choice collection of above 120 love-songs, Merry Catches, and Jovial Healths; being the newest now extant. With plain Instructions for Dancing. London: Printed for S. Bates ... and A. Bettesworth, 1727. ECCO.

Nocturnal revels: or, a general history of dreams. In two parts. Shewing I. the Nature, Causes, and various Kinds of Dreams and Visions: And of the Nocturnal Communications of the Soul with Good and Evil Angels. With several Examples of Dreams, both Divine and Humane, Ancient and Modern, that have been Remarkably Accomplish'd. II. Shewing the Signification of all manner of Dreams whatsoever, according to Aristotle, Themistius, Artimedorus, Cardan, and other most Approved Authors. Comprising all that has been hitherto written upon this Nice and Curious Subject. Alphabetically Digested, for the more easie finding out of any Dream. Vols. 1 and 2. London: Printed for Andrew Bell, 1706. ECCO.

Nocturnal revels; or, an universal dream-book. In two parts complete. Part I. Shewing the nature, causes, and various kinds of dreams ... Part II. Shewing the signification of all manner
of dreams whatsoever. Alphabetically digested, ... To which is added, the wheel of fortune: ... Also, the true signification of moles. London: Printed for F. Noble, T. Wright, and B. Stichall, 1749. ESTC.

———. Nocturnal revels; or, a universal dream-book. Shewing the signification of all manner of dreams whatsoever. Alphabetically digested, ... To which is added, the wheel of fortune: ... Also, the true signification of moles. London: Printed and sold at Sympson’s Warehouse, 1750? ESTC.

———. Nocturnal revels; or, a universal dream-book. Shewing the signification of all manner of dreams whatsoever ... Also the German fortune-teller: discovering XXXVI several questions. London: Printed for H. Serjeant, 1767. ESTC.

———. Nocturnal revels: or, universal interpretor of dreams and visions. Part I. Shewing the nature, Causes and Uses of various Kinds of dreams and representations. In eleven chapters. Of historical narratives of apparitions and remarkable providences, from scripture and history. Part II. Shewing the signification of all Manner of dreams, alphabetically arranged. According to Aristotle, Artimedorus, Lord Bacon, Baxter, Booker, Cardan, Ashmole, Culpepper, Melancthon, Julianus Lilly, Themistius Theopompus, Tryon, &c. To which are added quotations from the most celebrated poets. London: Printed for J. Barker, 1789. ECCO.

———. The old Egyptian fortune-teller's last legacy: containing, I. The wheel of fortune by pricking with a pin ... VII. Omens of good and bad luck. London: s.n., 1775. ECCO.

———. Oniropolus, or dreams interpreter. Being several aphorisms upon the physiognomy of dreams made into verse. Some of which receive a general interpretation: and others of them have respect to the course of the moon in the zodiack. To which is added several physiognomical characters of persons of different humours and inclinations. After which follows the praise of ale. And lastly, the wheel of fortune, or Pithagoras wheel. London: Printed by Thomas Dawkes, 1680. EEBO.

———. The problemes of Aristotle with other philosophers and phisitions. Wherein are contayned divers questions, with their answers, touching the estate of mans bodie. Edinburgh: Printed by Roger Walgrave, 1595. EEBO.

———. The problemes of Aristotle with other philosophers and phisitions. Wherein are contayned divers questions, with their answers, touching the estate of mans bodie. London: Printed by Arnold Hatfield, 1597. EEBO.


———. A treatise of diseases of the head, brain & nerves. With directions for their cure, and how many Deplorable and Sudden Indispositions attending them, as apoplexies, epilepsies, palsies,
&c. may be prevented, and consequently Lives saved by the Medicines herein prescrib'd. To which is subjoin'd A discourse of the nature, cause and cure of melancholly and vapours. By a physician. London: s.n., 1714. ECCO.

——. Wits Cabinet or A Companion for Young Men and Ladies; Containing I. The Whole Art of Wooing and Making Love, with the Best Complemental Letters ... III. The Interpretation of All Sorts of Dreams. IV. The Art of Chiromancy and Palmistry. London: Printed for John Smith, 1684. ESTC.

——. Wits cabinet or, A companion for young men and ladies containing I. The whole art of wooing, and making love; with the best complemental letters, elegant epistles, amorous addresses, and answers, in a most pleasant and ingenious strain: with the newest songs, sung at court and both theatres. II. The school of Bacchus; or, the whole art of drinking, taught by a new and most learned method. III. The interpretation of all sorts of dreams. IV. The art of chiromancy and palmestry. V. The several sorts of cosmicks for clearing and beautifying the face and taking away all freckles morphew, tetter, and ring-worms, and for preserving the complexion, ... VI. The use of metals and precious stones and the way to counterfeit them. VII. Several of the choicest secrets of art and nature. VIII. General rules for the gentile behaviour of young men and ladies in all company. IX. Several sorts of news from divers parts, very jocose and pleasant; with merry riddles. London: Printed for H. Rhodes, 1698. EEBO.


——. Artemidori Daldiani ... De somniorum interpretatione, libri quinque/iam primum à Iano Cornario medico physico Francoforderensi, Latina lingua conscripti. Lugduni: Apud S. Gryphium, 1546. Worldcat.

——. The interpretation of dreames, digested into five books by that ancient and excellent philosopher, Artimedorus. Compiled by him in Greek; and translated afterwards into the Latine, the Italian, the French, and Spanish, tongues. And now more exactly rendred into English. It

———. The interpretation of dreams digested into five books by that ancient and excellent philosopher, Artimedorus / compiled by him in Greek and translated afterwards into the Latine, the Italian, the French, and Spanish tongues, and now more exactly rendred into English. London: Printed by Elizabeth Alsop, 1656. EEBO.

———. The interpretation of dreams digested into five books by that ancient and excellent philosopher, Artemidorus compiled by him in Greek and translated afterward into the Latine, the Italian, the French, and Spanish tongues, and now more exactly rendred into English. London: Printed for B.G. and S.K., 1690. EEBO.

———. The interpretation of dreams: by the most celebrated philosopher Artimedorus, and other authors. First written in Greek, and afterwards translated into divers foreign Languages, and now made English. A Treatise of great Value and Esteem, and very delightful and useful for all Sorts of People. The Twenty-Third Edition, with many Additions, the Author's Life, and the Opinion of divers English Authors, concerning the Certainty of Dreams, and their Events. London: Printed and sold by J. Fuller, 1755. ECCO. http://find.galegroup.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=utoronto_main&tabID=T001&docId=CW118958116&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE

———. The interpretation of dreams, by that most celebrated philosopher Artimedorus. First written in Greek, and afterwards translated into divers foreign languages, and now made into English. Being A Treatise of great Value and Esteem, and very useful and entertaining for all sorts of People. London: Printed for J. Bew, 1786. ECCO.


———. The judgement, or exposition of dreames, written by Artimodorus, an auntient and famous author, first in Greeke, then translated into Latin, after into French, and now into English. London: Printed by R. Braddock for William Jones, 1606. EEBO.


Aubrey, John. Miscellanies upon the following subjects collected by J. Aubrey, Esq. London: Printed for Edward Castle, 1696. EEBO.

Bacon, Francis. *Of the advancement and proficience of learning; or, The partitions of sciences IX bookes.* Oxford: Printed by Leon Lichfield for Rob Young & Ed Forrest, 1640. EEBO.

———. *Sylva sylvarum: or A naturall historie in ten centuries.* Written by the Right Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam Viscount St. Alban. Published after the authors death, by William Rawley Doctor of Divinitie, late his Lordships chaplaine. London: Printed by John Haviland and Augustine Mathewes for William Lee, 1627. EEBO.

Bagshaw, Edward. *The life and death of Mr. Vavasor Powell, that faithful minister and confessor of Jesus Christ wherein his eminent conversion, laborious successful ministry, excellent conversation, confession of faith, worthy sayings, choice experiences, various sufferings, and other remarkable passages in his life and at his death are faithfully recorded for publick benefit: with some elogies and epitaphs by his friends.* London: s.n., 1671. EEBO.

Barrough, Philip. *The methode of phisicke conteyning the causes, signes, and cures of inward diseases in mans body from the head to the foote. Whereunto is added, the forme and rule of making remedies and medicines, which our phisitians commonly use at this day, with the proportion, quantitie, & names of ech [sic] medicine.* London: Printed by Thomas Vautroullier, 1583. EEBO.

Baxter, Andrew. *An enquiry into the nature of the human soul; wherein the immateriality of the soul is evinced from the principles of reason and philosophy.* Printed by James Bettenham, 1733. ECCO.

Bayfield, Robert. *Tes iatrikes kartos, or, A treatise de morborum capitis essentiis & pronosticis adorned with above three hundred choice and rare observations.* London: Printed by D. Maxwel, 1663. EEBO.


Blackmore, Richard. *A treatise of the spleen and vapours: or, hypocondriacal and hysterical affections. With three discourses on the nature and cure of the cholick, melancholy, and palsies. Never before Published.* London: J. Pemberton, 1725. ECCO.

Blankaart, Steven. *The physical dictionary. Wherein the terms of anatomy, the names and causes of diseases, chyrurgical instruments, and their use are accurately describ'd. Also The Names and Virtues of Medicinal Plants, Minerals, Stones, Gums, Salts, Earths, &c. And the Method of choosing the best Drugs: The Terms of Chymistry, and of the Apothecaries Art; and the various Forms of Medicines, and the ways of Compounding them: By Stephen Blankard, M. D. Physick-Professor at Middleburg in Zealand.* London: Printed for Sam. Crouch and John Sprint, 1702. ECCO.

———. *An essay on the incubus, or night-mare*. London: D. Wilson and T. Durham, 1753. ECCO.

Booker, John. *The history of dreams. Or dreams interpreted, &c. Containing, Advice to all bachelors, maids, widowers, widows, &c. II. A true interpretation of dreams. III. The birth of children on every day of the week. IV. A division of mans age by twelve times six years. V. Whether the party may live or die that falleth sick on any day of the month. VI. To know if a woman be with child: and whether male or female. VII. An excellent way for any person to know in the morning when they go forth, whether they shall have good or bad luck. VIII. To make man or woman put of [sic] their clothes. IX. A receipt to make a maids face fair. X. A ready way how to cure the felon. XI. How to heal one that is scalded with liquor. XII. The signification of moles on any part of the body of man or woman. XIII. Exact rules to know whether a man or woman shall have those they love. XIV. How to choose a good husband or wife. XV. Rule and art to know whether a woman be a pure virgin or not. XVI. To know whether a man be a chaste bachelor or not. XVII. To make any person love you whether the will or not. XVIII. How to restore a lost maiden head, or to a solder a cracked one.* By John Booker, Astrologer. Edinburgh: J. Morren, 1800. BL.


Boorde, Andrew. *The breviarie of health wherin doth folow, remedies, for all maner of sicknesses & diseases, the which may be in man or woman. Expressing the obscure termes of Greke, Araby, Latin, Barbary, and English, concerning phisick and chirurgerie*. London: Printed by Thomas East, 1587. EEBO.

Branch, Thomas. *Thoughts on dreaming. Wherein the notion of the sensory, and the opinion that it is shut up from the inspection of the soul in sleep, and that Spirits supply us with all our Dreams, are examined by Revelation and Reason. Occasioned by An essay on the phoenomenon of dreaming, in a book, entitled, An enquiry into the nature of the human soul; wherein the Immateriality of the Soul is evinced from the Principles of Reason and Philosophy*. London: Printed for R. Dodsley and J. Jolliffe, 1738. ECCO.

Bright, Timothie. *A treatise of melancholy Containing the causes thereof, and reasons of the strange effects it worketh in our minds and bodies: with the physicke cure, and spirituall consolation for such as have thereto adjoyned afflicted conscience*. London: Printed by William Stansby, 1613. EEBO.


Bruele, Gualtherus. *Praxis medicinae, or, the physicians practice wherein are contained inward diseases from the head to the foote: explaing the nature of each disease, with the part affected; and also the signes, causes, and prognostiques, and likewise what temperature of the ayre is most requisite for the patients abode, with direction for the diet he ought to observe,*
together with experimentall cures for every disease. London: Printed by John Norton, for William Sheares, 1632. EEBO.

Buchan, William. Domestic medicine: or, a treatise on the prevention and cure of diseases by regimen and simple medicines. London: Printed for W. Strahan, 1772. ECCO.

Burton, Robert. The anatomy of melancholy what it is. With all the kindes, causes, symptomes, prognostickes, and severall cures of it. In three maine partitions with their severall sections, members, and subsections. Philosophically, medicinally, historically, opened and cut up. Oxford: Printed by John Lichfield and James Short, for Henry Cripps, 1621. EEBO.


Casaubon, Meric. A treatise concerning enthusiasme, as it is an effect of nature: but is mistaken by many for either divine inspiration, or diabolical possession. London: Printed by R.D., 1654. EEBO.


Cheesman, Thomas. Death compared to sleep in a sermon preacht upon the occasion of the funeral of Mrs. Mary Allen, who died Feb. 18, anno Dom. 1695. London: Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, 1695. EEBO.

Cogan, Thomas. The haven of health chiefly gathered for the comfort of students, and consequently of all those that have a care of their health, amplified upon five words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6 Labor, cibus, potio, somnus, Venus. London: Printed by Henrie Midleton for William Norton, 1584. EEBO.

——. The haven of health. Chiefely gathered for the comfort of students, and consequently of all those that have a care of their health, amplified upon five words of Hippocrates, written Epid. 6. labor, cibus, foto; somnus, venus. London: Printed by Anne Griffin for Roger Ball, 1636. EEBO.

Conover, Samuel Forman. An inaugural dissertation on sleep and dreams; their effects on the faculties of the mind, and the causes of dreams. Submitted to the examination of the Rev. William Smith, S.T.P. provost; the trustees and medical professors of the College of Philadelphia; for the degree of Doctor of Medicine: on the twenty-third day of June, A.D. 1791. Philadelphia: T. Lang, 1791. ECCO.

Crooke, Helkiah. *Mikrokosmographia a description of the body of man. Together with the controversyes thereto belonging*. Collected and translated out of all the best authors of anatomy, especially out of Gasper Bauhinus and Andreas Laurentius. London: Printed by William Jaggard, 1615. EEBO.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *Culpeper's school of physick, or, The experimental practice of the whole art wherein are contained all inward diseases from the head to the foot, with their proper and effectuall cures, such diet set down as ought to be observed in sickness or in health: with other safe wayes for preserving of life*. London: Printed for N. Brook, 1659. EEBO.

———. *The English physitian, or An astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation being a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself being sick for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England*. London: Printed by Peter Cole, 1652. EEBO.

Day, Richard. *A booke of Christian prayers, collected out of the auncie[n]t writers, and best learned in our tyme, worthy to be read with an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull unto us*. London: Printed by John Daye, 1578. EEBO.


De Vulson, Marc. *The court of curiosity wherein the most intricate questions are resolved by a most curious fortune-book, and dreams and visions explained and interpreted according to the antients and practice of the moderns*. London: Printed for William Crook, 1681. EEBO.

Elyot, Thomas. *The castle of health, corrected, and in some places augmented by the first authour thereof, Sir Thomas Elyot knight*. London: Printed by W. Jaggard for the Company of Stationers, 1610. EEBO.

———. *The castel of helthe gathered, and made by Syr Thomas Elyot knight, out of the chief authors of phisyke; whereby every man may knowe the state of his owne body, the preservation of helthe, and how to instruct well his phisition in sicknes, that he be not deceyved*. London: In aedibus Thomae Bertheleti typis impress, 1539. EEBO.

Evans, Arise. *The bloudy vision of John Farly, interpreted by Arise Evans. With another vision signifying peace and happiness. Both which shew remarkable alterations speedily, to come to pass here in England, also a refutation of a pamphlet, lately published by one Aspinwall: called a Brief discription of the fifth Monarchy. Shewing that the late Parliament was that beast*
mentioned, Rev. 13. that this representative is the image thereof, and that the fifth Monarchy will shortly be established in the person of Charles Stewart. London: s.n., 1653. EEBO.

———. An eccho to the book called A voyce from heaven, by Arise Evans shewing how in the years 1633, 34, and 35, he forewarned the late King, courtiers and commons of the great ruine of all the three nations, and that the king should be put to death, according to his visions and prophesies: also, his exhortation now to the Parliament and all people for setting up the Kings son in his stead, according to that old unparallel'd prophesie of M. Truswell, recorder of Lincoln here opened, which likewise declareth the things past, present and to come, chiefly the revolution, and dissolution of this state, with the exaltation of the King, in the present year of grace, 1653. London: Printed for the Authour, 1653. EEBO.

———. The voice of Michael the archangel, to his Highness the Lord Protector: for the salvation of himself and the three nations. London: s.n., 1653. EEBO.


Fenner, Dudley. The artes of logike and rethorike plainelie set foorth in the English tounge, easie to be learned and practised: togetheer [sic] with examples for the practise of the same, for methode in the government of the familie, prescribed in the word of God. Middelburg: Printed by R. Schilders, 1584. EEBO.

Ferrand, James. Erotomania or A treatise discoursing of the essence, causes, symptomes, prognosticks, and cure of love, or erotique melancholy. Oxford: Printed by L. Lichfield, 1640. EEBO.


Gardiner, Edmund. Phisicall and approved medicines, aswell in meere simples, as compound observations. With a true and direct judgement of the severall complexions of men, & how to minister both phisicke and medicine, to every severall complexion. With the making of many excellent unguents, and oyles, as also their applications, both for gargarisms & inflamations of the face, and other diseases incident to the body of man, aswell chiurugicall as phisicall. With the true use of taking that excellent hearbe tabacco, aswell in the pipe by sume, as also in phisicke, medicine and chirurgerie. London: Printed by E. Allde for Mathew Lownes, 1611. EEBO.


Gonzalo. The divine dreamer, or A short treatise discovering the true effect and power of dreames confirmed by the most learned and best approved authors: whereunto is annexed the dreame of
a young gentleman immediatly before the death of the late Earle of Strafford. London: s.n., 1641. EEBO.

Goodwin, Philip. Dies Dominicus redivivus; or, The Lords Day enlivened or a treatise, as to discover the practical part of the evangelical Sabbath: so to recover the spiritual part of that pious practice to its primitive life: lamentably lost, in these last declining times. By Philip Goodwin M.A. preacher of the Gospel, and pastour of the publike congregation at Watford in Hartfortshire. London: Printed by J.L. for Andrew Kembe, 1654. EEBO.

———. The evangellcall communicant in the eucharistical sacrament, or, A treatise declaring who are to receive the supper of the Lord that it is an ordinance peculiar to some, and not appertaining to all that live under the Word: contrary objections answered, necessary directions tendered, cases cleared, care encouraged, and the whole course of the Lord's Supper guided fit for reforming times. London: Printed by A.M. for Christopher Meredith, 1649. EEBO.

———. The mystery of dreames, historically discoursed; or, A treatise; wherein is clearly discovered, the secret yet certain good or evil, the inconsidered and yet assured truth or falsity, virtue or vanity, misery or mercy, of mens differing dreames. Their distinguishing characters: the divers cases, causes, concomitants, consequencies, concerning mens inmost thoughts while asleep. With several consideralbe questions, objections, and answers contained therein: and other profitable truths appertaining thereunto. Are from pertinent texts plainly and fully unfolded. By Philip Goodwin preacher of the Gospel at Watford in Hartfortshire. London: Printed by A.M. for Francis Tyton, 1658. EEBO.

———. Religio domestica rediviva: or, Family-religion revived. Or A treatise as to discover the good old way of serving God in private houses: so to recover the pious practice of those precious duties unto their primitive platform. Lamentably laid down in these last back-sliding dayes, by Philip Goodwin, Master in Arts, and minister of the Gospel. London: Printed by R.W. Leybourn for Andrew Kembe, 1655. EEBO.

Hartley, David. Observations on man, his frame, his duty, and his expectations. In two parts. London: Printed by S. Richardson for James Leake and Wm. Frederick, 1749. ECCO.

Harvey, William. The anatomical exercises of Dr. William Harvey professor of physick, and physician to the Kings Majesty, concerning the motion of the heart and blood. With the preface of Zachariah Wood physician of Roterdam. To which is added Dr. James De Back his Discourse of the heart, physician in ordinary to the town of Roterdam. London: Printed by Francis Leach for Richard Lowndes, 1653. EEBO.

Hill, Thomas.

Note: unless otherwise indicated, all non-extant texts were first identified in Francis R. Johnson's article, "Thomas Hill: An Elizabethan Huxley." Huntington Library Quarterly 7:4 (August 1944): 329-351 and can also be found in Hill's own list of publications in his work, The contemplation of mankinde, London: Printed by Henry Denham for William Seres, 1571, Hhvi(r)-Hhviit(r).
An almanack published at large, in forme of a booke of memorie necessary for all such, as have occasion daylie to note sundry affayres, eyther for receytes, payments, or such lyke. Newly set forth, by T.H. Londoner. London: Printed by Henry Denham, 1571. EEBO.

The arte of vulgar arithmeticke both in integers and fractions, devided into two bookes: whereof the first is called Nomodidactus numerorum, and the second Portus proportionum: with certeine demonstrations, reduced into so plaine and perfect method, as the like hath not hitherto beene published in English. Whereunto is added a third booke, entituled Musa mercatorum: comprehending all the most necessarie and profitable rules used in the trade of merchandise. ... in the forme of a dialogue ... Newly collected, digested, and in some part devised by a welwiller to the mathematical. London: Printed by Gabriel Simson, 1600. EEBO.

A brief and most pleasau[n]t epitomye of the whole art of phisiognomie, gathered out of Aristotle, Rasis, Formica, Loxius, Phylemo[n], Palemo[n], Consiliator, Morbeth the Cardinal and others many moe, by that learned chyrurgian Cocles: and englished by Thomas Hyll Londoner. London: Printed by John Waylande, 1556. EEBO.


The contemplation of mankinde contayning a singuler discourse after the art of phisiognomie, on all the members and partes of man, as from the heade to the foote, in a more ample maner than hytherto hath beene published of any. In the place next after the chapter of the forehead, hath the phisiognomer added a proper treatise of the signification of sundrie lines seene in most mens foreheards: which in sundrie disputations with a skilfull Jew, he at the last obtayned. ... In the ende is a little treatise added of the signification of moles ... written by a worthie Grecian named Melampus. All which, englished by Thomas Hyll. London: Printed by Henry Denham for William Seres, 1571. EEBO.

The contemplation of mysteries contayning the rare effectes and significations of certayne comets, and a briefe rehersall of sundrie hystoricall examples, as well divine, as prophan, verie fruitfull to be reade in this our age: with matter delectable both for the sayler, and husbandman, yea and all traveylers by sea and lande, in knowing aforeshande, howe daungerous a tempest will succeede by the sight of the clowd coming over the head, and other matters fruitful to be read as shal appere in the table next after the preface. Gathered and englished, by Thomas Hyll. London: Printed by Henry Denham, 1574. EEBO.

The gardeners labyrinth containing a discourse of the gardeners life, in the yearly travels to be bestowed on his plot of earth, for the use of a garden: with instructions for the choise of seedes, apte times for sowing, setting, planting, [and] watering, and the vessels and instruments serving to that use and purpose: wherein are set forth divers herbers, knottes and mazes, cunningly handled for the beautifying of gardens. Also the physike benefit of eche herbe, plant, and floure, with the vertues of the distilled waters of every of them, as by the sequele may further appeare. Gathered out of the best approved writers of gardening, husbandrie, and physicke: by Dydymus Mountaine. London: Printed by Henry Bynneman, 1577. EEBO.
A joyfull jewell Contayning aswell such excellent orders, preservatives and precious
practises for the plague, as also such merveulous medcins for divers maladies, as hitherto have
not beene published in the English tung. First made and written in the Italian tung by the
famous, and learned knight and doctor M. Leonardo Fiorouantie, of his owne ingenious
inventions. And now for the carefull commoditie of his native countrey, translated out of the
Italian by TH. London: Printed by William Wright, 1579. EEBO.

A little treatise of the interpretation of dreams, fathered on Joseph. London: Printed by
William Copland, 1567. The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester. ESTC.

A most briefe and pleasant treatise of the interpretation of sundrie dreames intituled to be
Josephs, and sundry other dreames out of the worke of the wise Salomon. Being in all 140.
written first in the Hebrue tongue. Also sundrie problemes or demaunds, with their natural
answers unto sundry dreames annexed thereunto: all which are now gathered and englished out
of a most ancient copie in the Latine tongue, for the recreation of wits at vacant time and
leisure. London: Printed by Simon Stafford, 1601. EEBO.

A most briefe and pleasant treatise of the interpretation of sundry dreames intituled to be
Josephs, and sundry other dreames out of the worke of the wise Salomon. Being in all one
hundred and forty, written first in the Hebrew tongue. Also sundrie problemes or demands, with
their naturall answers unto sundry dreames annexed thereunto: all which are now gathered and
englished out of a most ancient copy in the Latine tongue, for the recreation of wits at vacant
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garde[n]s, gathered out of the principallest authors in this act by Thomas Hyll Londyner.
London: Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1563. EEBO.

The moste pleasuante arte of the interpretacion of dreames whereunto is annexed sondrie
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