THE COMPLETE WORKS
IN VERSE AND PROSE
OF EDMUND SPENSER.

EDITED, WITH A NEW LIFE, BASED ON ORIGINAL RESEARCHES,
AND A GLOSSARY EMBRACING NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. IX.

Prose:
A VEUE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.
LETTERS, ETC.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. IX.

NOTE ........................................ 9
A Veuue of the Present State of Ireland ...... 13
Letters from Spenser (Immerito) to Gabriel Harvey . 257
PROSE,

I.

A VEUVE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

1596.
NOTE.

Dr. Morris, in his 'Globe' Spenser, thus writes (in Preface) of his text of the 'View of the Present State of Ireland':—

"The prose Treatise on Ireland, as printed by Sir James Ware, and followed by all recent editors, was found on examination, to be very inaccurate and incomplete. It seemed scarcely fair to Spenser's memory to let this single piece of prose remain in so unsatisfactory a state. I have therefore re-edited it from three manuscripts belonging to the library of the British Museum. The text itself is from the Additional Manuscript 22022, the oldest of the three manuscripts; and, according to Sir James Ware's account of some of the best manuscripts seen by him, the Ad. MS. is evidently a very good one. Harleian MS. 1932, which very closely resembles, even in its omissions, Ware's text, and Harleian MS. 7388, are very fair manuscripts, and have been collated throughout with the Additional Manuscript and Ware's text" (pp. iii-iv).

There is abundant evidence that Dr. Morris must have spent considerable pains in the collation of the two MSS. named, as compared with his adopted MS. The 'various readings' recorded in his Appendix (pp. 703-5) are creditable to his industry. None the less is it surprising that he should have adopted for text an anonymous and unauthenticated and undated MS., and with such supererogatory minuteness given us the various readings of the other MSS.—manuscripts that only a slight examination shew to be perfunctory and unreliable. The surprise is increased because Dr. Morris incidentally reveals that he was aware of the Lambeth MS., though he gives no evidence of having so much as looked at it; in this differing from Todd, who must have (at least) dipped into it. Without any hesitation I have elected the Lambeth MS. for my text, because (a) It was the copy submitted by the Author to the Archbishop of Canterbury for License; (b) It is initialised E. S., and dated by him; (c) It gives by far the most satisfactory readings throughout, albeit, having been transcribed by several writers, it has certain easily-corrected clerical mistakes. I have to return his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury my right hearty thanks for allowing me the loan in my own study of this important MS. (J Θ. : 10 4to vol. 92, Bibliotheca Lambeth ; , folios = 222 pages and 1 blank at beginning and end), that I might leisurely verbatim et literatim transcribe and collate.

My procedure has been as follows: I reproduce the Lambeth MS. as my text fundamentally; but in footnotes record anything that seemed to call for
\*NOTE.\*

notice in comparing it with (a) Dr. Morris’s, (b) Mr. J. Payne Collier’s text. But neither yields much of any great moment—*id est*, so as to be preferred to the Lambeth MS., my own text: *e.g.* the orthography differs repeatedly, and small words, as ‘of’ and ‘the,’ which our MS. drops, are inserted—as illustrated on the first page of the ‘Venet’; but it were mere pedantry to record these. In only two little things have I ventured to depart from literal reproduction of our MS.: *viz.*, I have extended contractions, as ‘y’s’ for ‘the,’ ‘y’s’ for ‘that,’ ‘wh’ for ‘which,’ and ‘&’ for ‘and,’ and the like; and I have punctuated more frequently, the comma being, (as was then the mode, almost the entire punctuation of the MS. Otherwise, the Author’s own text, in its quaint and varying orthography, etc., is given in integrity. In the Glossary (Vol. X.) will be found Notes and Illustrations, under all noticeable words. See for more in the new Life and related Essays in Vol. I., where I give examples of the superiority of our text to Dr. Morris’s, as to all.

A. B. G.
A Veue of The Present State of Ireland.
A Veuve of the present State of Ireland.

DISCOURSED BY WAY OF A DIALOGUE BETWENE EUDOXUS AND IRENIUS.

Eudoxus.

But if that country of Ireland, whence you lately came, be so goodly and commodious a soyle as you report, I wouder that no course is taken for the tournig therof to good uses, and reducing that salvaje nation to better goverment and civillity.

Irenius. Mary, so ther have bin divers good plotts devisfed, and wife counsfells caft alredy about reformation of that realme; but they say it is the fatall dextiny of that land, that no purpos, whatsoever are ment for her good, wil prooper and take good effect: which, whether it proeeede from the very genius of the soyle, or influence of the starrs, or 20 that Almighty god hath not yet appoynted the time of her reformacion, or that he reserveth her

* * * The various readings placed underneath are drawn from Dr. Morris's text, when not otherwise stated—a few only accepted. See Introductory Note.
in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

Eudox. Surely I suppose this but a vaine concept of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather thinck the cause of this evill, which hangeth upon that country, to proceede rather upon the unfoundnesse of the counsell, and plotts, which you say have bin oftentimes layd for her reformacon, or of sayntnesse in following and effecting the same, then of any such fatall course or appoyntment of god, as you misdeme; but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or theyre actions succeede not as they would, they are ready alwayes to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their own folly and imperfections: so have I also heard it often wifhed, (even of some whos great wisdome in [my] opinion shou'd see me to judg more soundly of so weighty a consideracon) that all that land weare a sea-pooles: which kind of speach, is the manner rather of desperate men far driven, to wifh the utter ruine of that which they cannot redresse, then of grave counsellors, which ought to thinck nothing so hard, but that through wisdome, it may be maistered and subdued; since the poet sayth, that the wiseman shall rule even over the starrs, much more over the earth: for weare it not the part of a desperate disposition to wifh his diseased patient dead, rather then to imploy the best indevours of his skill for his recovery: but since we are so far entred, let us
I pray you, devise of those evills, by which that country is held in this wretched case, that it cannot, as you say, be recured. And if it be not painfull to you, to tell us what things during your late continuance ther, you observed, to be most offensive, and impeachfull, unto the good rule and government therof.

Iren. Surely Eudox., the evills which you desire to be recounted are very many, and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora: but since you so please, I will out of that infinit number, reckon but some that are most capital, and commonly occasional both in the life and conditions of private men, and also in the manage of publique affaires and policie. The which you shall understand to be of divers natures, as I observed them: for some of them are of very great antiquity and long continuance; others more late and of less endurance; others dayly growing and increafing continually, as the evill occasions are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell them, I pray you, in the same order that you have. now rehearsed them: for their can be no better methode then this which the very matter it self offreth. And when you have reckoned all the evills, let us heare your opinion for redressing of them. After which there will perhaps of it self appere some reasonable way to settle a sound and perfect rule of government, by shunning the former

l. 54, 'a little devise,' but is absurd, as the Discourse was meant to be a lengthy one: l. 66, 'current': l. 67, 'as': l. 68, 'managing': l. 75, 'then.'
evills, and following the offered good. The which methode we may learne of the wise Phisitions, which first require that the malady be knowne throughly and discovered: afterwards do teach how to cure and redresse it: and lastly do prescribe a diet with freight rules and orders to be daily observed, for feare of relaps into the former disease, or falling into some other more dangerous then it.

_IREN._ I will then according to your advisement, begin to declare the evills which same to be most hurtfull to the common-weale of that land: and first, those which I sayd were most ancient and long grown: and they are also of 3 kinds; the first in the lawes, the second in customes, the last in religion.

_EUDO._ Why, Irenius, can there be anie evill in the lawes? can things which are ordain'd for the safetie and good of all, turne to the evill and hurt of them? This well I wote both in that state and in all other, that were they not contayned in doubt with feare of lawe which restrayneth offences, and inflicteth sharpe punishment to misdoers, no man should enjoy anie thing, everie mans hand would be against another. Thence in finding fault with the lawes I doubt me you shall muche over-hote your felfe, and make me the more dislike your other dislikes of that government.

_IREN._ The lawes EudoX., I doe not blame for them selves, knowing that all lawes are ordain'd for the good of the common weal and for repressing of licenciousnesse and vice: but it falleth out in lawes,
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

no otherwise then it doth in Phisick, which was at first devised, and is yet dayly ment and ministred for the health of the patient: but nevertheless we often see that either through ignorance of the diseafe, or unseasanableneffe of the time, or other accidents comming betwene, in stead of good it worketh hurt, and out of one evill, throweth the patient into many miferies: so the lawes were at first intended for the reformacon of abuifes, and peaceable continuance of the subjects: but are since either disanulled or quite prevaricated through chang and alteration of times, yet are they good still in them selves: but to that common wealth which is ruled by them they worke not that good which they shoulde, and sometimes also perhaps that evill which they would not.

Eudox. Whether do you meane this by the common lawes of the realme or by the statute lawes and acts of parliament?

Iren. Surely by them both: for even the common lawes, being that which William of Normandy brought in with his conquest and layd upon the neck of England, though it perhaps fitted well with the state of England then being, and was readily obeyed through the power of the commandeer which had before subdued the poeple to him, and made easy way to the setting of his will; yet with the state of Ireland peradventure it doth not so well / agree, being a poeple altogether stubborn and vntamed and, if it were once tamed, yet now lately have quite shaken of ther yoke and broken the bands of ther obedience. For England, before the entrance of the Conqueror,
was an unpeaceable kingdome, and but lately entred to the mild and godly goverment of King Edward surnamed the confessor; besides now lately growne unto a loathing and detestation of the unjust and tirannous rule of Harold, an usurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reasonable condicons and order of the new Victor, thincking surely it would be no worfe then the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former: yet what the profe of the first bringing in and eftablishing of the lawes was, was to many full bitterly made knowne. But with Ireland it is far otherwise: for it is a nation ever acquainted with warrs, though but amongst themselves, and in ther owne kind of military discipline, trayned up even from their youths: which they have never yet bin tought to lay aside, nor made to learne obedience unto the law, scarsely to know the name of law, but in stead therof have always preferred and kept ther owne law, which is the Brehon law.

_Eudox._ What is that which you call the Brehon law? it is a word unto us altogether unknowne.

_Iren._ It is a certaine rule of right, unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to an other, in which oftentimes ther appereth great shew of equity, in determining the right betwene party and party, but in many things repugning quite from gods law and mans, as for example, in the case of murther. The Brehon that is there judg, will

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1. 146, 'goodly': 1. 152, 'later': 1. 155, 'hath been': _ib._, 'after': 1. 164, 'Brehone': 1. 166, 'it...unknown' not in our MS. 1. 171, 'both to.'
compound between the murtherer, and the frends of the party murthered, which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child, or wife of him that is slaine, a recompence, which they call an Iriach; by which vile law of thers, many murders are amongst them made up and smothered. And this judg being, as he is called, the Lord Brehon, adjudgeth for the most part a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the soyle, or the head of that septe, and also unto him self, for his judgment, a greater portion then unto the plaintifes or parties grieved.

Eudox. That is a most wicked law indee: but I trust it is not now used in Ireland, since the kings of England have had the absolute dominion thereof, and established their owne lawes there.

Iren. Yes truly, for ther are many wide countries in Ireland, in which the lawes of England were never established, nor any acknowledgment of subjection made: and also even in those which are subdued and demean to acknowledg subjection, yet the same Brehon law is privately practised amongst them selves, by reason that dwelling as they do, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, they may do what they list, and compound or altogether conceal amongst them selves their owne crimes, of which no notice can be had by them which would and might amend the same, by the rule of the lawes of England.

Eudox. What is this which you say? and is ther any part of that realme, or any nacion therin, which

l. 178, *Breaghe: *ib., *bi law.*
have not yet bin subdued to the crowne of England? Did not the whole realme univerfally accept and acknowledg our late Prince of famous memory, Henry the eight, ther owne King and liege Lord?

Iren. Yes verily: in a parliament holden in the time of Sir Anthony Saint-Legar, then Lord Deputy, all the Irifh Lords and principall men came in, and being by faire means wrought therunto, acknowledged King / Henry for their Soveraigne Lord, referving yet, as some say, unto them selves, all their owne former privileges and signories inviolate.

Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his soveraignety they also accepted of his lawes: why then shoulde any other lawes be now used amongst them?

Iren. Trew it is that therby they bound them selves to his lawes and obedience, and in cafe it had bin followed against them, as it should have bin, and a governement therupon prefently fetled amongst them agreeable therunto, they should have bin reduced to perpetuall civillity and contayned in continuall duty: but what boots it to breake a colt, and to let him fright run lose at randome? so were this people at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledg allegiance to the King of England: but being strait left unto them selves and their owne inordinate life and manners, they left themsevles forgot what before they were taught, and so some as they were out of sight by them selves, shooke of their bridles, and began to colt anew, more licenfoifully then before.

Eudox. It is great pity, that so good an opportu-
nity was omitted, and so happy an occasion foreflacked, that might have bred the eternall good of that land: but do they not still acknowledg that submiffion?

Iren. No, they doe not, for now the heires and posterity of them which yeilded the same are, as they say, either ignorant therof, or do wilfully deny, or stedfastly disavow it.

Eudox. How can they so do juftly? doth not the act of the parent, in any lawfull grant or conveyance, bind his heires for ever therunto? Sith then the / ancestors of thes that now live yeilded them selves their subjects and liege men, shall it not ty ther children to the same subjection?

Iren. They faie no: for ther ancestors had had no estate in any ther lands, Seigniories, or hereditaments, longer then during ther owne lives, as they allege: for all the Irish do hould ther lands by Taniiftrie: which is to faie, no more but a perfonall estate for his life time, that is Taniift. By reaſon that he is admitted therunto by election of the country.

Eudox. What is this- which you call Taniift and Taniiftrie? they be names and tearmes never heard of or knowne to us.

Iren. It is a cuftome amongeft all the Irishe, that presently after the death of any ther chiefe Lords or Captaines, they do presently assemble them selves to a place, generally appoynted and knowne unto them, to chofe an other in his ftead: where they do

l. 236, 'fore-fiold': l. 240, 'Now': l. 245, in our MS. miswritten 'prlament': l. 248, 'then': l. 254, 'as say they': l. 255, 'Taniift'.
nominate and elect, for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of their Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him, if he have any, or the next cousin germaine, or so forth, as any is elder in that kindred or sept: and then next to him do those choose the next of the blood to be Tanist, who shall next succeed him in the fayd Captency, if he live therunto.

Eudox. Do they use any ceremony in this election? for all barberous nations are commonly great observants of ceremonies and superstitious rights.

Iren. They use to place him that shall be their Captaine, upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon an hill: in many of the which I have seen the fote of a man formed and graven, which they say was the measure of their first Captaines foot, wheron he standing receiveth an oath to preserve all the former auncient customes of the country inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some, whose proper office that is: after which, descending from the stone, he turneth him self round, thrice forarde and thrice backward.

Eudox. But how is the Tanist chosen?

Iren. They say he setteth but one foote upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath the Captaine did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occasion and first beginning of this custome? for it is good to know the fame, and may perhaps discover
some secret meaning and intent therein, very materiall to the state of that government.

Iren. I have heard that the beginning and cause of this ordinance amongst the Irish, was specially for 300 the defence and maintenance of their land in their posterity, and for excluding all innovacōn or alienacōn / thereof unto strangers, and especially to the English: for when their Captaine dieth, if the Seigniory should descend unto his child, and he perhaps an infant, another might perhaps step in betwene and thrust him out by strong hand, being then vnable to defend his right, or to withstand the force of a forrayner: and therefore they do appoynt the eldest of the kin to have the Seigniory, for that 310 he commonly is a man of stronger yeares, and better experience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the country, either against the next bordering Lords, which use commonly to incroch one upon an other as each one is stronger, or against the English, which they thinck ly still in wayte to wipe them out of their lands and territories. And to this end the Tanift is always ready knowne, if it should happen the Captaine suddenly to dy or to be slayne in batayle, or to be out of the country, to defend and 320 kepe it from all such doubts and dangers. Ffor which cause the Tanift hath also a share of the country alotted unto him, and certaine cuttings and spendings upon all the inhabitants under the Lord.

Eudox. When I heare this word Tanift, it bringeth to my remembrance what I have read of Tania, that it shoule signifie a province or Seignory [as] Aquitania,
Lusitania and Britania, the which some do thinck to be derived of Dania, that is, from the Danes: but, I thinck, amisse, for sure it semeth, that it came anciently from those barberous nacons that overranne the world, which posseffed those dominions, wherof they are now so called. And so it may well be that from thence the first originall of this word Tanift and Taniftry came, and the custome therof hath sithence, as many others els, bin continued: but to that generall subjection of the land, wherof we formerly speake, me femes that this custome or tenure can be no bar nor impeachment, feing that in open parlyament by ther safd acknowledgment, they waived the benefit therof, and submitted them selves to the ordinance of ther new foveraigne.

Iren. Yea but they say, as I earst toould you, that they referred their titles, tenures and feigniories whole and found to them selves, and for proboe alleged that they have ever since remayned to them untouched, so as now to alter them, they say shoul'd be a great wrong.

Eudox. What remedy is ther then, or means to avoyde this inconvenience, for, without first cutting out this dangerous custome, it semeth hard to plant any found ordinance, or reduce them to a civill goverment, since all ther evil customes are permitted unto them.

Iren. Surely nothing hard: for by this act of parlament wherof we speake, nothing was given to King Henry, which he had not before from his auncestors, but onely the bare name of a King: for all other absolute power of principallity he had

l. 330, 'for' is miswritten 'but' in our MS. l. 350, 'of.'
in him self before derived from many former Kings, his famous progenitours, and worthy conquerors of that land, the which since they first conquered and by force subdued vnto them, what nede he afterward to enter into any such idle tearmes with them to be called ther King, when as it is in the power of the Conqueror to take upon him self what title he will over his dominions conquered: for all is the conquerors, as Tully to Brutus sayth: and therefor me femes in stead of so great and meritorious a service, as they boast they performed to the King, in bringing all the Irish to acknowledg him for ther liege, they did great hurt to his title, and have left a perpetuall gall in the mind of that people, who before being absolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed but with tearmes whereas both ther lives, ther lands, and their liberties were in his fre power to appoynt what tenures, what lawes, what condicions he would over them, which were all his: against which ther could be no rightfull assifstance, or if there were, he might, when he would, establifh them with stronger hand.

Eudox. Yea, but perhaps it semed better vnto that noble King to bring them by ther owne accord to his obedience, and to plant a peaceable goverment amongst them, then by such violent means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he therby loft any thing that he formerly had: for having al before absolutely in his owne power, it remayneth so still, he having neither forgiven nor forgon any thing therby vnto them, but having received something

l. 374, 'wheras els': l. 378, 'resistance': l. 383, 'keepe': l. 386, 'still vnto him.'
from them, that is a more voluntary and loyall subjektion. So as her Majestie may yet, when it shall please her, alter any thing of thos former ordinances, or appoynt other lawes, that may be more both for her own behoofe, and for the good of that poeple.

Iren. Not fo: for it is not fo easy, now that things are growne into an habit and have ther certaine course, to change the channell, and turne ther streames an other way; for they may have now a collourable pretence to withstand such innovafion, having accepted of other lawes and rules alredy.

Eudox. But you say that they do not accept of them but delight rather to leane to the ould cuftomes and Brehon lawes, though they be much more vnjuft, and also more inconvenient for the common poeple, as by your late relacon of them I gathered. As for the lawes of England, they are surely moft juft and moft agreeable both with the goverment and with the nature of the poeple: how falls it out then, that you fene to dislike of them, as not fo meete for that realme of Ireland, and not onely the common law, but also the statutes and acts of parlament, which were specially provided and intended for the onely benefit thereof?

Iren. I was about to have tould you my reacon therein, but that you your self drew me away with other queftions, for I was shewing you by what means, and in what fort, the positive lawes were first brought in and eftablished by the Norman Conqueror: which were not by him devised, nor applyed to the state of the realme then being, nor as it might beft be, (as shou'd by lawgivers be principally regarded,)
but were indeed the very lawes of his owne country of Normandy: the condicon wherof, how far it differeth from this of England, is apparent to every leaft judgment. But to transfer the same lawes for the governing of the realme of Ireland, was much more inconvenient and unmete: for he found a better advantage of the time, then was in the planting of them in Ireland, and followed the execution of them with more severity, and was also present in perfon to overloke the magiftrates, and to over awe 430 the subjefts with the terror of his fword, and countenance of his Majeftie. But not fo in Ireland: for they were otherwife effected, and yet not fo remayned, fo as the fame lawes, me femes, can ill fit with their disposicion, or work that reformacon that is wished: for lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and condicons of the people, to whom they are ment, and not to be impfed upon them according to the simple rule of right: for then, as I fayd, in stead of good they may worke ill, and pervert 440 justice to extreame injustice: for he that would transfer the lawes of the Lacedemonians to the poele of Athens should find a great abfurdiety and inconvenience: for those lawes of Lacedemon were devifed by Licurgus, as moft proper and beft agreeing with that people, whom he knew to be inclined altogether to warrs, and therefore wholy trayned them up even from ther cradles in armes and military exercifes, cleane contrary to the institution of Solon, who, in his lawes to the Athenians labored by all 450

1. 428, 'Ireland' miswritten 'England' in our MS.: 1. 433, 'affected'; ib., 'dor.'
means to temper ther warlike courages with swete delights of learning and scienfes, so that as much as the one excelled in armes, the other exceded in knowledg: the like regard and moderation ought to be had in tempering and menaging of this stubbourn nation of the Irifh, to bring them from their delight of licenfious barbarisme unto the love of goodnesse and civillity.

Eudox. I cannot se how that may better be then by the discipline of the lawes of England: for the 46th English were, at first, as stoute and war like a poeple as ever were the Irifh, and yet ye se are now brought to that civillity, that no nacon in the world excelleth them in all godly converfacon, and all the studies of knowledg and humanity.

Iren. What they now be, both you and I se very well, but by how many thorny and hard wayes they are come therunto, by how many civill broyles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazard[ed] often times the whole safety of the kingdome, may 47th easily be considered: all which they neverthelesse fairely overcame, by reason of the continewall presence of the King, whos onely perfor is oftentimes in stead of an army, to contayne the unruly poeple from a thousand evil occasions, which that wretched kingdome, is for want therof daily carried into. The which when they do make head, no lawes, no penal- ties can restraine, but that they do in the violence of that fury, tread doune and trample under foote all both divine and humane things, and the lawes them- 48th selves they do specially rage at, and rend in peces, as

l. 479, 'theyr.'
most repugnant to ther liberty and naturall fredome, which in ther madness they effect.

_Eudox._ It is then a very unseasonable time to plead law, when swords are in the hands of the vulgare, or to thinck to retaine them with seare of punishments when they loke after liberty, and shake of all goverment.

_Iren._ Then so it is with Ireland continually, for the sword was never yet out of ther hand, but when they are weary with warrs, and brought doune to extreme wretchednesse, then they creepe a little perhaps, and fewe for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered stregth againe: so as it is in vaine to speake of planting of lawes, and plotting of pollicies, till they be altogether subdued.

_Eudox._ Were they not so at the first conquering of them by Strangbowe, in the time of King Henry the secong? was ther not a thorowe way then made by the sword, for the imposif of the lawes upon them? and were they not then executed with such mighty hand as you fayd was used by the Norman Conqueror? What ods is there then in this cafe? why shold not the fame lawes take as good effect in that poeple, as they did here, being in like fort prepared by the sword, and brought under by extremity? and why shold it not continew in as good force and vigor for the contayning of the poeple?

_Iren._ The cafe yet is not like, but ther apperes great odds betwene them; for by the conquest of Henry the second, trw it is that the Irish were utterly vanquished and subdued, so as no enemy was
able to hould up head against his powre: in which there weakenesse he brought in his lawes, and setted them as now they ther remaine, like as William the Conqueror did: so as in thus much they agre, but in the rest, that is in the chiefeft, they varie: for to whom did King Henry the second impose thos lawes, not to the Irish, for the most part of them fled from his power into deserts and moun-520 taines, leaving the wide country to the conqueror, who in their stead efftones placed English men, who possessed all the land and did quite shut out the Irish, or the most part of them: And to thofe new inhabitants and Colonies he gave his lawes, to wete, the same lawes under which they were born and bred, the which it was not difficulte to place amongeft them, being formerly well entred therunto: unto whom afterward ther repayred divers of the pore distresse poeple of the Irish for succor 530 and reliefe: of whom such as they thought fit for labor, and / industriouflie disposed, as the most part of theire bauer fort are, they received unto them as theire vassalls, but scarcelie vouchefaed to imparte unto them the benefite of those lawes, vnnder which them selves lived, but everie one made his will a comandment and a lawe unto his owne vassall. Thus was not the lawe of England ever properlie applied unto the Irish nacon, as by a purpoffe plott of goverment, but as they could insynuate and steale 540 them selves under the fame by theire humble carriage and submifion.

Eudox. Howe comes it then to passe, that havinge

l. 528, 'inured': ll. 536-7, 'will and commandment a lawe.'
Present State of Ireland.

ben once so lowe brought, and, thoroughlie subjected they afterwards lifted them selves so stronglie agayne, and sithence doe stand stiffe against all rule and governement?

Iren. They saie that they contynued in that lowlynesse untill the time that the division betwene the houses of Lancaster and Yorke arose for the crowne of England: At which tyme all the greate English lords and gentlemen which had greate possesions in Ireland, repaired over hither into England, to succor their ffrendes here and to strengthen their partie for to obtene the crowne: others to defend there landes and possesions against suche as hovered after the same uppon hope of the alteracon of the kingdome, and successe of that side which they favored and effecte. Then the Irishe whom they before had banished into the mountaynes, where they lived onlie uppon white meates, as it is recorded: seeing nowe there so dispeopled land weakened, came downe into all the playnes adjoyninge, and thence expellinge those fewe Englishe that remained, reposessite them agayne; synce whych tyme they have remayned in them, and growinge greater, have brought under them many of the Englishe, which were before their lords. This is one of the occasions by which all those countries which, lyinge nere unto any mountaynes or Irishe deferts, which had bin planted with Englishe, were shortlie displanted and loft. As namelie in Mounster, all the landes adjoyninge unto Slowlougher, Arlo, and the
bogg of Allon. In Connaght, all the Countries borderinge uppon the Culvers; Montroo, and Orourkes countrie. In Leinster all the landes neighboring unto the mountaynes of Glanmulls, unto Shellelagh, unto the Briskbagh, and Poulmont. In Ulster, all the countries nere unto Tirconnell, Tyronne, and Hertellagh, and the Scottes.

Eudox. Surelie this was a greate violence: but yett by your speche it semeth that onlie the Countrie and vallies nere adioyninge unto those mountaynes and desertes, were thus recovered by the Irishe: but howe comes it nowe that wee see almost all that Realme repossed of them? Was there any more fuche evill occasions growinge by the troubles of England? or did the Irishe, out of thes places so by them gotten, breake further and stretche them selves out thorough the whole land? But nowe for ought that I can understond, there is no parte but the bare English pale, in which the Irishe have not the greatest footing.

Iren. Bothe out of thes smale begynnynges by them gotten nere to the mountaynes, did they spreade them selves into the Inland Countrie; and also, to theire further advantage, there did other like unhappie accidentes happen out of England, which gave harte and good opportunitye to them to regayne theire olde posseffions. Ffor in the reigne of Kinge Edward the fourth, thinges remayned yet in the same state that they were after the late breakinge out of the Irishe, which I spake of: And that noble
Prince began to cast an eye unto Ireland, and to mynde the refermacon of things there rune amisse: for he sent over his brother the worthie Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of Larie, and by her having all the Erledome of Ulfter, and moche in Meathe and in Mounfter, verie carefullie went about the redressinge of those late evills: and though he could not beate out the Irifhe agayne, by reaſon of his shorte contynuance, yet he did shutt them upp within those narrowe corners and glennes under the mountayne foote, in which they lurked, and soe kept them from breaking any further, by buildinge strang holdses uppon everie border, and fortifyinge all passages: Amongeft the which he built the castle of Clare in Thomond: of which Countrie he had the inheritance, and of Mortymers landes adjoyninge, which is nowe by the Irifhe, called Killalowe. But the tymes of that good Kinge growinge troublefome, did lett the thorowe reformacon of all things. And thereunto foone after was added another fatall mischeife, which wrought a greater calamitie then all the former. For the saide Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lieftenant of Ireland, was by practize of evill perfons about the Kinge his brother, called thence awaye: and soone after by fynifter meanes was cleane made awaye. Presentlie after whose death all the North revoltinge, did fett up Oneale for theire Capten, beinge before that of male power and regard: and there arose in that parte of Thomond, one of the

l. 607, 'Earle of Ulfter': l. 614, in our MS. 'they lurked ... further' has got misplaced.
O-Bryens, called Murrogh en ranagh, that is, Morrys of the ffarme, or waffe wylde places: who, gatheringe unto him all the relics of the discontented Irishe, extones surprised the said Castle of Clare, burnt and spoyled all the Englishe there dwellinge, and in short space possessed all the countrie beyonde the river of Shenan and nere adjoyning: whence shortlie 640 breakinge forth like a sudden tempest, he overran all Mounster and Connaught, breakinge downe all the holdes and fortresses of the Englishe, defacinge and utterlie subvertinge all corporate Townes that were not stronglie walled: for those he had no meanes nor engynes to overthrowe, neither indeede, would he stay at all about them, but speedilie ran forwarde, counting his suddenes his most vantage, that he might overtake the Englishe / before they could fortifie or gather them selves together. So 650 in short tyme he cleane wyped out many greate townes, as frst in Chegin, the Killalowe, before called Clarryfort, afterward Tharles, Mourne, Buttevant, and many others, viz. [blank of nearly a line] whose names I can not remember, and of some of which there is nowe no memorie nor signe remainning. Upon report whereof there flocked unto him all the scume of the Irishe out of all places, that ere longe he had a mightie army, and thence marched forth into Lynster, where he wrought greate 660 outrages, waitinge and spoylinge all the Countrie where he went: sfor it was his pollicie to leave no holde behinde him, but to make all playne and

1. 635, 'Fearne': l. 640, 'Shannon': l. 648, 'accounting': l. 651, 'spate': l. 652, 'Inshquinn': l. 653, 'Thurles.'
waste, In the which he sone after created himselfe Kinge, and was called Kinge of all Ireland; which before him I doe not reade, that any did so generallie, but onelie Edwarde lee Bruce.

_Eudox._ What, was there ever any generall Kinge of all Ireland? I never heard it before, but that it was alwaies, whileft it was under the Yrishe, devided into fower, and sometymes into five king-domes or dominions. But this Edward lee Bruce, what was he, that he could make him selfe Kinge of all Ireland?

_Iren._ I would tell you, that in case you would not challenge me for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is, the inconvenience and unfitness which I supposed to be in the lawes of the land.

_Eudox._ No surelie I have no caufe, for neither is this impertyennent thereunto; for ifthence you did sett your corfe, as I remember, in your first parte, to treate of the evills which hindereth the peace and good orderinge of that land, amongst which that of the inconvenience of the lawes was the first which you had in hand, this discorsce of the overrunninge and waftinge of the realme is verie materiaall there unto, for that it was the begynnyng of other evills, which ifthence I have afflictéd that land, and opéned a way unto the Yrishe to recover there possession, and to beate out the Englishe which had formerlie wonne the same. And besides, it will give greate light both unto the seconde and third parte, which is the redressinge of those evills, and plantinge of some good forme or policie therin, by renewinge the...

1. 666, 'remember': 1. 676, 'alone': 1. 679, 'occasion': 1. 687, 'all'
remembrance of those occasions and accidentes, by which those ruynes hapned, and layinge before us the enamples of those tymes, to be compared with ours and to be rewarded by those which shall have to doe in the like. Therefore I praye yow, tell them unto us, and as for the point where you lefte, I will not forgett afterwaides to call you backe agayne thereunto.

Iren. This Edward le Bruche, was the brother of King Roberte lee Bruce, who was Kinge of Scotland att such tyme as King Edwarde the second reigned here in England, and bare a most malicious and spitefull mynde against King Edwarde, doinge him all the scathe he could, and annoyinge his territories of England, whilest he was troubled with civill warres of his Barons att home. He also, to worke him the more mischeife, sent over his said brother Edwarde, with a power of Scottes and Red-shankes into Ireland, where, by meanes of the Lacies and of the Iriſhe with whom they combyned, they gott footinge, and gatheringe unto him all the scatterly[n]s and outlawes out of all the woodes and mountayne, in which they longe had lurked, marched forth into the English pale, which then was cheiflie in the North, from the point of Dunlace, and beyonde unto Dublyn: havinge in the middeſt of her Knock-fergus; Beſfaſt; Armagh; Carlingforde, which are nowe the moſt out-boundes and abandoned places in the Engliſhe pale, and some no parte thereof at all: for it stretcheth nowe noe further then Dundalke towards the North. There the said Edward lee

l. 698, 'warned': l. 708, 'hurt.
Bruce spoyled and burnt all the old English pale, putting to the f worde all the English inhabitantes, and facked and raced all Cytties and corporate Townes, no leffe/ then Murro en Ranagh, of whom I earf tolde you: for hee wafted Belfast, Greene 730 castell, Kiells, Beltalbott, Castletowne, Newtowne, and many other verie good townes and stronge holdes: he rooted out the noble families of the Audleys, the Talbottes, the Tutchites, the Chamberlynes, the Mandevilles, and the Salvages, though of the Lord Salvage there remayne yet an heire, that is nowe a verie poore gentleman dwellinge at the Ardes. And cominge lafflie to Dundalke, he there made him felfe Kinge and rained by the space of one whole yere, by the name of Edwarde kinge of Ireland, untill that Kinge Edwarde of England, havinge sett some quiett in his affaires at home, sent over the lord John Bermingham to be Generall of the warres against him, who, encountringe him nere to Dundalke, overthrew his armye, and flewe him self, and presentlie followed the victorie so hotlie upon his Scottes, that he suffred them not to staye, or gather them selves togetheer agayne, untill they came to the sea coaft. Notwythstandinge, all the waies as they fledd, for verie rancor and difpight, they utterlie wafted and consumed whatsoever they had before left unspoiled; so that of all townes and castells, fortess, and bridges and habitacons, he left not any f lkt stanging, nor any people remayninge: for thofe fewe, which yett survived, fledd fro his

l. 737, 'of verie meane condition' not in our MS. here: l. 743, 'Bremingham': l. 747, 'breathe': l. 753, 'they'.

furye further into the English pale that nowe is. Thus was all that godlie Countrie utterlie wafted and left defolate. And as [it] yet remayneth to this daie, which before had ben the cheife ornament and beautie of Ireland. For that parte of the northe 76 fometyme was as populous and plentifull as any parte in England, and yelded unto the kinges of England, as yett appareth by good recordes, thirtie thowfand markes of olde money by the peece, beside many thowfand of able men to serve them in their warres. Suer it is yett a moft bewtifull and sweete Country as any is under heaven, seamed thoroughout with many godlie rivers, replenished with all fortis of fishe moft abundtantlie : sprinkled with verie many sweete Ilandes and goodlie lakes, like litle inland seas, that 7; will carrie even shippes uppon theire waters, adorned with goodlie woodes, fitt for buildinge of house and shipes, fo commodiouslie, as that if some princes in the world had them, they would foone hope to be lorde of all the seas, and er longe of all the worlde: also full of verie good portes and havens openinge upp 58 England [and] Scotland, as invitinge us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that Countrie can afforde, besides the soyle it selfe moft fertile, fitt to yelde all kynde of fruit thatshalbe committet 7 there unto. And laftlie the heavens moft milde and temperate, though somewhat more moyste then the partes towards the West.

Eudos. Truly Irenius, what with the prayses of your countrie, and what with the lamentable Dysolucon thereof made by those ragtailes in

1. 764, 'yeare': 1. 785, 'deolution.'
Scotland, you have fylled me with a greate compassion of theire calamities, that I doe moch pittie that sweet land, to be subject to so many evills, as everie daie I see more and more thrown upon her, and doe halfe begynne to thinke, that it is, as you fai'd at the begynnyng, her fatall misfortune, above all countries that I knowe, to be thus miferablee toffed and turmoiled with theis variable stormes of afflictions: But fynce wee are thus far entred into the consideracon of her mishappes, tell me, have there ben any more such tempestes, as you terme them, wherein she hath thus wretchedlie ben wracked?

_Iren._ Verie many more, god wot, have there ben, in which her principall partes have ben torne a funder, but none that I can remember, so univerfall as thefe. And yet the rebellion of Thomas fitzGarrett did well nighe stretche it felf into all partes of Ireland. But that, which was in the tyme of the government of the Lord Gray, was furelie no leffe generall then all theis; for there was no part free from the contagion, but all confpired in one to caft off theire subjeccion to the Crowne of England. Nevertheles, thorough the moft wise and valiant handlinge of that right noble Lord, yt got not that head which the former evills found; for in them the Realme was left, like a shipp in a storme amidst all the ragine surges, unruled and undirected of any: for they to whom she was committed either fainted in their labor, or forfooke theire charge. But he, like a moft wise pilott, kept her corfe carefullie, and helde

1, 804, *Fitz Gerrald,*
her mofte ftronglie againft thofe roaringe billowes, 
that he brought her favelie out of all; fo as longe 
after, even by the space of xij or xiiij yeres, the rode 820 
at peace, thorough his onlie paynes and excellent 
endurance, how ever envye lift to blatter againft 
him. But of this wee shall have more occacon to 
speake at an other tyme: now (if it pleafe you) lett 
us return agayne unto our firt corfe.

Eudox. Trulie I am verie glad to heare your judge-
ment of the governement of that honourable man fo 
foundlie; fflor I have heard it oftentymes maligned, 
and his doinges depraved of some, who, I perceyve, 
did rather of malicious mynde, or private greevance, 830 
feeke to detract from the honor of his deedes and 
counfells, then of any just caufe: but he was never-
theles, in the judgement of all good and wise men, 
defended and maynteyned. And nowe that he is 
dead, his immortal fame surviveth, and flourifheth in 
the mouthes of all the peple, that even thofe which 
did backbite him, are choked with their owne 
venom, and breake their galls to heare his fo 
honorable report: But lett him reft in peace, and 
turne wee to oure more troublous matters of 840 
Difcourfe, of which I am right forie that you make 
fo fhort an end, and covet to paffe over to your 
former purpose; for thare be many other partes of 
Ireland, which I have hearde have ben no leffe 
vexed with the like stormes, then theis of which you 
have treated. As the Countrie of the Byrnes and 
Tooles aere Dublyn, with the infolent outrage and 
spoyles of feagh mā Hugh, the countries of Carlo,
Wexforde, and Waterforde, of the Cavenaghes: The countries of Leix, Kilkenny, and Kildare, of 850 the Moores. The countries of Offalie, Meath and Langford, of the Conhours. The countries of Westmeath, Cavan, and Louth, of the O Relyses, the Kellies, and many others. So as the discoursing of them, besides the pleasure which should redound out of your historie, be alfo verie profittable for matter of policye.

Iren. All these which you have named, and many more besides, often tymes have I right well knowne, to kyndle greatlye fyres of tumultuous troubles in 860 the countries bordering uppon them. All which to rehearse should rather be to Chronicle tymes, then to seareche into the reformacon of abusfes in that Realme: and yet verie nedefull it wilbe to consider them, and the evills which they have stirred upp, that some redresse thereof, and preventcon of the evills to come, may thereby rather be devysed. But I suppofe wee shall have a fitter opportunity for the same, when wee shall speake of the particulr abusfes and enormities of the governement, which wilbe next 870 after these generall defectes and inconveniences, which I said were in the lawes, customes, and religion.

Eudox. Goe to them in gods name, and followe the course which yee have purposed to your selfe, for yt fitteth / beft I muft confesse with the purpose of our discore. Declare your opynion, as you begon, about the lawes of the Realme, what inconmoditie you have conceived to be in them, chiefly in the comon

1. 849, 'Kevanaghs': l. 850, 'Leis': l. 860, 'broyles': l. 873, 'Goe to then a Godes name': l. 874, 'promised.'
lawe, which I would have thought most free from all such dislike.

Iren. The common lawe is, as I before said, of it selfe most rightfull and verie convenient, I suppose, for the kingdom for which it was first devised; for this, I thinke, as ye seems reasonable, that out of the manners of the people, and abuses of the crountries, for which they were invented, they tooke there firsst begynninge, for else they shoule be most unjust: for no lawes of man, accordinge to the straight rule of right, are just, but as in regard of the evills which they prevent, and the safetie of the common weale which they provide for. As for example, in the true ballancinge of Justice, it is a flacte wrong to punishe the thought or purpose of any, before it be enacted: for true justice punisheth nothing but the evilacte or wycked worde; yet by the lawes of all kingdomes it is a capitall cryme, to devise or purpose the death of the King: the reason is, for that when such a purpose is effecte, it shoule be to late to devise of the punishement thereof, and shoule turne that common-weale to more hurt by fuche losse of their Prince, then fuche punishement of the malefactors. And therefore the lawe in that case punisheth his thought: for better is a mischeif, then an inconvenience. So that justicia politica, though it be not of it selfe just, yet by applicacon, or rather neceffitie, it is made just; and this only respect maketh all lawe just. Nowe then, if these lawes of Ireland be not likewise applied and fitted for that Realme, they are sure verie inconvenient.

Eudox. You reafton strongelie: but what unfitness
doe you fynde in them for that Realme? shewe us some particulars.

_Iren._ The cohn lawe appointeth that all trialls, aswel of crymes as titles and ryghtes, shall be made by verdict of Jurye, choosen out of the honestifft and most substanckall free-holders: Nowe, all the free-holders of that Realme are Irifhe, which when the cause shall fall betwene an Irifhe man and an Englyshe, or betwene the Quene and any free-holder of that countrye, they make no more scruple to passe against the Englysheman, or the Quene, though it bee to strayne their oathes, then to drinke milke unstrayned. So that before the Jury goe togetheer, it is all to nothing what their verdict will be. The tryall thereof have I so often seen, that I dare confidentlie avouche the abuse thereof: Yet is the lawe of it selfe, as I said, good; and the fyrst institucon thereof being given to all Englyshe-men verie rightfull, but nowe that the Yrifhe have stepped into the rowmes of the Englyshe, who are nowe become so hedefull and provident to keepe them forth from thensforth, that they make no scruple of conscience to passe against them, it is good reason that either that corse of the Lawe for trialls be altered, or other provisjon for Juries be made.

_Eudox._ In soothe, Iren: you have discovered a point worth the consideracon; for hereby not onelie the Englyshe subject fyndeth no indifferencie in decidinge of his cause, be it never so just; but also the Quene, aswel in all pleas of the crowne, as also for all inquiries for escheate; landes attainted,
wardshipps, concealementes, and all suche like, is abused, and exceedinglie dammaged.

_Iren._ You / saie verie true; for I dare undertake, that at this daie there are more attainted landes, concealed from her Majestie, then she hathe possession in all Ireland: and that is no smale Inconveniencie: for, besides that she loseth so moche land as should turne ther to her greate proffitt, she besides loseth so many good subjectes, which might be assured 950 to her, as those landes would yeilde inhabitantes and living unto.

_Eudox._ But does that people, saie you, make no moer conscience to perjuer them selves in there verdicthes, and to dampne there fowles?

_Iren._ Not onelie so in there verdicthes, but also in all other there dealinges, speciallie with the English, they are most wilfullie bent: for though they will not sene manifestlye to doe it, yet will some one or other subtile headed fellowe amongst them, pick some quirk, or devyse some subtil evaision, whereof the rest will lightlie take hold of, and suffer them selves easilie to be ledd by him to that them selves desirde: for in the moost apparant matter that can be, the least question or doubt that can be moved, will make stop unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides that, of them selves, they are for the moost parte, so cautelous and wylie headed, especiallie beinge men of so smale experience and præctize in lawe matters, that you 977 would wonder whence they borrowe suche subtilties and flye shiftes.

_Eudox._ But mee thinke, this inconvenience might
be moche helped in the judges and cheif majestrates which have the choosinge and nominatinge of those Jurors, yf they would have care to appoint either moft Englishe, or suche yrifhemen as were of the sowndest disposition; for wee dowbt not but some there bee incorruptible.

_Iren._ Some there be in dede as you saie; but then woulde the Irifhe partie cry out of partialitie, and complayne he hathe not Justice, he is not usfed as a subject, he is not suffered to have the free benefit of the lawe: And theis outcryes the majes-trates there doe moche shunne, as they have cause, synce they are so reddelie harkened unto here; neither can it indede, although the Irifhe partie would be content to be so compassed, that such englishe freeholders, which are but fewe, and suche faithful yrifhemen, which are in dede as fewe, shall alwaies be chozen for trialls: for beinge so fewe, they shoulde sone be made wareie of theire free-holdes. And therefore a good care is to be had by all good occasions to encrease theire nomber, and to plant more by them. But were it so that the Juries could bee picked out of suche choise men as you desire, there would nevertheless be as bad a corrupcon in the triall: for the evidence beinge brought in by the base Irifhe people, will be as deceitfull as the verdifles: for they care muche leffe then the others what they sweare, and sure theire lorde may compell them to saie any thing: for my self have heard, when one of that base fort, which they call charles, being challenged, and re-

l. 976, 'juries' : l. 978, 'judgements and.'
proved for his false oath, have answered confidentially, that his lord commanded him, and that it was the least thing he could do for his lord, to swear for him: so inconscionable are their common people, and so little feeling have they of god, or their own fowles good.

Eudox. It is a most miserable case: but what helpe can there be in this? for though the manner of the triall should be altered, yet the proofs of every thinge, must needs be by testimonies of such persons as the parties shall produce: which if they shall corrupt, hower can there any light of truth appear? what remedy is there for this evil, but to make heavie lawes and penalties against jurors?

Iren. I thinke sure that will doe male good; for when a people are inclinde to any vice, or have no towche of conscience, nor fence of their evil doinge, yt is booteles to thinke to restrayne them by any penalties or feare of punishment; but either the occasion is to be taken auaie, or a more understandinge of the right, or shame of the fault is to be imprinted: For if Lycurgus should have made it death for the Lacedemonians to steale, they being a people which naturallie delighted in stealth, or if it should be made a capitall cryme for the Flemminges to be taken in drunkennes, there should have been fewe Lacedemonians soone left, and fewer Flemminges: so unpossible it is to remove any fault so general in a people, with terror of lawes or more sharpe restrainettes.

Eudox. What means may there be then to

1. 1033, 'moi.'
avoide this inconvenience? for the cause sure femes verie harde.

_Iren_. Wee are not yet come to that point to devyse remedies for the evills, but onlie have nowe to recompt them; of the which, this that I have told you is one defect in the coñon Lawe.

_Eudox_. Tell us then, I praie you further, have you any more of this forte in the coñon Lawe?

_Iren_. By reherfall of this, I remember alfo of an other like, which I have often observed in trialls to have wrought greate hurt and hinderance, and that is, the excepons which the coñon Lawe alloweth a fellon in his triall: for he may have, as you knowe, xxxvj excepons peremptorye against the Jurors, of which he shall shewe no caufe, and as many as he will of suche, as he can shew caufe. By which shifte there being, as I have shewed you suche smale store of honest Jurie men, he will either put of his triall, or drive it to suche men as perhaps are not of the fowndeft forte, by whose meane, yf he can acquire him self of the cryme, as he is likelie, then will he plage suche as were brought first to be of his jury, and all suche as made any partie against him, and when he comes forth, will make theire cowes and garrons to walke, yf he doe not other mischeif to theire perfons.

_Eudox_. This is a flye device, but I thinke might fone bee remedied: but wee must leave it a while with the rest: in the meane tyme doe you goe forward with others.

_Iren_. There is an other no leffe inconvenient then
this, which is for the triall of accessaries to felony: 
for, by the common Lawe, the accessarie can not be 
proceeded against till the principall have receyved 
his triall. Nowe the cafe often falleth in Ireland, 1071 
that a stealth beinge made by a rebell, or an outlawe, 
the stolen goodes are conveyed to some husband-
man or gente, which hath well to take to, and yet 
liveth most by the receipt of suche stealthes, where 
they are found by the owner, and handled: where-
upon the partie perhaps is apprehended and 
comitted to gaole, or putt uppon fuerties, till the 
Sessiones, at which the owner, preferring a bill of 
Indictment, proveth sufficiently the stealth to have 
ben comitted vppon him by suche an outlawe, and 1086 
to have ben found in the possession of the prifoner, 
against whom, nevertheless, no cause of Lawe can 
proceede, nor triall can be had, for that the principall 
theife is not to be gotten, notwithstanding that he 
likewise, standeth perhaps indicted at once with the 
receyver, beinge in rebellion, or in the woodes, where 
peradventure he is slayne before hee is taken, and so 
the receivior cleane acquited and discharged of the 
cryme. By which means the theeves are gratefull 
encoraged to steale, and theire mainteyners imboldned 1091 
to receive theire stealthes, knowing howe hardlie they 
can be brought to any triall of lawe.

_Eudox._ Trulie this is a greate inconveniencie, and 
a greate cause, as you saie, of the maintenance of 
theeves, knowinge theire receivors alwaies readie; 
for, would there be no receivors, there woulde be no
theeves. But this, me femes, might easeli be pro-
vided for by some act of Parliament, that the receiver,
beinge convicted by good proofes, might receive his
triall without the Principall.

Iren. You faie verie true, Eudox: but that is
almost impossiible to be compassed. And herein also
you discouer an other imperfection in the course of
the coomon Lawe, and first ordynance of the Realme;
for you knowe that the saied Parliament must confi
of the peeres, gentlemen, freeholders, and burgesses of
that Realme it selfe. Nowe theis beinge perhappes
them selves, or the most parte of them (as maye seeme
by theire stif with-standinge of this act) culpable
of this cryme, or favorers of theire friendes, which
are suche by whom theire kitchins are sometymes
amended, will not suffer any suche statute to passe.
Yet hathe it oftentymes ben attempted, and in the
tyme of Sir John Perrott verye earnestlie, I remember,
labored, but by no meanes could be effecte: And
not onelie this, but many other like, which are as
nedefull for the reformacon of that Realme.

Eudox. This also is surelie a great defect, but wee
maye not talke, you faie, of the redreffing of this,
untill our seconde parte come, which is purpofelye
appointed thereunto. Therefore procede to the
recountinge of moe suche evilles, ye at leaft ye have
any more.

Iren. There is also a greate inconvenience which
hath wrought greate dammadge both to her Majeftie,
and to that Common wealth, through close and
collorable conveyances of the landes and goodes of
Traytours, fellons, and fugitives: as, when one of
them myndeth to goe into rebellyon, he will convey away all his landes and Lordships to seoffes in trust, whereby he reserueth to himselfe but a state for terme of lief, which beinge determined either by the sword or by the haulter, theire Lande streighte cometh to the heire, and the queene is defrauded of the intent of the Lawe, which layed that grivous punishment upon Traytors to forfeite all theire landes to the Prince, to the ende that men might be the rather terrified from comyttinge treasons: for many which would little esteeme theire owne lyves, yet for remorfe of theire wyves and children, shoule bee withhelde from that haynesous cryme. This appeared playnelie in the late Earle of Desmond; for before his breakinge forth into open rebellyon, he hade conveyed secreteleie all his landes to seoffes of trust, in hope to have cutt of her Majeftie from the escheate of his landes.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well ynoynghe avoyded; for the acte of Parliament which gave all his landes to the queene did, (as I have hearde,) cutt of and frustrate all suche conveyaunces, as had any tyme, by the space of xii yeres before his rebellyon, bene made: within the Compasfe whereof, that fraudulent feoffement, and many other the like of his accomplishies and fellow-Traytors, were contayned.

Iren. Very true, but howe hardlie that acte of Parliament was wronge out of them, I cann wytnes: and were yt to be compassed againe, I dare undertake it would never be compassed. But were yt foe
that such actes might easilie be brought to passe against Traytors and fellons, yet were yt not an endless trouble, that no Traytor nor fellon should be attaynted, but a Parliament must be called for bringinge his landes to the queene, which the Coñon Lawe geveth her.

Eudox. Then this is no faulte of the Comon Lawe, but of the perfons which worke this fraud to her Majestie.

Iren. Yes marie, for the Coñon Lawe hath left them this benefitt, whereof they make advantage, and wret yt to theire bad purposes. Soe as they are thereby the bolder to enter into evill accons, knowinge that yt the worste befall them, they shall loose nothinge but themselves, whereof they seeme surely verye careles, like as all barbarous people, as Cæfar in his Commentaries sayth, are very fearles of death.

Eudox. But what meane you of fugitives herein? or how doth this concerne them?

Iren. Yes, very greatly: for yee shall understand that there be many ill disposed and undutiful perfons of that Realme, like as in this pointe there are alfo in the Realme of England, too many, which beinge men of good inheritance, are for the dislike of religion, or danger of the law into which they are run, or discontent of the present government, fled beyond the seas, where they lyue under Princes, that are her Majesties professed Enemies, and conuerse and are confederate with other Traytors and fugitives which are there abidinge. The which nevertheless have the benefitt and profites

Il. 1174-5, 'as Cæfar . . . sayth' not in our MS. ; Il. 1182-4. 'dislike . . . of the' (2nd) not in MS.
of their landes here, by pretence of suche cullorable conveyances thereof, formerlie made by them to their pryvie frendes here in truft, whose secretly fende over unto them the faide revenewes, wherwith they are there mayntayned and enabled against her Majestie.

Eudox. I doe not thinke that there bee any succh fugitives which are releeved by the profitt of their lands in England: for there is a straigther order taken. And yt there bee any succh in Ireland, yt were good yt were likewise looked unto: for this evill may easelie be remedied: but proceede.

Iren. Yt is also inconvenient in the Realme of Ireland, that the wardedes and marriagdes of gentlemens Children should be in the dispositicon of any of these Irish Lords, as nowe they are, by reason that theire landes are helde by knightes service of thosse Lords, as now they are. By which meanes yt cometh to passe, that thosse faide gentlemens children, being thus in the warde of thosse Lords, are not only thereby brought up lewdlie, and Irish like, but also for ever after foe bounden to thire servies, as that they will runne with them into any disloyall accon.

Eudox. This grevance, Irenæus, is also complayned of in Ingland, but how can yt bee remedied? since the service must followe the tenure of the landes, and the landes were geven awaye by the Kingses of England to thosse Lords, when they first conquered that Realme: and to say the truth, this also woulde be some prejudice to the Prince in her Wardship.

Iren. I doe not meane this by the Princes warde,
but by suche as fall into the handes of the Irih Lordes: for I could wish and this I woulde enforce, that all those wardships were in the Princes disposicion; for then yt might be hooped, that she, for the univerfall reformacon of that realme, woulde take better order for the bringinge up of those wardships in good nourture, and not suffer them to come into so bad handes. And though thes thinges bee alreadie paffed awaye by her progenitors former graunts unto those said Lords, yet I coulde finde a 1230 way to remedie a greate parte thereof, as hereafter, when fytt tyme ferveth, shall appeare. And sinc we are entred into speache of such grauntes of former princes to sondrie perfons of that Realme of Ireland, I will mencon unto you some other, of like nature to this, and of like inconvenyence, by which the Kings of England passed unto them a greate parte of their prerogatyves; which though then yt were well intended, and perhappes well defered of them which receaved the same, yet nowe such a gapp 1240 of mischeife lyeth open thereby, that I could wifhe it weare stopped. Of this forte are the grauntes of the Countyes Palletynes in Ireland, which though at first were graunted upon good consideracon when they were first conquered, for that those lands lay then as a very border to the wylde Irih, subject to contynewall invasion, soe as yt was needefull to geve them greate pryviledges to the defence of the inhabitantes thereof; yet nowe that it is noe more a border but frontyerd with enemyes, whie should 1250 such priviledges be any more contynewed?

l, 1242, 'well stopped': l, 1247, 'is,' in our MS,
A VEUE OF THE

Eudox. I would gladlie knowe what you call a county Pallentyne, and whence yt is doe called.

Iren. Yt was as I suppose first named Pallatyne of a Pale, as yt were of a pale and defence to their innere landes, foe as now yt is called the English Pale, and thereof allso is a Palsgrave named, that is an Earle Palentyne. Others thincke of the Latyne, Palare, that is, to forage or outrune, because that marchers and borderers use commonly foe to doe. 126e Soe as to have a County Pallentyne is in effecte but to have a privileged to spoile the Enemies borders adjoyninge. And surely foe yt is ufed at this day, as a priviledged place of spoiles and stealthes; for the County of Typperarie, which is nowe the only county Pallentyne in Ireland, is, by abuse of some bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the rest of the Countrie about yt. By meanes of whole priviledges none will follow their stealthes, foe as yt, being satisfactory in the very Topp of all the land, is made 127e nowe a border, which how inconvenient yt is, let every man judge. And though that right noble man, that is the lord of that libertye, doe payne himselfe all that he may to yeilde equall Justice unto all, yet cann there not but greate abusues lurke in foe inward and absolute a priviledginge, consideracon whereof is to be respected carefully, for the next succession. And much like unto this graunte there are also other priviledges graunted unto moft of the Corporacons there; that they shal not be bounde to 128 any other goverment then their owne, that they shal not be charged with any garrifons, that they
Present State of Ireland.

shall not be be travaelled forth of their owne fran-
chises, that they may buye and fell with theves and
Rebelles, that all amercemêts and fynes which ñhalbe
ymposd upon them shall come unto themselves.
All which, though att the tyme of theire first graunte
they were tollerable, and perhapses reasonable, yet
nowe are most unreasonoble and inconvienent. But
all these will easilie be cutt of with the superior power 1290
of her Majestys prerogatyve, against which her owne
grauntes are not to be pleaded nor enforced.

Endox. Nowe truelie, Irenius, yee have meseemes,
very well handled this pointe touchinge incon
veniences in the Comon Lawe there, by you
observed; and yt seemeth that you have had a
myndefull regard unto the thinges that may concerne
the good of that Realme. And yf you cann afwell
goe through with the Statute Lawes of that lande,
I will thincke you have not loft all your tyme there. 1300
Therefore, I praye you, nowe take them to you in
hande and tell us what you thincke to bee amisse in
them.

Iren. The Statutes of that realme are not manie,
and therefore wee shal the sooner rume through
them. And yet of those fewe there are sondrie
impertinent and unnescessarie: the which perhapses
though at the tyme of the makinge of them were
very needefull, yet nowe through change of tyme
are cleane antiquated, and altogether idle: As that 1310
which forbiddeth any to weare theire beardes all on
theire upper lip, and none under the chynne, and
that which putteth away saffron shîrts and smockes,

1. 1310, ‘idle’ not in MS.
and that which restrayneth the usinge of guylte bridles and pettronells, and that which appointed to
the recorders and Clarkes of Dubline and Drodagh [= Drogheda], to take but ijd. for the Coppelie of a
playnte, and that which comauandeth bowes and
arrowes, and that which maketh that all Irishmene
that shall conuerse amonge the Englishe shalbe taken for spies, and foes punished, and that which forbiddeth perfons ameanable to lawe to enter and
distrayne in the lands in which they have tittle;
and many other the like which I could rehearfe.

Eudor. These, trulie, which you have repeated,
seeme very frowulous and fruitless; for by the breach
of them little dammage or inconvenience kann come
to the Comon-Wealth, nether, indeede, yf any trans-
gresse them, shal he seeme worthie of punishment,
scare of blame, savinge be that they abide by the names of lawes. But lawes ought to be suche, as
that the keepinge of them shoulde be greatlie for the behoofe of the Comon-Wealth, and the violatinge of them shoulde be very haynous, and sharply punishable. But tell us of some more weightie dislikes in the Statutes then these, and that may more behouefull importe the reformacon of them.

Iren. There is one or twoe statutes which make
the wrongfull destrayninge of any mans goods against
the forme of Comon Lawe to be fellony. The which statutes seeme furelie to have benn at firste meant
for the greate good of that Realme, and for restrayninge of a fowle abufe, which then raigned comonly amongst that people, and yet is not

1, 1330, 'saving for that they beare the name of lawes' not in our MS.
altogether layed aside; that when any one was indebted to another, he would first demand his debt, and, if he were not paid, he would freight his goe and take a distress of his goods or Cattell, where he could finde them, to the value: which he would keepe till he were satisfied, and this the simple 1350 Churle (as they call him) doth commonly use to doe yet, thorough ignorance of his mifdoing, or evill use that hath longe settled amongst them. But this, though it be sure most unlawfull, yet surely me seemes to hard to make it death, since there is no purpose in the partie to steale the others goods, or to conceale the distress, but doth yt openly, for the most parte before witnesses. And againe, the same statutes are foe slackelie pende, besides that latter of them is so vnseemlie contrayled that yt 1360 scarce carieh any reaon in yt, that they are often and very easiely wrested to the fraud of the subject; as yt one goinge to distress upon his land or Tenemente, where lawfully he may, yet yt in doinge thereof he transgres the leafe point of the Common Lawe, he freightlie commiteth fellonie. Or if one by any other occasion take any thing from another, as boyes use sometimes to cap one another, the same is straight fellony. This is a very hard lawe.

Eudox. Nevertheless the evill use of distressinge 1370 another mans goods, you will not deny but is to be abolished and taken awaye.

Iren. Yt is soe, but not by takinge awaye the subject withall; for that is to violent a medicine,
speciallie this use beinge permitted, and made lawfull
to some, and to other some, death. As to most of
the Corporate Townes there, it is graunted by theire
charter, that they may, every man by himselfe,
without an officer (for that were more tollerable)
for any debt, to diftrayne the goods of any Irifhe, 1380
beinge founde within theire liberty, or but passinge
through theire Townes. And the first permisfyon
of this was for that in those tymes when that graunt
was made, the Irifhe were not amefnable to lawe,
foe as yt was not faiftie for the Townesman to goe
to him forth to demand his debt, nor possiibe
drawe him into lawe, foe that he had leve to be
his owne bayliffe, to arrest his faide debtors goods
within his owne franchife. The which the Irif
feinge, thought yt as lawfull for them to diftrayne 1390
the Townefmans goods in the countrey where they
founde yt. And foe [by] enfample of that graunt to
Townes-men, they thought yt lawfull, and made yt
an use to diftrayne one anothers goods for female
debtes. And to say truth, me thinkes yt hard for
every tryflyng debt of 2 or 3s. to be dryven to lawe,
which is foe farre from them sometymes to be
sought; for which me thinkes yt were an heavy
ordinance to geve death, especially to a rude man
that is ignorant of Lawe, and thinketh a common use 1400
or graunt to other men a lawe for himselfe.

Eudox. Yea, but the Judge, when it commeth
before him to tryall, may easilie deffe this doubt, and
lay open the intent of the lawe by his better
difcrecon.

1. 1398, 'methinkes it an.
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

Iren. Yea, but yt is daingerous to leave the senfe of a lawe unto the reaason or will of Judges, whoe are men and may bee misercaryed by affecccons, and many other meanes. But the lawes ought to be like to sony tables, playne, stedaft, and ymmoveable. There is alfo suche another statute or twoe, which make Coigne or lyverye to bee treaason, no leffe inconvenient then the former, beinge, as yt is penned, howe ever the firtt purpose thereof were expedient; for thereby nowe noe man cann goe into anothers howfe for Lodginge, nor to his owne Tenants howfe to take viçtuall by the waye, notwithstandinge that there is no other meanes for him to have lodgings or horfe meate, nor mans meate, there beinge noe Innes, nor none otherwife to bee bought for money, but that he is indaingered to that Statute of Treason, whensoever he shall happen to falle out with his Tennant, or that his faid horfe lift to complaine of gревance, as oftentymes I have feene them very maliſhiouſlie doe thorowe the leaft provocacion.

Eudox. I doe not well knowe, but by gefs, what ye doe meane by these termes of Coigne and Lyverye: therefore I praye you explaine them.

Iren. I knowe not whether the worde be Engliſhe or Irifhe, but I suppoſe them rather to be auncyent Engliſhe, for the Iriſhemen cann make no deriwayne or analogie of them. What lyverie is, wee by Coſon uſe doe knowe well enough, that it is allowance of horſemeate, as commonly they uſe the word in ftabline, as to keepe horſes at lyverye; the which worde, as I gess, is deryvd of lyveringe or

l. 1407, ‘a judge’ in our MS. : l. 1421, ‘endamned,’
delyveringe forth theire nightlie foode. Soe in
greate howles, the lyvery is faide to be served up
for all night, that is theire eveninges allowance
of drinke. And lyvery is alaso called the proper 1440
garment which a serving man weareth, soe called,
as I suppose, for that yt was delyvered or taken
from him at pleasure: So yt is apparant, that
by the worde Lyverie is there meante horfe-
meate, like as by the word Coigny is under-
stood mans meate: But whence the worde is
dervyed is very hard to tell. Some say of coyne,
for that they vshed Comoditye in theire Coignes,
not only to take meate, but coyne alaso; and that
that takinge of money was spesially meante to be 1450
prohibited by that statute: But I thinke rather this
word Coignye is deryved of the Irishe. The which
is a coffion use amongst the cheife landelords,
to have a coffon spendinge upon theire Tennants;
for all theire tennants, beinge comonly but tennants
att will, they use to take of them what victuall they
lift, for of victualls they were wounde to make female
reconinge: neither in this was the Tennante wronged,
for yt was an ordinarie and knowen custome, and
his lord comonly used soe to covenante with him, 1460
which yt at any tyme the tennante disliked, he might
freelie departe at his pleasure. But nowe by this
statute the Irishe lord is wronged, for that he is cutt
of from his customary services, of the which this
was one, besides many other of the like, as Cuddie,
Coffherie, Bonnagh, Shragh, Sorehin, and such
others; the which I thinke at first were customes

1. 1440, 'upper': 1. 1448, 'commonly.'
brought in by the Englishe upon the Irishe, the which were never wonte, and yet are loath to yeilde any certen rent, but onlye such spendinges: for there comon saying is, Spende me and defende me.

Eudox. Surelie I take yt as you saye, that therein the Irishe Lord hath wronge, since yt was an auncyent custome, and nothinge contrarie to lawe, for to the willinge there is no wronge done: And this right well I wott, that, even here in England, there are in many places as strange Customes as that of Coygnie and lyverye. But I suppose by your speache, that yt was the first meaninge of the State to forbid the violent takinge of victualls upon other mens Tenants against their willes, which surelie is a greate outrage, and yet not soe greate me seemes, as that yt shoulde be made Treason: for confideringe that the nature of Treason is concerninge the royall estate or person of the prince, or praetinge wyth his enimies, to the derogacon and dainger of his crowne and dignitie, yt is hardlie wreted to make this treason. But as you erft said, Better a mischeife then an inconvenience.

Iren. Another statute I remember, which having been an auncyent Irishe custome is nowe upon advisement made an Englishe lawe, and that is called the Custome of Kincougis, which is, that every heade of every seft and every cheife of every kindred or familie, shoulde be required answerable and

l. 1478, 'large': l. 1485, 'concerning the realms': ll. 1491-2, reversed in Dr. Morris's text 'Englishe' and 'Irish': ll. 1495, 'answerable', . . . crime' not in MS.
bound to bring foorth every one of that septe and kindred under it at all times to be justified, when he should be required or charged with any treason, felony, or other haynous crime.

_Eudox._ While, surely this feemes a very necessary lawe. For consideringe that many of them bee such losells and scatterlinges, as that they cannot easilly by any sheriffe, Constable, Bayliffe, or other ordinary officer be gotten, when they are challenged for any such facete; this is a very good meanes to gett them to be brought in by him that is the heade of the septe or cheife of that howfe: wherfore I wonder what deepe excepcion ye cann make against the fame.

_Iren._ True, Eudox., in the pretence of the good of this statute, yee have nothinge erred, for yt seemeth very expedient and necessarie: But the hurte which cometh thereby is greater then the good. For, whilst every cheife of a septe standeth foe bounde to the lawe for every man that is of his bloud or septe that is under him inclusive, every one of his septe is put under him and he is made greate by the commaundinge of them all. For yf he may not commaund them, then that lawe doth wronge that bindeth him to bringe them forth to bee justified: and yf he may commaund them, then he may commaund them as well to yll as to good. Hereby the lords and capaines of the countries, the principalls and heads of septs, are madestronger, whence yt shoulde be a most specyall care in pollycic to weaken, and to fett up, and strengthen divers of his underlines against
Present State of Ireland.

him, which whensoever he shall offer to swarve from duty, may be able to bearde him; for it is very daingerous to leave the conhaund of foe many as some fepites are, beinge v or vi thowfande perfons, to the will of one man, whoe may leade them to what he will, as he himfelfe shall be inclyned.

Eudox. In very deede, Irenius, yt is very daingerous, especially seinge the disposicon of those people not allwayes inclynable to the beft. And therefore I holde yt noe wifedome to leave unto them, to much conhaund over their kindred, but rather to withrawe their followers from them afmuch as may bee, and to gather them under the commaund of lawe by some better meane then this custome of Kincougift. The which word I woulde bee glad to knowe what yt namely signifieth, for the meaninge thereof I feeme to underftand reaformance well.

Iren. It is a worde mingled of Englishe and Irrish together, so as I am partye led to thinke, that the custome thereof was fift Englishe and afterwardees Irrish; for suche an other lawe they had here in Englande, as I remember, made by Kinge Alured, that every gentleman shold contynually bringe forth his kindred and followers to the lawe. So Kin is Englishe and Coughifh signifieth affinitie in Irrifhe.

Eudox. Sithe then that wee have thus reasonablie handled the inconveniences in the lawes; lett us nowe passe unto your second parte, which was, as I remember, of the abufes of Cuftomes; in which, me feemes, yee have a fayre champion laied open unto you, in which yee may at large stretch out your
discourse into many sweete remembrances of Anti-\nquities, from whence yt seemeth that the customes
of that natyon proceede.

_Iren_. Indeede, Eudox: you say very true; for
all the customes of the Irifhe which I have very
often noted and compared with that I have red,
would mynifter occasion of moft ample discours of
the firft originall of them, and the antiquitie of that
people, which in truth I doe thinke to bee more
auncyent then moft that I know in this ende of the
worlde; so as yt yt were in the handlinge of some 1596
man of sound judgement and plentifull readinge, it
woulde bee moft pleafant and profitable. But yt
may bee wee may, at some other time of meetinge,
take occasion to treate thereof more at large. Here
only yt shall suffice to touch such Customes of the
Irish as seeme offensive and repugnant to the good
government of that Realme.

_Eudox_. Followe then your owne corse, for I shall
the better content my selfe to forbear my desire
nowe, in hope that you will, as you say, some other 1600
time more aboundantly satisfie yt.

_Iren_. Before wee enter into the treatise of theire
Customes, yt is firft needfull to consider from whence
they sprong; for from the fundrie mannors of the
nations, from whence that people which nowe are
called Irrifhe were derived, some of the customes
which nowe remayne amongest them have benn
fetcht, and since they have benn contynwed amongest
them; for not of one nacyon was that people as yt
is, but of fondrie people of different condicons and 1610

\footnote{1600, 'some . . . time' not in our MS.}
manners: But the chief which have first possessed, and inhabited yet, I suppose to be Scythians.

Eudox. How commeth it then to passe, that the Irish doe derive themselves from Gathelus the Spaniard?

Iren. They doe indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground. For if there were any such notable transmission of a colony hither out of Spaine, or any such famous conquest of this kingdom by Gathelus, a Spaniard, as they would faine believe, it is not unlikely, but the very Chronicles of Spaine (had Spaine then beene in so high regard as they now have it) would not have omitted so memorable a thing, as the subduing of so noble a realme to the Spaniard, no more then they doe now neglect to memorize their conquest of the Indians, especially in those times, in which the same was supposed, being nearer unto the flourishing age of learning and writers under the Romanes. But the Irish doe heerein no otherwise, then our vaine English-men doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to prove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England, as it is, that there was any such Gathelus of Spaine. But surely the Scythians (of whom I earst spake) which at such tyme as the Northerne Nations overflowed

1. 1612, 'Scythians'—in Collier and Dr. Morris and other texts there follows here the paragraph commencing 'Scythians, which... Scotland'. This in our MS. comes in further on, in next page. On the other hand, the paragraph 'Eudox. How... spake,' on same page (ll. 1613-36), is not in Dr. Morris, but in Collier, etc., etc., and accepted by us.

IX.
all Christendome, came downe to the Sea coste, where enquiringe for other countryes abroade, and gettinge intelligence of this Countrie of Irelande, findinge it shippinge convenient, passed over thither, and arived in the North parte thereof, which is now called Ulter, which first inhabiting, and afterwarde stretched themselves forth into the Ilande as their enemies encreased, named yt all of themselves Scuttenlande, which more breiflye is called Scotland, of Scotland.

Eudox. I wonder, Irenius, whether you runne so farre astrye; for whilst wee talke of Ireland, me thinkes you rippe up the originall of Scotland; but what is that to this?

Iren. Surelie very much, for Scotland and Ireland are one and the same.

Eudox. That seemeth more strange; for wee all knowe right well that they are distinguishing, with a great sea runninge betweene them; or else there are twoe Scotlands.

Iren. Never the more are there twoe Scotlands, but twoe kindes of Scotts there were indeede, as you may gather out of Buchanan, the one Irine or Irife Scotts, the other Albyne Scotts; for those Scotts or Scythians arrived, as I supposed, in the North parts of the Island, where some of them afterwords past into the next coste of Albyne, nowe called Scotland, which, after much trouble, they possesed, and of themselves named yt Scotland; but in process of tyme, as is commonly seene, the denomina-côn of the part prevailed in the whole, for the Irife Scotts puttinge away the name of Scotts, were called only Irishe, and the Albyn Scotts, leavinge the name
of Albyne, were called only Scotts. Therefore yt 1670
cómeth of some wryters, that Ireland is called Scotia-
major, and that which nowe is named Scotland, is
called Scotia-minor.

Eudox. I doe nowe well understante your distin-
guifhing of the twoe fortes of Scotts, and twoe
Scottlands, howe that this which is nowe called
Irelande was auncyently called Erine, and after-
wardes of some wrytten Scotland, and that which
is nowe called Scotland was formerlie called Albyn,
before the cominge of the Scutts thither: But what 1680
other Nations inhabited thother partes of Irelande?

Iren. After this people thus planted in the North,
or before, (for the certentie of tymes in thinges doe
farre from all knowledge cannot bee juftlie avowched)
another nation cominge out of Spaine aryved in the
Wef part of Irelande, and findinge it wafte, or
weakelie inhabited, possedst yt: who whether they
were native Spaniards, or Gaules, or Africangs, or
Goathes, or some of thofe Northerne Nations which
did over-fpred all Chriiftendome, it is impossible to 1690
affirme, onlie some naked conjectures may be
gathered, but that out of Spaine certenlie they
came, that doe all the Irishe Chronicles agree.

Eudox. You doe verie boldlie, Irenius, venture
upon the histories of auncyent tymes, and leane too
confidently unto thofe Irishe Chronicles which are
mofte fabulous and forged, in that out of them you
dare take in hande to laye open the Originall of a
nation noe antique, as that noe monument remaynes
of her begynninge and inhabitinge there; specially 1700

1. 1700, 'and firſt inhabiting.'
havinge bene allwayes without letters, but only bare tradicons of tymes and remembrances of bardes, which use to forge and falsifye every thinge as they lifte to please or displease any man.

Iren. Trulie I muſt confesse I doe soe, but yet not soe absolutelie as yee suppose. But I doe herein relye upon thofe bardes or Irishe Cronicles, though the Irishe themselues, through their ignorance in matters of learninge and deepe judgement, doe most constantly beleve and avouch them. But unto them besides I adde my owne readinge; and out of them both togetheer, with comparifon of tymes, likenes of manners and customes, affinitie of words and names, properties of natures and uſes, reminblances of rights and ceremonies, monuments of Churches and Tombes, and many other like circumstances, I doe gather a likelyhood of truth; not certeinly affirminge any thinge, but by conferinge of tymes, language, monuments, and such like, I doe hunte out a probabilite of thinges, which I leave unto your judgement to beleve or refuse. Nevertheles there bee some very auncyent authors which make mençoyn of thofe thinges, and some moderne, which by comparinge of them with the present tymes, experience, and their owne reason, doe open a wyndow of greate light unto the rest, that is yet unfene; as namely, of the oulder, Cesar, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolomie, Plinie, Pompeus Mela, and Berofus: of the latter, Vincentius, Æneas Silvius, Ludus, Buckhanan, for that he himselfe, beinge an Irishe Scott, or Piçte by nacon, and beinge very excellently learned, and industrious to seeke out the truth of these thinges concerninge
the originall of his owne people, hath both set downe the testimonies of the auncyents truly, and his owne opinion withall very reasonablie, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Befides, the Bardes and Irishe Croniclers themselves, though through defier of pleafinge perhaps to much, and ignorance of arte and pure learninge, they have concluded the truth of those tymes; 1740 yet there appeareth amongst them some Reliques of the true antiquitie, though disguised, which a well eyed man may happilie discover and finde out.

Eudox. How can there bee any truth in them at all, since the auncyent nations which first inhabited Ireland were altogether deftitute of letters, much more of learninge, by which they might leave the veritie of thinges wrytten. And those bardes cominge afoe soe many hundred yeres after, could 1750 not knowe what was done in former ages, nor delyver certenty of any thinge, but what they feyned out of their unlearned heads.

Iren. Thosse bardes indeede, Cefar wryteth, delyver noe certen truth of any thinge, nether is there any certen holde to be taken of any antiquitie which is receaved by tradiccon, since all men bee lyers, and many lye when they will; but yet for auncyentnes of the wrytten Cronicles of Ireland, geve me leave to faye somethinge, not to justifie them, but to shewe 1760 that some of them might say truth. For where yee say that the Irish have allways benn without letters, yee are therein much deceaved, for yt is

1. 1740, 'clouded,'
certen, that Ireland hath had the use of letters very auncientlie, and longe before England.

Eudox. Is yt possible? how comes yt then that they are so barbarous still, and soe unlearned, beinge soe olde fcollers? For learninge as the Poet t faith, "Emollit mores, nec finit effic feros:" whence then I pray you coulde they have those letters? 177

Iren. It is harde to saye: for whether they at theire firste cominge into the lande, or afterwarde by tradinge with other Nations which hade letters, learned them of them, or devised them amongest themselves, yt is nothing doubtfull; for the Saxons of Englane are faide to have theire letters, and Learninge, and learned men, from the Irishe, and that also appeareth by the likenes of the Carrafter, for the Saxons carracter is the same with the Irishe. Nowe the Scythians never, as I cann reade, of oulde had letters amongest them: therfore yt seemeth that they had them from the nacyon which came out of Spaine, for in Spaine there was (as Strabo wryteth) letters aunciently used, whether brought unto them by the Phenicians, or the Perfians, which (as yt appeareth by him) had some footinge there, or from Marfeles, which is faide to have bene inhabited by the Greekes, and from them to have had the Greeke carracter; of the which Marfilianns yt is saide, that the Gaules learned them first, and ufed them only for the furtherance of theire trades and private busines: for the Gaules (as is stronglie to be proved by many auncyent and authenticall wryters) did first

1. 1776, 'but that they had letters aunciently is nothing doubtfull' after 'doubfull' in Dr. Morris, Collier, etc., but not in our MS.
inhabiite all the sea coste of Spaine, even unto Cales and the mouth of the Streights, and peold also a greate parte of Italie, which appeareth by fundrie Citties and havens in Spaine called of them, as Portingalia, Gallecia, Galdunum; and also by fundrie nacons therin dwellinge, which yet have reseaved their owne names of the Gaules, as the Reginie, 1800 Prefamarie, Tamariti, Cineri, and divers others. All which Pompeius Mela, beinge himselfe a Spaniarde, yet faith to have descended from the Celtics of Fraunce, whereby yt is to be gathered, that that nacon which came out of Spaine into Ireland were auncyentlie Gaules, and that they brought with them those letters which they had learned in Spaine, first into Ireland, the which some alfo fayre doe muchre resemble the olde Phenicon carraeter, beinge likewise distingushised with pricke and accent, as theires 1810 auncyentlie; but the further enquirie thereof needeth a place of longer discourse then this our shorte conference.

_Eudox._ Surelie you haue sh owed a greate probabilitie of that which I haue thought impossible to have benn proved; but that which you owne fayre, that Ireland shoulde have benn peold with the Gaules, feemeth much more strainge, for all their Cronicles doe fay, that the west and south was posseesed and inhabited of Spaniards: and Cornelius 1820 Tacitus D0th alfo stronglie affirme the same, all which you muust either overthowe and falsfye, or renounce your opinion.

_Iren._ Nether so, nor soe; for the Irish Cronicles, as 1, 1801, *Nerit*
I said unto you, being made by unlearned men, and wrytinge thinges according to the apparence of the truth which they conceyved, doe erre in the circum-
stances, not in the matter. For all that came out of Spaine (they beinge no dilligent searchers into the differences of the Nacyons) supposeth to be Spaniards, and so called them; but the groundworke thereof is nevertheless (as I falde) true and certen, however, they through their ignorance disguise the same, or through their owne vanitie whilsit they woulde not feeme to bee ignorant, doe thereupon buylyde and enlarge many forged histories of their owne antiquitie, which they delyver to ffoles, and make them beleve them for true: as for example, that first of all one Gathelus the sonne of Cecropes or Argos, who havinge married the Kinge of Egyyps his daughter, thence fayled with her into Spaine, and there inhabited: Then that of Nemedus and his fower sones, whom corninge out of Scythia peopled Ireland, and inhabited yt with his 2 sones twoe hundred and fifty yeares, till he was overcome of the Gyants dwellinge then in Irelande, and at the laste quite banished and rooted out. After whome twoe hundred yeres, the sones of one Dela, beinge Scythians, arryved there againe, and possessed the whole lande, of which the youngest, called Slaynius, in the ende made himselfe Monarch. Lastlie, of the iiiij sones of Mileius Kinge of Spaine, which conquered the lande from the Scythians, and inhabitinge yt with Spaniards, called yt of the youngest Heberous, Hibernia: all which are in truth mere fables, and very Melesian

1. 1850, 'Slevius': 1. 1854, 'of the name of the.'
lyes, (as the lattine proverbe is;) for there was never such a Kinge of Spaine called Milefius, nor any suche colony seate with his sones, as they fayne, that cann ever bee proued. But yet under thes tales yee may in manner see the truth lurke. 1860

For Scythians, here inhabitinge, they name and doe speake of Spaniards, whereby appeareth that both those nations here inhabited: but whether very Spaniards, (as the Iriſhe greatlie affecte), ys noe way to be proved.

Eudox. Whence commeth yt then that the Iriſhe doe foe greatlie covett to fetch themselves from the Spaniards, since the olde Gaules are a more auncyent and much more honorable nation?

Iren. Even of a very defier of newfanglenes and 1870 vanitie, for beinge as they are nowe accompted, the most barbarous Nation in Christendome, they to avoide that reproache woulde deryue them selves from the Spaniards, whom they now see to bee a very honorable people, and next borderinge unto them: But all that is most vaine; for from the Spaniard that nowe is, or that people that now inhabite Spaine, they no wayes can prove themselves to defend; neither should it be greatly glorious unto them; for the Spaniard, that now is, is come from 1880 as rude and salvage nations as they, there beinge, as yt may be gathered by corfe of ages and veiwe of there owne histories (though they therein labored much to enoble themselves) scarfe any dropp of the oulde Spanifhe bloode left in them; for all Spaine

Il. 1877 80, 'or that . . . now is' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.
was first conquered by the Romaynes, and filled with Colonies from them, which were still encreased, and the native Spaniarde still cutt of. Afterwards the Carthaginians in all the longe Punicke Warres, havinge spoold all Spaine, and in the ende sub-1890 dueyd yt whollie to themselves, did, (as yt is likelye) roote out all that were affected to the Romaynes. And lastly the Romaines, havinge againe recovered that countrey and beate out Hanniball, did doubtles cutt of all that had favored the Carthaginians, fo that betwixte them both, to and fro, there was scarfe a native Spaniard left, but all inhabited of Romaynes. All which tempests of troubles being overblown, there longe after arose a newe storne, more dreadfull then all the former, which over-ranne all Spaine, 1900 and made an infinite confusion of all thinges; that was, the coming downe of the Gothes, the Hunnes, and Vandalles: and lastly all the Nations of Scythia, which, like a mountaine fluid, did overlowe all Spaine, and quite drowned and waft away whatever reliques there were left of the land-bred people, yea and of all the Romaynes too. The which Northerne Nations findinge the complexion of that foile, and the vehement heathe there farr different from their natures, toke no felicitie in that country, but from 1910 thence passéd over, and did spread themselves into all Countries in Chriftendome, of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprincklinge, yt not through peoplinge of them. And yet after all those the Mores and Barbarians, breakinge over out of Africa, did finally posseffe all Spaine, or the moste parte thereof, and treade downe under theire foule
heathenihe feete what ever little they founde there yet standinge. The which, though afterwards they were beaten out by Ferdinando of Arragon and Isabell his wife, yet they were not foe clenfed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture of the people of the lande, during their longe contynuance there, they had left no pure drop of Spaniifh bloode, noe nor of Romayne nor Scythian. Soe that of all nacons under heaven, I supposse, the Spaniard is the moft mingled, moft unceren, and moft baftardlie: wherefore moft foolishly doe the Irifh thinke to enoble themselves by wrestinge theire aunceftrie from the Spaniard, whoes is unable to deryve himsfelfe from any nacon certen.

Eudox. You speake very sharplie, Irenius, in dishonor of the Spaniard, whome some other boast to be the only brave fouldier under the skye.

Iren. Soe surely he is a very brave man; nether is that which I speake any thinge to his derogacon, for, in that I saide he is a mingled people, and compounded with others, it is no dispayfe; for I thinke there is no nation now in Cristendome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others: Yt was a singuler providance of God, and a moft admirable purpos of his wifedome, to drawe those Northerne Heathen Nacons downe into thofe Christian partes, where they might receave Christianitie, and to mingle nations foe remote foe miraculouflie, to make, as it were, one kindred and bloode of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.

l. 1921, miswritten 'Elizabeth' in our MS.: l. 1934, 'nation'; l. 1938, 'it... dispayfe' not in MS.: ll. 1938-41, 'for... others,' ibid,
A VEU OF THE

Eudox. Nether have you sure any more dishonered the Iriişhe, for you have brought them from very greate and auncyent nations, as any were in the 19 worlde, howe ever fondly they affecte the Spaniard. For both the Scythians and the Gaules were twoe as mightie nations as ever the worlde brought forth. But is there any token, denominacon or monument of the Gaules yet remayninge in Ireland, as there is of Scythians?

Iren. Yea furelie very many: for there is first in the Iriish language many words of Gaules remayninge, and yet daylie used in common speach.

Eudox. Wher, what was the Gallifh speach? Is 19 there any parte of yt still used amongst any nacon?

Iren. The Gallifh speche is the very Brytishe, the which was generally used heere in all Bryttaine before the cominge of the Saxons: and yet is retayned of the Welchmen, the Cornishe men, and the Bryttains of Fraunce, though tyme, woorking alteracon of all thinges, and the tradinge and enterdeale with other nacons rounde about, have chaunged and greatly altered the dialecte thereof: but yet the originall wordes appeare to be the same, as who 19 hath lyfte to reede in Cambden or Buckanan, may see at large. Befides, there be many places, as havens, hilles, townes, and castles, which yet beare names from the Galles; of the which Buckanan rehearseth above 3 hundred in Scottland, and I can (I thinke) recount neare as many in Ireland: Moreover there be of the olde Galles certaine nacons yett remayninge in Ireland which retaine the olde denominacons of the Galles, as the Manapij, the
Cauci, the Venti, and others; by all which and 1980 many other very reasonable probabilities, which this shorte 'course, will not suffer to be laid forth, it appeareth that the cheef inhabitantes in the Iland were Galles, cominge thither first from Spayne, and afterwards from befides Tannius, where the Gothes, Hunnes, and the Getes sat downe, they allfo beinge (as it is said) of some ancient Galles; and laftly paffinge out of Gallia it self, from all the sea Coafte of Belgia and Celtica, into all the fotherne coaftes of Ireland, which they poffeffed and inhabited, where- 1990 upon it is at this daye, amongft all the Irifihe a common ufe to call any strange inhabitante there amongft them, Gald, that is, descended of [or] from the Gaules.

*Eudox.* This is very lykely, for even fo did thies Gaules aunciently poffeffe and people all the Sotherne coaftes of our Bryttaine, which yet retayne their old names, as the Belgiae in Somerfethier, Wiltfhir, and parte of Hampfhir, Attrebati in Barkfhir, Regni in Sussex and Surrey, with many 2000 others. Nowe thus farr I understand your opinion, that the Scythians planted in the Northe parte of Ireland; the Spaniards (for fo we call them) what euer they were that came from Spaine, in the Weft; the Gaules in the Southe: fo that there now remayneth onely the East partes towards England, which I would be glad to understand from whom you thinke them to be peopled.

*Iren.* Mary, from the Bryttons themselves, of

1. 1985, 'Tanais': l. 2008. 'them . . . peopled' not in our MS.; *ib., 'they were' for 'them to be.'
which though their be lyttle footinge nowe remayning, by reasone that the Saxons afterwardes and lastly the Englishe, dryvinge out all the first inhabitantes thereof, did possesse and people the land themselues. Yet amongst the Tooles, the Brines, the Cavenaghes, and other nacons in Linster, there is some memorie of the Brytons remayninge; as the Tooles are called of the old Brytisfh woord Tol, that is, an hilly Country. The Brins of the Brytisfh woord Brin, that is, Woody. And the Cavenaghes, of Caune, that is, stronge. So that in this three people, the very denominacon of the old Bryttons doth still remayne. Befides, when any flyeth under the succor or protection of any against an enemy, he cryeth unto him, Commericke, that is Brytton Hulpe, for the Brytton is called in his owne language, Commerouye. Furthermore to prove the fame, Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Brytannia, and a parte of Greate Bryttaine. Finally, it appeareth by good Record yet extante that King Arthure, and before him Gurgunt, had all that Iland in his allegiaunce and subjectioun: hereunto I could addde many probabilities of the names of places, perfons, and speeches, as I did in the former, but they should be to longe for this place, and I referme them for another. And thus you have hard my opinion, howe all the Realme of Ireland was first peopled, and by what nacon. After all which the Saxons succeedinge, did wholley subdue it unto themselues. For first Egfryde, longe kinge of Northumberland

1. 2016, 'are called' not in our MS., or rather 'is called' is miswritten after 'word': 1. 2024, 'Cummuireach': 1. 2025, 'Cummeraig'
did utterly waste and subdued it, as appeareth out of Beda's complaint against him. And afterwards Kinge Edgarr brought it under his obedience, as appeareth by auncient Record, in which it is founde written that he subdued all the islanedes of the North, even unto Norwaye, and their kings did bringe into his subjection.

Eudox. This rippinge up of Auncestries, is very pleasing unto me, and indeed favoreth of good conceptes, and some reading withall. I see hereby howe profitable travill and experience of forraine nacons, is to him that will apply them to good purpose. Neyther indeed would I have thought, that any such antiquities could have bene avouched for the Irife, that maketh me the more to longe to see some other of your observacons, which you have gathered out of that Country, and have earst half promised to put forthe: And sure in this minglinge of nacons appeareth (as you earst well noted) a wonderfull providence and purpose of Almighty God, that stirred up the people in the furthest partes of the world to seeke out thies regions so remote from them, and by that meanes bothe to restore the decayed habitatcons, and to make himselfe knownen to the Heathen. But was their, I praye you, a more generall Impeopleinge of that Iland, then first by the Scythians, which you faye were the Scottes, and afterwaordes by the Africans, bydes the Gaules, Bryttons, and Saxons?

Iren. Yes, there was an other, and that the last and the greatest, which was by the English, when...
the Earle Strangbowe, havinge conquered that Lande, delivered up the same into the handes of Henry the second, then Kinge, who sent over thither great store of gentlemen, and other warlyke people, amongst whom he distributed the Land, and setled such a stronge Colonie therein, as never since could, with all the subtle practices of the Irifhe, be rooted out, but abyde still a mightie people, of so many as remayne Englifhe of them.

Eudox. What is that you say, of so many as re-2080 mayne English of them? Why, are not they that were once English, abydinge English still?

Iren. No, for the most parte of them are degenerated and grown almoast meare Irifhe, yea and more malicious to the English then the very Irifhe them selves.

Eudox. What heare I? And is it possible that an Englisheman, brought up naturally in such sweet civilitie as England affordes, could fynd such lyking in that barberous rudenes, that he should forget his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nacon? howe may this be? or what I pray you may be the cause thereof?

Iren. Surely, nothinge but that first evill ordinance and Institution of that Coffon Wealthe. But thereof nowe is their no fitt place to speake, least, by the occation thereof offering matter of longe Discourse, we might be drawn from this that we have in hand, namely, the handleinge of abuses in the Cuftomes of Ireland.

Eudox. In trueth Irenius, you doe well remember the plott of your first purpose; but yet from that
me seemes, ye have much swarved in all this longe discourse, of the first inhabiting of Ireland: for what is that to your purpose?

Iren. Truely very materiall; for if you marked the course of all that speech well, it was to shew by what meanes the Cuftomes, that nowe are in Ireland, beinge some of them indeed very strange and almost heathenifhe, were first brought in: and that was, as I said, by those nacons from whome that contry was first peopled; for the difference of manners and cuftomes doth followe the difference of nations and people: the which I have declared unto you to have bene 3 special, which seated themselves theare; to wyt, first the Scythian, then the Gaules, and lastly the English. Notwithstanding I am not ignorant, that there were sundry other nacons which got footing in that Lande, of the which their yet remayne dyvers great families and feiptes, of whom I will also in their proper places make mencon.

Eudox. You bringe your self, Iren., very well into the waye againe, notwithstanding that it seemeth that you were never out of the waye. But nowe that you have pass'd through their antiquities, which I could have wyfhed not so soone ended, begin when yee pleafe, to declare what Cuftomes and manners have bene deryued from those nacons to the Irishe, and which of them yee fynd faulte withall.

Iren. I will then begin to count their cuftomes in the same order that I counted their nacons: and first with the Scythian or Scottifh manners. Of the which there is one use amongst them, to keepe their
Cattell, and to live them selves the most parte of the yeare in Bollies, pasturing upon the mountainees and waft wyld places; and removing still to frewe land, as they have depastured the former dayes. The which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may reede in Olaus Magnus, and Jo. Boemus, and yet is usef amongst all the Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heardes as they call them, beinge the very fame that the Irifhe Bollies are, dryving their cattell continually with them, and feedinge onely on their whyt meates.

Eudox. What fault can you fynd with this custome? for though it be an old Scythian use, yet it is very behooffull in this Country of Irelande, where their are great mountainees, and waft deserts full of grasse, that the fame should be eaten downe, and nourifhe many thousandes of cattell for the good of the whole Realme, which cannot mithinke be any other waye, then by keepinge those Bollies as there ye have shewed.

Iren. But by this custome of Bolling there grewe in the meane tyme many great enormities unto that Cofton wayth. For first, if their be any outlawes, or loose people, as they are never without some, which live upon the flethes and spoyleys, they are evermore sucered and fynd Releef onely in those Bollies, beinge upon the waft places, where eles they should be dryven shortly to sverve, or to come downe to the townes to secke releef, where, by one meanes or another, they would foone be caught. Befydes,
fuch sслушees of cattell they bringe comonly to those Bollies, wheare they are receaved readily, and the theif harbored from daunger of Lawe, or fuch officers as might light upon him. Moreover, the people that live thus in thies Bollies growe thereby more bar-
borous, and live more licentiously then they would in townes, ufing what meanes they lyft, and praçtyzing what mischeeves and villainies they will, eyther againft the government there, generally by their combinacons, or againft pryvate men, whom they maligne, by ftealinge their goodes, or murtheringe themselves. For theare they thinke them selves half exempted from Lawe and obedience, and havinge once tafted freedome, doe, lyke a fteare that hath bene longe out of his yooke, grudge and repyne ever after to come under rule againe.

Eudox. By your speech, Irein. I perceive more evill come by theis bollies, then good by their grafinge; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that must be in his due course: doe you pro-
ceede to the next.

Iren. They have another cuftome from the Scythians, that is the wearinge of manteles, and longe glebbes, which is a thicke curled buife of heare, hanginge downe over their eyes, and mon-
strously disguyfinge them, which are both very badd and hurtfull.

Eudox. Doe you thinke that the mantle cometh from the Scythians? I would surely thinke other-
wyfe, for by that which I have redd, it appeareth

l. 2166, 'as' misinserted before 'they' in our MS., and 'as they make' not in it, as in Collier, etc.—'as they make they brings.'
that most nacons in the world auntiently use the mantle. For the Jewes use it, as you may reed of Elias mantle, of [blank space]. The Caldees also used it, as you may reed in Diodorus. The Egyptians lykewyes use it, as yee may reed in Herodotus, 220 and may be gathered by the discription of Berenice, in the greek Commentaries upon Callimacus. The Greekes also used it auntiently, as appeareth by Venus mantle lyned with fтарres, though afterwards they chaunged the forme thereof into their clookes, called Pallia, as some of the Irishe also use. And the auntient Latines and Romans used it, as yee may reede in Virgill, who was a very great Antiquarie, that Evander, when Aenæas came to him at his feast, did intainte and feast him on the ground, and lying 2210 on manteles. Infomuch as he useth the very woord mantle for a mantle.

—— Mantilia humi sternunt.

So that it semeth that the mantle was a generall habite to most nacons, and not proper to the Scythians onely, as yee suppose.

Iren. I cannot deny but auntiently it was common to most, and yet fithence diffused and laid away. But in this latter age of the world, since the decay of the Romaine empyre, it was renued and brought 2220 in againe by those Northerne nacons when, breakinge out of their could caves and frozen habitacons into the sweet foyle of Europe, they brought with them their usuall weedes, fitt to shield their could, and that

L. 2201, miswritten 'discipline' in our MS: L. 2206, 'doe': L. 2208, 'auncient.'
continuall frost, to which they had bene at home
inured: the which yet they lefte not of, by reason
that they were in perpetuall warres with the nacons
where they had invaded. But still removing from
place to place, carried always with them that weede,
as their howfe, their Bedd and their garment. And, 2230
cominge laftly into Irelande, they found there more
speciall use thereof, by reason of the rawe could
clymate, from whence it is nowe grown into that
generall use in which that people nowe have it.
Afterward the Africans succeedinge, fyndinge the
lyke necessitie of that garment, continued the lyke
use thereof.

Eudox. Since then the necessitie thereof is so
comodious, as ye aledge, that it is indeed of
howfinge, Bedding, and Clothinge, what reason have 2240
you then to wishe so necessary a thinge cast of?

Iren. Because the comoditie dothe not counter-
vyale the discomoditie, for the inconveniences that
thereby doe aryfe are much more many; for it is a
fithe howfe for an outlawe, a meet Bedd for a Rebell,
and apte Cloke for a thief. First the outlawe beinge
for his many crymes and villainies banished from the
townes and howfes of honest men, and wandring in
waft places, farre from daunger of Lawe, maketh
his mantle his howfe, and under it covereth himself 2250
from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the
earthe, and from the sight of men. When it raynethe
it is his penthowfe; when it bloweth it is his tente;
when it freezeth it is his tabernacle. In Sommer
he can weare it loose, in winter he can lappe it close;

1. 2235, 'Gaules'; 1. 2238, 'Sith': 1. 2255, 'weare.'
at all tymes he can use it; never heavie, never comberfome. Lykewaies for a Rebell it is as serviceable; for in his warre that he maketh, if at least it deserve the name of warre, when he still flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thicke woods and straigt passages, wayting for advantages; it is his Bedd, yea, and almost all his houshold stuffe. For the wood is his howfe against all wethers, and his mantle is his cave to sleepe in. Therein he wrappeth himself rounde, and econfeth himself strongly against the gnattes, which in the Country doe more anoy the naked rebelles, whylst they keepe the woodes, and doe more sharply wound them, then all their enemyes swordes or speares, which can feldome come nighe them: yea, and often tymes their mantle serveth them, when they are nighe driven, being wrapped about their lefte arme instead of a Target, for it is hard to cut thorough it with a swood. Befydes it is light to beare, light to throw away, and, being, as they then commonly, naked, it is to them all in all. Laftly, for a theef it is so handsome, as it may seeme it was firste invented for him; for under yt he can clenly convey any fytt pillage that cometh handfomely in his way, and when he goeth abroad in the night in free-bootinge, it is his best and surest frend; for lyinge, as they often doe, two or three nightes together abroad, to watch for their booty, with that they can prettyly shroud them selves under a bush or a backe fyde, tyll they may conveniently doe their errande: and when all is doone, he can in his mantle passe through any

1. 2265, 'encloseth': 1. 2384, 'bankes.'
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

towne or Company, being clofe hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledg of any to whome he is indaungered. Befydes all this, he, or any man eles that is disyposed to any mischeef or villainie, may under his mantle goe privyly armed without supspicon of any, carry his headpeece, his skene, or piftole if he please, to be alwaies in a readines. Thus necessarye and sifting is a mantle for a Badd man. And surely for a badd hufwyfe it is no leffe convenient, for some of them that be wandring women, called of them Mona shut, it is half a Wardrobe; for in Somer ye shall fynd her arayed commonly but in her smocke and mantle; to be more ready for the light services: in Wynter, and in her travill, it is her cloake and safegard, and also a coverlett for her lewe exercyce. And when she hathe fylled her vessill, under it she can hyde bothe her burden, and her blame; yea, and when her baftard is borne it serves insteed of all her swadling cloutes. And as for all other good women which love to doe but lyttle woorke, howe handsome it is to lye in and sleepe, or to louse themselves in the sunne shine, they that have bene but a whyle in Ireland, can well wytnesse. Sure I am that you will thinke it very unfitt for good hufwyves, to styrre in, or to busy her self about her hufwyfry in such forte as they shoulde. Thies be some of the abuues for which I would thinke it meete to forbidd all mantles.

Exaux. O evill mynded man, that having reckned

\[1\] 2290, 'villanye to any man': l. 2297, 'Beantoolthe': l. 2305, 'insteed of a craddle and.'
up so many uses of mantles, will ye yet wishe it to be abandoned? Sure I thinke Diogenes dishe did never serve his master more turns, notwithstanding he made [it] his dishe, his cupp, his measure, his water-pott, then a mantle doth an Irish man. But I fee they be all to bad intentes, and therefore I will joyne with you in abolifhinge it. But what blame lay you to the glybb? take heed, I pray you, that you be not too buffie therewith for feare of your owne blame, seeing our Englishmen take it up in such a generall fashion to weare their heare so immeasurably longe, that some of them exceed the longest Irish glybbes.

Iren. I feare not the blame of any undeserved mylyke; but for the Irish glybbes, I say that byside their faillye, bruitifhnes and fylthines which is not to be named; they are [as] fitt makes as a mantle is for a theife. For whensover he hath runne himself into that perill of lawe that he will not be knowne, he eyther cutteth of his glibb quite, by which he becometh nothing lyke himself, or pulleth it so lowe downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to dicerne his thevish countenance. And therefore fit to be truffed up with the mantle.

Eudox. Truly thies three Scythian abuses, I hould fitt to be taken away with sharpe pennafties; and sure I wonder howe they have bene kepe thus longe, notwithstanding so many good provions and orders as have bene devysed for that people.

Iren. The caufe thereof shall appeare to you

l. 2327, 'immeasurably': l. 2331, 'little': l. 2341, 'hold most': l. 2345, 'for the reformation of.'
present state of ireland. 89

hereafter. But let us nowe goe forward with our Scythian Cuftomes. Of the next that I have to treat of, is the manner of rayfinge their Crye in their conflicts, and at other troblefome tymes of uprone: the which is very naturall Scythian, as we may reed in Diodorus Siculus, and Heroditus, dicrybng the manner of the Scythians and Parthians cominge to geve the charge at their battelles: at the which it is faid, they come running with a terrible yell and hubbubbe as if heaven and yeart had would have gone together, which is the very Image of the Irifh hubbub, which their kerne ufe at their firft encounter. Befydes, the fame Herodotus wryteth, that they ufed in their battelles to call upon the names of their Captaines or generalls, and sometymes upon their greatest kinge diseased, as in that battell of Tomyris against Cyrus: which cuftome to this day manifestly appeareth amongt the Irishe. For at their joyning of battell, they lykewyes call upon their capitaines name, or the name of his auncefors. As they under Oneale crye Landergabo, that is, the bloudy hand, which is Oneales badge: they under Obrien call [Laun-laiyer], which is [the frong hand]. And to their enfample, the old Englishfe also which there remayneth, have gotten up their cryes Scythian like, as Cromabo, and Butlerabo. And herein also lyeth open an other very manifest proof that the Irishe are Scythes or Scottes, for in all their encounters they ufe one very comon woord, crying

1. 2349, 'cry': l. 2353, 'Perfians': l. 2358, 'hubbabowe': l. 2369, [blank space here]: l. 2372, 'as the Geraldins Crown—above and the Butlers Butleaur—above.'
A VEUÈ OF THE

Ferragh, ferogh, which is a Scottishe word, to wyt, the name of one of their firt kinges of Scottland, called Fergus (or Ferragus), which fought against the Pictes, as you may reed in Buckanan de rebus Scoticis; but as others wryt, it was longe before, that the name of their cheef Captayn, under whome they fought against the Africans, the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever fithence they have used to call upon his name in their Battelles.

Edox. Beleeve me Irenius, this observacon of yours is very good and delightfull; farre beyond the blynd conceipt of some, whome I remember have upon the same woord Ferragh, made a very blunt conjecature, as namely Mr. Stanihurft, who though he be the same country man borne, that shoulde search more nearely into the secreats of thies thinges, yet hath strayed from the truthe all the heavens wyde (as they faye,) for he thereupon groundethe a very grosse imaginacion, that the Irishe should descend from the Egiptianes which came into that Iland, first under the leadinge of Scotia the daughter of Pharao, whereupon they use (faith he) in all their battailes to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh, Ferragh. Surely he shott wyde on the Bowe hand, and very farre from the marke. For I would first knowe of him what auncient ground of Authoritie he hath for such a fenceillese fable, and if he have any of the rude Irishe booke, as it may be he hath, yet me seemes a man of his learning

l. 2376, ‘Farrih’: l. 2387, ‘blunt’: l. 2388, ‘gros’: ll. 2397—
2404, ‘whereupon ... seemes’ not in our MS., but in Collier and Morris, etc.: l. 2398, ‘Farrih’ as before.
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND. 91

should not so lightly have bene carryed away with old wyves tales from approvance of his owne Reason; for whether Scota be lyke an Egiptian woord or fmacke of any learning or judgment, let the learned judge. But his Scota rather comes upon the Greeke Scoto, that is, darkenes, which hath not let him see the light of the true th.

Iren. You knowe not, Eudoxus, howe well Mr. Stanhurft could see in the darke; perhappes he hath owles or cattes eyes, but well I woot he feeth not well the very light in matters of more wayght. But as for Ferragh I have tould you my conjecture onely, and yet thus much I have more to prove a likelyhood, that there be yet at this day in Ireland, many Irish men, chiefly in the Northeren partes, called by the name of Ferragh. But let that nowe be: this onely for this place suffylfeth, that it is a woord comonly ufed in their hububbs, the which, with all the rest, is to be abolifhed, for that it discovereth an affeclion of Irife captenry, which in this platforme I indeuour specially to beat downe. There be other foartes of cryes, all fo ufed among the Irife, which favoure greatly of the Scythian barbarifme, as their lamentacons at their burialles, with dispairefull outcryes, and imodrate waylinges, the which Mr. Stanhurft might alfo have ufed for an argument to prove them Egyptians, for fo in Scripture it is mentioned, that the Egyptians lamented for the death of Joseph. Others thinke this Cuf tome to come from the Spaniardes, for that

1. 2420, 'Fareths': l. 2422, 'Hubbaynes': ll. 2431-2, 'for ... Egyptians' not in our MS. or in Dr. Morris, but in Collier, etc.
A VEU OF THE

they doe imefurably bewayle lykewise their dead. But the same is not propper Spanishe, but altogether heathenishe, brought in first thither eyther by the Scythians, or the Moores, which weare Africans but longe possessef that Country. For it is the manner of all Paganes and infidelles to be intemperate in their waylinges of their dead, for that they had no faythe nor hope of salvacon. And this ill Custome also is specially noated by Diodorus Siculus, to have bene in the Scythians, and is yet amongst the Northeren Scottes at this day, as you may reade in their chronicles.

Eudox. This is an evill Custome also, but yet doth not so much conferne Civill Reformacon, as abufe in Religion.

Iren. I did not rehearse it as one of the abufes which I thought most worthie of Reformation; but having made mencon of Irifhe cryes I thought this manner of Cryinge and howlinge not impertinent to be noted as uncyyvill and Scythians lyke: for by thies old custumes, and other lyke conjecturall circumstancies, the descentes of nacons can onely be proved, where other monuments of writinge are not Remayninge.

Eudox. Then I pray you whensoever in your discoure you meet with them by the way, doe not shune, but boldly touch them; for byseydes their great pleasure and delight for their antiquitie, they bringe also great profit and helpe unto civilitie.

Iren. Then fythenes you will have it foe I will

l. 2435, 'unmeasurably': ll. 2445-6, 'as...chronicles' not in our MS. or Dr. Morris, but in Collier, etc.: l. 2453, 'lewd crying.'
heare take occation, since I lately spake of their manner of Cryes in joyninge of Battaile, to spake somewhat also of the manner of their Armes, and Array in battayle, with other Customes perhappes woorth the notinge. And first of their Armes and Weapons, amongst which their broad swords are 2470 proper Scythian, for such the Scythes used commonly, as you may reed in Olaus Magnus. And the same also the old Scottes used, as yee may reed in Buchanan, and in [Solinus], where the pictures of them are in the same forme expressed. Also theire short bowes, and lytle quivers with shorte Bearded arrowes, are very Scythia, as ye may reede in the same Olaus. And the same foart, bothe of bowes, quivers, and arrowes, are at this daye to be seene commonly among the Northern Irifhe, whose Scottifhe bowes 2480 are not past 3 quarters of a yard longe, with a fringe of wreted hempe flackly bente, and whose arrowes are not above half an elline longe, tipped with steele heads, made lyke common broad arrowes heades, but many more sharpe and slender, that they enter into an armed man or horfe most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakely. Moreover, their longe broad sheeldes, made but with wicker roddes, which are commonly used amongst the said Northeren Irifhe, but specially 2490 of the Scottes, and brought from the Scythians, as ye may reede in Olaus Magnus, Solinus, and others; lykewyes their goinge to battaile without armor on their bodies or heades, but trusting oneely to the thickness of their glybbes, the which they say will

l. 2474, [blank space]: l. 2480, 'Irifhe-Scotts.'
sometymes beare of a good stroke, is meare salvage and Scythian, as ye may see in the said Images of the old Scythes or Scottes, set forth by Herodianus and others. Befydes, their confused kinde of march in heapes, without any order or aray, their clashing of swordes together, their fierce runninge upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, resembleth altogether that which is redd in all histories to have bene used of the Scythians. By which it may almost infallably be gathered, together with other circumstances, that the Irishe are very Scottes or Scythes oridgonall, though since intermingled with many other nacons repairinge and joyninge unto them. And to these I may also add an other very stronge conjecture which cometh to my mynde, that I have often observed there amongst them, that is, certaine religidious Ceremonies, which are very superstitious, yet used amongst them, the which are also wrytten by sundry Authores, to have bene observed amongst the Scythians, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the nations were aunciently all one. For Plutarch as I remember, in his Treatife of Homere, indeavouringe to search out the truth, what countryman Homere was, proveth it most strongly, as he thinketh, that he was an Italian borne; for that in distributing of a sacrificce of the Greekes, he omitted the [blank] called [blank] [loyne,] the which all the other Grecians, save the Italians, doe use to burne in their sacrificce: also for that he maketh the entralles to be rosted on fyve spites, the which was the proper maner of the

l. 2520, 'Aeolians': l. 2521, 'describing': l. 2524, 'Aelians.'
Ætolians, who only, of all the nations and Cuntryes of Gretia, used to sacrifice in that forte, whereas all the rest of the Greekes used to rost them upon three spites, by which he inferreth, necessarilly, that Homere was an Ætolian. And by the same reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the Irith ar descended from the Scythians; for that they use even to this day, some of the same Ceremonyes which the Scythians aunciently used. As for example, yee may reade in [Lucian] in that sweet dialogue which is intituled Toxaris or of frendishipp, that the comon oath of the Scythians, was by the sword, and by the fyer, for that they accounted these two speycall devyne powers, which shoule workre vengeance on perjurors. So doe the Irith at this day, when they goe to any battayle, say certayne prayers or charmes to ther swordes, making a crose therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the poyntes of ther blades into the ground; thinking therby to have the better succeffe in fight. Alfoe they ufe to fwere comonly by their swordes. Likewise at the kindling of Candles, they say certayne prayers; and ufe some other superfititius rightes, which shoue that they honor the fyer and the light; for all those Northerne nations, having bene ufed to be anoyed with much could and darkeneffe, are wont therfore to have the fyer and the sone in great veneracon: like as otherwise the Moores and Egiptians, which are much offended and greved with much extreme heate of the sunne, doe every morning, when the sunne aryfeth, fall to curfing and banning of him as ther plague and cheife

l. 2536, [blank in our MS.] ; l. 2547, 'the fire and,'
scourge. [Also the Scythians used when] they would binde any solemne vowe or combynacon, to drawe a bowle of blood, together vowing therby to spend their laft blood in that quarrell, as ye may reade in Buckhanan; and some of the Northerne Irishe, lyke-wise: as ye may also reade in the same booke, in the tale of Arfacomas, that it was the manner of the Scythians when any one[e] of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any forces of people, to joyne with him in his revenge, to fit in some publick place for certayne dayes upon an oxe hide, to which there would reforte all such persons as being disposed to take armes would enter into his armes, would take pay or ioyne with him in his quarrell. And the same ye may lykewise reade to have bene the auncient manner of the wilde Scottes, which are indeed the very naturall Irishe. Moreover, the Scythians used to sweare by ther Kingses hand, as Olaus sheweth. And soe doe the Irishe use to sweare by their Lordes hand, and, to forswear it, hould it more cryminall then to sweare by god. Also the Scythians sayd, that they were once every yere turned into wolves, and soe it is wrighten of the Irishe; thoughse Master Camden in a better fence doe suppose it was a disfeaze, called Licanthropia, soe named of the Wolfe. And yet some of the Irishe doe use to make the wolf their goslopp. The Scythians also used to feeth the fleethe in the hyde; and soe doe the North Irishe yet. The Scythians likewise used to boyle the bloode of

1. 2586, Substantially Dr. Morris's text agrees, but our MS. somewhat differently arranges the sentences in these two pages.
the beast lyvinge, and to make meate thereof: and soo doe the Irishe still in the North. Manye such customes I could recounte unto you, as of 2590 there ould manner of marrying, of burying, of dauncing, of finging, of feastinge, of curfing, though Christians have wyped out the moast parte of them, by resemblance whereof yt might playnely appere to you that the nacons ar the fame, but that by the reckoning of thesefewe, which I haue tould unto you, I finde my speech drawn out to a greater lenth then I supposed. Thus much only for his tyme, I hope, shall suffice you, to thinke that the Irishe are auncyently deduced from the 2600 Scythians.

Eudox. Surely, Irenius, I have in theese fewe wordes heard that from you which I would have thought had bene impossible to have bene spoken of tymes soo remote, and customes soo auncyent: with delight whereof I was all that while as it were entranced, and carryed farr from my selfe, as that I am now right forrye that yee ended soo $\fbox{2610}$

ages come betwene, yett any jott of those ould rightes and superstitious customes shoulde remaine amongst them.

Iren, It is noe cause of wounder at all; for it is the manner of all barbarous nacons to be ver superstitious, and diligent observors of ould customes and antiquities, which they receyve by contynuall tradicon from ther parentes, by recording of ther

l. 2598, *purposed.

IX.
bardes and cronicle[s], in their 'sorges and by dayly use and enample of ther elders.

Eudox. But have you I pray you observed any such customes amongst them, brought likewise from the Spanyardes or Gaules, as those from the Scythians? that may sure be very materiall unto your first purpose.

Iren. Some perhaps I have; and whose that will by this occasion marke and compare their customes shall finde many more. But ther are fewer I thinke, remayning of the Gaules or Spanyardes then of the Scythians, by reason that the partes, which they then possessed lying upon the Coast of the Westerne and Southerne Sea, were thence contynually visited with strangers and forreyn people, repaying thither for traffike, and for fishing, which is very plentifulfull upon the coaftes: for the trade and enterdeale of seacofte nacons one with another worketh more civility and good fashions, all seamen being naturally desirous of new fashions, then the Inland dwellers which are seldom seene of forreyners; yet some of them as I have noted, I will recounte unto you. And first I will, for the better creditt of the rest, shewe you one out of ther Statutes, amongst which it is enacted that noe man shall ware his beard but only on the upper lypp, like muschachios, having all the rest of his chinne. And this was the auncient manner

l. 2627, 'occasion more diligently marke': l. 2631, 'then possessed' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.; l. 2635, 'they': ll. 2637-8, 'all . . . fashions' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.; l. 2644, 'but' from Dr. Morris, not in our MS.
of the Spanyardes, as yet it is of all the Mahometans, to cut all ther beardes close, save onely muschachos, which they weare longe. And the caufe of this use was for that they, being bred in an hot country, found much hayre on ther faces and other partes to be noyous unto them: for which caufe they did cutt yt most away, like as contrarily all other nacons, brought upp in cold countrie doe use to nourish ther hare, to keep them the warmer, which was the caufe that the Scythians and Scottes woare glibbes, as I shewed you, to keep ther heads warme, and long beardes to defend ther faces from cold. From them also I thinke came saffron shirts and smockes, which was devisfed by them in thofe hotte countrie, wher saffron is very common and rife, for avoyding that evill which cometh of much sweates, and longe wearing of lynnien. Also the women amongst the ould Spanyardes had the charge of all houshould affayres, both at home and abroad, as Boemius wrighteth, though now theis Spanyardes use it quite otherwise. And soe have the Irish women the truft and care of all thinges, both at home, and in the seilde. Likewise rownd lether targettes, as the Spanyarde fashion, who used it, for the most part, paynted, which in Ireland they use alsoe, in many places, colored after ther rude fashion. Moreover ther manner of ther womens ryding on the wrong syde of the horfe, I meane with ther faces toward their right syde, as the Irish

I. 2649, 'they' from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 2652, 'noyome': l. 2663, 'sweating.'
A VEUE OF THE

use, is, as they say, ould Spanish, and as some say African, for amongst them the women (they say) use to ride across: Also the deep smock sleeve hanging to the ground, which the Irish women use, (they say), was ould Spanish, and is used yet in Barbary: and yet that should some rather to be an ould Irish fashion; for in Armory the fashion of the Manche, which is given in armes by many, being indeed nothing ells but a sleeve, is fashioned much like to that sleeve. And that Knightes in ould tymes used to weare ther mistres favor or loves sleeve, upon ther armes, as appereth by that is wrighten of Sir Launcelott, that he wore the sleeve of the fayre mayd of Afteroth in 26s a tourney, whereat Quene Guenouer was much displeased.

Eudox. Your conceit is very good, well fitting for things foe farre from certaynty of knowledge and learning, only upon lykelyhoodes and conjectures. But have you any cuftomes remayning from the Gaules or Bryttans?

Iren. I have obserued a few of eyther; and whoe will better search into them may find more. And first the profeission of their Bardes was, as Caesar writeth, usuall amongst the Gaules; and the same was also comun amongst the Britans, and is not yett altogether left of with the Walishe, which are ther posterity. for all the fashions of the Britons, as he testifeth, were much like. The longe dearts came also from the Gaules, as

l. 2683, 'Englysh': l. 2687, 'auncient': l. 2690, 'Aisloch': l. 2694, 'farre gowme': l. 2705, 'Gaules and.'
ye may read in the same Ceafaer, and in John Boemius. Likewise the said Jo. Boemius wrighteth, that the Gaules used swords, a handfull broad, and soe doe the Irifh nowe. Also that they used long wicker sheilds in battell that shoulde cover their whole bodyes, and soe doe the Northerne Irifh. But because I have not seen such fashioned targettes in the Southerne partes, but only amongst those Northerne people, and Irifh Scottes, I doe thinke that they were brought in rather by the Scythians, then by the Gaules. Alsoe the Gaules used to drinke ther enmyes blood, and to paynte themselves therewith: soe alsoe they wright, that the ould Irifh were wonte, and soe have I sene some of the Irifh doe, but not there enmyes but frendes bloode. As namely at the execution of a notable traytor at Lymbricke, called Murrogh Obrien, I saw an ould woman, which was his sofer mother, tooke up his heade, whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood running thereout, faying, that the earth was not worthy to drinke it, and therewith also steeped her face and brest, and tare her heare, crying and shriking out most terribly.

Eudox. Yee have very well runne thorough such customes as the Irifh have deryved from the first ould nacons which inhabited that land, namely, the Scythians, the Spanyardes, the Gaules, the Brittanes. It nowe remayneth that you now take in hand the customes of the ould Englishe which

1. 2708, ‘Likewise ... Boemius’ not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.
are amongst the Irish: of which I doe not thinke that yee shall have much to find fault with any, confideringe that by the Enligshe moft of the ould badd Irish Cuftomes were abolifhed, and more cyvill fashions brought in their fteade.

Iren. You thinke otherwise, Eudox: then I doe; for the cheifeft abuses which are nowe in that realme, are growne from the Enligsh, that are now much more lawlesse and lycencious then the very wild Irish: so that as much care as was then by them had to reforme the Irish, fo much and more muft nowe be used to reforme them; foe much tyme doth alter the manners of men.

Eudox. That femeth very strange which you fay, that men shou'd foe muehe degenerate from their firft natures as to grow wild.

Iren. Soe much can libertye and ill examples doe.

Eudox. What liberty had the Enligsh ther, more then they had here at home? Were not the lawes planted amponge them at the firft, and had they not governors to curbe and keepe them still in awe and obedience?

Iren. They had, but it was fuch for the moft part, as did more hurt then good? for they had governors for the moft part of them selves, and commonly out of the two familyes of the Geraldines and the Butlers, both adverfaryes and corivales one againft the other. Who though, for the moft part, they were but deputyes under some of the Kings of Englands

l. 2741, 'en' miswritten 'upp' in our MS. : l. 2747, 'Irish' mis-written 'Enligsh' in our MS.
fons, brethren, or other nere kinsmen, who were the Kings lieutenantes, yet they swayed foe much as they had all the rule, and the others but the tytle. Of which Butlers and Geraldines, albeit I 2770 muft confesse they were very braue worthy men, as also of other the peres of that realme, made Lorde Deputyes, and lord Juftices and signories at fundry times, yet thorough greatnes of their late conquests and signories they grewe infolent, and evill bente both that regall authority, and alfo ther private powers, one against another, to the utter subversion of them selves and strethning of the Irish againe. This you may reade playnly discovered by a letter written from the Citizens of Corke out of 2780 Ireland, to the earle of Shreffebrye then in England, and remayning yet upon recorde, both in the Tower of London, and alfoe amongst the Chronicles of Ireland. Wherein it is by them complained, that the English Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great possessions in Ireland, began thorough pride and infolencye, to make private warrs one against another, and, when the other parte was weake, they would wage and drawe in the Irish to take ther part, by which meanes they both greatly encoraged and enabled 2790 the Irish, which till that tyme had bene shut upp within the mountaines of Slewlother, and weakened and disabled them selves, in foe much that there revenews were wonderfully impayred, and some of them, which are ther reckoned to have bene able to have spent xij or xiiij hundred poundes per annum,
of owld rent, that I may say noe more, besides ther comodetyes of Creekes and havens, were now scarce able to dispence the third part. From which disorder, and thorough ther huge calamityes which 280 have come vpon them therby, they are now almost growne to be almost as lewde as the Irish: I meanie of such English as were planted towards the West; for the English pale hath preserved it selfe, thorough nearenes of the state, in reasonable civilitye, but the rest which dwell aboue in Connaug and Munster, which is the sweetest foyle of Ireland, and some in Leinster and Ulster, ar degenerate and grown to be as very Patchcockes as the wild Irish, yea, some of them haue quite shaken of their English names, and put on Irish that they might be altogether Irish.

Eudox. Is it possible that any should soe farr growe out of frame that they shoulde in soe short space, quite forgett ther Country and ther owne names? that is a most dangerous lethargie, much worse then that of Messila Carvinus, who, being a most learned man, thorough sicknes forgot his owne name. But can you counte us any of this kynde?

Iren. I cannot but by the reporte of the Irish themselves, who report, that the Macmagnhons, in the North, were aunciently English; to wit, descended from the Fitz Ursulas, which was a noble family in England, and that the same appered by the signification of their Irish names. Lykewise that the Macswinies, now in Ulster, were aunciently of the Veres of England, I. 2803, ‘planted above.’
but that they themselves, for hatred of the English, 
soe disguised ther names.

Eudox. Could they ever conceyve any such devilish 2830 
dislike of ther owne naturall Country, as that they 
would be ashamed of ther name, and bite of the 
dugge from which they sucked lyfe?

Iren. I wote well ther should be none: but proud 
heartes doe oftentymes, like wanton coultes, kicke at 
ther mothers, as we reade Alcibiades and Themistocles 
did, who, being banished out of Athens, fledd unto 
the Kinge of Asia, and ther stirred him upp to warr 
against ther Country, in which warrs they them 
felves wer cheistaynes. Soe that, they sayd, did theise 2840 
Macfwynes and Macmahons, or rather Veres or Fitz 
Urfulaies, for private despite, turne themselues against 
England. For at suche tyme as Robert Vere, Earl 
of Oxford, was in the Barons warrs against King 
Richard the seconde, thorough the mallice of the 
Peeres, banished the realme and proscribed, he with 
his kynfman Fitz Urfula fledd into Ireland, wher 
being prosecuted, and afterwarde in England put 
to death, his kinmen there remayning behinde in 
Ireland, rebelled, and conspiring with the Irishe, did 2850 
quite caft of ther English names and alleigance; 
since which tyme they have so remained, and have 
euer ethence bene counted meere Irish. The verye 
like is also euere foe reported of Macfwynes, Mack-
mahons and Mackshehaies of Mounfter, howe they 
lykewise were auncyently English, and ould followers 
to the Earle of Desmond, untill the raigne of King 
Edward the fourth: at which tyme the Earle of 

ll. 2852-4, 'so... alo,' from Collier, Morris, etc., but not in our MS,
Desmonde that then was, called Thomas, being thorough false stubbornacon, as they say, of the 286 Queene for some offence, by her against him conveyed, brought to his death at Tredagh most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and founde sibieete to the kinge. Therupon all his kinsemen of the Garaldines, which then was a mighty family in Mounfter, in reveng of that huge wronge, rofe into armes against the kinge, and utterly renounced and forswore all obedience to the Crowne of England; to whom the sayd Mackfwynes, Mackshehayes, and Mackmahons, ther servantes and 287 followers, did the like, and have euer sithence so contynued. And with them, they say, all the people of Mounfter went, and many other of them, which were mere English, thenceforth ioyned with the Irish against the King, and termed themselves very Irish, taking on them Irishe habites and customes, which would never since be cleane wyped awaye, but the Contagion thereof hath remayned still amongst ther posterityes. Of which sorte, they say, be most of the surnames which end in an, as Shinian, 281 Mangan, &c. the which nowe account them selves naturall Irish. Other great howles ther bee of the ould Englishe in Ireland, which thorough lycentious converfinge with the Irish, or marrying, or fostering with them, or lacke of meete nurture, or other such unhappy occaftions, have degenrized from ther auncyent

I. 2862, 'Drogheda': I. 2868, 'forfooke': I. 2875, 'meere': II. 2875-6, 'against... Irish' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.: I. 2877, 'could': I. 2880, 'Heeman' (Collier), 'Hernan' (Morris), before 'Shinian': I. 2882, 'meere': I. 2886, 'degenerated,'
dignityes, and are nowe growen as Irifi as Ohanlans breach, (as the proverbe ther is,) of which forte ther are two moft pittifull exsamples above the rest: to witt the Lord Breningham, who being the moft auncyent Barron in England, is nowe waken the moft salvage Irifi, naming himselfe Irifi like Noccorifi: and the other the greate Mortimer, who forgetting howe great he was once in England, or Englihi at all, is now become the moft barbarous of them all, and is now called Macnemarra; and [not] much better then he is the ould Lord Courrie, who having lewdly wafted all the land and signoryes that he had and aliene them unto the Irifihe, is himselfe alfo now growne quite Irifihe.

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a moft shamfull hearing, and to be reformed with moft sharpe senfures in foie greate personages, to the terrour of the meaner: for wher the lords and chiefe men wax fo barbarous and baf tard like, what shalbe hoped of the pefantes, and baser people? And hereby sure you have made a fayre waye unto your selfe to lay open the abuses of ther vile customes, which yee have now next to declare, the which, noe doubt, but are very bad and barbarous, being borowed from the Irifi, as there apparell, ther language, their riding, and many other the lyke.

Iren. Yee cannot but thinke them fue to be very brute and uncvill; for were they at the beft that they weare of ould, when they were brought in, they shoulde in soe long an alteracon of tyme feeme very strang and uncouth. For it is to be

1, 2890, 'Brenehame': l. 2897, 'Courye': l. 2899, 'aliyed.'
thought, that the use of all Englande, was in the
raigne of Henry the seconde, when Ireland was first
planted with Englishe, very rude and barbarous, foe 29:
as yf the same should be nowe used in England by
any, it would seeme worthy of sharpe correction, and
of newe lawes for reformacon; but it is but even
the other day since England grewe cyvill: therefore
in countying the evill customes of the Englishe ther,
I will [not] have regard whether the begininge
thereof were Englishe or Irish, but will have respect
only to the inconvenyence thereof. And first I have
to find faulte with the abuse of language, that
is, for the speaking of Irishe amongst the English, 29
which as it is unnaturall that any people should
love another language more then ther owne, foe it
is very inconvenient, and the cause of many other
evills.

Eudox. It semeth strang to me that the English
should take more delight to speake that language
then ther owne, whereas they should (me thinkes)
rather take scorne to acquainte ther tongues therto:
for it hath alwayes bene the use of the conqueror
to dispoze the language of the conquered, and to 29,
force him by all meanes to learne his. So did the
Romains alwayes use, insomuch that ther is almost
not a nacon in the world, but is sprinkled with their
language. It were good therefor (me thinkes) to
search out the originall course of this evill; for, the
fame beinge discovered, a redresse thereof wilbe the
more easely provided: for I thinke it were strange,
that the English beinge foe many, and the Irish foe

1. 2923, 'for': 1. 2940, 'dispoze': 1. 2945, 'cause.'
fewe, as they then were left, the fewer should drawe
the more unto their use.

Iren. I suppose that the chiefe cause of bringing
in the Irish language, amongst them, was specially
ther fostering, and marrying with the Irish, which
are twoe most dangerous infections; for first the
child that sucketh the milke of the nurse, must of
necessity learne his first speach of her, the which
being the first that is enured to his tongue, is after
most pleasing unto him, insomuch as though he after-
wardes be taught English, yet the smacke of the
first will alwayes abide with him; and not only of
the speach, but of the manners and condicons. For
besides the yonge children bee like apes, which
affect and Imitate what they have seene done before
them, specially by their nourses whom they love soe
well: moreover they drawe into themselves, together
with ther sucke, even the nature and disposition of
ther nourses: for the mind followeth much the tem-
perature of the body; and alfoe the wordes are the
image of the minde, fo[e, the[+] proceeding from
the minde, the mynd must be needed affected with
the wordes. Soe that the speach being Irish, the
hart must needs be Irishe; for out of the abound-
ance of the hart, the tongue speaketh. The next is
the marrying with the Irish, which how dangerous
a thinge it is in all comonwelths appeareth to every
symplest fence; and though some greater ones have
used such matches with their vassales, and have of
them nevertheless rayfed worthie yssue, as Telamon
did with Tecmiffa, Alexander the greate with Roxane,
and Julius Cefar with Cleopatre, yet the example is
so perillous, as it is not to be ventured: for in stead of those fewe good, I could counte unto them infinite many evil. And indeed how can such matching but bring forth an evil race, being that commonly the child taketh most of his nature of the mother, byfides speach, manors, and inclination, which are for the most part agreeable to the condicons of ther mothers? for by them they are first framed and fashioned so as [if] they receyve any thing from, them they will hardly ever after forgoe. Therefore are these two evil customes of fostering and maryinge with the Irifhe most carefully to be restrayned; for of them twoe, the third, that is the evil custome of language which I spake of, cheifly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are ther not lawes alredye appointed, for avoyding of this evil?

Iren. Yes, I thinke there be; but as good never a whit as never the better. For what doe statutes avayle without penaltyes, or lawes without charge of execution? for soe ther is another like lawe enactted against wearing of Irifh apparell, but never the more it is observed by any, or executed by them that have the charge: for they in ther private discrensions thinke it not fitt to be forced upon the pore wretches of that Countrye, which are not worth the price of Englishe apparell, nor expediente to be praetifed against the better sorte, by reafon that the Country (lay they) doe yeeld noe better: and were ther better to be had, yet theis were fitter to be used, as namely, the mantle in travelling, becaufe ther be noe Innes wher meate or bedding might be had, soe that

l. 2981, 'adventured': l. 3007, 'abler': l. 3011, 'meet bedding.'
his mantle serves him then for a bed: the leather quilted Jacke in jorninge and in Campinge, for that it is fittest to be under his shirte of maile, for any occasion of suddayne service, as ther happen many, and to cover his thine bretch on hornbacke. The great lynnem rowle which the women weare, to keepe ther heades warme after cutting their hayre, which they use in any sicknesse. Besides ther thicke fouled lynnem shirtes, ther longe fleved smocke, ther halfe-fleved coates, ther sifke fillottes, and all the rest, they will devise some coulor for, eyther of necessitie, or of antiquity, or of comlyness.

Eudox. But what couler ever they alledge, me thinke it is not expedient, that the execution of a lawe once ordanied should be left to the discretion of the officer, but that, without partialitie or regard, yt should be fulfilled aswell on Englishe as Irifhe.

Iren. But they thincke this pricifenes in refor-macon of apparell not to be foe material, or greatly pertinent.

Eudox. Yes surely but yt is; for mens apparell is comonly made accorginde to theire condicons, and theire condicons are oftentymes governed by theire garmentes: for the person that is gowned is by his gowne put in mynde of gravitie, and also refrayned from lightnes by the very aptnes of his weede. Therefore yt is wryttan by Aristotele, then when Cyrus had overcome the Lydeans that were a warlike nacon, [and] devisd to bringe them to a more peacable life, he chaunged theire apparrell and muficke, and in steade of theire shorte warlike coate,

l. 3027, 'judge or officer': l. 3037, 'umaptynes.'
clothed them in longe garments like wyves, and in steade of theire warlike musicke, appointed to them certen lascyvous layes, and loosiggles, by which in shorte space theire mindes were [fo] mollified and abated, that they forgot theire former feircenes, and became most tender and effeminate: whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the garment to the fashioninge of the mynde and condicons. But 305 bee [all] these, which you have described, the fashions of the Irishe weedes?

'Iren. Noe: all these which I have rehearsed to you, bee not Irishe garmentes, but Englishe; for the quilted leather Jacke is oulde Englishe; for yt was the proper weede of the horsemman, as you may reade in Chaucer, where he describeth Sir Thopas apparrell and armor, when he went to fighte against the gyant, which shecklaton, is that kinde of gilden leather with which they use to 306 Imbroder theire Irishe Jackes. And there likewise by all that distripcon yee may see the very fashion and manner of the Irishe horsemman most lively set out, in his longe howe, his shoes of costlie cordwaine, his hacqueton, and his haberjon, with all the rest thereunto belonginge.

Eudox. I surely thought that that manner had bene kindly Irishe, for yt is farre differinge from that we have nowe; as also all the furniture of his horfe, his stronge brasse bytt, his sliding raynes, his shanke 307 pillyon without stirruppes, his manner of mountinge, his fashion of rydinge, his charginge of speare aloft above hande, [and] the forme of his speare.

l. 3073, 'head.'
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

Iren. Noe fure; they bee native Englishe, and brought in by the Englishe men first into Ireland: nether is the same yet accounted an uncomelie manner of rydinge; for I have hearde some greate warryors say, that, in all these services which they had seene abroade in forraygne countreyes, they never fawe a more comelie horseman then the Irish man, nor that cometh on more bravely in the charge; nether is his manner of mountinge unsemely, though he lacke stirrups, but more readie then with stirropes; for in his gettinge up, his horse is still goinge, whereby he gayneth way. And therefore the stirrup was called foe in scorne, as yt were a stayre to gett up, beinge derived out of the oulde Englishe worde fly, which is, to mounte.

Eudox. It seemeth then that you finde no faulthe with this manner of rydinge; whie then woulde you have the gilded jacke layed awaye?

Iren. I would not have that laied away, but the abuse thereof to bee put awaye; for beinge used to the ende that it was framed, that is, to be worne in warre under a shirte of male, yt is allowable, as also the shirte of mayle, and all his other furniture: but to be worne daylie att home, as in Townes and civill places, yt is a rude habitt and most uncomelie, seeminge like a players painted coote.

Eudox. But yt is worne, they faye, likewise of Irifhe footemen; howe doe you allowe of that? for I shoulde thinke yt were ungeemelye.

l. 3083, 'wante': l. 3088, 'to gett up, or': l. 3091, 'guilted': l. 3101, 'likewise' from Collier, Morris, etc.

IX.
A VEUE OF THE

Iren. Noe, not as yt is used in warre, for yt is then worene likewise of footmen under their shirts of mayle, the which footmen they call Galloglassies; the which name doth discover him to bee allso auncyent Englishe, for Gallogla signifieth an Englishe servitor or yeoman. And he being so armed, in a longe shirte of mayle downe to the calfe of his legge, with a longe broad axe in his hande, was then pedes gravis armaturae, and was insteade of the armed footeman that nowe weareth a Corfelett, before the corflett were used, or allmost invented.

Eudox. Then him belike you allowe in your freighthe reformacon of ouelde customes.

Iren. Both him and the kearne allso (whome only I toke to bee the proper Irifhe sooldyer) cann I allowe, soe that they ufe that habite and custome of theires in the warres onely, when they are led forth to the service of their Prince, and not usuall[y] at home, and in civill places, and beides doe laye aside the evill wylde ufes which the galloglassies and kerne doe ufe in theire evill trade of lief.

Eudox. What be those?

Iren. Marry, these be the most loathlie and barbarous condicons of any people, I thincke, under heaven; for, from the tyme that they enter into that coorse, they doe ufe all the beaflie behavior that may bee to oppresse all men: they spoile afwell the subiecte as the enemye; they steale, they are cruel

ll. 3105-6, 'under ... footmen;' and ll. 3107-8, 'for ... English;' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 3117, 'common': l. 3127, 'lothsome.'
and bloody, full of revenge, and delighte in deadlye execucon, licensious, sweare, and blasphemers, comon ravishers of weomen, and murtherers of children.

Eudox. Thoſe bee moſt villanous condicons; I mervayle then that ever they bee ufed or implored, or allmoſt suffered to lyve: what good can there bee then in them?

Iren. Yet sure they are very valiant, and hardye, for the moſt parte greate endurors of colde, labor, hunger, and all hardnes, very actyve and stronge of hande, verye ſwyfte of foote, very vigilant and circumſpecte in theire enterprifes, very present in perills, very greate scorners of death.

Eudox. Truelie, by this that yee faye, yt feemes the Iriſhman is a very brave fouldier.

Iren. Yea truelie, eaven in that rude kinde of service hee beareth himſelfe very couragiouſlie. But where he cometh to experience of service abroade, or is putt to a peecce, or a pyke, he maketh as worthie a fouldier as any nacon he meeteth with. But lett us I pray you turne againe to our discouer of evil cuftomes amongſt the Iriſhe.

Eudox. Me feemes, all this which you speake of, concerneth the Cuftomes amongſt the Iriſhe very materially; for theire ufes in warre are of noe ſmale importance to be considered, aswell to reforme thoſe which are evill, as to confirme and contynew thoſe which are good. But followe you your owne coorſe, and shewe what other theire Cuftomes you have to diſlike of.

l. 3143, 'hardinge'; l. 3149, 'furnly'; l. 3156, 'thinkes'.
Iren. There is amongest the Iri[s]he, a certen kinde
of people called the bardes, which are to them
instead of Poetts, whose profession is to sett forth
the prayses and difprayses of men in theire Poems
or rymes; the which are had in foe high regarde
and estimacon amongest them, that none dare
displease them for feare to runne into reproach
through their offence, and to be made infamous
in the mouthes of all men. For their verses are
taken up with a generall applauſe, and usualllye
fonge att all feaste meetings, by certen other
persons whose proper function that is, which also
receive for this fame, greate rewarde, and reputacon
besides.

Eudox. Doe you blame this in them, which I
would otherwisse have thought to have ben worthie
of good accompte, and rather to have ben
mayntayned and augmented amongest them, then
to have ben diliked? for I have reade that in
all ages Poetts have bene had in speyall reputacon,
and that me seemes not without greate caufe; for
besides theire sweete invencons, and moft wyttie
layes, they are always used to sett forth the praises
of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and
disgrace the bad and vicyous. Soe that many
brave younge mindes have oftentymes, through
the hearinge the prayses and famous Eulogies of
worthie men songe and reported unto them, benn
stirred up to affecte the like commendacons, and
foe to styve unto the like desertes. Soe they say

l. 3168, ‘requeſt’: l. 3186, ‘prayſes of the’ in Collier, Morris,
etc.
that the Lacedemonians were more enclyned to
desire of honor with the excellent verfes of the
Poett Tyrteus, then with all the exhortacons of
theire Captaines, or authorities of theire rulers and
Magistrates.

Iren. It is most true that such Poettes, as in
theire wrytinge doe labor to better the Manners of men, and through the sweete bayte of theire
nombers, to steale into the younge spirits a desire
of honor and vertue, are worthy to be had in greate
respects. But thes Irish bardes are for the most
parte of another mynde, and soe far from instructinge
younge men in Morrall discipline, that they them-
selves doe more desverve to be sharplie decyphred;
for they feldome use to chuse unto themselves the
doinges of good men, for the ornamentes of theire
poems, but whomesoever they finde to bee most
lycentious of lief, moost bolde and lawles in his
doinges, moost daungerous and desperate in all partes
of disobedience and rebellious dispoison, him they
sett up and glorifie in theire rymes, him they prayye
to the people, and to younge men make an example
to followe.

Eudox. I mervayle what kinde of speaches they
cann finde, or what face they cann put on, to prayse
such leywyde perfons as lyve so lawleslie and licenfioulie
upon stealethes and spoiles, as moost of them doe; or
howe can they thincke that any good mynde will
applaude the fame?

Iren. There is none soe bad, Eudoxus, but that

1. 3201, 'of men' from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 3203, 'are worthy,' ibid.: l. 3222, 'applaude or approbe,' ibid.
shall finde some to favor his doinges; but such licentious partes as these, tendinge for the most parte to the hurt of the English, or mayntenance of their owne lewd libertye, they themselves, beinge most desirous therto, doe most allowe. Besides these evill thinges beinge deckt and suborne with the gay attyre of goodlie wordes, may easilie deceave and carry awaye the affecon of a younge mynde, that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bolde adventure to make profe of himself; for beinge (as they all bee) brought up idlelie, without awe of parents, without precepts of masters, without feare of offence, not beinge directed, nor imploied in anye course of lief, which may carry them to vertue, will easilie be drawen to followe such as any shall set before them: for a younge mynde cannot rest; yf he bee not still buried in some goodnes, he will finde himselfe such busines as shall soone burye all about him. In which yf he shall finde any to prayse him, and to geve hym encoragement, as those Bardes and rymers doe for little rewarde, or a share of a stollen cowe, then waxeth he moste insolent and halfe mad with the love of himselfe, and his owne lewde deedes. And as for wordes to fett forth such lewdenes, yt is not hard for them to geve a goodlie glofe and paynted showe thereunto; borrowed even from the prayses which are proper unto vertue 32 ytt selfe. As of a most notorious theife and wicked outlawe, which had lyved all his tyme of spoiles and robberies, one of their Bardes in his praise findes, That he was none of those idle mylkesoppes that

l. 3229, 'attired' (Collier); l. 3253, 'will say.'
was brought up by the fyer side, but that most of his dayes he spent in armes and valiant enterprizes; that he did never eate his meate before he had wonne yt with his s worde; that he laye not flugginge all night in a cabben under his mantle, but used commonly to kepe others wakinge to defend theire lyves, and did light his Candle at the flame of theire howses to leade him in the darknes; that the day was his night, and the night his daye; that he loved not to lye longe woinge of wenches to yealde to him, but where he came he toke by force the spoile of other mens love, and left but lamentacon to theire lovers; that his muficke was not the harpe, nor layes of love, but the Cryes of people, and clashinge of armor; and that fynally, he died not wayled of manye, but [made] manye wayle when he died, that dearlye bought his death. Doe you not thinke, Eudoxus, that many of these prayses might be applied to men of beft desert? yet are they all yeilded to mofte notable traytors, and amongst some of the Irifh not smallye accompted of. For the fame, when yt was first made and founge vnto a perfon of high degree, they were bought as their manner is, for fortie crownes.

Eudox. And well worth'fure. But tell me I pray you, have they any arte in their comphicons? or bee they any thinge wyttye or well favored, as poems shoulde bee?

Iren. Yea truly; I haue caufed diuers of them to be translated unto me that I might understande them; and surelye they favored of sweete witt and good invencion, but skilled not of the goodly orna-
mentes of Poetic: yet were they sprinkled with some prettye flowers of their owne naturall devise, which gave good grace and comlines unto them, the which yt is greate pittye to see soe good an ornament abused, to the gracinge of wickednes and vice, which woulde with good usage serve to bewtifie and adorne vertue. This evil custome therefore needeth reformacon. And nowe next after the Irish Kerne, me seemes the Irish Horfe boyes woulde come well in order, the use of which though necessarie (as tymes nowe bee) doe enforce, yet in the reformacon of that Realme they shoulde be cutt of. For the cause whyle they must bee nowe permitted is the wante of convenient innes for lodginge of travellers on horsebacke, and of Oftelers to tende their horses by the waye. But when thinges shalbe reduced to a better passe, this needeth specially to be reformed; for out of the frye of these rakehelly horseboyes, growinge up in knavery and villany, are their kerne contynewally suppliied and mayntayned. For hauinge benn once brought up an idle horseboye, he will never after selle to labor, but is only made fitt for the halter. And thefe alfo (the which is one fowle over-fight) are for the most parte bred up amongst Englishmen, and Souldeyers, of whome learninge to shooe a peece, and beinge made acquainted with all the trades of the English, they are afterwarde, when they become kerne, made more fyt to cutt their throates. Next to this there is another much like, but much more lewde and dishonest; and that is, of their Carrowes, which

l. 3295, ’boyes or Cuilles’: l. 3297, ’the thorough’: l. 3317, ’Kearroughs.’
is a kinde of people that wander up and downe gentlemens howses, lyvinge only upon Cardes and dyce, the which, though they have little or nothinge of their owne, yet will they playe for much moneye, which if they wynne, they waiste most lightlie, and yf they loose, they paye as slenderlye, but make recompence with one theft or another, whose only hurte is not, that they themselves are Idle Losellers, but that through gayminge they drawe others to like lewdnes and idlenes. And to these maye bee added another sorte of like loose fellowes, which doe passe up and downe amongst gentlemen by the name of Jefters, but are in deede notable Roges, and partakers not only of many theftes by settinge forth other mens goodes to bee stolen, but also pryvie to many trayterous practizes, and common Carriers of newes, with defier whereof you woulde wonder howe muche the Irish are feed: for they use commonly to sende up and downe to knowe newes, and yf any meete another, his seconde word is, What newes? In foie much that hereof is tolde a pretty jeft of a Frenchman, whoe havinge bene someyme in Ireland, where he marked their greate enquiery for newes, and meetinge afterwardes in Fraunce an Irishman whome he knewe in Ireland, first taluted him, and afterwardes thus merelie: Sir, I praye you (quoth he) tell me of curtesie, have you hearde yet any thinge of the newes that ye so muche enquired for in your Countrye?

Eudox. This argueth sure in them a greate defyer of innovacon, and therefore these occasions which norishe the same are to be taken awaye, as namelie,
these Jefters, Carrowes, Mora-shite, and all such straglers, for whom me seemes the shorte riddance of a Marshall were meeter then any ordinance or prohibicon to refrayne them. Therefore, I praye you, leave all this brablement of such loofe Runnagates, and passe to some other Cusumes.

Iren. There is a greate use amounge the Irishe, to make greate assembleys together upon a Rath or hill, there to parlie (as they faye) about matters and wronges betwene Townehip and Townehip, or one private person and another. But well I wott, that knowe, yt hath bene oftentymes approved, that in these meetinges many mischeifes have benn both practized and wrought: for to them doe commonly reforte all the summe of loofe people, where they may freelie meete and conferre of what they lift, which ells theye could not doe without suspicon or knowledge of others. Befides, at these parlies I have divers tymes knowne that many Englishmen, and other good Irishe subjectes, have benn villanouslie murdered, by moveinge one quarrell or another amongst them. For the Irishe never come to those Rathes but armed, whether on horsebacke or on foote, which the English nothinge suspeçtinge, are then commonly taken at advantage like sheepe in the pynfolde.

Eudox. It may bee Iren: that abuse maye bee in these meetings. But these rounde hilles and square bawnses, which you see soe stronglie trenched and thrown up, were (they saye) at first ordaynef for

l. 3350, *Beansoilles*; Todd and Collier have *Mona-faeus,* See Glossary, s.v.: l. 3364, *befe.*
the same purpose, that people might assemble them-
selves thereon; and therefore anciently they were
called Folkmotes, that is, a place for people to
meet or talke of any thinge that concerned any
difference betwene parties and Towneshipes, which
feemeth yet to me very requisite.

Iren. You say very true, Eudox: the first makinge
of these high hilles was at first indeede to very good
purpose for people to meete; but though the tymes
when they were first made, might well serve to good
occasions, as perchappes they did then in England,
yet thinges being since altred, and nowe Ireland
much differing from that state of England, the goode
ufe that then was of them is nowe turned to abuse;
for those hills wherof you speake, were (as ye may
gather by reading) appointed for two special uses, and
built by two severall nations. The one are those which
you call Folke-motes, the which were bulit by the
Saxons, as the woorde bewraieth; for it signifieth in
Saxone a meeting of folke or people, and those are
for the most parte in forme fower square, well trenched
for the meetinge of that [blank]. The others that
are rounde, were cast up by the Danes, as the name
of them doth betoken; for they are called Daneraths,
that is, hilles of the Danes, the which were by them
devised, not for parlies and Treaties, but appointed as
fortes for them to gather unto in troblefome tyme,
when any tumult arose; for the Danes, beinge but
a fewe in comparifon of the Saxons, used this for

Il. 3391-2, ‘yet . . . England,’ and Il. 3394-9, ‘hilles . . . and
thefe,’ not in MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.: I. 3407, ‘trouble’;
I. 3408, ‘Saxons in England.’
therein safetie. They made these female rounde hilles, 
soe stronglye fenced, in every quarter of the hundred, 34
to the ende that ye in the night, or at any other 
tyme, any crye or uprore shoulde happen, they might 
repayre with all speede unto theire owne forte, which 
was appointed for theire quarter, and thare remayne 
sayfe, tyll they couldse assemble themselfes in greate 
strengthe: for they were made so stronge, with one 
female entrance, that whosoever came thither first, 
were he one or twoe, or like fewe, he or they might 
rest saife, and defend themselves against manie, tyll 
more succor came unto them; and when they were 34 
gathered to a sufficient number they marched to the 
next fort, and soe forward tyll they met with the 
perill, or knewe the occasion thereof. But besides 
these twoe forties of hilles, there were auncientlie 
divers others; for some were rayfed, where there 
had bene a greate battayle, as a memorye or trophes 
thereof; others, as monuments of buryalls of the 
carcasses of all those that were slaine in any fyghte, 
upon whome they did throwe up such rounde mounts, 
as memorials for them, and sometimes did cast up 34 
great heapes of stones, as you may read the like in 
many places of the Scripture, and other whiles they 
did throw up many round heapes of earth in a circle, 
like a garland, or pitch many long stones on ende in 
comasse, every of which they say, betokened some 
worthie perfon of note there slayne and buried; for this 
was theire auncyent custome, before Christianitie came 
in amongst them that church-yardes were inclosed.

l 3412, *any troublesome crye*; il. 3431-4, *as . . . long* from 
Collier, Morris, etc.
Eudox. Yee have very well declared the originall of these mountes and greate stones encompassed, which some vaynely terme the olde Gyants Tryvetts, and thincke that these huge stones woulde not ells bee brought into order or reared up without the strengthe of gyants. And others as vaynelie thincke that they were never placed there by mans hand or arte, but only remayned there since the begininge, and were afterwards discovered by the deluge, and layed open by the washinge of the waters, or other like casualltye. But lett them dreame their owne imaginacons to pleafe themselues; but yee have satisfied me much better, both by that I see some confirmacon thereof in the Holy Wrytt, and allso remember that I have red in many historyes and Chronicles the like mounts and stones oftentimes menconed.

Iren. There bee many greate authorities, I affure you, to prove the fame; but as for these meestings on hilles, whereof wee were speakinge, yt is verye inconvenient that any such shoulde be permitted, specially in a people soe evill mynded as they nowe bee and diversifie howe themselues.

Eudox. But yt is very needefull me seemes for many other purposes, as for the countrye to gather togethether when there is any impoficon to be laied upon them, to the which they then all agree att such meetings to cutt and devide upon themselves, accordinge to theire holdinges and abilities. Soe as yf att these assemblies there bee any officers, as Conftables, Bayliffes, or such like amongst them, there cann be noe perill or doubte of such bad practifes.

1. 3449-50, 'let them with their dreames and vayne imaginations please.'
126

A VEUE OF THE

Iren. Nevertheles, daungerous are such assemblies, whether for cesse or ought ells, the Constables and Officers beinge alfo of the Irifhe; and yf there happen there to bee of the English, even to them they may proue perillous. Therefore for avoydinge of all such evill occaions, they were beft to be abolished.

Eudox. But what is that which you call cesse? yt is a word sure unufed amongst us here; therefore I pray you expounde the fame.

Iren. Cesse is none other but that your selfe called impoficon, but yt is in a kinde unacquainted perhaps unto you. For there are cesses of fondry sortes; one the ceffinge of fouldiers upon the country; for Ireland beinge a country of warr as yt is handled, and all wayes full of fouldyors, they which have the goverment, whether they finde yt the moft eafe to the Queenes purse, or moft ready meanes at hande for the victualinge of fouldiers, or that necessitie enforceth them thereunto, doe scatter the army abrode the country, and place them in townes to take theire victualls of them, att such vacant tymes as they lye not in campe, nor are otherwife imployed in service. Another kinde of Cesse, is the impofinge of provision for the Governors houfe keepinge, which though yt be moft necessary, and be alfo, for avoyding of all the evilles formerly therein used, lately brought to a compoficon, yet yt is not without greate inconveniences, no lesse then here in England, or rather much more. The like Cesse is alfo charged upon the country sometymes.
for victualling of the fouldyors, when they lie in garrison, at such tymes as when there is none remayninge in the Queenes store, or that the same cannot convenientlie bee conveyed to theire place of garrifon. But these twoe are not eafie to be redressed when necessitie thereto compelleth; but as the former, as yt is not necessary, soe yt [is] moyst hurtfull and offenfye to the poore Country, and nothinge convenient to the fouldyor himselfe, whoe during his lyinge at Cefse, ueth all kindes of outrageous diforder and villanie, both towards the poore men that vietell and lodge them, and allfo to all the rest of the Country round about them, whome they abufe, spoile, and afflicte by all the meanes [they] cann invent: for they will not only not content themselves with such victualls as their hostes doe provide them, nor yet as the place will afford, but they will have their meate provided for them, and aqua vita sent for; yea and money besides layed at his trencher, which yt he wante, then about the howfe he walketh with the wretched poore man and the fillye poore wief, whoe are glade to purchase their peace with any thinge. By which vyle manner of abufe, the country people, yea and the very Engliah which dwell abrode and see, and sometimes feel these outrages, growe into great detestacon of the fouldyor, and thereby into hatred of the very goverment, which draweth upon them such evilles: And therefore this yee may alfo joyne with the former evill customes which yee haue to reprove in Ireland.

1. 3514, 'abuse, oppresse and.'
Eudox. Trulie this is one not the lease, and though the perrons, of whom yt is ufed be of better note then the former rogish forte which yee reckoned, yet the faulte [is] no leffe worthye of a Marshall.

Iren. That were a hard corfe, Eudoxus, to redres every abuse by a Marshall: yt would feeme to you evill surgery to cutt of every unfounde sicke parte of the body, which, beinge by other due means recovered, might afterwards doe very good service to the body againe, and haply helpe to save the whole: Therefore I thincke better that some good falve for redres of this evill be fought forth, then the leaft parte suffred to perifhe. But hereof wee have to speake in another place. Nowe we will proccede to the other like defectes, amonge which there is one generall inconvenience which rayneth allmoft throughout all Ireland: and that of the Lords of land, and fre-holders, whoe doe not there ufe to fett out their lands to farme, or for terme of yeres, to their tenants, but only from yere to yere, and some during pleasure; nether indeede will the Irishe tenant or husband, otherwife take his lande then so longe as he lift himselfe. The reason hereof in the tenant is, for that the landlords there ufe moft shamefully to racke their tenants, layinge upon him coygnie and livery at pleasure, and exactinge of him besides his covenante, what he pleafe. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe to him for longer tyme, or that he thinketh by his contynuall libertie of chainege to keepe his landlord the rather in awe from wronginge of him. And the reason whyle the

II. 3540-1, *afterwards... haply* from Collier, Morris, etc.
landlord will not longer covenante with him is, for that he daylie looketh for chainege and alteracon, and hovereth in expecetacon of newe worldes.

Eudox. But what evill cometh hereby to the cofonwealth? or what reafon is yt that any landlord shoulde not sett, nor any teñante take his land as himselfe lift?

Iren. Marry, the evilles that cometh hereby are greate, for by this meanes both the landlord thinketh that he hath his teñante more at commaund, to followe him into what accon foever he will enter, and alfo the teñant, beinge left at his liberty, is fitt for every variable occasion of chainege that fhalbe offered by tymae: and so much alfo the more willinge and ready is hee to runne into the same, for that he hath no fuch eftate in any his holdinge, no fuche byyldinge upon any farme, no fuch costs ymployed in fencing and husbandinge the same, as might with holde him from any fuch willfull corfe, as his lords caufe, and his owne lewde disposicon may carry him unto. All which he hath forborne, and spared foe much expence, for that he had no former eftate in his tenement, but was only a teñante at will or little more, and foe at will may leave yt. And this incvenience maye be reafon enough to ground any ordinance for the good of a Cofon-wealth, against the private behoofe or will of any landlord that fhal refufe to graunte any fuch terme or eftate unto his teñante as may tend to the good of the whole Realme.
Eudox. Indeede me seemes yt is a greate willfullnes in any such landlord to refuse to make any longer farmes to theire tenants, as may, besides the generall good of the Realme, be also greatly for theire owne profit and avayle: For what reaasonable man will not thynke that the tenement shalbe made much the better for the lords behoofe, yf the teñante may by such meanes be drawen to buylde himselfe some handfome habitacon thereof, to dytc and enclofe his grounde, to manure and husband yt as good farmers ufe? For when his teñants terme shalbe expired, yt will yeilde him, in the renewinge his leafe, both a good fyne, and allso a better rente. And also it will be for the good of the tenent like-wife, whoe by such buyldinges and inclofures shall receave many benefitts: first, by the handfomenes of his howfe, he shall take greate comforte of his lief, more fafe dwellinge, and a delight to keepe his faide howfe neate and cleanely, which nowe beinge, as they commonly are, rather fwyne-steades then howfes, is the chiefest cause of his fow beaftlie manner of life, and saluaige condicon, lyinge and lyvinge together with his beafte in one howfe, in one rowme, and in one bed, that is the cleane strawe, or rather the fowle doughhill. And to all these other commodities he shall in shorte tyme finde a greater added, that is his owne wealth and riches encresed, and wonderfull enlarged, by keepinge his cattle in enclofures, where they shall alwayes have fresh pasture, that nowe is all trampled and

1. 3600, 'such good': l. 3606, 'And . . . be' from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 3608, 'his' in our MS., miswritten.
over runne; warme cover, that nowe lyeth open to all weather; saife beinge, that nowe are continually filched and stollen.

Iren. Yee have well, Eudoxus, accompted the commodities of this one good ordinance, amongst which this that yee have named laft is not the leaft: for all thother beinge most beneficial both to the Landlord and the tenantes, this chiefly redoundeth to the good of the commonwealth, to have the lande thus inclosed, and well fenced. For yt is both a principal barre and impeachment unto theves from stalinge of cattle in the night; and alfo a gaule against all rebelles and outlaws, that shall rife up in any nombers against government; for the theefe thereby shall have much adooe, first to bringe forth, and afterwards to dryve [away] his stolen pry but through the common high wyues, where he shall soone bee descryed and mett wythall: And the rebell or open enemye, yf any suche shall happen, either at home, or from abroade, shall easillie be founde when he cometh forth, and be well encountered withall by a fewe in foe straignt passages and stronge enclofures. This, therefore, when we come to the reforminge of all thefe evill cufomes before menioned, is needefull to be remembred. But nowe by this tyme me seemes that I have well runne through the evill uxes which I have oberved in Ireland. Nevertheles I will note that many more there bee, and infinitely many more in the private

1. 3626, 'counted': 1. 3650 sq., 'And howbeit there oe many more abuses worthis the reformation both in publicke and in private amongst them, yet thesee, for that they are the more generall,' etc. Morris).
abuses of men. But those that are most generall, and tendinge to the hurte of the common wealth, as they have come to my remembrance, I have as breifly as I could rehearted unto you. And therefore I thinke best that wee passe to our thirde parte, in which wee noted inconvenience that is in religion.

Eudox. Surelie you have very well handled these twoe former, and ye shall as well goe thorough the 3660 thirde likewise, yee shall meritt a very good meede.

Iren. Little have I to saye of religion, both because the partes thereof bee not many, ye selue beinge but one, and my selue have not been much converfant in that callinge, but as lightlye passinge bye I have seene or heard: Therefore the faulte which I finde in religion is but one, but the same univerfall thoroughout all that countrye; that is, that they are all Papists by theire profession, but in the same soe blindlie 3670 and brutislie informed, for the most parte, as that you would rather thincke them Atheists or Infidelles, for not one amongst an hundred knoweth any ground of religion, and any Article of his saythe, but canne perhappes saye his pater nofter, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understandinge what one worde thereof meaneth.

Eudox. This is truly a moaste pytystfull hearinge that so many fowles shulde falle into the Devils handes at once and lacke the blessed comfort of 3680 the sweete gospell and Christs deare passyon.

l. 3657, ‘inconveniences . . . are’: l. 3673, ‘for’ is miswritten ‘but’ in our MS.
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

Aye me, how cometh yt to passe, that beinge a people, as they are, tradinge with foe many nacons and frequented of foe many, yet they have not taestado any parte of those happie Joyes, nor once bene lightned with the morning starre of truth, but lye mellinge in such spiruall darknes hard by hell mouthe, eaver ready to fall in, yt God happilie helpe not?

Iren. The generall faulte cometh not of any 3690 late abufe either in the people or their priests, whoe can teach [noe] better then [they] knowe, nor showe noe more light than they have seene, but in the firft instruccon, and planting religion in all that Realme, which was I reade in the tyme of Pope Calestine, whoe, as yt is wrytten, did firft fende ouer thether Pallidaius, whoe thence decreaseinge, he afterwards sent over St. Patricke, beinge by nacon a Brytton, whoe converted the people, beinge then infidelles, from paganiisme, and 3700 Christened them : in which Popes tyme and longe before, yt is certen that religion was generally corrupted with theire popish trumpery. Therfore what other could they learne, then suche trashe as was taught them and drincke of that Cuppe of fornicacon [with] which the purple harlott had then made all nacons drounken?

Eudox. What, doe you then blame and finde faulte with foe good an acte in that good Pope, as the reducinge of such a greate people to 3710 Christendome, bringinge foe many sowles to Chriete? yt that were ill, what is good?

l. 3687, 'woltring': l. 3694, 'institutio.'
A VEUE OF THE

Iren. I doe not blame the Christendome of them: for to bee sealed with the marke of the Lambe, by what hand noe ever yt bee done rightlie, I hould yt a good and gracious marke, for the generall profeccion which [they] then take upon them at the Croffe and sayth in Christe. I nothinge doubtce but through the powerfull grace of that mighty Savior [if] will worke salvation in many of them. But nevertheless since they drounck not of the pure springe of life, but only tausted of such troubled waters as were brought unto them, the dragges thereof have brought a greate Contagion in theire fowles, the which daylie encreasinge and beinge still more augmented with their owne lewele lyves and filthy converfacon, hath nowe breed in them this generall diseaue that cannot but only with very stronge purgacons, bee clenfced and carried awaye.

Eudox. Then for this defecte you finde no faulete with the people themselves, nor with the preists which take the charge of fowles, but with the first ordinance and institucon thereof.

Iren. Not so, Eudox: for the sinne or ignorance of the preist shal not excuse the people, nor the authoritie of theire greate paftor, Peters succesor, shal not excuse the preist, but they all shal dye in theire finnes: for they have all erred and gone out of the waye together.

Eudox. But yt this ignorance of the people bee such a burthen unto the Pope, is yt not a like blott to them that nowe holde that place, in

l. 3713, 'christening': l. '3724, 'breed.'
that they which nowe are in the light themselves suffer a people under their charge to wallowe in such deadly darkenes? for I doe not see that the fault is changed but the faultynes.

_Iren._ That which you blame, Eudoxus, is not I suppose any fault of will in these godly fathers which have charge thereof, nor any defecte of zeale for reformacon, but the inconvenience of the tyme and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched Realme hath bene contynually turmoyled; for instruccon in religion needeth quiett tymes, and ere wee seeke to settle a sounde dicspline in the cleargie, wee must purchase [peace] unto the layetie, for yt is yll tyme to preach amongst swords, and moft hard, or rather ympossible, yt is to vettle a good opinion in the myndes of men for matters of religion dowbtfull, which have dowbtles eevill opinion of ourselfes; for ere a newe be brought in, the oulde must be removed.

_Eudox._ Then belike yt is meeete that some fitter tyme bee attended, that God fende peace and quietnes there in Civill matters before yt be attempted in ecclesiasticall. I would rather have thought that as yt is saied, correcccon shoulde begynne at the howfe of God, and that the care of the soule shoulde have benn preferred before the care of the bodye.

_Iren._ Moft true, Eudoxus, the care of the soule and fowle matters are to be preferred before the care of the body, in consideracon of the worthines thereof, but not in the tyme of reformacon; for

1. 3747, 'fault-matter.'
yf you shoulde knowe a wicked perfon dangerouflie ficke, havinge nowe both sowle and body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable, would you not thincke yt ill advertisement to bringe the preacher before the phisicon? for yf his body were negleæted, yt is like that his languishinge sowle being disquieted by his diseasefull body, would utterly refuse and loath all spirituall comfort. But yf his body were first recurred, and brought to good frame, should there not then bee founde best tyme to recure his sowle also? Soe yt is in the state of a Realme: Therefore as I saide yt is expedient, first to settle such a course of goverment there, as thereby both Civill disorders and eccleiaftical abuses may be reformed and amended, wheroeto needeth not any such greate distance of tymes, as yee suppose I requier, but one joynte resolucon for both, that each might second and confirme the other.

Eudox. That wee shall fee when wee come thereto: in the meane tyme I consider thus much, as you have delyvered, touchinge the generall faulte which yee suppose in religion, to weete, that it is popifhe; but doe you finde no particular abuses therein, in the ministers thereof?

Iren. Yes verilie; for what ever disorders yee see in the Church of England yee may finde there, and many more: namelie, grosse symonie, greedy covetousnes, fleshlie incontinence, careles slought, and generally all disordered lief in the commaon clergiemens. And besides all these, they have their owne particular enormities; for all
the Irifhe preists, which now enjoye the church lyvings there, are in a manner meere laymen, foe like Laymen [that they] lyve like laymen, followe all kindes of husbandrye and other worldly affaires, as the other Irifhe laymen doe. They nether reade scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor mynister the Sacrament of Comunion; but the Baptisme they doe, for they christen yet after the popiish faffhion, and with the popiish lattine mynistrarcon, only they take the tythyes and offeringes, and gather what fruits ells they may of theire lyvinge; the which they convert as badly. And some of them they faye pay as due tributts and shares of theire lyving to their Bisshoppes, (I speake of thoshe which are Irifh) as they receave them dulye.

Eudox. But is that suffered amongst them? It is wonder but that the governors redres such shamefull abufes.

Iren. Howe can they, since they knowe them not? for the Irifhe Bisshops have theire cleargie in such awe and subjeccion under them, that they dare not complaine of them, foe as they may doe to them what they please, for they knowinge theire owne unworthynes and incapacitie, and that they are therefore removable att theire bishops will, yeilde what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he lifteth: yea, and some of them whose dyoceses are in remote partes, somewhat out of the worldes eye, doe not att all bestowe the benefices, which are in theire owne devocon,

1. 3808, 'laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwise,' etc. (Collier): 1. 3836, 'donation.'
upon any, but keepe them in theire owne hands, 
and sett theire owne servants and horseboyes to 
take up the Tythes and fraucts of them, with the 
which some of them purchase greate lands, and 38. 
bylyde fayre castells upon the same. Of which 
abuse yt any question bee moved, they have a 
very feemelie coulor of excuse, that they have no 
worthie mynifters to bestowe them upon, but keepe 
them foe unbestowed for any such sufficient person 
as any shal bringe unto them.

Eudox. But is there no lawe or ordinance to 
meet with this mischeife? nor hath yt never before 
benne looked into?

Iren. Yes, it feemes yt hath; for there is a 38 
statute there enacted in Ireland, which feemes to 
have benn grounded upon a good meaninge—That 
whatsoever Englisheman beinge of good conversacon 
and sufficiency, shalbee brought unto any of those 
Byllhops, and nominated unto any lyvinge within 
theire dyoces that is presently voide, that he shal 
without contradiccon bee admytted thereunto before 
any Irishe.

Eudox. This is surelie a very good lawe, and 
well provided for this evill, whereof yee speake: 386 
and whie is not the same obserued?

Iren. I thincke yt is well obserued, and that 
none of the bishops transgres the same, but yet 
yt worketh no reformacon hereof for many respects. 
First there are no such sufficient Englishe mynifters 
fent over as might bee presented to any byllhop 
for any lyvinge, but the moste parte of such 
English as come over thither of them selves are
either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forfaken England. So as the Bishop, to whom they shall be presented, may justly reject them as incapable and insufficient. Secondly, the Bishop himself is perhaps an Irish man, whose being made judge by that law of the sufficiency of the minister, may at his own will, dislike of the Englishman, as unworthy in his opinion, and admitt of any other Irish whom he shall thinke more fitt for his turne. And yf he shall at the instance of any Englishman of countenance there, whome he will not displease, accept of any such English minister as shall tendred unto him, yet he will under hand carry such a hard hande over him, or by his officers wring him so sore, that he will soone make him weary of his poore lyvinge. Lastly, the benefices themselves are so meane, and of soe male profit in those Irish countries, through the ill husbandry of the Irish people which inhabite them, that they will not yeilde any competent maynetenance for any honest minister to lyve upon, scarifie to buy him a gowne. And were all this redressed, as happily yt might bee, yet what good should any English minister doe amongst them, by preaching or teaching which either cannot understande him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of lief shall he have, where his parishioners are soe infacyable, soe intractable, soe ill-affected to him, as they usually bee to all the English?

l. 3878, 'meete': ii. 3883-4, 'or ... wring him' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc. l. 3897, 'un sociable.'
or fynally, how dare allmost any honeste mynsters, that are peacefull civill men, comit his safetie to the handes of suche neighbors, as the boldeft captaines dare scarfelye dwell by?

Eudox. Little good then I see is by that statute wrought, howe ever well intended; but the reformacon thereof must growe higher, and be brought from a stronger ordinance then the commaundement or penaltye of a lawe, which none dare enforce or complaine of when yt is broken: but have you any more of these abuses in the cleargie?

Iren. I coulde perhappes reckon more, but I perceive mye speach to growe to longe, and these may suffice to judge of the generall disordes which raigne amongst them; as for the particular, they are too manie to bee reckoned. For the cleargie there, except some fewe grave fathers which are in high place about the state, and some others which are lately planted in there new colledge, are generally belycentious, and most disordered.

Eudox. Yee have then, as I suppose, gone through these three first partes which ye purposed unto your selfe, to wyte, the inconveniences which ye observed in the lawes, in the customes, and in the religion of that Land. The which me seemes, you have doe thoroughlie touched, as that nothinge more remayneith nowe to be spoken thereof.

Iren. Not so thoroughlie as ye suppose, that nothinge more can remayne, but doe generally as I purpoist; that is, to lay open the generall evilles of that realme, which doe hinder the good reformacon thereof; for to accounte the particular faultes of
private men, should be a worke infinite; yet some there bee of that nature, that though they bee in privyate men, yet theire evil reacheth to a generall hurte, as the exotorcon of sheriffes, subsheriffes, and theire bayliffes, the corrupcon of victuallers, cessorrs, and purveyors, the disorders of sheneffalles, captaines, and theire fouldyers, and many such like: All which I wil only name here, that theire reformacon may bee mynded in place where yt moche concerneth. But there is one very foule abufe which, by the waye, 3940 I may not omit, and that is in captaines, whose notwithstandinge that they are specyallie imployed to make peace thorough stronge execuccon of warre, yet they doe foe dandle theire doinges, and dally in theire service to them comytted, as yf they would not have the enemye subdued, or utterly beaten downe, for feare leasfe afterwardes they shoulde neede imployment, and foe be discharge of paye: for which cause some of them that are layed in Garrison doe so handle the matter, that they will doe noe greate hurte to the enemies, yet for colour sake some men they will kill, even halfe with the content of the enemy, being persons either of base regard, or enemies to the enemy, whose heades eftsones they fende in to the Governor for a commendacon of their greate endeavors, telling howe waighton a service they have performed by cuttinge of such and such dangerous Rebelles.

Eudox. Trulye this is a pretty mockerye, and not to be permitted by the Governors.

Iren. Yes, but how cann the Governors knowe 3960

1. 3931, 'worke too': II. 3951-3, 'yet . . . enemy' from Collier, Morris, etc.
readily what persons those weare, and what the purpose of their killing was? yea, and what will yee say, if the captains doe justify this their course by example of some of their Governors, whoe, under Benedicite, I doe tell yt to you, doe praefite the like sleights in their governments?


*Iren.* To you, you only, Eudoxus, I doe tell yt, and that even with great hearts griefe, and inward 397 trouble of mynde, to see her Majestie soe much abused by some whom e they put in speciall trufts of their affayres: of which some, beinge marshall men, will not doe allwayes what they may for quietinge of things, but will rather wincke at some faultes, and suffer them unpunished, leaft e they havinge put all thinges in that assurance of peace that they might, they shoule seeme afterwards not to be needed, nor contynued in their governments with soe great a charge to her Majestie. And 398e therefore they doe cunningly carry their course of governement, and from one hande to another doe bandy the service like a Tenny's-balle, which they will never strike quite awaye, for feare leafte afterwards they shoule want sportes.

*Eudox.* Doe you speake of under magistrates, Irenius, or of principall governors?

*Iren.* I doe speake of noe particulars, but the truth may be founde out by tryall and reasonable insghte into some of their doinges. And yf I 399e shoulde saye there is some blame thereof in some of

1. 3966, miswritten 'light' in our MS.: L 3972, 'she.'
the principall Governors, I thincke I might also shewe some reasonable proffe of my speach. For by that which I and many have obserued, the like might be gathered. As for ensample, some of them seinge the ende of theire governement to drawe nighe, and some mischeefe or troublous practife growinge up, which afterwards may worke trouble to the next suceeding governor, will not attempt the redres or cuttinge of thereof, either for feare they shoulde leave the Realme unquiet att the ende of their governement, or that the next that cometh shoulde receave the same to quiett, and foe happily wynne more prayse thereof then they before. And therefore they will not as I say, seeke at all to redres that evill, but will eyther by graunting protecon for a tyme, or houldinge some enparlance with the rebell, or by treaty of comissioners, or other like devifes, onely smother and keepe downe the flame of the mischeife, foe as yt may not breake out in theire tyme of governement: what comes afterwards they care not, or rather wishe the worst. This coorse hath bene noted in some governors.

Eudox. Surelie Irenius this, yt yt were true, shold bee worthye of an heavy judgment: but yt ys hardlye to be thought, that any governor shold foe much either envy the good of that realme which is putt into his hande, or defraude her Majestie, whoe trufteth him foe much, or maligne his succesor which shall possesse his place, as to suffer an evill to growe up, which he might tymelye have kept under, or perhaps to nourishe yt with colloured countenance, or suche synifter meanes.

1 4015, "would."
Iren. I doe not certenly avouch, Eudoxus: but
the sequell of thinges doth in a manner prove, and
playnely speake foe much, that the governors usuallly
are envyous one of anothers greater glorie, which
yf they woulde seeke to excell by better governinge,
it shoulde be a moft laudable emulacon. But they
doe quite otherwic: for this (as yee maye marke,) is the comon order of them, that whoe cometh next 40.
in place will not followe that coorfe of government,
how ever good, which his predecessir helde, or for
defdaine of himselfe, or doute to have his doinges
drowned in another mans prayse, but will straighte
take a waye quite contrarye to the former: as yf the
former thought by keepinge under the Irishe, to
reforme them, the next, by discontynencinge the
Englishe will curry favor with the Irishe and foe
make his government seeme plauvable in veiwe, as
havinge all the Irishe at his comand: but he that 404
comes next after will perhappes followe neither thone
nor thother, but will dandle thone and thother in
fuche sorte, as he will fucke sweete out of them
both, and leave bitternes to the poore lande, which
yf he that comes after shall seeke to redres, he
shall perhappes finde such crosse as he shalbe
hardly able to beare, or doe any good that might
worke disgrace of his predecessors. Enamples hereof
yee maye see in the governors of late tymes
sufficientlye, and in others of former tymes more 405
manifeftlilie, when the government of that Realme
was comytted sometymes to the Geraldynes, as

l. 4023, 'foe much' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc., and
is not needed.
when the Howfe of Yorke helde the Crowne of England; sometymes to the Butlers, as when the Howfe of Lancafter gott the fame. And other whiles, when an Englishe governor was appointed, he perhappes founde enemies of both. And this is the wretchednes of that fatall kingdome which, I thincke, therefore in old tyme was not called amisfe Ranna or Sacra Infula, takinge Sacra for accursed. 4060

Eudox. I am forrie to heare soe much as yee reporte; and nowe I begynne to conceave somewhat more of the caufe of her contynuall wretchednes then heretofore I founde, and I wifhe that this in-convenyence were looked into: for sure me seemes yt is more waightie then all the former, and more hardly to be redresse the governor then in the governed; as a maladie in a vitall parte is more incurable then in an externall.

Iren. You saye very true; but nowe that wee have thus ended all the abuies and inconveniences of that goverment, which was our first parte, it followes next to speake of the seconde part, which was of the meanes to cure and redres the same, which wee must labor to reduce to the first begynninge thereof.

Eudox. Right soe Irenius: for by that which I have noted in all this your dísourfe, yee suppose that the whole ordinance and institucion of that realmes goverment was, both att first when yt was placed, evill plotted, and allfo since, through other over- fíghte, rune more out of square, [to] that disorder which yt is nowe come unto; like as twayne indirect

1. 4073, 'that . . . part' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.
IX. 10
lynes, the further they are drawen out, the further they goe afunder.

Iren. I doe see, Eudoxus, and as yee saye, soe thincke, that the longer that governement thus continueth, in the worfe case will that Realme bee; for yt is all in vayne that they nowe stryve and endeavor by fayre meanes and peaceable plotts to redres the same without firft removinge all those inconveniences, and newe framinge, as yt were in the forge, all that is wore out of fashion: for all other meanes wilbe but lost labor, by patchinge up one hole to make many; for the Irifh doe strongly hate and abhor all reformacon and subjeccion to the Englishe, by reaason that, havinge bene once subdued by them, they were thurf out of all their possessions. Soe as nowe they feare, that yt they were againe brought under, they shoulde likewise be expelled out of all, which is the caufe that they hate Englishe governement, accordinge to the sayinge, Quem metuunt oderunt: therefore the reformacon must nowe be with the strength of a greater power.

Eudox. But, me thinckes, that might bee by makinge of good lawes, and etablishinge of newe statuts, with sharpe penalties and punishements for amendinge of all that is presently amisse, and not as ye supposse, to begynne all as yt were anewe, and to alter the whole forme of the governement; which how daungerous a thinge it is to attempete, you your selfe must needs confesse, and they which have the managinge of the Realmes whole pollycie,

l. 4o87; 'caurse'; ll. 410a-3, 'the strength of' not in our MS., but in Collier, Morris, etc.
cannot, without greate cause, feare and refrayne: for all innovacon is perillous, in soe much as though yt be meante for the better, yet doe many accidents and fearefull events maye come betweene, as that it may hazard the losse of the whole.

Iren. Very true, Eudoxus; all chainge is to be fhunde, where the affayres stand in such state as that they may continyue in quietnes, or bee affyred at all to abide as they are. But that in the Realme of Ireland wee fee muche otherwise, for every day wee perceave the troubles growinge more upon us, and one evill growinge upon another, in soe much as there is noe parte founde nor affertayned, but all have theire eares upright, wayting when the watchworde fhall come that they shoule all rise generally into rebellion, and cast awaye the Englishe subjecon. To which there nowe little wanteth; for I thincke the worde be alreadye geven, and there wanteth nothinge but oportunitie, which trulie is the death of one noble perfon, whoe, beinge himselfe most stedfaft to his noble Queene and his Countrye, coastinge upon the Southe Sea, stoppeth the ingate of all that evill which is looked for, and holdeth in all thofe which are at his backe, with the terror of his greatnes, and thaffurance of his moft immovable loyalltye: And therefore where you thincke, that good and founde lawes might amend and reforme thinges amiffe there, you thincke Surely amiffe. For yt is vayne to prescribe lawes, where no man careth for keepinge of them, nor seareth the

1. 4138, 'honourable': ll. 4142-3, 'nor ... them' from Collier, Morris, etc.
danger for breaking of them. But all the realme is first to be reformed, and lawes afterwards to be made for keepinge and continuinge yt in that reformed estate.

_Eudox._ Howe then doe you thincke is the reformacon thereof to begynne, yt not by lawes and ordinances?

_Iren._ Even by the sword; for all those evilles must first be cut awaye with a stronge hande, before any good cann bee planted; like as the corrupt branches and unwholsome lawes are first to bee pruned, and the fowle mossed or scraped awaye, before the tree cann bringe forth any good fruite.

_Eudox._ Doe you blame me, even nowe, for wyshinge Kerne, Horfe-boyes, and Carrowes to be cleane cutt of, as too violent a meanes, and doe your selfe nowe prescribe the same medicyne? Is not the sworde the most violent redres that may bee used for any evill?

_Iren._ It is foé; but yet where no other remedye maye be found, nor no hope of recovery had, there must needes this violent meanes bee used. As for the loffe kinde of people which you woulde have cutt of, I blamed yt, for that they might otherwife perhappes bee brought to good, as namely by this way which I fett before you.

_Eudox._ Is not your waye all one with the former, in effecte, which you founde falte with, save onely this ods, that I faye by the halter, and you faye by the sword? what difference is there?

_l. 4153, ‘boughes’ l. 4157, ‘Kearooghs’ l. 4159, after ‘fame’ ‘too violent a’ miswritten again from previous line in our MS._
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

Iren. There is surely great, when you shall understand yt; for by the swords, which I named, I doe not meane the cuttinge of all that nacon with the sword, which farr bee yt from me, that ever I should thincke foe desparateli, or wifhe foe uncharitable, but by the sworde I meane the Royall power of the Prince, which ought to stretch yt selfe forth in ther cheife strengthe to the redressinge and cutting of of those evils, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people by good ordynance and goverment may be made good; but the evill that is of yt selfe evill, will never become good.

Eudox. I praye you then declare your minde at large, howe you woule wifhe that sworde, which you meane, to bee used to the reformacon of all those evils.

Iren. The first thinge must bee to sende over into that realme such a stronge power of men, as that shall perforce bringe in all that rebelious rout of loose people, which either doe nowe stonde out in open armes, or in wanderinge companies doe keepe the woodes, spoilinge and infesting the good subject.

Eudox. You speake nowe, Iren., of an infynite charge to her Majestie, to sende over such an armie as shoulde tredye downe all that standeth before them on foote, and laye on the grounde all the stiffe-necked people of that lande; for there is nowe but one Outlawe of any greate reckoninge, to wytt, the Earle of Tyrone, abroade in armes, against whome you see what huge charges thee hath bene
att this last yere, in sendinge of men, providinge of victuals, and makinge head against him: yet there is little or nothinge at all done, but the Queenses treasure spent, her people wasted, the poore countrye troubled, and the enemye neverthes brought into no more subjeccon then he was, or lift outwardlye to showe, which in efecte is none, but rather a scorne of her power, and emboldeninge of a proude Rebell, and an encouragement unto all like lewdelie disposed traytors that shall dare to lifte up theire heele against theire Soveraigne Lady. Therefore yt were harde counsell to drawe such an exceedinge charge upon her, whose event should be foe uncerten.

Iren. True indeede, yt the event shoulde bee uncerten; but the certentie of theeffecte hereof shalbe foe infallable as that noe reason cann gayne say yt, nether shal the charge of all this armie, which I demaund, bee much greater then foe much as in this last twoe yeres warres hath vainlye benn expended. For I dare undertake that it hath cost the Queene above 200000 poundes allready, and for the present charge, that she is nowe att there, amounteth to very nere 2000 poundes a monthe, whereof caft yee the counte; yet nothinge is done. The which some, had yt benn implied as yt shoulde bee, woulde have effecte al this that I nowe goe aboute.

Eudox. Howe meane you to have yt implied, but to be spent in the paye of soulyors, and provifion of victuall?

Iren. Right foe, but yt is nowe not disbursed at

4217, 'exceeding great' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 4228, '12000.'
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

once, as yt might bee, but drawn out into a longe length, by sendinge over nowe 20000 poundes, and next halfe yere 10000 pounds; soe as the fouldyer in the meane tyme, is for wante of due provision of vivtuall, and goode payement of his due, sterved 4240 and consumed; that of a 1000, which came over lustie able men, in halfe a yere there are not lefte 500. And yet is the Queens charge never the les, but what is not paid in present mony is accompted in debte, which will not be longe unpaied; for the Captaine, halfe of whose fouldyors are deade, and thother quarter never mustered, nor seene, comes shortlye to demand payement here of his whole accompte, where, by good meanes of some greate ones, and privie sharinge with the officers and 4250 servants of other some, he receiveth his debte, much leffe perhaps then was due, yet much more indeede then he justlye deservd.

Eudox. I take this, fure, to be no good husbandrye; for what must needs be spent, as good spent at once, where is inough, as to have it drawne out into longe delays, feinge that thereby both the service is much hindered, and yet nothinge savd: but yt may be the Queens treasure in foe greate occasions of huge disbursements as yt is well knowne she hath beene 4260 at lately, is not alwaies foe readye, nor foe plentiful, as yt can spare foe greate a some together, but beinge paide as yt is, now some and then some, yt is noe great burden unto her, nor any great ymponderishment to her coffers, feinge by such delaye of time that it daylie cometh in foe faft as shee poureth it out.

1. 4243, 'a whitt the' Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 4256, 'parleth.'
Iren. Yt may be as you saide, but for the goeing through of foe honorable a courfe, I doubt not but yt the Queenes coffers be not foe well stored, which wee are not to looke into, but that the whole 427e realme which now, as thinges are used, doe feele a continuall burthen of that wretched realme hangeinge upon theire backes, would, for a finall ryddance of that trouble, be once troubled for all; and pute to all theire shoudiers, and helpinge hands, and hartes alfoe, to the defrayinge of that charge, most gladfullie and willinglye; and surely the charge, in effect, is nothinge to the infinite greate good which shold come thereby, both to the Queene, and all this realme generallye, as when tyme ferveth shalbe 428e fhewed.

Eudox. How manye men then would you require to the finifhing of this which yee take in hand? and how londe space would you have them intertained?

Iren. Verely, not above ten thousand footemen, and a 1000 horfe, and all thofe not above the space of one year and a halfe; for I would still, as the heate of the service abateth, abate the number in paye, and make other provision for them, 429 as I will show.

Eudox. Surely, yt femeth not much that you require, nor noe longe time: but how would you haue them used? would you leade forth your armye against the enymie, and seeke him where he is to fight?

Iren. No, Eudox., it would not be, for it is well

1. 4297, 'it . . . be' from Collier, Morris, etc.
knowne that he is a flying enimye, hidynge himself in woodes and boggges, from whence he will not draw forth, but into some straight passage or peril-lous forde where he knowes the armye most needes passe; there will he lye in wait, and, if hee finde advantage fitt, will dangerously hazard the troubled fouldier. Therefore to seeke him owte that still flyeth, and follow him that cann hardlye be found, were vaine and bootlesse; but I would devide my men in garrifon upö his countrye, in such places as I would thincke might most annoy him.

Eudox. But how can that bee, Iren., with soe few men? for thenemy, as ye now see, is not all in one countrye, but some in Ulter, some in Connaug, and others in Leinster. So as to plainte stronge garrifons in all these places shoulde neede many moe men then you speake of, or, to plainte all in one, and to leave the rest naked, shoulde be but to leave them to the spoyle.

Iren. I would with the chiefe power of the armye to bee garrifoned in one countrye that is strongest, and the other upon the rest that are weakest: As for example, the Earle of Terrone is now counted the strongest; upon him would I laye 8000 men in garrifon, 1000 upon Pheagh Mac-Hugh and the Cavanaghges, and 1000 upon some partes of Con-naghe to be at the direction of the Governor.

Eudox. I see now all your men bestowed, but in what places would you sett theire garrifon that they might rife out most convenientlye to service? and though perhaps I am ignorant of the places, yet

1. 4322, 'Feighe': l. 4323, 'Kevanagh.'
A VEU OF THE

I will take the mapp of Ireland before me, and make my eyes in the mean while my schole-maistres, 433 to guid my understandinge to judge of your plott.

Iren. These 8000 in Ulster I would devide like-wise into foure parts, so as theire should be 2000 footmen in everye garrifon; the which I would thus place. Upon the Blackwater, in some convenient place, as high upon the ryver as might bee, I would laye one garrifon. Another would I put at Castleliffer, or Castlefine thethereaboutes, soe as they should have all the passages upon the river to Loghfoyle. The third I would place aboute Fermaugh or 434 Bondroife, soe as they might lye betweene Connaugh and Ulter, to serve upon both fides, as occasion shalbe offered; and this therefore would I have stronger then any of the rest, because yt shoule be most enforced, and most ymployed, and that they might put warded at Ballafhanon, Belike, and all those passages. The rest would I sett aboute Monnaghan or Belerbert, soe as yt shoule fronte both upon themmye that waye, and alfoe keepe the countye of Cavan and Meath in awe from 435 passinge of stranglers, and out gaders from thse partes, whence they use to come forthe, and oftentimes worke much mischiefe. And to everye of theife garrifons of 2000. footmen, I would have 200. horfemen added, for thone without thother can do but little service. The foure garrifons, thus beinge placed, I would have to bee victualled aforehand for half a yeare, which you will faie to

l. 4337, 'I would lay,' from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 4340, 'Fearn-monninghe': l. 4348, 'Monham.'
be harde, considering the corruption and usuall waft of victualls. But why should they not be aswell victualed for soe longe tyme, as the shipes are usuallie for a yeare, and sometymes twoe, seinge it is easier to keepe them on land then on water? There breade would I have in flower, so as it might be baked still to serve there want. There drinke alfoe there brewed within the, from tyme to tyme, and theire beef befor hande barrelled, the which maye be ufed as it is needed; for I make noe doubt but of freshe victuall they will sometimes purvay themselves amongst theire enimies Creete. Here unto would I alfoe have them have a store of hose and shooes, with such other necessities as maye be needfull for fouldiers, soe as they shall have no occaion to looke for reliefe from abroade, or occasion such trouble, for their contynuall supplye, as I see and have often proved in Ireland to be more coumerous to the Deputy, and more daungerous to them that releif them, then half the leadinge of an Armye; for the enemy, knowinge the ordinarie wayes by which theire relief most be brought them, ufeth comonylye to drawe himselfe into the straught passages thitherwarde, and oftestymes doth daungerously diftres them: besides, the pay of such force as should be sent for theire convoye, the charge of the carryages, the exactions of the country shalbe spared. But onely every halfe yeare the supplye brought by the Deputye himself, and his power, whoe shall then visite and overlooke all these garrifons, to see what is needed, to change what is expedient,
and to directe what he shall best advise. And these four garrisons yssuing forth, at such convenient tymes as they shall have intelligence or especiall upon the enemie, will foe drive him from one steade to another, and tennis him amongst them, that he shall finde noe where saie to keepe his creet, nor hide himselfe, but flyinge from the fyer shall fall into the water, and out of one daunger into another, that in shorte tyme his Creet, which is his most susteniance, shalbe waisted with prayeinge, or killed with drivinges, or starved for want of pasture in the woodes, and he himselfe brought so low, that he shall have no harte nor abliltye to endure his wretchednesse, the which will surely come to passe in verie short space; for one winters well followinge of him will foe pluckle him on his knees, that he will never be able to stand up againe.

Eudox. Doe you then thinke the winter tyme fitteste for the services of Ireland? how falls it then that our most imploymet be in forsuer, and the armyes then ledd commonly forth?

Iren. It is surely misconveyed; for yt is not with Ireland as with other countreyes, where the wars flame most in sommer, and the helmets glyfter brightest in the faire sonneshine: But in Ireland the winter yeildeth best servies, for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and howse the kerne; the ground is could and wett, which usueth to be his beddinge; the ayre is sharpe and bitter, which usueth to blow through his naked fides and legges; the kyen are barren and without.
milke, which useth to be his onelye foode, neyther yf he kill them then will they yeild hime flesh, nor yf hee keepe them will they give him foode; bedefes then being all in calf for the most parte, they will, through much chafing and driuinge, caft all their calues, and looffe all their milke, which shoulde releif him the next sommer after.

_Eudox._ I doe well understand your reafon; but by your leave, I have hard yt other wife faide, of some that weare outlawes, that in sommer they kept themselfes quiet, but in winter they would plaie theyre partes, and when the nights weare longest, then burne and spoyle moft, soe that they might safely returne before daye.

_Iren._ I have likewise harde and likewise fene proove thereof trewe: but that was of such outlawes as war eyther abiddinge in well inhabited countrie, as in Mounfter, all a-bordringe to the Englishe pale, as Pheah Mā Hugh, the Cavanaghes, the Mores, the Dempses, the Ketinges, the Kellies, or such like: For for them indeed the night is the fittest tymse for spoyleing and robbinge, because the nightes are then, as ye faide, longest and darkeft, and also the countriees all aboute are then fulle of corne, and good provision to be everye where gotten by them; but it is far otherwise with a stronge peopled enyme, that possesse a whole countrye, for thother beinge but a fewe, are indeede privilloye lodged, and kept in out villages and corners nigh the woodes and mountaynes, by some of their privie freinds, to

l. 4436, "retayne": l. 4441, "winter."
whom they bringe their spoyles and stealthes, and of whom they continually receive secreete releif; but the open enymye haveinge all his countrye wasted, what by him, and what by the soldiers, finddeth them succor in noe places. Townes there are none of which he may gett spoile, they are all burt; Countrys houses and farmers there are none, they be all fled; brede he hath none, he plowed not in sommer; fleshe he hath, but if he kill yt in winter, he shall want milke in sommer, and shortly want life. Therefore yt they bee well followed but one winter, yee shall have little worke to doe with them the next sommer.

Eudox. I doe now well perceave the dyfference, and doe verelye thinke that the winter tyme is there fytteft for service: withall I perceave the manner of youre handlinge the services, by drawinge suddent draughtes upon the enimye, when he looketh nott for you, and to watch advantage upon him, as he doth uppon you. By which straight keepinge of them in, and not sufferinge them longe at anye tyme to ref, I muft needes thinke that they most sone be brought low, and dryven to greate extremeeties. All which when you have perfourmed, and brought them to the verye last cast, suppose that eyther they will offer to come in unto you and submitt themselves, or that some of them will seeke to withdraw themselves, what is youre advise to doe? will you have them receaved?

Iren. Noe; but at the beginynge of these warrs, and when the garrifons are well planted and

l. 4452, 'and . . . life' from Collier, Morris, etc.
fortyfied, I would wish a proclamation wear made generally to come to there knowledge, that what perfons foever would within twentye dayes absolutelye submite themselves, exceptinge onely the verye principall and ringleaders, should finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the setlinge of thefe garrifons, such a terror and nere consideracon of there perilous estate will be stricken into moft 4490 that they will covet to draw awaye from there leaders. And againe I well knowe that the rebells themselves (as I saw by proof in the Desmond's warrs) will turne awaye all there rafcall people, whom they thinke unservifeable, as ould men, woemen, children, and hyndes, which they call churles, which would onely waft there victuals, and yeild them no ayde; but their cattell they will surely keepe awaye: These therefore though pollicye would turne them backe againe, that 4500 they might the reyther confume and afflict the other rebells, yet in a pittifull comiferation, I would wilhe them to be received; the reyther for that this base sorte of people doth not for the moft parte rebell of himselfe, have no harte thereunto, but is of force drawne by the grand rebels into there action, and caryed awaye with the violence of the streame, ells he should bee sure to loose all that he hath, and perchappes his life alsoe; the which now he caryeth with them, in 4510 hope to enjoy them there, but he is there by the stronge rebells themselves turned out of all, foe that the constraint hereof maye in him deferve pardon. Likewise yf anye of there able men or
gentlemen shall then offer to come awaie, and to bringe there creete with them, as some no doubt may steale them away prevelye, I wishe them alfoe to be receaved, for the disablinge of thenymye, but withall, that good assurance maye be taken of their true behayvor and absolute submisstion, and that they then be not suffered to remaine anye longer in those parts, no nor about the garifon, but sent awaye into the inner parts of the realme, and disperfed in such forte as they shall not come togeather, nor easelye retorn ye they would: For if they might be suffered to remaine about the garrifon, and there inhabite, as shall offer to till the ground, and yeild a greate parte of the profitt thereof, and of their cattell, to the coronell, wherewith they have heretofore tempted manye, they would (as I have by experience knowen) bee ever after such a gall and inconveynence to them, as that their profitt should not recompence their hurte; for they will privilie releive their freindes that are forth; they will send the enymye secrett advertiseement of all there purposes and journeies which they meane to make upon them; they will also not stike to drawe the enymye upon them, yea and to betraye the forte it self, by discovere of all the defects and disadvaunges ye anye bee, to the cuttinge of all their throats. For avoydinge whereof and manye other inconveinences, I wishe that they should be carried farr from thence into some other parts, foe as I faide, they come and submitt themselves, upon the first sommons: but afterwards I would have none received, but lefte
to their fortresse and miserable end: my reason is, for that those which afterwards remaine without, are stout and obstinate rebels, such as will never bee made dutyfull and obedient, nor brought to 4550 labor or civill conversation, having once tasted the licensius life, and being acquainted with spoyle and outrages, will ever after be ready for the like occasions, soe as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and therefore needfull to be cutt of.

Eudox. Surelye of such desperat persons, as will follow the course of their owne follye, there is noe compassion to bee hadd, and for the others yee have purposed a mercifull meanes, much more 4560 then they have deserved: but what shal bee the conclusion of this warr? for you have prefixed a shorte tyme of their contenewance.

Iren. The end I assure mee will be verie shorte, and much sooner then can bee, in soe great trouble (as yt semeth) hoped for, although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slaine by the soldier, yett thus beinge keepte from manurance, and their cattle from runinge abroade, by this hard restrainte, they would quicklye consume 4570 themselves, and devour one an other. The proof whereof I saw sufficientlie enampled in those late warrs in Mounfter; for notwithstandinge that the same was a most ritch and plentyfull countrye, full of corne and cattell, that you would have thought they would have beeene hable to stand longe, yett eare one yeare and a half they weare brought to such wretchednes, as that anye stonye
herte would have rewed the fame. Out of everye corner of the woode and glenns they came crepeinge forth upon theire handes, for theire legges could not beare them; they looked Anatomies [of] death, they spake like ghostes, crying out of theire graves; they did eate of the carrions, happye wheare they could find them, yea, and one another soone after, in soe much as the verye carcasses they spared not to scrape out of theire graves; and if they found a plott of water-cressles or shamrockes, theyr they flocked as to a feast for the time, yett not able long to contynewe therewithall; that in shorte space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentyfull countrye suddenly lefte voyde of man or beast: yett sure in all that warr, there perished not manye by the fworde, but all by the extremeytie of famyne which they themelves hadd wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to bee wondred how yt shoule foie shortly come to passe.

Iren. It is moost true, and the reason alsoe very readye; for ye must conceive that the strenght of all that nation is the Kearne, Gallowglasse, Stocagh, Horfman, and Horfboye, the which haveinge ben never ufed to have any thinge of theire owne, and now livinge of others, make no sparre of anye thinge but hauocke and confuion of all they meete with, whether yt bee theire frindes goods, or there foes. And if they happen to gett never foie greate

1. 4599, ‘foe shortly’ from Collier, Morris, etc.
spoyle at anye tyme, the same they spoyle and wafte 4610 at a tryce, as naturally delightinge in spoyle, though it doe themselves noe good. On thother side, whatsoever they leave unspent, the foldier, when he cometh there, he havocketh and spoyleth likeweife, soe that betweene them both nothinge is verye shortyel lefte. And yet this is verye necessarye to be donne, for the fonne finyshinge of the warr; and not onely this in this wife, but also all those subjects which border upon those parts, are eyther to bee removed and drawne awaye, or likeweife to bee spoyled, that the enymes may finde no succour therebye: for what the foldyere spares the rebell will surelye spoyle.

Eudox. I doe now well understand you. But now when all things are brought to this passe, and all filled with these ruefull spectacles of soe manye wretched carcaces starvinge, goodly countrys wafted, soe huge a defolation and confusion, as even I that doe but heare yt from you, and doe picture it in my mynd, doe greatelye pitty and commiserate it, yf it shal happen, that the state of this miferie and lamentable image of things shall bee toulde, and fellingelye presented to her sacred majestye, beinge by nature full of mercie and Clemencye, who is most inclynable to fuch pittyfull complaints, and will not indure to here fuch tragedyes made of her people and poore subjects as sone about her maie insinuate; then seee perhappe, for verye compasion of fuch calamityes, will not onely stopp the streame of fuch violence, and returne to her wonted myldnes, but alfoe cone them little thankes which have beene the aucthors and counsellers of fuch blodye plattformes.
Soe I remember that in the late governement of that good lord Graye, where after longe travell and many perillous affaiies, he hadd brought things almoft to this paffe that ye speake of, that yt was even made readye for reformation, and might have ben brought to what her majesty would, like complainte was made againft him, that he was a bloodye man, and regarded not the life of her subiectes noe more then dogges, but hadd wafted 465c and confumed all, foe as now thee had nothinge left; but to reigne in theire ashes: her Majesties eare was fonne lent thereunto, all suddentlye turned topyfe turvie; the noble Lord eftsoones was blamed; the wretched people pittied; and newe counfells plotted, in which it was concluded that a generall pardon should be sent over to all that would accepte of yt: upon which all former purposes were blancked, the Governor at a baye, and not onely all that greate and longe charge which thee hadd before beene at, 466c quite loft and cancelled, but alofe all that hope of good which was even at the doore putt backe, and cleane frustrate. All which whether yt be trew, or noe, your selfe cann well tell.

Iren. Too trewe, Eudox., the more the pittye, for I may not forgett foe memorables a thinge: neyther kann I be ignorante of that perillous devife, and of the whole meanes by which it was compassed, and verye cunninglye contrived, by foweinge firt dysfension betweene him and an other noble per- 467c -fonge, wherein they both at length found how notablie they had beene abuited, and how thereby,
under hand, this universal alteration of things was brought about, but then to late to stake the same; for in the mean time all that was formerly done with long labour and great toyle, was (as you saye) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom, who that well knewe, knewe to be most gentle, affable, lovinge and temperate; but that the necessity of that present state of things enforced him to that violence, and almost changed his verrye naturall disposition. But otherwise he was so farre from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he suffred not just vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of those which were afterwardes his accusers, had tafted to much of his mercye, and were from the gallowes brought to be his accusers. But his courfe indeede was this, that he spared not the heads and principalls of any mischevous practise or rebellion, but shewed sharpe judgement on them, chiefly for an example sake, that all the meaner sort, which also were then generally infected with that evill, might by terror thereof be reclaymed, and faved, yf it were [possible]. For in the last conspiracie of some of the English Pale, thinke you not that there were many more guyltie then [they] that felt the ponishment? or was there any almost clere from the same? yet he towched onely a fewe of speciall note; and in the triall of them also even to prevent the blame of crueltie and parciall proceedinge as seekinge their blood, which he, in his

\footnote{ll. 4687-8, 'had ... accusers' from Collier, Morris, etc.: ll. 4695-7, *For ... were,' *ibid.* : l. 4702, 'dealing.'}
great wisedome (as it seemeth) did fore-see would be objected against him; he, for avoydinge thereof, did use a singular discretion and regarde. For the Jury that went upon their triall, he made to be chosen out of their neerest kinnefmen, and their Judges he made of some their owne fathers, of others their uncles and dearest freindes, who when they could not but justly condemne them, yet uttered their judgment in abundance of teares, and yet even herein he was accompted bloody and cruel.

Eudox. Indeede fo have I heard it often fo spoken, but I perceyve (as I alwaies verely thought) that it was moft unjustly; for hee was alwaies knowne to be a moft juft, sincere, godly, and right noble man, far from suche stearnenesse, far from suche unrighteousnes. But in that sharpe execucon of the Spaniards at the forte of Suerwick, I heard it specially noted, and, if it were trewe as some reported, surely it was a great towche to him in honor, for some say that he promised them life; others that at the least he did put them in hope thereof.

Iren. Both the one and the other is moft untrue; for this I can assure you, my self beinge as neare them as any, that hee was so farre from promifinge or putting [them] in hope, that when firft their Secretary, called, as I remember Segnor Jeffrey, an Italian [being] fent to trate with the Lord Deputie for grace, was flatly refused; and afterwarde their Coronell, named Don Sebastian, came forth to intreate

l. 4713, 'it heere'—in England; but our text, 'it often,' is surely preferable to Dr. Morris's reading? l. 4719, 'Suerwicke': l. 4728, 'Geffray': l. 4730, 'denied.'
that they might part with their armes like fouldiers, at least with their lyves, accordinge to the custome of warre and lawe of Nations, it was strongly denied him, and tolde him by the Lord Deputie him selfe, that they could not iustly pleade either custome of warr, or lawe of Nations, for that they were not any lawfull enemie; and if they were, willed them to shewe by what commisyon they came thither into another Princes domynio...s to warre, whether from the Pope or the Kinge of Spayne, or any other. Then when they faide they had not, but were onely adventurers that came to seeke fortune abroade, and serve in warrs amongst the Irifhe, who desired to entertaine them, it was then tolde them, that the Irifhe them selves, as the Earle and John of Desmonde with the rest, were no lawfull enemie, but Rebells and traytors; and therefore they that came to succor them no better then rogues and runnagates, specially comminge with no licence, nor commisyon from their owne Kinge: so as it shoule be dishonorable for him in the name of his Queene to condicon or make any tearmes with suche rascalls, but left them to their choyce, to yielde and submytt them selves, or no. Wherupon the said Coronell did absolutely yeild him selfe and the fort, with all therein, and craved onely mercy, which it being thought good not to shew them, both for daiunger of them selves ye, being faved, they shoule afterwardes joyne with the Irifhe, and also for terror of the Irifh, who were muche imbaldned by those forreynue succours, and also put in hope of more ere longe; there was no other way but to make that short ende of them
which was made. Therefore most untruly and maliciously doe theis evil tongues backbite and sclaundre the sacred ashes of that most just and honorable personage, whose lease vertue, of many most excellent which abounded in his heroicke spirit, they were never able to aspire unto.*

Eudox. Truly, Iren: I am right glad to be thus satisfied by you in that I have often heard questioned, and yet was never hable, to choke the mouth of fuche detractors with the certayne knowledge of their sclaundrous untruthes: neither is the knowledge thereof impertinent to that which we formerly had in hand, I meane to the through prosectinge of that sharpe courfe which yee have fett downe for the bringing under of those rebels of Ulifter and Connaght, and preapringe a waye for their perpetuall reformacon, leaft happly, by any fuche synifter sugestions of creweltie and to mucho bloodshed, all the plott might be overthrowne, and all the cost and labour therein imploied be utterly loft and caft away.

Iren. Yee say most true; for after that lorde callinge away from thence, the two lorde Juftices contynued but a while: of which the one was of mynde, as it seemed, to have contynued in the footinge of his predecessour, but that he was curbed and restrayned. But the other was more myldely.

* In our own day Sir John Pope Hennessy has revived these old mendacities. See our new Life of Spenser in Vol. I. for a critical handling of his 'Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland,' 1883 (Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.), than which a more sudaciously one-sided or malignant book has never been written. Sir John does presume on the ignorance of his readers.—G.
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

... disposed, as was meete for his profession, and willinge to have all the woundes of that comonwealth healed and recured, but not with the heed as they shoulde bee. After, when [he] was gone Sir John Parrott, succeedinge, as it were, into another mans harvest, founde an open way to what course he lift, the which he bent not to that poynct which the former governors intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in scorne of the former, and in a vayne vaunt of his owne councells, with that which he was to 4800 willfully carried; for he did tresde downe and disgrace all the Englishe, and sett up and countenance the Irishe all that he could, whether thinkinge thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to the government, wherein he thought muche amyse, or prively plotting some other purposes of his owne, as it partly afterwardes appeared. But surely his manner of goverment could not be founde nor holsome for that Realme, beinge so contrary to the former. For it was even as two phesitions shoulde 4810 take one sick bodie in hande at two sundry tymes; of which the former woulde minister all things meete to purge and keepe under the bodie, the other to pamper and strengthen it sodaynely agayne, whereof what is to be looked for but a moit dangerous relapse? That which we now fee through his Rule, and the next after him, happened thereunto, beinge now more daungerously sikk then ever before. Therefore by all meanes it must be foreseene and assured, that after once entring into this 4820 course of reformacon, there bee afterwardes no remorfe

l. 4792, 'pityfull woundes,'
or drawinge back for the sight of any suche uefull obiect as must therupon followe, nor for compassion of their calamities, feeinge that by no other meanes it is possible to recure them, and that theis are not of will, but of verie urgent necessitie.

Eudox. Thus farre then you have now proceeded to plant your garrifons, and to direct their services; of the which nevertheless I must needes conceive that there cant not be any certayne direction sett downe, so that they must followe the occasions which shalbe [daylie] ofred, and diligently awayted. But, by your leave Iren., notwithstanding all this your carefull fore-fight and provision, me thinkes I see an evill lurk unshipied, that may chaunce to hazard all the hope of this great service, if it be not verie well looked unto; and that is, the corruption of their captaynes: for though they be placed never so carefully, and their companyes filled never so sufficiently, yet may they (if they lift) discarde when they pleafe, and fende away suche as will willingly be ridd of that daungerous and harde service; the which well I wott, is their comon custome to doe, when they are laide in garrifon, for then they may better hide their defaultes, then when they are in campe, where they are contynually eyed and noted of all men. Besides, when their pay costeth, they will (as they ufe) detayne the greatest porcons thereof at their pleasure, by an hundred shiftes that neede not here be named, thorough which they oftentymes deceyve the fouldior, abuse the Queene, and greatly hinder the service. So that lett the Queene pay
never so fully, the muster-master view them never so diligently, lett the deputie or generall looke never so exactly, yet they can cozen them all. Therefore mefeemes it were good, yf at least it be possible, to make some provision for this inconvenience.

Iren. It will surely be very harde; but the cheifest helpe for prevencon hereof must be the care of the coronell that hath the goverment of all his garifon, to have an eye to their alteracon, to knowe the nomber and names of the sick fouldiors, and the slayne, to marke and observe their rankes in their dayly risinge forthe to service, by which he cannot easely bee abused, so that he him self be a man of speciall afferance and integritie. And therefore good regarde is to be had in the chofinge and appoynting of them. Besides, I would not by any means that the captaynes shoulde have the payeinge of their fouldiors, but that there shoulde a pay-master be appoynted, of speciall trust, which shoulde pay every man accordinge to his captaynes tickett, and the accompt of the clarke of his bande: for by this means the captayne will never seeke to falsifie his alteracons, nor to dyminifie his companyes, nor to deceyve his fouldiors, when nothinge thereof shalbe for his gayne. This is the manner of the Spanyardes captaynes, who never hath to meddle with his fouldiors pay, and indeede scorneth the name as base, to be counted his fouldiors pugadore; whereas the contrary amongst vs hath brought thinges to so bad a passe, that there is no captayne, but thinkes his band very sufficient, yf he can muster

1. 4867, 'greate.'
A VEU OF THE

iii. [three score], and sticks not to say openly, that he is unworthy to have a captayneship, that cannot make it cccc. by the yere, the which they right well verifie by the prooфе.

Eudox. Truly I thinke this is a verie good meane to avoide that inconvenience of captaynes abufions. But what say you of the coronell? what 4890 authoritie thinke you meete to be gyven him? whether will you allowe him to proteeff, to saufe condufc, [and] to have marshall lawe as they are accustomed?

Iren. Yea verely, but all thes to be lymited with verie straight instructions. As thus for protections, that hee shall have authority after the first proclamaffion, for the space of twentie dayes, to proteeff all that shall come unto them, and then to sende us to the Lord Deputie, with their sauf conduff or paffe, 4900 to be at his disposicon; but so as none of them turne back agayne, beinge once comen, but be prefently sent away out of the countrie, unto the next thereff, and so conveyed in faufftie. And likewise for marshall lawes, that to the fouldier it be not extended, but by triall formerly made of his cryme, by a Jury of his fellowe fouldiers as it ought to be, and not rashly, at the will or displeasure of the coronell, as I have sometyme scene to lightly. And as for other of the rebells that shall light into their 4910 handes, that they be well aware of what condicon they be, and what holding they have. For, in the last generall warres there, I knewe many good free-holders executed by marshall lawe, whose land was

ll. 4897-8, 'that . . . to' from Collier, Morris, etc.
thence saved to their heirs, which should otherwise have escheated to her Majestie. In all which, the great discretion and uprightness of the coronel; him self is to be the chiefest stay bothe of all these doubts, and for many other difficulties that may in the service happen.

Eudox. Your caution is verie good; but now towchinge the arche-Rebell him self, I meane the Earle of Tyrone, if he, in all the tyme of their warrs, should offer to come in and submytt him self to her Majestie, woulde you not have him receyved, gyvinge good hostages, and sufficient assurance of him self?

Iren. No, marry; for there is no doubt, but he will offer to come in, as he hath done dyvers tymes alreadie, but it is without any intent of true submission, as the effect hath well shew'd; neither indeede can he now, if he woulde, come in at all, nor gyve that assurance of him self that should be meete, for being, as he is, very subtilly headed, seinghe him self now so farre engaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his submission he can purchase to him self any fauhtie, but that hereafter, when thinges shalbe quieted, theis his villanyes wilbe ever remembre'd? and whensoever he shall tredde awry (as needes the most righteous must some tymes) advantage wilbe taken thereof, as a breche of his pardon, and he brought to a reconinge for all former matters: besides, how hard it is for him now to frame him selfe to subjection, that havinge once sett before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath therunto founde not onely encouragement from the greatest
Kinge of Christendome, but also founde great fayntnes in her Majesties withstandinge [him], whereby he is animated to thinke that his power is to defende him, and offende further then he had done, when so ever he pleasure, lett every reasonale man judge. But yf he him self should come in, and leave all other his accomplices without, as Adonel, Macmahon, Mackuyre, and the rest, he must needes thinke that then, even they will eare longe cut his throate, which having drawen them all into this occasion, now in the mydest of their trouble gyveth them the flipp; wherby he must needes perceyve how impossible it is for him to submytt himselfe. But yet if he woulde so doe, can he gyve any assurance of his good obedience? For how weake holde there is by hostages, hath to often been proved, and that which is spoken of takeinge Shan Oneales fonnes from him, and setting them up against him, is a very perilous counsell, and not by any manes to be put in proffe; for were they lett forth and coulde overthrowe him, who shoulde afterwaerdes overthrowe them, or what assurance can be had of them? It wilbe like the tale in Æsoppe of the wilde horse, who, havinge enmytie against the Stagg, came to a man to defiere his aide against his enemye, who yeilding therunto mounted upon his back, and so following the Stagg ere longe flew him, but then when the horse woulde have him alight, he refused, but kept him ever after in his service and subjection. Suche, I doubt woulde be the prose of Shane Oneales fonnes. Therefore it is most daungerous to attempt any suche
plott, for even that very manner of plott, was the 
means by which this traytorous Earle is now made 
great : for when as the last Oneale, called Turlagh 
Lenagh, began to stand..upon some ticle termes, this 
fellow, then called Baron of Dungafton, was sett up 
as it were) to beard him, and countenaunced and 
strengthened by the Queene so farr, as that he is 
now hable to kepe her selfe play : muche like unto 
a gamefter which having loft all, borroweth of his 4970 
next fellowe gamefter that is the moft wynner, some-
what to maynetayne play, which he, fetting unto him 
agayne, shortly therby wynneth all from the wynner. 

\textit{Eudox.} Was this rebell then sett up at first by 
the Queene (as you saie), and now become so 
unduetifull? 4980 

\textit{Iren.} He was I assure you the [moft] outcaft of 
all the Oneales then, and lifted up by her Majestie 
out of the dut, to that he hath now wrought him 
selge unto; and now he playeth like the frozen 
snake, who beinge for compassion relieved by the 
husbandman, soone after he was warme begun to 
hishe, and threaten danger even to him and his. 

\textit{Eudox.} He surely then deserveth the ponishment 
of the snake, and shoulde worthely be hewed to 
peeces. But yf you like not the setting Shane 
Oneales fonnes against him, what say you then to 
that advife which I hearde was gyven by some, 
to drawe in the Scotts, to serve against him? how 
like you that advife? 

\textit{Iren.} Much worfe then the former; for who that 

\begin{quote} 
1. 4970, ' \textit{Tyrrelagh O'Neale}': 1. 4980, 'Eudox. Was \ldots unduetifull' from Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 4992, 'ray/ing up of.' 
\end{quote}
is experienced in those partes and knoweth not that
the Oneales are neerely aliied unto the Mac Oneales
of Scotland, and to the Earle of Argill, from whom 5000
they use to have all ther succors of those Scottes and
Redshanks? Befides, all these Scottes are, through
long continuance, intermingled and aliied to all the
inhabitants of the North; so as ther is no hope they
will ever be wrought to serve faithfully againft ther
ould frends and kinsmen; And if they would, how
when the warrs are finishe and they have over
thrown him, shall they themselves be put out?
Do not all know, that the Scotts were the first
inhabitants of all the North, and that those which 5010
are now called North Irith were indeed very Scotts,
which challing the ancient inheritance and dominion
of that country to be their owne anciently. This
were then but to leape out of the pan into the
fier; for the chiefeste caveat and provifon in the
reformacon of the North must be to keepe out the
Scotts.

Budar. Indede, I remember that in your discours
of the first peopling of Ireland, you shewed that the
Scithian or Scotts were the first that sat downe in 502
the North, wherby it femes they may challeng some
right therin. How comes it then that Oneale claimes
the dominion therof, and this Earle of Tirone faith
the right is in him? I pray you resolve me herin;
for it is very needefull to be knowne, and maketh
moft unto the right of the war against him, whos
successe useth commonly to be according to the
juftnes of the caus, for which it is made: for if
Tiron have any right in that Seigniofy me seemes
it should be wrong to thrust him out: or if (as I remember you sayd in the beginning) that Oneale, when he acknowleged the King of England for his liege Lord and Soveraigne, did, as he allegeth, reseve in the same commision all his seignories and rights unto him self, it should be accounted unjust to thrust him out of the same?

Iren. For the right of Onele in the Seigniory of the North, it is surely none at all: for besides that the Kings of England conquered all the realme, and therby invested all the right of that land to themselves and ther heires and succesours for ever, so as nothing was left in Onele but what he received back from them, Onele himself never had any auncient Seigniory in that country, but what by usurpation and incrochment, after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he got upon the Englifh, whos lands and posessions being formerly wafted by the Scotts, under the leading of Edward le Bruce, as I formerly declared unto you, he eftefones entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detayned, through the others occupations and greate affaires which the Kings of England one after fell into here at home, so as they could not intend to the recovery of that country of the North, nor refrayning the infolency of Oneale; who, finding none now to withstand him in that defolation, made himself Lord of thos few poeple that remained there, upon whom ever sithence he hath contenewed the first usurped power, and nowe exacteth and extorteth upon all men

1. 5030, miswritten 'wrought' in our MS. : l. 5040, 'therby assumed and.'
what he lift: foe that nowe to subdue or expell an 506
usurper, should be no unjust enterprize nor wrongfull
war, but a restitution of an auncient right unto the
croune of England, from whence they were moft
unjustly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus satisfyed
by you, that I may the better satisfy them whom
I have often heard to objec5 these doubts, and
launderously to barck at the course that are held
against that traiterous Earle and his adherene.
But now that you [have] thus settled your service 507:
for Ulter and Connaght, I would be glad to
heare your opinion for the prosecuting of Feagh
McHugh, who being but a base villaine, and of
himself of no power, yet so continually troubleth
that state, notwithstanding that he lyeth under
ther nose, that I disdain his bould arrogancy,
and think it to be the greatest indignity to the
Quene that may be, to suffer such a caytiffe
play such reakes, and by his esample not onely
to give hart and incoragement to all such bold 508
rebells, but also to yeild them succor and refuge
against her Majestie, whensoeuer they fly into his
Comerick: wherfore I would first with, before
you enter into your plot of service against him,
that you should lay open by what means he, being
so base, first lifted him self up to this dangerous
greatnesse and how he maynteyneth his part against
the Quene and her power, notwithstanding all that
hath bin done and attempted agaist him. And
whether also hee have any pretence of right in the 509

1. 5079, 'Rex,' Collier and Morris: l. 5083, 'Cummerreight.'
lands he houldeth, or in the warrs that he maketh for the same?

_Iren._ I will so, at your pleasure, and since you desire to know his beginning, I will not only discover the beginning of his private house, but also the originall of all his Sept of the Birnes and Tooles, so far as I have learned the same from some of them selves, and gathered the rest by reading: This poeple of the Birnes and Tooles (as before I shewed you my conjecture) descended from the auncient Britons, which first inhabited all those eastern parts of Ireland, as ther names do betoken; for Brin in the Britons language signifieth woody, and Toll hilly, which names, it semeth, they tooke of the country which they inhabited, which is all very mountaine and woody. In the which it semeth that ever sithence the comming in of the English with Dermonigile, they have continewed: Whether that ther country being so rude and mountaynous was of them despifed, and thought [un]woorthy the inhabiting, or that they were receaved to grace by them, and suffred to injoy ther lands as unfit for any other, yet it semeth that in some places of the same, they did put foote, and fortifed with sundry castles, of which the ruins there do only now remayne, since which time they are growne to that strength, that they are able to lift up hand against all the estate; and now lately, through the boldnesse and late good succeffe of this Feagh McHugh, they are so far

l. 5103, 'hillye': l. 5104, 'hole, valley, or darke': l. 5108, 'Deurmind-ne-Galh.'
imboldned, that they threaten peril even to Dublin, over whos neck they continewally hang. But touch-
ing your demand of thefe Feaghs right unto that
countrey, or the feignory which he claimes therin,
it is moft vaine and arrogant. For this you cannot
be ignorant of, that it was part of that which was
given in inheritance by Dermot McMurrogh, Kinge
of Leinfter, to Strangbow with his daughter, and
which Strangbow gave over to the King and his
heires, so as the right is absolutely now in her 51
Majeftie; and if it were not, yet could it not be in
this Feagh, but in Obrin, which is the ancient Lord
of all that countrey; for he and his auncetours were
but followers unto O Brin, and his grandfather, Shane
Mac Turlogh, was a man of meaneft regard among
them, neither having wealth nor power. But his
fonn Hugh Mac Shane, the father of this Feagh,
frft began to lift up his head, and through the
strength and great fatnffe of Glan-Malor, which
adiogneth unto his house of Ballenecan, drew unto 51
him many theves and outlawes, which fled unto the
fuccor of the glenn, as to a Sanctuary, and brought
unto him part of the poyle of all the country,
through which he grew strong, and in short space
getting to him self a great name therby amongst
the Irrefh, in whos footing this his fonn continewing
hath, through many unhappy occasions, increasfed his
name, and the opinion of his greatnffe, fo that now
he is become a dangerous enemy to deale withall.

1. 5127, 'Deurmin'd': l. 5132-4, 'which . . . O'Brin' from Collier,
Morris, etc.: l. 5135, 'Tirrelagh': l. 5139, 'Malsirh': l. 5140,
'Ballinacorrh.'
Eudox. Sure, I commend him, that being of him 5150 self of so bace a condicon, hath through his owne hardenesse lifted himself to the height that he now dare front princes, and make tearmes with great potentates; the which as it is honorable to him, so it is to them most disgracefull, to be bearded of such a base varlet, that being of late growne out of the dunghill beginneth now to overcrose so high mountaines, and make him self great protector of all outlawes and rebells that will repayre unto him. But do you thincke that he is now so dangerous an 5160 enemy as he is counted, or that it is so hard to take him doun as some suppose?

Iren. No verelye, there is no great reckoninge to bee made of him; for hadd he ever beene taken in hand, when the rest of the Realme, or at leaft the parts adjoyninge, hadd beene quiet, as the honorable gentleman that nowe governeth there, I meane Sir Willyam Ruffell, gave a notable attempte thereunto, and hadd worthylie performed yt, yf his courfe hadd not bene crossed unhappelye, he could not have 5170 stood thre moneths, nor ever have looked up against a very meane power: but now all the parts about him being up in a madding moode, as the Mores in Leafe, the Cavanaghes in the county of Wexford, and some of the Butlers in the county of Killkenny, they all flock unto him, and draw unto his country, as to a strong hould where they thincke to be safe from all that prosecute them: And from thence they do at ther pleasures breake out into all the borders adjoyning, which are well poepled countries, as the 5180

1. 5155, miswritten 'grateful' in our MS,
countys of Dublin, of Kildare, of Carlow, of Kilkenny, of Wexford, with the spoyles whereof they victell and strengthen them selves, which should in short time be starved, and sore pined; so that what he is of him self you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then, by so much as I gather out of your speach, the next way to end the warrs with him, and to roote him quite out, should be to keepe him from invading of thos countries adjoyning, which as I suppose, is to be donn, by drawing all the inhabitants of thos next borders away, and leaving them utterly waft, or by planting garifons upon all thos frontieres about him, that, when he shall breake forth, may fet upon him and shorten his retourn.

Iren. You conceive very rightly, Eudox., but for the dispoepling and driving away all the inhabitants from the countries about him, which ye speake of, should be great confusion and trouble, aswell for the unwillingneffe of them to leave ther possession, as also for placing and providing for them in other countries, me seemes, the better course should be by planting of garrifons about him, the which, when foever he shall looke forth, or be drawne out with desire of the spoyle of thos borders, or for necessitie of victuall, shall be alwayes ready to intercept his going or comning.

Eudox. Where then do you wish thes garrifons to be planted, that they may serve best against him; and how many in every garrifon?

Iren. I my self, by reason that, as I told you, I 521

1. 5181, 'Catarlague': l. 5184, 'soone pined away': l. 5206, 'going or,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 5210, 'as I told you,' ib.
am no marshall man, I will not take upon me to direct fo dangerous affaires, but only as I understand by the purpoifes and plotts, which the Lord Grey who was well experienced in that service, against him did lay downe: to the performance whereof he only required a 1000. men to be layd in 4. garrisons: that is, at Ballincore, 200 footemen and 50. hors, which shoul'd shut him out of his great glenn, whereto he fo much trufteth; at Knocklough 200. footemen and 50. hors, to answer the county of Carlo; at 5220 Arcllo or Wicklo 200 footemen and 50 horfemen, to defend all that side towards the sea; in Shelelagh 100 footemen which shoul'd cut him from the Cavernaghnes, and the county of Wexford; and about the 3 castles 50. horfmen, which shoul'd defend all the county of Dublin; and 100 footemen at Talbotts toune, which shoul'd keepe him from breaking into the county of Kildare, and be always on his neck on that side: the which garrisons, fo lade, will fo bufy him, that he shall never rest at home, nor 5230 stirr forth abrode but he shall be had; as for his Creete they can not be above ground, but they must nedes fall into ther hands or fterve, for he hath no faftnesse nor refuge for them, or his partakers of the Mores, Butlers, and Cavanaghnes. They will fone leave him, when they fee his faftnesse and strong places thus taken from him.

Eudox. Surely this femeth a plot of great reason, and small difficulty, which promifeth hope of a short end. But what speciall directions will you 5240

1. 5217, 'Ballincorrick': 1. 5220, 'Caterlaghe': 1. 5221, 'and ... horfemen,' Collier, Morris, etc.
set done for the services and risings out of the garrisons?

Iren. None other then the present occasions shall minister unto them, and as by good spialls, whereof ther they cannot want store, they shall be drawne continually upon him, so as one of them shall be stilt upon him, and sometimes all at one instant bayte him. And this I assure my self, will demand no long time, but will be all finished in the space of one yere; which how small a thing it is, unto the eternall quietnesse which shal therby be purchased to the realme, and the great good which should grow to her Majestie, should me thinck readily draw on her Highnesse to the undertaking of the enterprize.

Eudox. You have very well me semes, Irenius, plotted a course for the achieving of the wars now in Ireland, which semes to ask no long time, nor great charg, so as th'effecting thereof be committed to men of some truft, and some ex-perience, aswell in the sayd country as in the manner of thos services; for if it be left in the hands of such raw captaines as are usuallly sent out of England, being thereto preferred only by frendship, and not choyen by sufiiciently, it will sone fall to the ground.

Iren. Therfore it were meete me thincks that such captaines onely were hereto impoyed, as have formerly servd in that country, and bin at least lieutenants unto other captaines there. For other wise, being brought and transferred from other services abroade, as in France, in Spaine, and in
the Low-countries, though they be of good experience in those, and have never so well deserved, yet in these they will be new to seek, and, before they have gathered experience, they shall buy it with great loss to her Majesty, either by hazarding their companies, through ignorance of the places, and manner of the Irish services, or by losing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being 5280 but short, in which it might be finished, before they have almost taken out a new lesson, or can tell what is to be done.

Eudox. You are no good friend to new captains it seems, Irenius, that you bar them from the credit of this service: but to say truth, me thinks it were mete, that any one, before he come to be a captain, should have bin a soldier; for, Parere qui nescit, nescit imperare. And besides, there is great wrong done to the ould soldier, who from all means 5290 of advancement (which is due unto him) is cut off, by shuffling in these new cutting captains into their places, for which he hath long served, and perhaps better deserved. But now those that have thus as I suppose finished all the war, and brought all things to that low end which you speake of, what course will you take for the bringing in of that reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this dissolute estate, in which me thinkes I behold them now left, unto that perfect establishment 5300 and new commonwealth which you have conceived, of which so great good may redound to her Majesty,
and an assured peace be confirmed? for that is that
wherunto we are now to looke, and do greatly long
for, being long since made weary with the huge
charg which you have lade upon us, and with the
strong indurance of so many complaints, so many
delayes, so many doubts and dangers, as will hereof
I know well, arife: unto the which before you come,
it were mete me thincks that you should take some
order for the fouldier, which is now first to be dis-
charged and disposed of, some way; the which if
you do not well fore-see, may grow to a great incon-
venience, as all this that we suppohe you have quit
us from, by the loose leaving of so many thousand
fouldiers, which from hence forth will be unfit for
any labor or other trade, but must either seke service
and employment abroade, which may be dangerous,
or ells will perhaps imploy them selves here at home,
as may bee discomodious.

Iren. You say very true; and it is a thing much
misliked in this our common-wealth that no better
cours is taken for such as have bin imployed once in
service, but that returning, whether maymed, and so
unable to labor, or otherwise, though hole and found,
yet afterward unwilling to worke, or rather willing
to make worke for the hang-man. But that nedeth
an other confideration; but to this that we have now
in hand, it is far from my meaning to leave the
fouldier so at randome, or to leave that waft realme
so weake and deftitute of strength, which may both
defend it against others that might seke to set upon

l. 5327, 'fett the hangman a woorke': l. 5330, 'so . . . randome'
from Collier, Morris, etc.
it, and also kepe it from that relaps which I before did forecast. For it is one speciall good of this plot which I would devise, that six thousand soldiers of thofe whom I have now imploied in that service, and made throughly acquainted both with the state of the country, and manners of the people, shoud henceforth be still continewed, and for ever main
tayne of the country, without any charg to her Majestie; and the rest that either are ould, and unable to serve longer, or willing to fall to thriste, (as I have fene many soldiers after ther service to prove very good husband,) shoud bee placed in parts of the lands by them woonn, at such rate, or rather better then others, to whom the same shall be let.

Eudox. Is it possible, Irenius? can ther be any such means devised that fo many men should be kept still for her Majesties service without any charg to her Majestie at all? Surely this were an exceed
ing great good, both to her Heighnesse to have so many ould soldiers always ready at call, to what purpose soever she lift to imploy them, and also to have that land therby so strenghtned, that it shall neither feare any forreigne invasion, nor practife, which the Irish shall ever attempt, but shall kepe them under in continewall aye and firme obedience.

Iren. It is so indede. And yet this truly I do not take to be any matter of great difficulty, as I think it will also sone appeare unto you. And first we will speake of the North part, for that the same is of most weight and importance. So sone as it shall appeare that the enemy is brought doune, and
the stoute rebell either cut of, or driven to that wretchednesse that he is no longer able to hould up hand, but will come into any condicions, which I assure my self will be before the end of the second Winter, I wish that there be a generall proclamation made, that whatsoever outlawes will frely come in, and submit themselves to her Majesties mercy, shall 5 have liberty so to do, where they shall either find that grace they defier, or retourn againe in safety: upon which it is likely that so many as survive, will come in to sue for grace, of which who so are thought mete for subjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be receaved, or ells all of them, for I thinck that all will be but a very few; upon condicon and assurance that they will submit themselves absolutely to her Majesties ordinance for them, by which they shall be assured of life and liberty, 5 and be onely tied to such condicons as shall bee thought by her mete for contayning them ever after in due obedience. To the which condicons I nothing doubt but that they will all moft readily, and upon ther knees submit them selves, by the proofe of that which I saw in Mounfter. For upon the like proclamation ther, they all came in tagge and ragge, and when as afterwards many of them were denied to be received, they bad them doe with them what wolde, for they would not by noe meanes returne, 5 nor goe forth. For in that case who will not accept almost of any conditions, rather then dye of hunger and misere?

1. 5366, 'his head': l. 5390, 'for ... not' from Collier, Morris, etc.
Eudox. It is very likely so. But what then is the ordinance, and what be the conditions which you will purpose unto them, that shall serve unto them an assurance of life and liberty?

Iren. So soon as they have given the best assurance of them selves which may be required, which must be I suppose some of their principal men to remain in hostage one of another, and some other for the rest, for other surety I reckon of none that may bynde them, neyther of wyfe, neyther of children, fynce then perhaps they wold gladly be rydd of both from the famine; I would have them first unarmed utterly, and stript Quite of all there warlike weapons, and then, these conditions sett downe and made knowne unto them; that they shalbe brought and removed with such creete as they have, into Lympfter, wher they shalbe placed, and have land given them to occupy and to lyve upon, in such parte as shalbecome good subjectes, to labour thenceforth for theire lyvinge, and to apply them selves unto honest trades of Civility as they shal everye one be founde meete and able for.

Eudox. Where then, a Gods name, will you place them in Lintfer? or will you finde out any new land ther for them that is yet unknowne?

Iren. Noe, I will place them in all the countrie of the Birnes and Toolis, which Feagh McHugh hath, and in all the landes of the Cavanges, which are now in rebellion, and all the landes which will fall to hir Majestie there-aboute, which I know to be very spacious and large yeanough to

1 5396, 'propofe': 1 5410, = Linfter.
contayne them, being very nere twenty or thirty myles wide.

_Eudox._ But what then will ye doe with all the Birnes, the Tooles, and the Cavanaghes, and all those that now are joined with them?

_Iren._ At the same very tyme, and in the same manner that I make that proclamation to them of Ulster, will I alfoe have yt made to these; and uppon ther submiffion therunto, I will take lyke assurance of them as of thother. After which I will translate all that remaine of them unto the places of the other in Ulster, with there Creete, and what els they have left them, the which I will cause to be devided amongst them in some meete forte, as each may therby have somewhat to sustayne him selfe a while withall, untill, by his further travell and labor of the yearth, he shalbe able to provide himselfe better.

_Eudox._ But will you then give the lande frely unto them, and make them heires of the former Rebells? soe may you perhapps make them heires alfo of their former villanies and diforders; or how els will you dyfpofe of them?

_Iren._ Not so; but all the landes I will give unto Englifhmene whom I will have drawne thither, whoe shal have the fame with fuch eftates as shalbe thought meeete, and for fuch rente as shal eft-foes bee rated: under every of those English men will I place some of thofe Irifh to be the tenanites for a certayne rent, accordinge to the quentity of fuch lande as every man shal have allotted unto him, and shalbe

1. 5434-5; *After... others* from Collier, Morris, etc.
founde able to meete, wherin this special regard shalbe hadd, that in noe place under any lande lorde there shal remaine of them planted together, but dyserfed wide frome there acquaintances, and scattered far abroad thorough all the country: for that is the evill which I nowe synde in all Ireland, that the Irith dwell altogether by there feptes, and severall nacions, so as they may practise or conspire what they will; wheras if there were English shedd amongst them and placed over them, they should not bee able once to styr or murmure, but that yt should be knowne, and thay shortned accordynge to there demerite.

Eudox. Ye have good reason; but what rating of rentes meane you? to what end doe you purpose the fame?

Iren. My purpose is to rate the rente of all those landes of her Majestie in such sorte, unto those English men as shall take them, as thay may be well able to lyve thereupon, yeilding hir Majestie a reasonable cheiserie, and also give a competent maintenance unto the garrisons, which shall ther be left amongst them; for these soldiers (as I told you) remayning of the former garrisons, I cast to mantaine uppon the rent of those landes which shalbe escheated, and to have them devided through all Ireland in such places as shalbe thought most convenient, and occasion may require. And this was the course of the Romaines obserued in the conquest of England, for thay planted of ther legions in all places convenient, the which thay caufed the country to mantayne,
cuttinge uppon every porcion of land a reaonable rente, which they called Romeftot, the which might nott surcharge the tennante or freholder, and defray the pay of the garrifon: and this hath beene alwaies observed in all princes in all countries to them newly subdued, to sett garrifons amongst them to contayne them in dutye whose burden they made them to beare; and the want of this ordnaunce in the first conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second, was the cause of foé shorte decay of that governement, and the quicke recovery againe of the Irish. Therfore by all means it is to be provided for. And this is it that I would blame, if it shoul not misbecome me, in the late plantyng of Munster, that noe care was had of this ordnaunce, nor any strent of a garrifon provided for, by a certayn alowance out of all the sayd landes, but only the present profit loked unto, and the saf continewance therof ever herafter neglected.

Eudox. But ther is a band of soldiourues layed in Mounfter, to the mayntenance of which, what oddes is there whethere the Queene, receiving the rent of the countrye, doe give pay at hir pleasure, or that ther be a settled alowance appoynted unto them out of ther landes there?

Iren. There is great oddes, for nowe that sayd rent of the country is not usuallie applied to the pay of the foldyars, but it is, (every other occasion comming betwene,) converted to other uses, and the soldier in times of peace discharged and neglected as unnecessary; wheras if the sayd rent were appoynted and ordayne by an establisment to this end only,
it should not bee turned to any other; nor in trou-
blous times, upon every occasion, her Majestie be fo 5520
trobled with sendinge over newe soldiers as she now is, nor the country ever shoulde dare to mutine, having stiell the soldiar in ther necke, nor any forraigne enmy
dare to invade, knowinge ther so stronge a garrifon allwais to receave him.

Eudox. Sith then you thinkee this Romeescott of
the pay of the soldier uppon the lande to be both
the redyeft way to the soldier, and leffe troble-
some to hir Majestie, tell us, I pray you, how
ye wold have the fayd landes rated, that both a 5530
rente may rife therout unto the Queene, and also
the souldiours receive pay, which (me feemes) wilbe
harde?

Iren. First we are to consider how much lande
there is in all Ulster, that according to the quantitye
thereof we may cesse the fayd rente and alowance
ysuing thereout. Ulster, as the auncient recordes of
that realme doe testyfie, doeth contayne Nine Thoufand
plough landes, every of which plowe landes con-
tayneth fix fcore acres, after the rate of xxi. foot to 5540
every parche of the fayd acre, which amounteth in
the whole unto 124000 acres, every of which plowe
landes I will rate at xlvj. 8d. by the yeare; which
is not much more then 1d. for an acre, the which
yerly rent amounteth in the whole to xviiij[000],
befides 6s. 8d. chiefrifie out of every plow-land. But
because the county of Louth, being a parte of Ulster,
and contayning in yt viij. h. and xij. plow-landes, is not

l. 5544, '14d.' l. 5546, 'besides . . . plow-land' from Collier,
Morris, etc.

IX.
whoely to efscheat unto her Majeftie as the ref, thay
having in all thefe warres continewed for the moft parte 55!
duetyfull, though otherwife a great parte thereof is now
under the rebels, ther is an abatement to be made
out of iiiij h. or v h. plowe landes, as I eftimat the
fame, the which are not to pay the whole yearly
rente of xl [vis. 8d.] out of every plow land, like as
the efscheated landes doe, but yet fhall pay for ther
composition of efte towards the maintenance of the
fouldier xxxs. out of every plow lande: fo as ther is to
be deducted out of the former fome iiij h. yearly, the
which may neverthelesfe be supplied by the rent of 55’s
the fyfhings, which are exceeding great in Ulfter, and
alsoe by an increafe of rente in the beft landes, and
thofe that lye in the beft places nere the fea-coft.
The which xviii [thoufand] pounds will defray the
entertainment of xv. hundred fouldiers, with fome
overplus toward the pay of the victualls which are
to be employed in victualing of thefe garrifons.

Eudox. So then, belike, ye meane to leave
xvc. = 1500) fouldiers in garrifon for Ulfter, to
be payed principally out of the rent of thofe 55;
landes which fhall here efscheat unto her Majeftie.
The which, wher I pray you, will you have them
garrifoned ?

Iren. I will have them devided into 3 parts; that
is, vce. (= 500) in every garrifon, the which I will
have to remayne in thre of the fayd places where
they were before appoynted; to weete, vce. (= 500)
at Straban and about Loghfoyle, and fo as they
may hold all the passages of that parte of the country,

l. 5559, ‘300 or 300.' : l. 5576, ‘fame.'
and some of them be put in wardes, upon all the straights thereabouts, which I know to be such, as may stope all passages into the country one that side; and some of them also upon the Bann, up towards Logh Sidney, as I formerly directed. Also other v.c. at the fort upon Logh-earne, and wardes taken out of them which shalbe layde at Farmanagh, at Belicke, at Ballisfannon, and on all the straights towards Connagh, the which I knowe doe so strongly commaunde all the passages that way, as that none can pass from Ulster into Connagh without ther leave. The laft v.c. shall also remaine in their forte in Monoghan, and some of them be drawn into wardes, to kepe the keyes of all that country, both downwardes, and also towards Orlyes countrie, and the pale; as some at Eniskilline, some at Belterbert, some at the Blacke forte, and so alonge that river, as I formerly showed in the fyrst plantyng of them. And moreover at every of these forties, I wold have the seate of a towne layd forth and incorpasse, in which I wold wish that there shoulde inhabitants of all forties, as merchantes, artificeres, and husbanmen, to be placed, to whome ther shold be charters and franchises graunted to incorporat them. The which, as it wilbe no matter of difficulty to draw out of England perfones which wold very gladly be so placed, so would it in short space turne those partes to great commodity, and bring ere longe to her Majestie much profit; for those places are fite for trade and traffique, having most convenient

1. 5586, 'out ... which' from Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 5599, 'state,' and so in MS., but 'state' from Collier, etc., accepted.
outgates by [rivers] to the sea, and ingates to the richest partes of the lande, that they wold sone bee enriched, and mightily enlarged, for the very sitting of the garrifons by them, besides, the safty and assurance which they shall worke unto them, will also draw thither store of people and trades as I have seen exampld at Mariburgh and Phillipstowne in Leinftor, wher by reason of those two forties, though ther were but male warde left in them, there are two good townes now grown, which are the greatest stay of both those two countries.

Eudox. Indeed me femes 3 such townes, as ye say, would doe very well in those places with the garrifons, and in sherte space wold be so augmented, as they wold be able with little [helpe] to inwall them selves strongley: but, for the plantyng of all the rest of the country, what order will yee take?

Iren. What other then as I sayd to bringe people out of England, which should inhabit the same; whereunto though, I doubt not, but great troupes would be ready to runn, yet for that in such cases, the worst and most decayed men are most ready to remove, I would wishe them rather to be chosen out of all partes of this realm, either by discretion of wise men therunto appointed, or by lott, or by the drumme, as was the ould use in sending forth of Collinies, or such other good meanes as shall in their wisedome be thought metest. Amongst the cheife of which I wold have the lande fet into fegnoires, in such fort as yt is now in Mounfter, and devided into hundredes and parishes, or warde, as it is in England,
and layed out into sheires as yt was aunciently; 

_\textit{vist.}\ the countie of Downe, the countye of Antrim, the countie of Lowth, the countye of Armagh, the countie of Cavan, the countye of Colrane, the countie of Monaghan, the countye of Tiron, the countie of Fermannagh, the countie of Donegall, being in all 10. Over all which I with a Lord President and a Counsell to bee placed, which may keepe them afterwaerdes in awe and obedience, and minisfer unto them justic and equity._

_\textit{Endox.}\ Thus I see the whole purpose of your plott for Ulter, and now I desiere to heare your like opinion for Cannagh._

_\textit{Iren.}\ By that which I have already sayd of Ulter, yee may gather my opinion for Cannagh, beinge very answereable unto the former. But for that the landes, which shall escheate unto hir Majestie, are not so intyreliie togetheer as that thay cann be accounted unto one some, it nedeth that thay be confidered severally. The province of Cannagh contayneth in the whole, as appeareth by recorde at Dubline, vi thousand and twoe hundred plowe landes of the former measure, and is of late devided into six sheires or countyes: the countie of Clare, the countye of Letrim, the county of Roscaman, the county of Galway, the county of Maio, the county of Sligoh. Of the which, all the county of Slygoh, all the county of Maio, the moft parte of the county of Roscomon, the moft parte of the countie of Letrim, a great parte of the county of Galway, and some of the county of Clare, is lyke to escheate unto hir_

l. 5665, _\textit{Leutrum}:_ l. 5666, _\textit{Galloways}:_ ib., _\textit{Sleughy},_
Majestie for the rebellion of there present possessors. The which two counties of Sligoh and Maio are suppos'd to containe almost iij [thousand] plowe landes, the rate wherof, ratable to the former, I valewe almost at vj [thousand] li. p. ann. The countie of Roscomon, savinge what pertayneth to the howe of Roscomon and some fewe other English there lately seted, is all out, and therfore it is wholly lykewise to escheat to her Majestie, savige those 568 porcons of the English inhabitantes; and even those English doe, as I understand by them, pay as much rente to hir Majestie as is fet upon those in Ulster, countynge other composition money therwithall, so as it may runn all into one reconinge with the former two countyes: So that this countye of Roscomon, containyng xij.c. plowe landes, as yt is accounted, amounteth to ij [thousand] iiji.c. poudnes by the yeare, which with the former two countyes rent maketh about viij [thousand] li. for the former wanted 569 somwhat. But what the escheated landes of the countyes of Galway and Lietrim will rife unto is yet uncertayne to define, till survy thereof be made, for that those landes are intermingled with the Earle Clanricard, and others [lands]; but it is thought that they be thone halfe of both those countyes, so as thay may bee counted to the valewe of one whole countye, which containeth above one thousande plow-landes (for so many the least countye of them comprehendeth,) which maketh 570 two thousande poudnes more, that is, in all, x or xi thousande poudnes. Thother two countyes must

remaine till ther escheates appeare, the which lettyng paffe as yet unknowne, yet thus much is knowne to be accounted for certayne, that the compoision of these twoe counties, beinge rated at xxs. everye plowe lande, will amont to above xij [thousand] li. more: all which being layd togethers to the former, may be reaonably estimated to rife unto xij [thousand] poundes, the which sone, togethers 5710 with the ret of the escheated landes in the twoe laft countyes, which cannot yet be valued (beinge, as I doubt not, lesse than a thousand poundes more) will yeild largely unto a thousand men and ther victuallers, and a thousand pounds over towards the Governor.

Eudox. Ye have me thinckes, made but an estimate of those lands of Cannaght even at a very venter, so as it should be harde to build any certaintye of charge to be raised uppon the same.

Iren. Not altogether yet uppon uncertaintyes; for thus much may easilly appeare unto you for certayne, as the compoision money of every plowelande amonteth unto; for this I would have you principally understande, that my purpose is to rate all the landes in Irelande at xxs. every plowelande, for there compoision towards the garrifon. The which I knowe, in regard of being freed from all other charges whatsoever, wilbe redely and most gladly yeilded unto. Soe that there beinge in all Ireland (as appeareth by there old rentes) 43920 plowelandes, the same shall amonte to the somme

* I. 5718, 'theo[e . . . of]' from Collier, Morris, etc. : I. 5731, 'recordes,' Collier, Morris, etc.
likewise of 43920 poundes, and the rest to be reared of the sheathed landes which fall to hir Majestie in the said provinces of Ulster, Connoght, and that parte of Leinster under the rebels; for Mounster wee deale not withall.

Eudox. But tell me this, by the way, doe you then lay composition uppon the sheathed landes as you doe uppon the rest? for soe me thickes, you recken all s togetheather. And that sure were to much to pay vij nobles out of every plowe lande, and composition money besides, that is xxs. out of every plowelande.

Iren. Noe, you mistake me; I put onely vij nobles rent and composition both uppon every plowe lande esheathed, that is xls. for composition, and vjs. viijd. for cheifery to hir Majestie.

Eudox. I doe now conceiue you; procede then I pray you, to the appointing of your garrifons in Cannaght, and shew us both howe many and where 5; you would have them placed.

Iren. I wold have one thousand laide in Cannaght in two garrifons; namely, v.c. in the county of Maio, about Clan McCoftulaghes, which shall kepe Mayo and the Burckes of McWilliam Enter: thother v.c. in the county of Clanricarde, about Garrandough, that thay may contayne the [Conhors] and the [blank] Burkes ther, the Kellies and Macknyars with all them about; for that garrifon which I formerly placed at Lougharne will serve for all occasions in 5; the county of Sligah, being nere adjoyning therunto, so as in one nighets march they may be allmost

l. 5754, 'Coftalors': l. 5754, 'the Moores': l. 5757, [blank]: l. 5758, illegible in our MS,
in any place thereof when need shall requier them. And like as in the former places of garrifon in Ulfter, I wifhed iiij corporat townes to be planted, which under the safegarde of the strenth shall dwell and trade safely with all the country about them, soe would I alfoe wifh to be in this of Connaght; and that besides, there were another establifhed at Athlone, with a convenient warde in the castle there for ther offence.

Eudax. What shoule that need, feing that the Governor of Cannagh ufeth to ly there alwaies, whose presence wilbe a defence to all that towneship.

Iren. I know he doth fo, but that is much to be dyfliked that the Governor shoule lye fo farre of, in the remotef place of all the province, wheras it were meter that he shoule be continually abiding in the middef of his charge, that he might both looke out alike into all places of his goverment, and alfo be foone at hande in any place, where occaifion shall demaunde him; for the presence of the Governor is (as you fayd) a great stay and brydle vnto them that are ill disposed: like as I see it is well obferved in Mounfeter, wher the dayly good thereof is continually apparant; and, for this caufe alfoe doe I greatly miſlike the lorde Deputies feating at Dubline, being the outeft corner in the realme, and left neding the aue of his presence; wheras, me feemes it were fitter, since his proper care is of Leinſter, though he hath care of all besides generally, that he shoule feat himfelfe about Athie, or therabouts, uppon the skirte.

1, 5788, 'diflike.'
of that unquiet contry, so as that he might sit, as it were, at the very mayne mast of the shipp, whenc he might easly overlooke and some tymes overreach the Mores, the Butlers, the Dempes, the Ketines, the Conners, Ocarrell, Omoloy, and all that heape of Irith nations which ther ly hudled togethether without any to over-rule them, or contayne them in dutye. For the Irith man, I assure you, feares the goverment noe longer then he is within sight or reach.

Eudox. Surely me thinkes herin you obserue a matter of much importance, more then I have heard ever noted; but sure that femes so expedient, as that I wonder it hath beene heretofore over omitted; but I suppose the instansse of the cittizens of Dublin is the greatest let there.

Iren. Truly, then it ought not so to bee; for noe cauf[e] have they to feare that it wilbe any hinderance for them; for Dubline wilbe still, as it is, the key of all passages and transportacons out of England thither, to noe leffe profit of those citizens then it now is, and besides other places will herby receave soone benefytt. But let us now, I pray you, come to Lynfter, in the which I wold with the fame course to be observed as in Ulster.

Eudox. You meane for the leavinge of the garrifons in there fortes, and for planting of Englishe in all those countryes betwene the county of Dubline and the county of Wexforde; but those waft wild places, I thinke, when thay are woone unto her Majestie, that ther is none that wilbe hafty to seek to inhabite.

ll. 579-5, ‘as it were,’ Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 580, ‘ever.’
Iren. Yes ynough, I warrante, for though the whole tracte of the countrie bee mountaine and wodie, yet there are manie goodlie vallies amongst them, fytt for fayre habytation, to which those mountaines adjoyned wilbe a greate increas of pasturage; for that countrie is a vere great soyle of cattell, and vere fitt for breed: as for corne it is nothing naturall, fave onelie for barlie and oates, and some places for rye, and therfore the larger peniworth may be allowed vnto them, though other wyfe the wyldnes of the mountaine pasturage doe recompence the badnes of the foile, soe as I doubt not but it will finde inhabitants and undertakers enough.

Eudox. How much then doe you thinke that all those landes which Pheagh McHugh holdeth under him may amount unto, and what rent may be reared therout to the mayntenance of the garrifons that shalbe layd there?

Iren. Truly, it is ympossible by ayme to tell yt, and as for experience and knowledge, I doe not thinke that there was ever any of the particulars thereof, but yet I will, if it please you, gesse therat, upon grounde only of there judgment which have formerly devided all that countrye into twoe theires or coun-tyes, namely the county of Wickloe, and the county of Fernes: the which twoe I see noe caufe but thay should holy escheat to her Majesty, all but the barony of Arclo which is the Earle of Ormwoodes auncient inheritance, and hath ever bene in his possession; for all the whole lande is the Quenes,

l. 5829, 'adjoyning': l. 5833, 'Ormond-is,'
unlesse there be some graunt of any parte thereof to be shewed from hir Majestie: as I thinke there is only of New Castle to Sir Henry Harrington, and of the castle of Fernes to Sir Thomas Mafterson, the rest, being almost thirty miles over, I doe suppose canne contayne noe lesse then two thoufande plowe-landes, which I will estimat at iiiij [thousand] li. rent, by the yeare. The rest of Leinfter, being vij countyes, to weete, the countye of Dubline, Killdare, Catherlogh, Wexford, Kilkenye, the Kinges and the Queenes countye, doe containe in them 7400. plowe-landes, which amonteth to so many pounds for composition to the garrison, that makes in the whole xi [thousand] iijc. l., the which some will yeild pay unto a thoufand fouldiars, little wantynge, which may be supplied out of other landes of the Cavenaghcs, which are to be escheated to her Majestie for rebellione of ther poffeffions, though otherwise indeed they be of hir owne auncient demaine.

Eudox. It is a great reafon. But tell us now where you wold wifh those garrifons to be laied, whether alltogether, or to be dysperfed in sundry places of the country?

Iren. Mary, in sundry places, to weete, in this forte, or much the like as may be better advised, for cc. in a place I doe thinke to be enough for the safegarde of the countrie, and kepinge under all sudden upstartes, that shall seeke to trouble the peace thereof: therfore I wifhe [200.] to be layede at Ballinocros for the kepinge of all bade perfons

l. 5865, 'Katarlaghe': l. 5873, 'poffeffours' Collier, Morris, etc.: . 5885, 'Ballinecorrih.'
from Glammalour, and all the faftenes thereaboutes, and also to conteynne all that shalbe planted in thofe lands thenceforther. Another 200. at Knockloughe in there former place of garrifon, to kepe the Brifkagh and all thofe mountaines of the Cava- naghes; 200. more to lye at Fearnes, and upwarde, inwarde upon the Slane; 200. to be placed at the forte of Leix, to restraine the Mores, Offorie, and Ocarroll; other 200. at the forte of Ofaley, to carbe the Oconnors, Omolows in [Mac] Coghlane Maccugheyan, and all thofe Irifh nations borderinge thereabout.

Eudox. Thus I see all your thousande men bestowed in Leinfeter: what faye you then of Meath, which is the firfte parte?

Iren. Meath, which conteyneth bothe Eftmeth and Westmeth, and of laite the Analy, nowe called the countye of Langforde, is accoumpted therunto: But Meath it selfe (accordinge to the ould recordes) 4320. plowelandes, and the countye of Langford 947., which in the whole make 5267 plowlandes, of which the compositió monye will amounte likewise to 5267 li. to the maintenance of the garrifone. But because all Meath, lyinge in the boforme of that kingdome, is alwasyes quiet ynoough, yt is needeleffe to put anye garrifon there, foe as all that charge may be spared. But in the countye of Longforde I wifhe 200. footemen and 50. horsemen to be placed in some conveniency seate betwene the Annalie and the Breine, as aboute Lough Silone or some

1. 5890, "Brifkelagh": l. 5896, "Maccagehan": l. 5915, "Bremie . . . Silon."
like place of that ryver, foe as they myght keepe both the Oneales, and alsoe the Ofarralles, and all that outskirte of Meathe in awe; the which use upone everye lighte occasion to be stirringe, and having contynuall enmitye amongstfe themselves, doe thereby oftentymes troble all those partes, the charge wherof beinge 4400 and odde poundes is to be cut out of that composittione money for Meath and Longforde, the overplus, beinge almoost 2000 li. by the yeare, will come in clearly to her Majestie.

Eudox. It is worth the harkening unto. But nowe that you have done with Meath, proceed I praye you to Munster, that wee may see howe it will rife ther for the manteynance of the garrifone.

Iren. Munster conteyneth by recorde at Dublyne 16000 plowlandes, the composittione whereof, as the reste, will make 16000 li. by the yeare, out of the which I would have 1000. foldyers to be mainteyned for the defence of that province, the charge, which with the vichtualers wages, will amount to 12000 li. by the yeare; thother 4000 li. will defray the charges of the Precyidence and the Confell of that province.

Eudox. The reckininge is easye; but in this accompt, by your leave, me thinkes you are deceaved, for in this some of the composittione money you accompt the landes of the undertakers of that province, whoe are, by ther graunte frome the Queene to be free frome all such impofitions whatsoever, exceptinge there only rente, which is surely ynough.
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND. 207

Iren. Yee faye true, I did soe; but the same 20 s. for everye plolande I ment to have deducced out of the rente due upone them to her Majestie, which is noe hindrance, nor charge at all more to her Majestie then it nowe is, for all that rente which she receives of them, she putteth forth againe to the mayntenaunce of the Presidencie there, the charge whereof yt doth scarfelye defraye; whereas in this accompte bothe that charge of the Presidencye, and alfoe of 1000 foldyors more, shalbe maynteyned.

Eudox. It should be well, if it coulde be brought to that. Nowe wher will you [have] your 1000 men garryfoned?

Iren. I would have 100 of them placed at the Bantrie where is a mofte fytt place, not onlye to defende all that side of the countrie west parte frome foraine invasion, but alfoe to anwere all occasions of trobles, to which that countrie, being soe remote, is verye subiecte. And surelye here alfoe would be placed a good towne, havinge both verye good haven and plentifull fisshinge, and the land beinge already escheated to her Majestie, but beinge forcaible kepthe from her by a rough tayle kerne that proclaiemes hime felse the baftarde fonne of the Erle of Clancar, beinge called Donell Mac Chartie, whom it is meet to forfee to cut of; for [as] whensoever the Erle shall dye, all those landes, after hime, are to come to her Majestie, he is like to make a foule flire there, though of hime felse of noe power, yet through suppportance of some others whoe lye in the winde, and looke after the fall of that inheritance. Another

l. 5959, 'Baintrie': l. 5967, 'rag tayle.'
100 woulde I have placed at Castlemaine, which should kepe all Desmonde and Kerrye, for it answereth them both most conventently: Alsoe aboute Kylmore in the countye of Corke would I have 200 placed, which shoule breake that neste 598 of thevses there, and anfweere equallye both the countye of Lymbricke, and alsoe the countye of Corke: Another 100 whold I have lye at Corke, aswell to confound the towne, as alsoe to be ready for anye forreine occassion: likewisfe at Waterforde, would I place 200, for the same reasones, and alsoe for other privie causes, that are noe leffe importante. Moreover on the side of Arlo, nere to Maskrye Werke, which is the countye of the Bourkes, aboute [Kill-patricke,] would I have 200 to be garrifoned, 599 which shoule skowre both the White Knightes countruye and Arlo, and Maskrye Wherkes, by which places all the passages of thevses doth lye, which convoie there stelthe from Mounster downwardes towards Tipperarie, and that Englishe Payle, and from the English Pale alsoe uppe unto Mounster, wherof they use to make a cuthon trade. Besides that, ere longe I doubte the countye of Tipperarie yt selfe will neade such a strength in yt, which were good to be there readye before the evill fall, that 600 is daylye of some expected: and thus you see all your garrifones placed.

Eudox. I see it right well, but lett me I praye you, by the waye ake the reafone whie in those cyties of Mounster, namely Waterforde and Corke, you rather placed garryfons then in all the others in

1. 5988-9, 'Majestie Wharke': 1. 5990, [blank].
Irelande? For they maye thinke them selves to have
great wrouenge to be so charged above all the reste.

Iren. I will tell you: those two cytties, above all
the reste, doe offer an ingate to the Spanyarde moste 6010
fytie; and alfoe inhabitantes of them are moste ill
affected to the English government, and moste fremdes
to the Spanyardes; but yet, because they shall not
take exceptione to this, that they are charged above
all the reste, I will alfoe laye a charge upon the others
likewise; for in deede it is no reaon that the corpo-
rate Townes, enjoyinge great franchises and priviledges
from her Majestie, and livinge therby not only sale,
but drawinge to them the wealth of all the lande,
should live so free as not to be partakers of the 6020
burthen of this garrystone for there owne safetye, speci-
ally in this time of trouble, and seinge all the reste
burdened; and therfore, I will thus charge them all
ratably, accordinge to there abilities, towards there
mayntenance, the which her Majestie may yf she pleafe,
spare oute of the charge of the reste, and refere
towards her owne costes, or adde to the charge of
the Prefyndence in the Northe.

| Lymricke | 100. | Cafell | 10 | Mollinger | 10. 6030 |

Suma 490. [Wrong=630].

l. 6028, ‘other’ : l. 6030, ‘Corke 50’: l. 6031, ‘Fetherte’ : l. 6034,
IX. 14
Eudox. It is easie, Iren: to laye a charge upone any towne, but to forsee howe the same maye be answered and defrayed is the chefe parte of good 604 advifemente.

Iren. Surely this charge which I put upon them I knowe to be fone reffonable, as that it will not much [be] felte; for the porte townes which have benefitte of shippinge maye cutte it easelye of thare tradinge, and in inlande townes of thare corne and cattall: nether doe I see, but since to them the benefitte of peace doth redownde, that they spacially shoulde bear the burden of ther safegardes and defence, as wee see all the townes of the lowe 60! countries doe cut upone them selves an excife of all thinges towards the maintenance of the warre that is made in ther behalfe, to which though the[y] feare not to be compared in riches, yett are to be charged accordinge to ther poverty.

Eudox. But now that youe have sett upone these forces of foldyers, and provided well as you suppose, for ther paye, yett there remaineth to forcafte howe they may be vitualued, and where purvayance thereof may be made; for in Irelande yt selfe I cannot 60 see howe anye thinge almofte is to be had for them, beinge alredye fone pittifulllye wafted as it is with this shorte tyme of warre.

Iren. For the firste two yeares indeed it is needefull that they be vitualled out of Englande throughlye, from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, aforhande. Which time the Englishe Paile shall not be burdened at all, but shall have tyme to recover

ll. 6053-4, "they are not," Morris; "theye are not," Collier.
them selves; and Mounfter alse, beinge reasonablie well stored, will by that tyme, if God fends feronable well wether, be thoroughly well furnisht to supply a greate parte of that charge, for I knowe there is a great plentye of corne fent over sea from thence, the which if they myght have fayle for at home, they would be glad to have money fo neare hande, speciallye yf they were straightlye reftrayned from transportinge of it. Thereunto alse there wilbe a great healpe and furtherance gyven to the puttinge forwarde of husbandrye in all meate places, as hereafter shall in due place appeare. But hereafter, when things shall growe to a better strengthe, and the country be replenisht with corne, as in shorte space yt will if it be well folowed, for the country people themselves are greate plowers, and male spenders of corne, then woulde I wilhe there should be good store houfes and magazines erefted in all those great places of garrifons, and in all greate townes, aswell for the victuallinge of soldyers and shipps, as for all occasions of sudden services, as alse for preventinge of all tymes of dearth and scarfitye: and this want is much to be complayned of in Englande above all other countryes, whoe, truftinge to much to the usuall bleffinge of the earth, doe never forcafte anye such hard seraons, nor any such sudden occasions as these troblesome tymes maye everye daye bringe forth, when it wilbe too late to gather provisione from abroad, and to bringe perhapses from farre for the furnishtinge of shipes or soldyers, which peradventure maye need

1. 6070, miswritten 'wilbe' in our MS.
to be presently employed, and whose wante maye have (which God forbid) happ to hazarde a kingdome.

Eudox. In deed the wante of those magasynes of viuialls, I have harde oftentimes complayned of in England, and wondred at in other countreyes, but that is nothinge nowe to oure purpose; but as for these garrifons which yee have nowe so strongely planted throughout all Irland, and evrye place swarminge with foldyers, shal there be noe end of them? For nowe thus beinge me semeth, I doe se rather a countreye of warre then of peace and quiet, which ye erfte pretended to worke in Irelande; for if you bringe all thinges to the quietnes which yee said, what need then to maintaine soe great forces as ye have charged upon it?

Iren. I will unto you, Eudox. in privytye discover the drifte of my purpose: I mean (as I toulde you) and doe well hoppe therby bothe to settte an eternall peace in that country, and alsoe to make yt very profitable to her Majestie, the which I see muste be broughte in by a stronge hande, and soe contenued untill it growe into a stedfaft courfe of governmente, the which in this forte will nether be defyculte nor dangerous; for the foldyers beinge once broughte in for the service into Ulster, and havinge subdued it and Connaught, I will not have hyme to laye downe his armes anye more, tyll he have effected that which I purpofe: that is, firfte to have this a generall compositione for the mayntenance of these throughout all the realme, in regarde of the trobles

I. 610t, 'happyle': l. 612t, 'runne': l. 6122, 'dificile': l. 6129, 'trobulous.'
tymes, and daylye danger which is threatned to this 6130 realme by the Kinge of Spaine: and thereupone to bestowe all my foldyers in [such] fort as I have donne, that noe parte of all Irlande shalbe able to dare soe much as quinch. Then will I bring eftfones in my reformacon, and thereupon eftablifie suth an order of governmente as I may thinke metefte for the good of that realme, which beinge once eftablished, and all thinges put into a righte way, I dowbt not but they will rune one fairely. And though they would ever seeke to fwarve asyde, yet shall they not 6140 be able without forraine violence once to remoove, as you your selfe shall sone, I hope, in your owne reafone readelye conceve; which if it shal ever appere, thene maye her Majeftie at pleafure withdrewe some of the garrifone, and torne ther paye into her purfe, or if she will never please soe to doe (which I would rather wifh), then shal she have a nombre of brave oulde foldyers alwayes readye for anye occafion that she will ymploe vnto, suppliinge there garrifones with freth ones 6150 in there fteed; the maintenance of whome shalbe noe more charge to her Majeftie then nowe the realme is; for all the revenue thereof, and muche more, she fpendeth, even in the mofte peaceable tymes that are there, (as things nowe stande). And in tyme of warre, which is sure nowe everye vij yeare, she fpendeth infynite treasure besides to fmale porpofe.

Eudox. I perceve your porpofe; but nowe if you have thus strongly made waye unto your reformacon, 6160 as that I see the people soe humbled and prepared
that they will and must yeald to any ordynance that shalbe geuen them, I doe much desire to understond the same; for in the begininge you promisid to shewe a mean howe to redresse all those inconveniences and abusès, which you shewed to be in that state of governmente, which nowe standeth ther, as in the lawes, costomes, and religione: wherin I woulde gladlye knowe firste, whether, in fseed of those lawes, you would have new lawes made? for nowe, for oughte that I see, you maye doe what you pleafe.

Iren. I see, Eudox. that yowe well remember our firste porpoise, and doe rightely contynue the courfe thereof. Firste thercfore to speake of lawes, since we firste begane with them, I doe not thinke yt convenient, though nowe it be in the power of the Prince to change all the lawes and make newe; for that should brede great troble and confusione, aswell in the Englishe now dwellinge and to be planted, as alfoe in the Irishe. For the Englishe, havinge bene trained upp alwayes in the Englishe governement, will hardly be enduced unto any other, and the Irishe wilbe better drawne to the Englishe, then the Englishe to the Irishe governemente. Therfore since wee cannot nowe applie lawes fitte to the people, as in the firste institutione of comone-welthes it ought to be, wee will applye the people, and fitt them to the lawes, as it moste conveniently maye be. The lawes thercfore we resolve shalb abyde in the sam forte that they doe, bothe Common Lawes and Statutes, onyle suche defectes in the Comone
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

Lawe, and inconveniens in the Statutes, as in the begininge wee noted, and as men of deep insighthe shall advise, may be changed by some other newe aëtes and ordynances to be [by] a Parlyamente there confirmed: as those of tryalls of Ples of the Crowne, and private righte betwene parties, colorable convaiances, [and] accessaries.

Eudox. But howe will those be redressed by Parli-6200 mente, when as the Irishe, which swaye moste in Parlamente, as you sayd, shall opposethem selves againste them?

Iren. That maybe well avoyded: for nowe that foe manye free-holders of Englisheshalbe established, they togeather with Burgesse of townes, and such other loyall Irishe men as may be preferred to be Knightes of the shire, and such like, wilbe able to beard and counterpose the refte; whoe alsoe, beinge nowe broughte more in awe, will the more easelye 6210 submite to anye such ordynances as shalbe for the good of them selves, and that realme generallye.

Eudox. You say well, for the increffe of the Freeholders, for ther nombers will hereby be greatlyye augmented; but howe shall it passe throughe the higher house, [which] will styll confishte all of Irishe?

Iren. Marie, that alsoe maye be redressed by example of that which I hard was donne in the like cafe, by Kinge Edwarde the Theerd, as I 6220 remember, whoe, beinge greatlye barred and crofse by the billes of the Clergie, they beinge then by reafone of the Lord Abbote and others, too many

1.6197, 'tromles' (sic) in our MS.; 1.6220, 'bearded': 1.6221, 'Lorde.
and stronge for them, soe he could not for there forwardnes, order and reforme thinges as he defiered, was advifed to dyrecte forth his writtes to certaine Gentlemen, and of the befte abilitye and trufe, intitlinge them therin Barrons, to serve and fytt as Barrons in the next Parlyment. By which meanes he had foe manye Barons in his Parlamente, as 62: were able to weighte downe the Clarge and there frendes: the which Barons they faye, were not afterwardes lorde, but onelye Barronits, as sundrye of them doe yet retayne the name. And by the like devife her Maiestie maye noe likewise curbe and cut shorte those Irishe unrulye lorde that hinder all good procedinges.

Eudox. It femeth noe leffe then for reforminge of all those inconveniente statutes which yee noted in the beginninge, and redreffinge of all those evell 62: costomes, and laftelye, for settinge founde religione amongst them: mee thinkes yee shoule not neade anye more to over-goe those particulers againe, which you menconed, nor anye other which might besides be remembred, but to leave to the reformacon of such a Parlamente, in which, by the good care of the Lorde Deutyte and Consell, they maye all amende. Therfore nowe that you maye come to that genarall reformacon which you spake of, and bringinge in of all that eftablishement, by which 62 you fayd all men shoule be conteyned in duetie ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violët wrettinge of thinges by sharpe punyfmente.

1. 6226, 'of the,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6231, 'were' miswritten 'was' in our MS. : l. 6232, 'remaine,' Collier, Morris, etc.
**PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.**  217

Iren. I will foe at your pleasure, the which me femes by noe meanes can be better plotted, then by example of suche other Realmes as have ben annoyed with the like evelles, Ireland nowe is, and useth styll to be. And firste in this Realme of England, yt is manifeste, by the reporte of the Cronycles and other aunciente writers, that it was greatly infected with robbers and outelawes, which lurked in woodes and faste places, whence they vfed often tymes to breake forth into the highe wayes, and sometymes intoemale villages to robbe and spoyle. For redresse wherof it is written that Kinge Allured, or Alfride, whoe then raigned, did devide the relme into shires, and the shires into hundredes, [and the hundredes] into rapes, Rapentackes, and wapentackes into tythinges: So that tenn tythinges made an hundred, and five made a laythe or weapentacke, of which tenn, eache one was bounde for another, and the eldest or beft of them, whom they called the Tything-man or Bourroughfolder, that is, the eldest plege, became suretye for all the reste. Soe that if anye one of them did starte into anye undutiful actione, the Burroughfolder was bounde to bringe hym grate, whoe joyninge eftfones with all his tythinge, would solowe the loofe person through all places, till they brought hym in. And if all the tythinge fayled, then all the lathe was charged for the tythinge, and if that lathe fayled, then all the hundred was demanded for theme; and if the hundredeth, then the shire, whoe joyninge eftfones

1. 6272, 'Barfe-holder': l. 6280, miswritten 'tythe' in our MS., and so onward.
altogether, would not rest till they had found out and delivered in, that unlawful fellow which was not amenable to law. And herein yet seemed, that that good Saxon King followed the Confell of Jethro to Moyfes, who advised hym to devise the people into hundreds, and to sette Captaines and wife men of trust over them, which should take the charge of them, and eafe hymne of that burden. And so did Romulus, as you may read, devyde the Romaines into trybbes, and the tribbes into centuryons or hundreds. By this ordynance this Kinge brought this realme of Englande, which before was most troublesome, unto that quiet state, that noe one badd perfon could stirre that he was [not] freighte taken hould of by thofe his tythinge, and ther Burrowfolder, whoe beinge his neighbour or next kindeman was pryvie to all his wayes, and loked narrowly to his life. The which institutione yf it were observed in Ireland, would worke that effecte which it did then in Englande, and kepe all men within the Compasse of duetie and obedience.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you said before; for, as I remember, you said that ther was a greater disproportion betweene Englande and Irelande, foe as the lawes which were fittinge of the one would not fit the other. Howe comes it then nowe, that ye would transffer a principall institutione from England to Ireland?

Iren. This lawe was not made by a Norman

l. 6284, 'undisputfull'; ll. 6295-6, 'unto ... fyrre' from Collier, Morris, etc.; l. 6296, 'farte'; l. 6297, 'of his owne'; l. 6305, 'you ... that' from Collier, Morris, etc.
conqueror, but by a Saxon Kinge, being at what tyme England was verye like to Irland, as nowe it standes: for it was, I tould you, annoyed greatly with robbers and outlawes, which trobled the whole realme, everye corner havinge in it a Robyn Hoode, that kept all woodes, and spoiled all passingers and inhabitants, as Irland nowe haith; soe as, me femeth, this ordynance would fitt verye well, and bring them all into one.

Eudox. Then, when you have thus tithed the coñanaltye, as you say, and set Burrowfolders over them all, what would you doe when yee came to the gentlemè? would you hold the same corfe?

Iren. Yee, marylue, most specially; for this you muste knowe, that all the Iriñhe almûte bofte them selves to be gentlemè, noe leffe then the Welchmen; for if he cane deryve hymselfe from the heade of a fept, as most of them can, they are [so] experte by there Bardes, then soe holdeth hymse selve a gentlemâ, and thereupon scorneth effçones to worke, or vfe anye harde laboure, which he faith is the liefe of a peffant or churle; but thenceforth either becometh a horfeboyæ, or a ffocage to some kerne, inuring hymse selve to his weapeone, and to the generall traide of ftealinge, (as they count it). Soe that if a gentleman, or anye worthye yoman of them, have anye childrene, the eldeste of them perhappes shalbe kepte in some order, but all the reste shal shifte for them selves, and fall to this

l. 6320, 'awe': l. 6330, 'then' miswritten 'ere': l. 6332, 'handye': l. 6335, miswritten 'endevinge': l. 6336, 'gentell,' Morris; 'gentlemanly,' Collier: ib., 'as...it' from Collier, Morris, etc.
occupacon. And it is a common use amongst some of those best gent [lemen] tenantes fonnes, that soe foone as they are able to use there weapons, they freight gether to theemselves three or foure strauglers, or kernes, with whome wanderinge a while idellye vpe and downe the countrye, takinge onlye meate, he at lafte falleth unto some badde occasione that he shalbe offred, which beinge once made knowne, he is thenforthe counted a mane of worth, in whom there is corrage; whereupon there drawe to hime 635c manye other like loose younge men, which, stirringe hime up, with encouragement, provoke hyme shortlye to flatte rebellion; and this happens not onlye in the fonnes of gentle[men], but oftentymes by there nobleman, specially there base borne fonnes, as there are fewe without some of them. For they are not onlye not ashamed to acknowledge them, but alsoe to bofte of them, and use them in such secrett services as they themselves will not be seen in, as to plauge there enemies, spoyle there 636c neibores, to opresse and cruft some of [their] owne to stubborn freholders, which are not tractable to their badde willes. Two such bastardes of the Lord Roches there are nowe out in Mountfer, whom he doth not only countenance but alsoe pryvilye mainteyne and relye mightely amongst his tenantes. Such other is therof the Erle of Clancarte in Desmond, and manye otheres in many other places.

Eudox. Then it semeth that this ordynance of 6370

l. 6344, 'three or foure' from Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 6361, 'and cruft,' ibid. : l. 6366, 'against.'
tythinge them by the pole is not only fitt for the gentlemen, but alsoe for the noblemen, whom I would [have] thought to have bene foe honourable mynded, as that they should not need suche a base kinde of lyvinge, beinge bounde to there allegiance, [who] should rather have held in and stayed all others from undutifulnes, then need to be forced thereunto them selves.

Iren. Yet foe it is, „Eudox: but yet becaufe that noblemé cannot be tythed, there beinge not manye 6380 tythinges of them, and becaufe a Barrowe holder over them should not only be a great indignitye, but alsoe a danger to adde more power to them then they have, or to make one the comander of tenne, I holde it meet that there were onelye fewerties taken of them, and one bounde for another, wherbye, if anye shall fwarve, his fewerties shall for saffe garde of ther bandes bringe hyme in, or seke to serve upon him: and belydes, I would wish them all to be sworne to her Majestie, which they never 6390 yet were, but at the first creatyon; and that oath would sure contayne them greatly, or the breach of yt bringe them to shorter vengence, for God ufteth to punishe perjurye sharply. So I read, in the raigne of Edward the 2, and also of Henry the 7, when the tymes were very broken, that there was a corporate oath taken, of all the lordes and bost gentlemen of fealty to the Kinge, which nowe is noe leste nedfull, because many of them are suspected to have taken an other oath privylye 6400 to some badd purpose, and therupon they have receaved the Sacramente, and bene sworne to a
preifft, which they thinke bindeth them more then theire allegiance to their Prince, or love of their countrye.

Eudox. This tythinge of the comon-people, and takinge suretyes of lordes and gentlemen, I like very well, but that yt wilbe very troblefome: shoule dyt not be as well to have them all booked, and the lordes and gentlemen to take all meaner forte upon themselves? for they are best able to bringe them in, whensoever any of them started out.

Iren. This indeed Eudoxus hath bene hitherto, and yet is a comon order amongst them, to have all the people booked by the lords and gentlemen, but yt is the worft order that ever was devisef; for by this bokinge of men, all the inferf your fort are brought under the commaundes of theire lords, and forced to followe them into any actyon whatfoever. Now this ye are to understand, that all the rebellions which ye fee from tyme to tyme hapen in Ireland, are not begune by the comon people, but by the lords and captaines of countryes, upon pride or wilfull obstinacye against the government, which whensoever they will enter into, they drawe with them all their people and such followers, as thinke themselves bound to goe with them, because they have boked them and undertaken for them. And this is the reasone that you have fewe such badd occasyons here in England by reason that the noble men howeever they shoule hapen to be evil disposed, have no commande at all over the comynalty, though dwellinge under them, because every man standeth

1. 6424, 'against the government,' Collier, Morris, etc.
upon himselfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne sayth and firme assurance: the which this manner of tythinge the powles will worke also in Ireland. For by this the people are broken into many small parts, like lytle streams, that they cannot easely come together into one heade, which is the princypall regard that is to be had in Ireland to 6440 kepe them from growinge into such a head, and adheringe unto greate men.

Eudox. But yet I canot well see how this can be brought about, without doinge greate wronge unto the noble men there; for at the conquest of the realme, thosse greate signoryes and lordships were given them by the King, that they shoule bee the stronger against the Irish, by the multitude of followers and tennauntes under them: all which hould their tenementes of them by fealtye, and such 6450 services, wherby they are by the first graunte of the King, made bound unto them, and tyed to rise out with them upon all occasyons of service. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord Deputies have rayfed any generall ostinges, the noble men have claymed the leadinge of them, by graunt from the Kings of England under the Greate Seale exhibyted; so as the Deputye[s] would not refuse them to have the leadinge of them, or yf they did, they would fo worke, as none of they[r] followers 6460 should rise forth to the ostinge.

Iren. Yee say very true; but will ye see fruite of those grauntes? I have knowne when those lords have had the leadinge of their owne followers under them to the generall ostinges, that they have for the
fame cut upon every plowland within their country forty shillinges or more, wherby some of them have gathered above viij. or viij. c. li., and others much more into there purfe, in lieue wherof they have gathered unto themselves a number of lose kernes out of all parts, which they have caryed forth with them, to whome they never gave penny of entertaynment, allowed by the contry or forced by them, but let them feed upon the contryes, [and] extorte upon all men where they cam; for that people will never aske better entertaynment then to have a coulour of service or imployment given them, by which they will powle and spoile so outragiously, that the very enemy cannot doe much worfe: and besides turne them to the enemy.

Eudox. It femes the first intents of these grauntes was against the Irishe, which nowe some of them use against the Queene her selfe: But now what remedye is there for this? or how can these grauntes of the Kings be avoyded, without wronge of those lords which had those landes and lordships given them?

Iren. Surely they may be well enough; for most of those lords, since the first grantes from the Kings by whome these landes were given them, have fence bestowed the most parte of them amongst their kinsfolke, as everye lord perhaps in his tyme hath given one or another of his principall castells to his yonger sonnes and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him; and others they have fould, and others bought, which were not in there

I. 6466, 'within ... country' from Collier, Morris, etc.: I. 6479, 'and they also sometimes,' ibid.
first graunted, which nowe nevertheless they bringe within the compas therof, and take and exeçte upon them, as their first demeanes of all those kindes of services, yea and the very wilde Irifhe exactyons as Coynie and Lyverye for him, and fuch like, by which 6500 they pole and utterly undoe the pore teñantes and frehoulders under them, which ether through ignorace knew not their tennors, or through greatnes of their newe lords dare not chalenge them; yea, and some lords of countryes also, as greate ones as themselves, are nowe by stronge hand brought under them, and made their vassalls. As for example Arundell of the Strande in the County of Corke, who was aunciently a greate lord, and able to spend 3500 li. by the yeare, as apeareth by good recordes, 6510 is nowe become the Lord Barryes man, and doth to him all those services, which are due unto her Majestie. For reformacon of which, I wish that there were a commissyon graunted forth under the Great Seale, as I have seen one recorded in the ould councell Boke in Mounster: that was sent forth in the tyme of Sir William Drurye unto perfons of speyall trust and judgment to enquire thoroughout all Ireland, beginninge in one countye first and so restinge a while untill the same were setted, by the 6520 verdiçte of a founde and substantyall jurye, howe every man houldeth his landes, of whome and by what tennor, so that everye one shoulde be admitted to shewe and exhibite what right he hath, and by what services he houldeth his lande, whether in cheife or in soccage, or in knight service, or els

l. 6502, 'unto': l. 6513, 'I wish,' Collier.
A VEUE OF THE

foever. Therupon would apeare, firste howe all those great English lords do claime those great services, what signoryes they usurpe, what wardships they take from the Queene, what landes of hers they concealed: and then, howe those Irish captaines have encroched upon the Queenes freholders and tennantes, how they have translated the tenors of them from English houldinge into Irishe Tanistre, and defeated her Majestie of all her right and duetyes which are to acrrew to her therabout, as wardshipps, liveryes, marriages and fines of allyенаcons, with many other comodyties; which nowe are kepte and conceald from her Majesty to the vallowe of 60000 li. yearly, I dare undertake, in all Ireland, by that which I knowe in one countye.

Eudox. This, Iren. would forme a dangerous commissiion, and redy to stirre uppe all the Irish in rebellion, who knowinge that they have nothinge to shewe for all those lands which they hould, but thereis swordes, would rather drawe them then suffer theire landes to be thus drawne away from them.

Iren. Neyther shoulde their landes be taken away from them, nor the uttermost advantages enforced against them: But this by decretyon of the commissiioners shoulde be made knowne unto them, that it is not her Majesties meaninge to use any such extremetye, but onely to reduce thinges into order of English lawe and make them hould their landes of her Majestye and to restore to her her due services, which they defayne out of those landes.

1. 6528, 'greate' (1st) from Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6532, 'of countryes,' ibid.: l. 6543-4, 'in rebellion,' ibid.: l. 6547, 'drawne,' ibid.
which were auncyently helde by her Majestye. And that they shoule not onely [not] be thruft out, but alfo have estates and grauntes of their landes newe made to them frō her Majestye, so as they shoule thenceforth hould them rightfullye, which they nowe usurpe most wrongfully; and yet withall I would wish that in all those Irish countrie there were some land referred to her Majestyes free dispofyton for the better contayninge of the rest, and enterminglinge them with English inhabytantes and customes, that knowledg might styll be had by them of all their doinges, so as no manner of practife or conspiracye should be in hand amongst them, but notice should be given therof by one meanes or another, and there 6570 practifes prevented.

_Eudox._ Truly neither can the Irish, nor English lords, thinke themselves wronged, or hardly delt withall herin, to have that indeed which is none of their owne at all, but her Majestyes absolutely, geven unto them with such equall condicons, as that both they may be assyred therof, better then they are, and alfo her Majestye not defrauded of her right utterly; for yt is a great grace with a prince, [to] take that with condicons which is absolutely her owne. Thus 6580 shal the Irish be well satisfied, and as for the greate men which had such grauntes made them at first by the Kings of England, [it] was in regard they shoule kepe out the Irish, and defend the Kings right, and his subiectes: but now feinge that, in sted of defendinge them, they robb and spoyle them, and, in sted of kepinge out the Irish, they doe not onely,

1. 6559, 'nowe': 1. 6565, 'entermeddling.'
make the Irish their tenants in those lands, and thrust out the English, but also they themselves become mere Irish, with marrying with them, fostering with them, and combing with them against the Queen; what reason is there but those grants and precedents should be either revoked, or at least reduced to their first intention for which they were granted? for surely in my opinion they were more sharply to be chastised and reformed then the wild Irish, which, being very rude at the first, are now become somewhat more civil, when as English, from English are grown to be wild and more Irish.

Iren. Indede as you saye, Eudox: these do need a sharper reformacon than the very Irish, for they are much more stubborn, and disobedient to lawe and government, than the Irish be; and more mallytious than the English that are daylie sent over.

Eudox. Is that possible? I pray you, howe comes yet to passe? what might be the reason herof?

Iren. Mary, they say that the land is theirs, onely by right, being first conquered by their ancesftors, and that they are wronged by the newe English men's entringe thereunto, whom they call la fa Bona, that is in English with a greate reproch as they would rate a dogge. [And for] that some of your ancesftors were in tymes past (when they were Civill and uncorrupted) deputys

l. 6592, 'is there;' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6593, 'privileged,' ibid.: l. 6597, 'rude,' ibid.: ib., 'wilde': ll. 6597-8, 'at': 'frst,' ibid.: l. 6599, 'civilityes,' ibid.: l. 6609, 'right'—miswritten 'English' in our MS.: l. 6611, 'intruding': l. 6612, 'Alloannah.'
and Justices of the land, they thinke that the like authoritye shoule be comytted unto you and the charge of the Realme lefte in theire hands; which, for that they se now otherwise disposed and that trust not given them (which theire auncetors had) they thinke them selves greatly indignyfied and disgraced therby, and so growe both discontented and undutyfull.

_Eudox._ In truth, Irenyus, this is more than ever I hard, that the English-Irish there shoule bee worse then the wild Irish: O Lord, howe quickly doth that country alter mens natures! It is not for nothinge I perceave that I have heard, that the Councell of England thinke yt not good polycye to have that realme reformed, or planted with English, left they should growe so undutyfull as the Irish, and become much more dangerous: as apeareth by the example of the Lacyes in the tyme of Edward the Second, which you spake of, that shoke of theire religion to theire naturall Prince, and turned to Edward le Bruce, devisinge to make him Kinge of Ireland.

_Iren._ No tymes have bene without bad men: But as for that purpose of the Councell of England, which ye spake [of] that they shoule kepe that Realme from reformacon, I thinke, they are most lewdlye abused, for theire greate carfulnes and earneft endeavors do witnesse the contrarye. Neyther is yt [the] nature of the countrie to alter a mans manners, but the badd mindes of them, whom

1. 6635, *allegiance,* Collier, Morris, etc.: 1. 6636, *and . . . Bruce,* *ibid.*
havinge bene brought uppe at home under a straight rule of dutye and obeyence, beinge alwayes restrayned by sharpe penaltyes from lewde behavior, so soone as they come thither, where they see lawes so slackely tended, and the hard [restraint] which 665 they were used unto nowe slackted, they growe more lose and carelesse of theire dutye. As yt is the nature of all men to love libertye, so they become flatt libertynes, and fail to flatt licentyoufnes, more bouldly daringe to disobay the lawe, through pre-sumptyon of favor, and freindshippe, then any Irish dare.

Eudox. Then yt it be so, me thinkes your late advifement was very evell, whereby you wifhede the Irish to be sowde and sprinckled with the Englifh, 666 [and] in all the Irishe countryes to have Englifh planted amongst them, for to bringe them to Englifh fashons, since the Englifh be soner drawne to the Irishe, then the Irish to the Englifh: for as I faid before, [if] they much rue with the streame, the greater number will carry awaye the leffe: Therefore me femes by this reafon yt should be better to parte the Irishe and Englifh, then to mingle them together.

Iren. Not so, Eudox: but where there is no 667 good staie of government, and stronge ordinances to hold them, there inde the fewer will followe the more, but where there is due order of discipline and good rule, there the better shal goe foremost, and the worst shal followe. And thersore since Ireland is full of her owne nacon, that may not

l. 6654, ‘all,’ Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6664, ‘you,’ ibid.
be rooted [out], and somewhat stored with English already, and more to be, I thinke yt beft by an unyon of maners, and conformytye of mindes, to bringe them to be one people, and to put awaye 6680 the dislikefull conceipt both of the one, and of thother, which wilbe by no meanes better then by this interminglinge of them: that neyther all the Irish may dwell together, nor all the English, but by translatyng of them and scatteringe them in small numbers amongst the English, not onely to bringe them by dayly conversatyon unto better likinge of each other, but also to make both of them leffe able to hurte. And therefor when I come to the tythes, I will tythe them one with 6690 another, and for the most parte will make the Irish man the tything-man, wherby he shall take the leffe exeptyon to partiallitye and yet be the more tyed therby. But when I come to the Head Borough, which is the head of the lath, him will I make an Englishman, or Irish man of no small assurance: as also when I come to apointe the Elderman, that is the head of the hundred, him will I surely chuse [to be] an English man of speyall regarde, that may be a stay and pillar of 6700 all the Boroughs under him.

Eudox. What do you meane by your hundred? and what by your Borough? By that, which I have red in auncyent records of England, one hundred did contayne a hundred villages, or as some faye a c. plowlandes, beinge the same which the Saxons called Cantred; the which cantred, as I finde it recorded

1. 6683, 'by this,' Collier, Morris, etc.
in the blacke boke of Irelande, did contayne 30, Villattas terre, which some call, quarters of land, and every Villatta can maintayne 400 cowes in pasture, and the 400. cowes to be devided in 4 heardes, so as none of them shall come nere another: every Villata contayneth 17 plowlandes, as is there fet downe. And by that which I have red of a Borough, it signifyeth a free towne, which had a principall officer, called a head borough, to become ruler, and undertake for all the dwellers under him, havinge for the same franchyses and priviledges graunted them by the King, wherof yt was called a free borough, [and] of the lawyer Franciplegiū.

Iren. Both that which ye sayde, Eudox: is true, and yet that which I sayd not untrue; for that which ye speake of devidinge the contrey into hundreds, was a devise of the lands of the Realme, but this which I tell, was of the people, who were thus devided by the poll: so that an c. in this fence signifieth a c. pledges, which were under the command and assurance of theire alderman, the which, as I suppose, was also called a waapentacke, so named of touchinge the weapon or sparke of theire alderman, and swearinge to folowe him faythfully, and serve their Prince trulye. But others thinke that a weapontacke was ten hundreds or Boroughs: likewise a borough, as I here use yt, and as the ould lawes still use yt, is not a borough towne, as they nowe call yt, that is a franchift towne, but a mayne pledge of c. free persons, therfore called a free borough or as ye say Franciplegiū: For Borh in ould Saxon say signifieth pledges or suretyes, and
yet yt is so usef in some speches, as Chaucer 6740
fayth St. John to barrowe, that is for assurance and
warrantye.

Eudox. I conceive the difference. But now that
ye have thus devided the people into these tythings,
and hundreds, howe will you have them so preferved
and continued? for people do often chaunge theyr
dwellinges, and some must dye, whilst otherforme doe
growe up into strength of yeares, and become men.

Iren. These hundreds I would [with] to assemble
themselves once every yeare with theire pledges, and 6750
to present themselves before the justices of peace,
which shall be thereunto appointed, to be surveyed
and nombred, to fe what change hath happened
since the yeare before; and, the defectes to suply
of those yonge plantes late growne uppe, which are
diligently to be overlooked and viewed of what condi-
cion and demeanor they be, so as pledges may be
taken for them, and they put into order of some
utythinge: of all which alteracones note is to be taken,
and bookes made thereof accordingly.

Eudox. Now mee thinkes Irenius, ye are to be
warned to take good hede, leaffe unwares ye fall
into the inconveniencyes which you formerly founde
faulthe with in others; namely, that by this bokinge
of them, you do not gather them into another head,
and having broken theire former strength, do not
againe unite them more stronglye: for every Alder-
man, having all his fre pledges of his hundred
under his command, may me thinkes, yf he be yll
disposed, drawe all his companye into any evill 6760
ll. 6746-7, 'often . . . doe,' Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 6765, 'a new,' ibid.
actyon. And likewise, by this assemblinge of them once a yeare unto their Alderman by their weapon-tackes, take heed leaft ye also give them occasyon and meanes to praetise any harme in any conspiracy.

Iren. Neyther of both is to be doubted; for the aldermen and headborrowes will not be such men of power and countenance of themselves, beinge to be chosen thereunto, as neede to be feared: Neither, yf he were, is his hundred at his command further then his Princes service; and also every tything man; may contrall him in such a case. And as for the assemblinge of the hundred, much lesse is any danger thereof to be doubted, seinge yt is before a justice of peace, or some high constable to be therunto appointed: so as of these tythinges there can no peryll ensue, but a certayne assurance of peace and greate good; for they are thereby withdrawne from their lords, and subiected to their Prince. Moreover for the [better] breakinge of these heads and sectes, which I toould you was one of the greatest; strengthes of the Irifhe, me thinkes, yt shoulde do very well to renewe that ould statute that was made in the reigne of Edward the Fourth in England, by which yt was comaunded, that wheras all men that used to be called by the name of their sectes, according to their severall nacons, and had no surnames at all, that from thenceforth each one should take unto himselfe a severall surname, eyther of his trade or facultye, or of some qualitie of his bodye or mynde, or of the place where he dwelte, so as everye one should be distinguisched from other,
or from the most parte, whereby they shall not onely not depend upon the head of their secte, as nowe they doe, but also shall in shorte tyme learne quyte to forgett this Irish natyon. And herewithall would I also with all the Oes and the Mackes which the head of the sectes have taken to their names, to be utterly forbidien and extinguyshed; for that the same being an ould manner (as some sayth) first made by O Brin, for the strenghtninge of the Irish, the abrogatinge therof will as much infable them.

Eudox. I like this ordinance very well; but now that you have thus devided and distinguiished them, what other order will you take for their manner of lyfe? for all that, though perhaps yt may kepe them from disobedyence and disloyaltye, yet will yt not bringe them from their barbarisme and savadge lyfe.

Iren. The next [thing] that I will doe shalbe to apointe to every one, that is not able to live of his frehoulde, a certayne trade of lyfe, to which he shal find himselfe fitteste, and shalbe thought ablest, the which trade he shalbe bounde to followe, and live onely therupon. All trades therfore [it] is to be underftode [are to be] of iij kindes, manuell, intellectual, and mixed, th'one containinge all such as nede the exercyfe of bodely labor to the performance of their profesyon; th'other confiftinge onely of the exercyfe of the witte and reazon; the third parte of bodely labor, and parte of the witte, but dependinge [most] of induftrye and carefulnes. Of the first forte

1. 6806, 'Oes'—miswritten 'Oathes' in our MS. : I. 6829, 'fort,' Coillier, Morris, etc.
be all handycrafts and husbandrye labor. Of the seconde be all scyences, and those which are called the liberall Arts. Of the thirde is marchandize and chafferye, that is, buyinge and sellinge; and without all these iiij there is no commonwealth can almost confyft, or at the lease be perfecte. But the wretched realme of Ireland wanteth the moft princypall of them, that is, the intellectuall; therfore in sekinge to restore her state yt is specyall to be loked unto. But because of husbandrye, which supplyeth unto us all thinges necessarye for foode, whereby we cheifly live, therfore yt is first to be provided for. The first thinge then that we are to drawe these newe tythed men unto, ought to be husbandrye. First, because yt is the moft easyte to be learned, nedinge onely the labor of the bodye. Next, because yt is moft naturall and moft needesfull; then, because it is moft naturall; and lastly, because yt is moft enemy to warre, and moft hateth unquietnesse, as the Poet sayth,

—— "bella execrata collonis:"

But husbandrye beinge the nurse of thirthe, and the daughter of industrie and labor, detesteth all that may worke her scathe, and destroy the travell of her hands, whose hope is all her lives confort unto the plough: therfore are all those Kearne, Stochoas, and Horbeyes, to bee drawen and mad to impoye that ablenesse of bodye, which they [were] wonte to ufe to thefte and villainye, henforth to labor and

1. 6839, ‘reforme,’ Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6847, ‘generall,’ ibid. 1
1. 6847, ‘moft . . . and,’ ibid.: l. 6854, ‘hinderauce’: l. 6856,
‘Stokagh’s’: l. 6857, ‘driven,’ Collier, Morris, etc.
husbandrye. In the which, by that tyme they have 6860 spente but a lytle payne, they will find such swetenes and happy contentment, that they will hardly afterwards be hayled away from yt, or drawne to their wonted leude lyfe in theivery and rogyere. And beinge thus once entered therunto, they are not onely to be countenanced and encoraged by all good meanes, but also provided that theire children after them may be brought up in the same, and succed in the rome of theire fathers. To which end there is a Statute in Ireland alredy well provided, 6870 which comaundeth that all the fones of husbandmen shalbe trayned uppe in theire fathers trade, but yt is, God wot, very slenderly loked unto.

Eudox. But do you not counte, in this trade of husbandrye, pasturinge of cattell, and kepinge of theire cowes? for that is reckoned as parte of husbandrye.

Iren. I knowe yt is, and nedfull to be ufed, but I doe not meane to allowe any of these able bodyes, which are able to ufe bodely labor, to followe a fewe 6880 cowes graffinge, but such impotente persons, as beinge unable for stronge travell, are yet able to drive cattell to and froe the pasture; for this kepinge of cowes is of yt self a very idle lyfe, and a fit nurfery for a theife. For which caufe, ye remember, I diflyked the Irishman for kepinge of Bollyes in Sother upon the mountayne, and lyvinge after that favadg forte. But yt they will alwayes fede any cattle, or kepe them on the mountaynes, let them make some

1. 6860, 'industry': l. 6863, 'to' miswritten 'from' in our MS.: l. 6873, 'executed,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6888, 'algates,' ibid.
townes nere to the mountayne's yde, where they may dwell together with neighbors, and be conversante in the yve of the world. And, to say truth, though Ireland be by nature counted a greate soyle of pasture, yet had I rather have fewer cowes kept, and men better manred, then to have such huge increase of cattell, and no increase of condicons. I would threfore wisht that there were some ordinaunce made amongst them, that whatsoever kepeth twentye kine shold kepe a plough goinge, for otherwise all men would fall to pasturinge, and none to husbandrye, which is a greate cause of this deareth nowe in England, and a cause of the usuall stelahthes now in Ireland: For loke in all countreys that live in such sorte by kepinge of cattell, and you shalt find that they are both very barbarous and uncivill, and greatly given to warre. The Tartaryans, the Muscovites, the Norwayes, the Gothes, the Armenyans, and many other do witnes the same. And threfore since nowe we purpose to drawe the Irish from desire of warre and tumults, to the love of peace and civylitye, yt is expediente to abridge their custome of heardingge, and augment their trade more of tyllinge and husbandrye. As for other occupacons and trades, they ned not to be enforced to, but every man bound onely to followe that he thinks himselfe aptest for. For other trades of artificers wilbe occupied for very necessityes, and confrayned use of them; and fo likewise will marchandize for the gaine therof; but learninge and bringing up in liberall scyences, will not come of yt selfe, but must

l. 6896, 'of good,' Collier, Morris, etc.
be drawne on with straights lawes and ordinaunces: And therefore yt were mete that such an ac te were ordayned, that all the sones of lords and gentlemen, and such others as are able to bringe them up in learninge, shoulde be trayned uppe herin from theire childhodes. And for that end everye parishe shalbe forced to kepe one pettye scholemaister, adjoyninge unto the parishe charge, to be the more in veiwe, which shoulde bringe up theire children in the first rudiments of letteres: and that, in every country or 6930 baroney, they shoulde kepe another able scholemaister, which shoulde instruc te them in gra ner, and in the princelyes of scyences, to whom they shold be com- pelled to send theire youth to be discyplyned, wherby they will in shorte tyme growe uppe to that civyll conversafyon, that both the children will loath the former rudnes in which they were bred, and also theire parentes will, even by the enample of theire yonge children, perceave the foulnes of theire owne brutishe behavior compared to theires: for learninge 6940 hath that wonderfull power of yt selfe, that yt can soften and temper the most sterne and savadge nature.

Eudox. Surely I am of your minde, that nothing will bringe them from theire uncivill life foner then learninge and discypline, next after the knowledge and seare of God. And therfore I doe stille expec te, that ye should come thereunto, and set some order for reformacon of religion, which is first to be re- spected; accordinge to the sayinge of CHRISt, “First feke the kingdome of heaven, and the righteoufnes 6950 therof.”

Iren. I have in mynde so to doe; but let me,
I pray you, firft finifh that which I had in hand, wherby all the ordinances which shall after be fet downe for religion may abid the more firmly, and be obferved more diligently. Now that this people is thus tythed and ordred, and every one bound to some trade of lyfe, which shalbe particulery entred and fet downe in tythinge bookes, yet perhaps there wilbe some ftraglers and runagates which will not of 696 themselves come and yeld themselues to this order, and yet after the well finifhinge of the prefent warre, and eftablishtinge of the garifons in every stronge place of the countrye, where theire wonted refuge was moft, I suppose there will fewe ftand out, or yf they doe, they will fone be brought in by the eares: But yet afterwardes, leaft any one of these shoule fwarve, or any that is tyed to a trade shoule afterwardes not followe the fame, according to this institutyon, but shoule ftaggle upp and downe the 697 countrye, or mich in corners amongst theire freinds idlye, as Carrowe, Bardes, Jesters, and such like, I would with that there were a Provoft Marfhall apointed in eveyre theire, which shoule continually walke thorough the countrey, with half a dozen, or halfe a score horfemen, to take up such lote perfons as they shoule finde thus wandringe, whom he shoule punifh by his owne authoretye, with such paynes as the perfons shoule seeme to deferve: for yf he be but once fo taken idelye roginge, he 691 may punifhe him more lightlye, as with ftockes, or such like: but yf he be foud agayne fo loytringe, he may fcorge him with whips, or roddes, after which

l. 6958, 'fome hones,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 6966, 'shortly.'
yf he be taken agayne, let him have the bitternes of the Marshall lawe. Likewise yf any relickes of the rebellion be found by him, that eyther have not come in and submitted him selfe to the law, or that having once come in, breake forth againe, and walke disorderedlye, let them taft of the same cuppe in Gods name; for yt was due to them for there first guilte, and nowe beinge revived by their later lofenes, let them have their first deserte, as nowe beinge found unfitt to live in a common-wealthe.

Eudox. This were a good maner; but me thinkes yt is an unnecesarye charge, and also unfitte to continue the name or forme of any marshall lawe, when as there is a proper officer apointed alredy for these turnes, to witt the sherife of the sheire, whose particular office yt is to walke continually up and downe his Bayliwicke, as ye would have a marshall, to snatch up all those runagates and unprofitable members, and to bringe them to his gaole to be punyshed for the same. Therefore this may well be spared.

Iren. Not fo, me semes; for though the sherife have this authoritye upon himselfe to take uppe all such traytors, and imprison them, yet shall he not doe so much good, nor worke that terror in the hartes of them, that a marshall will, whom they shall knowe to have power of life and death in such cafes, and specially to be apointed for them: Neyther doth yt hinder but that though yt perteyne to the

1. 6987, ‘themselves,’ Collier, Morris, etc.; 1. 7000, ‘peculiar’: 1. 7008, ‘stragglers,’ Collier, Morris, etc.
IX. 16
sherife, the sheriffe may do therin what he can, and yet the marshall may walke his courfe bydes; for both of them may doe the more good, and may terrifye the idle rogue, knowinge that though he have a watche upon thone, yet he may light upon th’other. But this proviſo is nedſull to be had in this case, that the sherif may not have the like power 70 of life as the marshall hath, and as heretofore they have bene accustomed; for yt is dangerous to give power of lyfe into the hands of him which may have benefyte by the partyes death, as, yf the sayd lofe liver have any goodes of his owne, the Sherife is to feize therupon, wherby yt hath comen often to passe, that some who have not perhaps deserved judgemente of death, though otherwife perhaps offendinge, have bene for their goods fake caught up, and caried straight to the bouge; a thinge inde 70 pittyfull and very horruble. Therfore by no meanes would I wishe the Sherife to have such authoretye, nor yet to imprison that loofell tyll the Sessions, for soe all gaoles might sone be filled, but [to] send him to the Marſhall, who, eftfones findinge him faultye, shall give him mete correction, and rid him away forthwith.

Eudox. I do nowe perceave your reaſon well. But come we nowe to that wherofe we earft spake, I meane, to religion and religious men; what order 70 will you fett amongst them?

Iren. For religion lytle have I to say, my self beinge as I sayde, not proſeffed therin, and yt selſe beinge but one, fo as there is but one waſe therin;

1. 7014, ‘the sheriffe,’ Collier, Morris, etc.
PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND

for that which is true onely is, and the rest are not at all, yet in plantinge of religion this much is nedfull to be obserued, that being not fought forceable to be impressed into them with terror and sharpe penaltyes, as nowe is the manner, but rather delivered and intymated with myldnes and gentlenes, so as yt may not be hated before yt be underftod, and theirre Profeffors dispifed and rejected. For this I knowe that most of the Iriff are so farre from understandinge the popifh religion as they are of the protestantes profeyson; and yet do they hate that though unknovne, even for the very hatred which they have of the Eng[lish], and of theirre government. Therefore yt is expedient that some difcreete minifteres of theirre owne contrymen be first snt amongst them, which by theirre mild perfwafyons and instruc்தyons, as also by theirre fober lyfe and converfacon, may drawe them first to understand, and afterwarde to imbrace, the doctrine of theirre falfacon; for yt that the auncyent godly fathers, which firft converted them, being infidells, to the faith, were able to drawe them from infidelyte and paganfyte to the true believe in CHRISt, as S. Patricke, and S. Columb, how much more the godly teachers bringe them to the true understandinge of that which they already profeyse? wherin yt is greate wonder to see the odds which is betweene the zeale of Popifh Preifts, and minifteres of ye Gospell; for they spare not

l. 7046, 'thus,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 7051, 'afore': ll. 7065-6, 'which . . . faith,' Collier, Morris, etc.: ll. 7067-8, 'to . . . Columb,' ibid.: l. 7069, 'more easelie shall,' ibid.
to come out of Spaine, from Rome, from Rhemes, by longe toyle and dangerous travell hither, where they knowe perill of death awayteteth them, and no rewarde nor ritches is to be found, onely to drawe the people to the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estymacon therby opned unto them, and having the livinges of the country offred them, without paines, without perill, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good which they might doe by winninge of so many foules to God, be drawne forth from theire warme neastes and theire swete loves fydes to loke out into Gods harvest, which is even redy for the fickle, and all the feildes yelowe longe agoe: doubtlesse these good ould fathers will, I feare me, rife uppe in the day of judgment to condemne them.

Eudox. Surely, yt is greate pitty, Iryn[i]us, that there are none chosen out of the mynisters of Eng[land], good sober, and discreete men, which might be sent over thither to teach and instructe them, and that there ys not asmuch care had of theire foules as of theire bodyes; for the care of both lyeth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never so many sent over thither they should do small good tyll one enormity be taken from them, that is, that both they be restrayne from fendinge theire yonge men abroade to other Univerftyyes beyond seas, as Rhemes, Doway, Lovaine, and the like, and that others from abroade

l. 7079, 'some of,' Collier, Morris, etc.
be restrayed for cominge to them; for their lurking secretly in their houses and in corners of the countrye do more hurt and hindrance to religion with their private perfwasyons, then all the others can doe with their publicke instructyons; and though for these latter there be a good statute there 7110 ordeyned, yet the same is not executed, and as for the former there is noe lawe nor order for their refrainte at all.

Eudox. I mervell that yt is no better loked unto and not onely this, but also that which, I remember, you menconed in your abuses concerninge the profittes and revenuees of the lands of fugitives in Ireland, which by pretence of certaine cullorable conveyances are sent continuallye over unto them, to the confortinge of them and others against her 7120 Majestye, for which here in Eng[land] there is good order taken: and why not then aswell in Ireland? For though there be no statute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majestye, by her onely prorgative, seize the fruictes and profites of those fugitives lands into her handes, till they came over to testeye there true allegance.

Iren. Indeed she might so doe; but the combrous tymes do perhaps hinder the regarde therof, and of many other good intencions.

Eudox. But why then did they not minde yt in peaceable tymes?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave confideracons, but procede we forwarde. Next care in religion is to bulde up and repaire all the ruine[d] churches:

l. 7131, 'why then' from Collier, Morris, etc.
the, the most part ley even with the grounde, and some [that] have bene lately repayed and thatched are so unhandsomely patched, and thatched, that men doe even shun the places for the uncomlynes thereof: therfore I would wish that there were order taken to have them builde in some better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward shew, assure your selve, doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencinge and freuyne[n]tinge thereof, what ever some of our to nice foles faye, there is nothing in the femely forme and comly order of the church. And, for so kepinge and continuynge them, there should likewise Church-wardens of the graveft men in the parishe be apointed, as there be here in England, which should take the yearely charge both hereof, and also of the schole-houses, which I wished to be builded here to the sayd churches; for maintenance of both which, yt were mete that som feverall porcon of land were allotted, feinge no more mortmaines are to be loked for.

Eudox. Indeed me semes it would be so convenyente; but when all is done, how will you have this churche servde, or your mynifiers mayntayned? since the livinges (as you sayd) are not sufficient scarce to make them a newe gowne, much less to yeelde meete maintenaunce accordinge to the dignitye of their degree.

Iren. There is noe waye to helpe that, but to laye two or three of them together, untill such
tyme as the contreye growe more ritche and better inhabited, at which times the tythes and other obvencons will also be more agmented and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all theire forts of trades, and set a course for theire good establisment, let us yf you pleafe, goe next 7170 to some other nedfull pointes of other publicke matters, no leffe concerninge the good of the comon-wealth, though but accydently dependinge on the former. And first I wish that order were taken for the cuttynge downe and openinge of all paces thorough woodes, so that a wide waye of the space of c. yardes might be layde open in every of them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perilous places to be robbed, and sometymes murthered. Next, that bridges were builte upon all 7180 rivers, and all the fordes marred and spilte, so as none might passe anye other waye, but by those bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a small gatehoufe sett theron; wherof this good will come that no night sleathes, which are comonly driven in byways and by blinde fordes unused of any but fuch like, must be conveyed out of one contreye into another, as they use, but that they must passe by those bridges, where they may be hapely encountred, or easely tracked, or not suffred to passe at all, by 7190 meanes of those gatehoufes therin: Also that in all streights and narrowe passages, as betwene twoe bogges, or through any deepe forde or under any mountayne syde, there shoulde be some litle fortillage, or wodden caftell fett, which shoulde kepe and comand

1. 7167, 'oblations': I. 7187, 'shall,' Collier, Morris, etc.
that stright, wherby any rebells that should com in
the contrye might be stopped the way, or paasse
with greate perill. Moreover, that all high wayes
should be fenced on both fydes, leavinge onely fortye
foote brede for passage, so as none should be able to paasse but thorough the high waye, wherby theeves
and night robbers might be the more easily pursuied
and encountred, when there shalbe no other waye
to drive theire stollen cattell but therin [as] I
formerly declared. Further, that there shoulde in
sondrye conveyent places, by the highe waye [be]
townes apointed to be builte, the which shoulde be
fre borrowes, and incorporate under Baylifes, to be
by theire inhabitants well and strongly trenched, or
otherwise fenced with gates at eache fyde therof, to be shuts nightlye, like as there is [in] many places
in the English Pale, and all the wayes about yt to
be strongly shut uppe, so that none shoulde paasse but
thorough those townes: To some of which yt were
good that the priviledge of a markett were given,
the rather to strengthen and enable them to theire
defence, for nothinge doth sooner caufe civillitye in
any countrye then many market townes, by reaason
that the people repayringe often thither for theire
neds, will daylye se and learne civyll manners of the
better forte. Befydes, there is nothinge doth more
staye and strenthen the contrye then such corporate
townes, as by profe in many rebellyons have bene
proved, in all which when the countryes have swarved, the townes have stood stille and faste, and
yelded good releife to the souldeiors in all occayons

l. 7199, 'fenced and shut up,' Collier, Morris, etc.: l. 7224, 'seene.'
of service. And lastly there doth nothinge more enrich any contry or realme then many townes; for to them will people drawe and bringe the fruicte of theire trades, aswell to make money of them, as to supply theire nedfull uses; and the contrymen will also be the more industrious in tyllage, and rearinge all hufbandrye comodityes, knowing they shall have ready sale for them at those townes: and in all those townes sould there convenient inns be erected for the lodginge and harboringe of all travellers, whoe are nowe oftentimes spoyled by lodginge abroade in weake thatch house, for wante of such safe places to shrowde themselves in.

_Eudox._ But what profitt shal your market towne reape of their market, wheras each one may sell theire corne and cattell abroade in the countrye, and make theire secret bargaynes amongst theire selves, as nowe I understand they use?

_Iren._ Indeed, Eudox: they doe so, and thereby no small inconvenience doth rife to the commonwealth; for nowe when any one hath stolne a cowe or a garon, he may secretly fell yt in the countrye without privytye of any, wheras ye he brought yt into a market towne yt would perhaps be knowne, and the theife discovered. Therfore yt were good that a straight ordinance were made, that none should buy or sell any cattell but in some open markett (there beinge nowe markett towne everye where at hand) upon a greate penaltye neyther should they likewise by any corne to sell the

1. _7229_, ' _will all the_,' Collier, Morris, etc.: _l._ 7233, ' _shall have_,' _ibid._: _l._ 7240, ' _townes_,' _ibid._.
fame againe, unlesse yt were to make malte therof; for by such engrossinge and regratinge we see the deearth that nowe comunly raigneth here in England to have bene caufed. Hereunto also is to be added 726c that good ordinance, which I remember was once proclaymed throughout all Ireland. That all men shoulde marke there cattell with an open severall marke upon there flancakes or buttocks, so as yf they hapned to be stollen, they might apeare whose they were, and they which shoulde buy them might therby supeecte the owner, and be warned to abstayne from byinge of them of a supeected person with such an unknowne marke.

Eudox. Surely these ordinances seme very ex- 727c pedient, but spesially that of fre townes, of which I wonder that there is such small store in Ireland, and that in the firft peoplinge and plantinge therof they were neglecepted and omytted.

Iren. They were not omitted; for there were, thoroughe all places of the country convenyente, many good townes seatted, which thoroughe that inundaco of the Irish, which I firft tould of, were utterly wafted and defaced, of which the ruines are yet in many places to be sene, and of some no signe 728 at all remayninge, save onely there bare names, but there seates are not to be founde.

Eudox. But how then cometh yt to passe, that they have never since recovered, nor there habitacon bene reeddified, as of the rest which have bene noe leffe spoyled and wafted?

Iren. The cause therof was for that, after their
defolacon, they were begged by gentlemen of the Kings under collours to repaire them and gather the poore relickes of the people againe together, of whome havinge obtayned them, they were so farre from reedyfying of them, as that by all meanes they have endeavored to kepe them waste, leaft that, beinge repayred, theire charters may be renewed, and the burgeffes restored to theire landes, which they had nowe in theire possesyon; much like as in theose oulde monuments of abbyes, and religious houfes, we see them likewise use to doe: for which cause yt is judged that King Henry the Eighth bestowed them upon them, knowinge that thereby they should never be able to rise againe. And even fo do those Lords, in these oulde pore corporate townes, of which I could name diverse but for kindling of displeasure. Therefore as I wished many corporate townes to be erected, fo would I againe wish them to be free, not dependinge upon the service, nor under the comandment of any but the Governor. And beinge fo, they will bothe strengthen all the countrye round about them, which by theire meanes wilbe the better replenished and enriched, and also be as contynuall houldes for her Majesty, yt the people should revolt and breake out againe; for without fuch yt is easye to forrey and over-ronne the whole lande. Let be, for example, all those freboroughes in the Lowe-countryes, which are nowe all the strength therof. These and other like ordinances might be delivered

1. 7294, 'micht,' Collier, Morris, etc. : l. 7303-5, 'of . . . townes,' 

*ibid.*
for the good establishment of this realme, after yt is once subdued and reformed, in which yt might afterwardes [be] very easely kepte and maintayned with small care of the Governor and Councell there apointed, so as that yt shoulde in short space yeld a plentyfull revenue to the crowne of England; which now doth but sucke and confume the treafurye therof, through those unfound plattes and changfull orders which are daylye devised for her good, yet never effectually prosecuted or performed.

_Eudox._ But in all this your discorfe I have not marked any thinge by you spoken touchinge the appointment of the principall officer, to whome you wish the charge and performance of all this to be comitted: onely I observed some foule abuses by you noted in some of the late Governours, the reformacon wherof you lefte for this presente tyme.

_Iren._ I delight not to lay open the blames of greate magistrates to the rebuke of the worlde, and therefore theire reformacon I will not medle with, but leave unto the wisdome of greater heads to be considered; onely this much I will speake generally herof, to satisfye your defyre, that the Government and cheife majestraye I wish to continue as yt doth, to weete, that yt be ruled by a Lord Deputye or Justices, for that it is a very safe kinde of rule: But therewithall I wish that over him there were placed a Lord Leiftenante, of some of the greatest personages in England (such an one I could name) upon whom the eye of all England is fixed, (and our
PRESIDENT STATE OF IRELAND.

laft hopes nowe reft) who beinge intituled with that dignitye, and beinge alwayes here reidente, may backe and defend the good cause of the government against all malignors, which ells will, through there cunning workinge under hand, deprave and pull backe whatsoever things shalbe well beguife or intended there, as we comonly see by experyence at this daye, to the utter ruyne and desolacion of the pore Realme, and this Leiftenancye shoulde be no discountenauncing of the Lord Deputye, but rather a strengthninge and maintayninge of all his doinges; for now the cheife evill in that government is, that no Governor is suffred to goe one with any one course, but upon the leaft informacon here of this or that, he is eyther stoped or croffed, and other course apointed him from hence which he shal runne, which how [in]convenient yt is, is at this hower to well felt. And therefore this shoulde be one principale in the apointment of the Lord Deputies authoritye, that yt shoulde be more ample and absolute then yt is, and that he shoulde have an uncontrouled power to doe any thinge that he, with the advisement of the Councell, shal thinke mete to be done: for yt is not possible for the Councell here, to directe a Governor there, who shalbe forced oftentymes to followe the necessitye of preuent occayfons, and to take the foddayne advantage of tyme, which beinge once lofte will not bee recoverable; whilst, thorough expectinge directyon from hence, the delayes wherof are oftentymes through greater affaires moft irksome, the oportunityes there in the meane tyme passe awaye,

l. 7372, 'should,' Collier, Morris, etc.
and greate danger often groweth, which by such timely prevencon might easely be stopped. And this I remember is worthely observed by Matchavell in his discorfes upon Lyvye, where he comendeth the manner of the Romans government, in giving absolute power to all theire Consules and Governours, which yf they abused, they shoude afterwards derly answere; And the contrary therof he reprehendeth [in] the State of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalytes of Ittalye, who ufe to lymytt theire 7390 cheife officers fo straightlye, as that therby they have ostentymes loft such happy occafyons as they could never come unto againe. The like wherof, who fo hath bene conversante in that government of Ireland, hath to often bene theire great hinderance and hurt. Therfore this could I wish to be redresed, and yet not so, but that in particular thinges he shoude be restrayned, though not in generall government; as namely in this, that no ofices shoule be fould by the Lord Deputy for money, nor no pardons, 7404 nor no protecnyons bought for rewarde, nor noe beves taken [for] cappencyes of contryes, nor no shares of bishopricks for nominatinge theire bishops, nor no forfaytures, nor dispensacons with penall flatuts geven to theire servants or freindes, nor no fellung of lycences for exportacon of prohibited warres, and s pecially of corne and fleche, with many the like; which nede some manner of restrainte, or els very greate trust in the honorable dispofytyon of the Lord Deputye.

1. 7391, *they have,* Collier. Morris, etc.: l. 7392, *lost such happy,* ibid.: ll. 7395-6, *hindraunce and,* ibid.: l. 7400, *for money,* ibid.
Thus I have, Eudox: as breifly as I could, and as my remembrance would serve, run through the state of that whole contrye, both to let you see what it nowe is, and also, what yt may be by good care and amendment: not that I take upon me to change the pollicye of so greate a kingdome, or prescribe rules to such wise men as have the handlinge therof, but onely to shewe you the evills, which in my small experience I have observed to be the cheife hindrance of the reformacon therof; and by the way of conference to declare my simple opinyon for redresse therof, and establishtinge a good course for that government; which I do not deliver for a perfecte plotte of myne owne invenstyon to be onely followed, but as I have learned and understood the same by the consultacons and actyons of very wise Governors and Counsellors whome I have sometymes heard treate therof. So have I thought good to sett downe a remembrance of them for myne owne good, and your satisfacyon, that who lift to overloe them, although perhaps much wiser then they which have thus advisd of that state, yet at leaft, by comparifon hereof, may perhaps better his owne judgment, and by the light of others foregoinge, he may followe after with more eafe, and hapely finde a fayrer waye thereunto then they which have gone before.

Eudox. I thanke you, Irenyus, for thys your gentle paynes; withall not forgettynge nowe in the shuttyng uppe to put you in mynd of that which you have

1. 7414, 'upon me,' Collier, Morris, ibid.
formerly halfe promyfed—herafter when we shall meete agayne upon the like good occasyon, ye will declare unto us those your observations which ye have gathered of the Authoritues of Ireland.

finys 1596: E. S.

1. 7443, *Antiquities*, Collier, Morris, etc., but plainly *Authoritues*—on the national history—in our MS.
II.

LETTERS

FROM

Spenser

("IMMERITO")

TO

Gabriel Harvey

1579-1580.
NOTE.

The first of these Letters is drawn from the original book, whose title-page is given opposite.

The second, with added quotation from Harvey's answer, is taken from the book whose title-page is similarly given on verso of the other.

A return to the originals corrects a number of little misprints and mispellings or modernizings in prior reprints, even in Dr. Morris's ('Globe'). It is to be noted that in the first Letter the date is '5 of October,' which may be queried '16th,' (p. 264, l. 9r,) and by error 2579 for 1579. See the Life in Vol. I. on these Letters and related matters.

A. B. G.
TVVO OTHER
very commendable Letters, of the same mens writing, both touching the foresaid
Artificiall Verifying, and certain other particulars;

More lately delivered unto the Printer.

CHARITAS

IMPRINTED AT LONDON,
by H. Bynneman, dwelling
in Thames Streate, neere vnto
Baynardes Caftell.
Anno Domini 1580.
Cum gratia & privilegio Regia Maiestatis.
THREE PROPER
and wittie, familiar Letters:
lately passed betvveene tvvo V-
niuerfitie men: touching the Earth-
quake in Aprill laft, and our English
reformed Versifying

With the Preface of a well-willer to
them both.

CHARITAS

IMPRINTED AT LON-
don, by H. Bynneman, dvelling
in Thames Streate, neere vnto
Baynardes Caffell.
Anno Domini. 1580.
Cum gratia & privilégio Regis Maiestatis.
LETTERS
FROM
SPENSER (IMMERITO) TO
GABRIEL HARVEY.

TO THE WORSHIPFULL HIS VERY SINGULAR GOOD FRIEND, MAISTER G. H.
FELLOW OF TRINITIE HALL IN CAMBRIDGE.

OOD Master G. I perceive by your most curteous and friendly Letters your good will to be no lesse in deeed, than I alwayes esteemed. In recompence wherof, think I befeech you, that I wil spare neither speech, nor wryting, nor aught else, whenssoever, and wheresoever occasion shal be offred me: yea, I will not stay, till it be offred, but will seeke it, in al that possibily I may. And that you may perceive how much your Counsel in al things prevailleth with me, and how altogether I am ruled and over-ruled thereby: I am now 20
determined to alter mine owne former purpose, and
to subscribe to your advizement: being notwithstanding resolved stil, to abide your farther resolution. My principal doubts are these. First, I was minded for a while to have intermitted the uttering of my writings: leaft by over-much cloying their noble eares, I should gather a contempt of myself, or else seeme rather for gaine and commoditie to doe it, for some sweetnesse that I have already tafted. Then also, meseemeth, the work too base for his excellent Lordship, being made in Honour of a private Personage unknowne, which of some yl-willers might be upbraided, not to be so worthie, as you knowe she is: or the matter not so weightie, that it should be offer'd to so weightie a Personage: or the like. The selfe former Title stil liketh me well ynough, and your fine Addition no leffe. If these, and the like doubts, maye be of importaunce in your seeming, to frustrate any parte of your advice, I beseche you without the least selfe love of your own purpose, councell me for the beft: and the rather doe it faithfullye, and carefully, for that, in all things I attribute so mucche to your judgement, that I am evermore content to annihilate mine owne determinations, in respeche thereof. And indeede for your selfe to, it sitteth with you now, to call your wits and senfes togethier, (which are alwaies at call) when occasion is so fairely offered of Estimation and Preferment. For, whiles the yron is hote, it is good striking, and minds of Nobles varie, as their Estates. Verum ne quid durius. 50

I pray you bethinke you well hereof, good Maister G. and forthwith write me those two or three
special points and caveats for the nonce, *De quibus in superioribus illis mellitissimis longissimisque Litteris tuis.* Your desire to hear of my late being with his Majestie, must dye in it selfe. As for the two worthy Gentlemen, Master *Sidney* and Master *Dyer*, they have me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity: of whom, and to whom, what speache passeth for your credite and estimation, I leave your selfe to conceive, having alwayes so well conceived of my unfained affection and zeale towards you. And nowe they have proclaimed in their *ἀπευφυγῷ* a generall surceasing and silence of balde Rymers, and also of the verie beste to: in stead whereof, they have, by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English sillables for English Verse: having had thereof already great praetife, and drawen mee to their faction. Newe Bookes I heare of none, but only 70 of one, that writing a certaine Booke, called *The Schoole of Abuse*, and dedicating it to Master *Sidney*, was for hys labor scorned: if at leaste it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne. Suche follie is it, not to regarde aforesaid the inclination and qualitie of him to whome wee dedicate oure Bookes. Suche mighte I happily incurre entituling *My Slomber* and the other Pamphlets unto his honor. I meant them rather to Master *Dyer*. But I am, of late, more in love wyth my Englishe Verifying than with 80 Ryming: whyche I should haue done long since, if I would then haue followed your councell. *Sed te folum jam tum suspicabar cum Aschamo sapere: nunc Aulam video egregios alere Poetas Anglicos.*
Maister E. K. hartily desireth to be commended unto your Worshipp:e: of whome what accompte he maketh, your felse shall hereafter perceive, by hys paynefull and dutifull Verfes of your felse.

Thus much was written at Westminister yefter-night: but comming this morning, beeyng the sixteenth of October, to Mytresse Kerkes, to have it delivered to the Carrier, I receyved youre letter, sente me the lafte weeke: whereby I perceave you otherwhiles continue your old exerce of Verifying in Englishe: whych glorie I had now thought shoulde have bene onely ours heere at London and the Court.

Truste me, your Verfes I like paffingly well, and enuve your hidden paines in this kinde, or rather maligne, and grudge at your felse, that woulde not once imparted fo muche to me. But once, or twice you make a breache in Maister Drants Rules: quod tamen condonabimus tanto Poëta, tuaque ipsius maxima in his rebus autoritati. You shall see when we meeete in London (whiche, when it shall be, certifye us) howe fafte I have followed after you in that Course: beware, leaft in time I overtake you. Veruntamen te folum sequar, (ut sapenumber, fum profecus,) nunquam fane afferuar dum vivam.

And nowe requite I you with the like, not with the verye beft, but with the verye shortef, namely, with a few Iambickes: I dare warrant they be precisely perfect for the feete (as you can easily judge), and varie not one inch from the Rule. I will imparte yours to Maister Sidney and Maister Dyer at my nexte going to the Courte. I praye you, keepe
TO GABRIEL HARVEY.

mine close to yourselfe, or your verie entire friendes,
Maister Presson, Maister Still, and the reste.

Iambicum Trimetrum.

Unhappie Verfe, the witnesse of my unhappie state,
Make thy selfe fluttering wings of thy fast flying
Thought, and fly forth unto my Love whersoever
she be:

Whether lying restlesse in heavy bedde, or else
Sitting so cheerelesse at the cheerfull boorde, or else
Playing alone carelesse on hir heavenlie Virginals.

If in Bed, tell hir, that my eyes can take no reste:
If at Boorde, tell hir, that my mouth can eate no
meate:
If at hir Virginals, tell hir, I can heare no mirth.

As ked why? say: Waking Love suffereth no sleepe:
Say, that raging Love dothe appall the weake stomacke:
Say, that lamenting Love marreth the Musickall.

Tell hir, that hir pleasures were wonte to lull me
asleepe:
Tell hir, that hir beautie was wonte to feede
mine eyes:
Tell hir, that hir sweete Tongue was wonte to
make me mirth.

Nowe doe I nightly waste, wanting my kindely reste:
Nowe doe I dayly starve, wanting my lively foode:
Nowe doe I always dye, wanting thy timely
mirth.
And if I waste, who will bewail my heavy chance?
And if I starve, who will record my cursed end?
And if I dye, who will say: this was Immerito? 140

I thought once agayn here to have made an
ende, with a heartie Vale of the best fashion: but
loe, an ylfavoured myschance. My last farewell,
whereof I made great accompt, and muche marvelled
you shoulde make no mention thereof, I am nowe
tolde (in the Divels name) was thorough one mans
negligence quite forgotten, but shoulde nowe un-
doubtedly have beene sent, whether I hadde come,
or no. Seeing it can now be no otherwise, I
pray you take all togethe, wyth all their faultes: 150
and nowe I hope, you will vouchsafe mee an
answearer of the largest fize, or else I tell you true,
you shal bee verye deepe in my debte: notwith-
standing, thys other sweete, but shorte letter, and
fine, but fewe Verses. But I woulde rather I might
yet see youres owne good selue, and receive a
Recrocall farewell from your owne sweete mouth.

Ad ornatissimum virum, multis jam diu
nominibus clarissimum G. H. Immerito
sui, mor in Gallias navigaturi, ebryxêiv. 160

Sic malus egregium, sic non inimicus Amicum:
Sicque novus veterem jubet ipse Poëta Poëtam,
Salvere, ac coelo, post secula multa secundo
Jam reducem, coelo mage, quam nunc ipse, secundo Utier. Ecce Deus, (modò fit Deus ille, renixum
Qui vocet in fcelus, et juratos perdat amores)
TO GABRIEL HARVEY.

Ecce Deus mihi clara dedit modò signa Marinus, 
Et sua veligero lenis parat Æquora Ligno, 
Mox fulcanda, suas etiam pater Æolus Iras 
Ponit, et ingentes animos Aquilonis——
Cuncta viis sic apta meis: ego solus ineptus. 
Nam mihi nefcio quo mens saucia vulnere, dudum 
Fluctuat ancipiti Pelago, dum Navita proram 
Invalidam validus rapit huc Amor, et rapit illuc. 
Confoliis Ratio melioribus ufa, decusque 
Immortale levi diffessa Cupidinis Arcu. 
Angimur hoc dubio, et portu vexamur in ipso. 
Magne pharetrati nunc tu contemptor Amoris, 
(Id tibi Dii nomen precor hand impune remittant) 
Hos nodos exsolve, et eris mihi magnus Apollo. 
Spiritus ad summos, scio, te generosus Honores 
Exstimulat, majusque docet spirare Poëtam, 
Quam levis eft Amor, et tamen haud levis eft Amor 
omnis. 
Ergò nihil laudi reputas æquale perenni, 
Praeque sacrosancta splendoris imagine tanti, 
Cætera, quæ vecors, uti Numina, vulgus adorat, 
Prædia, Amicitias, urbana peculia, Nummos, 
Quæque placent oculis, formas, spectacula, Amores, 
Conculcare soles, ut humum, et ludibria fenüs. 
Digna meo certè Harveio sententia, digna 
Oratore ampio, et generosò pecùre, quam non 
Stoica formidet veterum Sapientia vincilis 
Sancire æternis: sapor haud tamen omnibus idem 
Dicitur effæt proles facunda Laërtæ, 
Quamlibet ignoti jaëtata per æquora Cæli 
Inque procellofo longùm exful gurgite ponto, 
Præ tamen amplexu lachrymosæ Conjìgïs, Orìus
268 LETTERS FROM SPENSER (IMMERITO)

Cælestes Divumque thoros sprevisse beatos.
Tantum Amor, et Mulier, vel Amore potentior. Illum
Tu tamen illudis: tua Magnificentia tanta est:
Praeque subumbrata Splendoris Imagine tanti,
Praeque illo Meritis famosis nomine parto
Cætera, quæ Vecors, uti Numina, vulgus adorat,
Prædia, Amicitias, armenta, peculia, nummos.
Quæque placent oculis, formas, spectacula, Amores,
Quæque placent ori, quaæque auribus, omnia temnis.
Næ tu grande fapis, Sapor at sapientia non est:
Omnis et in parvis bene qui scit desipuisse,
Sæpe superciliis palmam sapientibus aufert.
Ludit Arisippum modò tetraca Turba Sophorum,
Mitia purpureo moderantem verba Tyranno
Ludit Arisippus dictamina vana Sophorum,
Quod levis emenfí male torquet Culiciæ umbra:
Et quisquis placuisse Studet Heroibus altis,
Desipuisse studet hic gratia crecit ineptis.
Denique laurigeris quisquis sua tempora vittis,
Insignire volet, Populoque placere faventi,
Desipere infans diciit, turpemque pudendæ
Stultitiae laudem quaerit. Pater Ennius unus
dictus in innumeris fapiens: laudatur at ipsa
Carmina vefano fudisse liquentia vino.
Nec tu pace tua, noftri Cato Maxime sæclii,
Nomen honorati facrum mereare Poëæ,
Quantamvis illustre canas, et nobile Carmen,
Ni tumultire velis, sic S[t]ultorum omnia plena,
Tuta sed in medio supereft via gurgite, nam Qui
Nec reliquis nimium vult desipuisse videri,
Nec fapuisse nimis, Sapientem dixeris unum.
Hinc te merferit unda, illinc combufferit Ignis.
Nec tu delicias nimis aspernare fluentes,
Nec fero Dominam, venientem in vota, nec Aurum.
Si fapis, ablatum, (Curiis ea, Fabriciisque
Linque viris miseric miseranda Sophismata : quondam
Grande fui decus ii, nostri sed dedecus aevi:)
Hoc bene qui callet, (si quis tamen hoc bene callet)
Scribe, vel invito sapientem hunc Socrate solum.
Vis facit una pios: Juftos facit altera: et altra
Egregiè cordata, ac fortia pectora: verum
Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

Dii mihi, dulce diu dedering: verum utile nunquam:
Utile nunc etiam, ò utinam quoque dulce dedissem.
Dii mihi (quippe Diis æquivalia maxima parvis)
Ni nimis invidiant mortalibus esse beatis,
Dulce simul tribuisse queant, simul utile: tanta
Sed Fortuna tua est: pariter quæque utile, quæque
Dulce dat ad placitum: Ævo nos fyedere nati
Quæsitum imus eam per inhospita Caucaua longè,
Perque Pyrenæos montes, Babilonaque turpem,
Quod si quæsitum nec ibi invenerimus, ingens
Æquor inexhaustis permenfi erroribus, utra
Fluctibus in mediis foci quæremus Ulyssis.
Paflibus inde Deam fessis comitabimus ægram,
Nobile qui furtum quærenti defuit orbis.
Namque sinu pudet in patrio, tenebrisque pudendis
Non nimis ingenio Juvenem infelice virentes,
Officiis frustra deperdere vilibus Annos,
Frugibus et vacuas speratis cernere epicas.
Ibimus ergo statim: (qui eunti fausta precetur?)
Et pede Clibus fessos calcabimus Alpes.
Quis dabit interea conditas rore Britanno,
Quis tibi Litterulas? quis carmen amore petulcum?
Musa sub Oebalií defueta cacumine montis,
Flebit inexhausto tam longa silentia planctu,
Lugebitque facrum lacrymis Helicona tacentem.
Harveiusque bonus, (charus licet omnibus idem,
Idque suo merito, prope suævior omnibus unus,)
Angelus et Gabriel, (quamvis comitatus amicis
Innumeris, geniûmque choro stipatus amæno)
Immerito tamen unum absentem sœpe requirat,
Optabitque, Utinam meus hic Edmundus adeisset,
Qui nova scripsisset, nec Amores conticuisset
Ipse suos, et sœpe animo verbisque benignis
Faustra precaretur, Deus illum aliquando reducat, &c.

Plura vellem per Charites sed non licet per Musas.
Vale, Vale plurimum, Mi amabilissime Harveie, meo
cordi, meorum omnium longè charissime.

I was minded also to have sent you some English
verfes: or Rymes, for a farewell: but by my Troth,
I have no spare time in the world, to thinke on such Towyes, that you know will demaund a freer
head, than mine is presentely. I beseche you by
all your Curtesies and Graces let me be anwered
er I goe: which will be, (I hope, I feare, I thinke)
the next weeke, if I can be dispaished of my Lorde.
I goe thither, as sent by him; and maintaine most
what of him: and there am to employ my time,
my body, my minde, to his Honours service. Thus
with many súperhartie Commendations and Rec-
commendations to your selfe, and all my friendes with you, I ende my last Farewell, not thinking
any more to write unto you, before I goe: and withall committing to your faithfull Credence the eternal Memorie of our everlafting friendship, the inviolable Memorie of our unspotted friendshipe, the sacred Memorie of our vowed friendship: which I befeech you Continue with usuall writings, as you may, and of all things let me heare some Newes from you. As gentle M. Sidney, I thanke his good Worship, hath required of me, and so promis’d to 300 doe againe. Qui monet, ut facias, quod jam facis; you knowe the rest. You may always send them moft safely to me by Mis’tresse Kerke, and by none other. So once againe, and yet once more, Farewell moft hartily, mine owne good Master H. and love me, as I love you, and thinke upon poore Immerito, as he thinketh uppon you.

Leycefter House, this 5 of October, 1579.

Per mare, per terras,
Vivus, mortuusque
Tuis Immerito.

TO MY LONG APPROOVED AND SINGULAR GOOD FREnde, Master G. H.

Good Master H. I doubt not but you have some great important matter in hande, which al this while restrayneth your Penne, and wonted readinesse in provoking me unto that, wherein your selfe nowe faulte. If there bee any such thing in hatching, I pray you hartily, lette us knowe, before al the worlde see it. But if happily you dwell altogether
in Justinian's Courte, and give your selve to be devoure of secrete Studies, as of all likelyhood you doe: yet at least imparte some your olde, or newe Latine, or English, Eloquent and Gallant Poefies to us, from whose eyes, you faye, you keepe in a manner nothing hidden. Little newes is here stirred: but that olde greate matter still depending. His Honour never better. I thinke the Earthquake was also there wyth you (which I would gladly learne) as it was here with us: overthrowing divers old buildings and peeces of Churches. Sure verye straunge to be hearde of in thefe Countries, and yet I heare some faye (I knowe not howe truely) that they have knowne the like before in their dayes. *Sed quid vobis videtur magnis Philosophis?* I like your late English Hexameters so exceedingly well, that I also enure my Penne sometime in that kinde: whyche I fynd indeede, as I have heard you often defende in worde, neither so harde, nor so harfhe, that it will easily and fairely yelde it selfe to our Moother tongue. For the onely, or chiefest hardnesse, whych feemeth, is in the Accente: whyche sometime gapeth, and as it were yawneth ilfavouredly, comming shorte of that it shoulde, and sometime exceeding the measure of the Number, as in Carpenter, the middle fillable being ufed shorte in speache, when it shall be read long in Verse, feemeth like a lame Gosling that draweth one legge after hir: and Heaven being ufed shorte as one fillable, when it is in verse stretched out with a 350 Diaforle, is like a lame Dogge that holdes up one legge. But it is to be wonne with Cuftome, and
rough words must be subdued with Use. For, why
a Gods name may not we, as else the Greekes,
have the kingdom of our own Language, and
measure our Accentes by the sounde, referring that
Quantitie to the Verfe? Loe, here I let you see
my olde use of toying in Rymes, turned into your
artificial straightnesse of Verfe, by this Tetraeicon. I 360
beseech you tell me your fancye without parcialitie.

See yee the blindfouled pretie God, that feathered
Archer,
Of Lovers Miseries which maketh his bloodie game?
Wote ye why, his Moother with a Veale hath
coovered his Face?
Truft me, leaft he my Loove happily chaunce to
beholde.

Seeme they comparable to those two, which I
translated you ex tempore in bed, the last time we
lay togethier in Westminfter?

That which I eate did I joy, and that which I
greedily gorged,
As for those many goodly matters leaft I for others. 370

I would hartily wish, you would either send me
the Rules and Preceptes of Arte, which you observę
in Quantities, or else followe mine, that M. Philip
Sidney gave me, being the very fame which M. Drant
devised, but enlarged with M. Sidneys own judgement,
and augmented with my Observations, that we might
both accorde and agree in one: leaft we overthowe
one an other, and be overthrown of the rest. Truffe
IX. 18
me, you will hardly believe what great good liking and estimation Master Dyer had of your Satyrical 380 Verses, and I, since the viewe thereof, having before of my selfe had special liking of Englishe Verfying, am even nowe aboute to give you some token, what, and howe well therein I am able to doe: for, to tell you truth, I minde shortly at convenient leyfure, to sette forth a Booke in this kinde, whiche I entitle Epithalamion Thamesis, whyche Booke, I dare undertake will be very profitable for the knowledge, and rare for the Invention and manner of handling. For in setting forth the marriage of the Thames: I shew his first beginning, and offspring, and all the Countrey, that he passeth thorough, and also describe all the Rivers throughout Englande, whyche came to this Wedding, and their righte names, and right passage, &c. A worke, believe me, of much labour, wherein notwithstanding Master Holinshed hath muche furthered and advantaged me, who therein hath bestowed singular painses, in searching oute their firste heads and fourfes: and also in tracing and dogging oute all their Course, til they fall into the Sea.

O Tite, siquid, ego, 400
Ecquid erit pretij?

But of that more hereafter. Nowe, my Dreams and Dying Pellicane, being fully finisshd (as I partelye signified in my laste Letters) and presentelye to bee imprinted, I wil in hande forthwith with my Faery Queene, whyche I praye you hartily fend me with al expedition: and your friendly Letters, and long expected Judgement wythal, whyche let not be shorte, 410

Yours always to commaunde,

IMMERITO.

Postscripte.

I take beyt my Dreams shoulde come forth alone, being grown by means of the Gloffe (running continually in maner of a Paraphrafe) full as great as my Calendar. Therin be some things excellently, and many things wittily discourfed of E. K. and the pictures so singularly set forth, and portrayaled, as if Michael Angelo were there, he could (I think) nor amende the beste, nor reprehende the worst. I know you woulde lyke them passyng wel. Of my 430 Stemmatia Dudletiana, and especially of the fundry Apostrophes therein, addressed you knowe to whome, must more advifement be had, than so lightly to sende them abroade: howbeit, trust me (though I doe never very well) yet in my owne fancie, I never dyd better. Veruntamen te sequor solum: nunquam vero asequar.
QUOTATION FROM HARVEY'S REPLY.

But Master Collin Cloute is not every body, and albeit his olde Companions, Master Cuddy and Master Hobbinoll be as little beholding to their Mistresse Poetrie, as ever you wift: yet he peradventure by the meanes of his special favour, and some personall priviledge, may happily live by Dying Pelicanes, and purchase great landes, and Lordshippes, with the money, which his Calendar and Dreames have and will affourde him. Extra jocum, I like your Dreames passingly well: and the rather, bicaufe they favour of that singular extraordinarie veine and invention, which I ever fancied moste, and in a maner admired onelye in Lucian, Petrarche, Aretine, Pasquill, and all the moste delicate and fine conceited Grecians and Italians: (for the Romanes to speake of, are but verye Ciphars in this kinde :) whose chiefeft endeavour, and drifte was, to have nothing vulgare, but in some respecke or other, and especially in lively Hyperbolical Amplifications, rare, queint, and odde in every pointe, and as a man would faye, a degree or two at the leafte, above the reache, and compasse of a common Schollers capacitie. In whiche respecke notwithstanding, as well for the singularitie of the manner, as the Divinitie of the matter, I hearde once a Divine, preferre Saint Johns Revelation before al the verieft Metaphysicall Visions, and jollyest conceited Dreames or Extasies, that ever were devifed by one or other, howe admirable, or super excellent foever they seemed otherwise to
the worlde. And truely I am so confirmed in this opinion, that when I bethinke me of the verie notabllest, and moiste wonderful Propheticall, or Poeti-
call Vision, that ever I read, or hearde, me seemeth the proportion is so unequall, that there hardly appeareth any semblance of Comparison: no more in a manner (especially for Poets) than doth betweene the incomprehensible Wisdome of God, and the sensible Wit of man.

But what needeth this digression between you and me? I dare saye you wyll holde yourselfe reasonably wel satisfied, if youre Dreames be but as well esteeemed of in Engelande, as Petrarches Visions be in Italy: which I assure you, is the very worke I wift you. But, see, how I have the Arte Memorative at commande. In good faith I had once againe nigh forgotten your Faerie Queene: howbeit by good chaunce, I have nowe sent hir home at the laste, neither in better nor worse case, than I founde hir. And must you of necesse whyte my judgement of hir indeede? To be plaine, I am voyde of al judgement, if your Nine Comedies, whereunto in imitation of Herodotus, you give the names of the Nine Muses (and in one mans fanstie not unworthily) come not neerer Aristodes Comedies, eyther for the finenesse of plausible Elo-
cution, or the rarenesse of Poetical Invention, then that Elvish Queene doth to his Orlando Furioso, which notwithstanding, you wil needes seeme to emulate, and hope to overgo, as you flatly proffessed yourself in one of your last Letters.

Besides that you know, it hath bene the usual
practife of the most exquisitc and odde wittes in all 500
nations, and specially in Italie, rather to shewe, and
advance themselves that way, than any other: as
namely, those three notorious dyscourfing heads,
Bibiena, Machiavel, and Aretine did, (to let Bembo
and Ariosto passe) with the great admiration, and
wonderment of the whole country: being in deedc
reputed matchable in all points, both for conceyt of
Witte and eloquent decyphering of matters, either
with Aristophanes and Menander in Greek, or with
Plautus and Terence in Latin, or with any other, in 510
any other tong. But I wil not stand greatly with
you in your owne matters. If so be the Faerye
Queene be fairer in your eie than the Nine Muses,
and Hobgoblin runne away with the Garland from
Apollo: Marke what I faye, and yet I will not fay
that I thought, but there an End for this once, and
fare you well, till God or some good Aungell putte
you in a better minde.

END OF VOL. IX.

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