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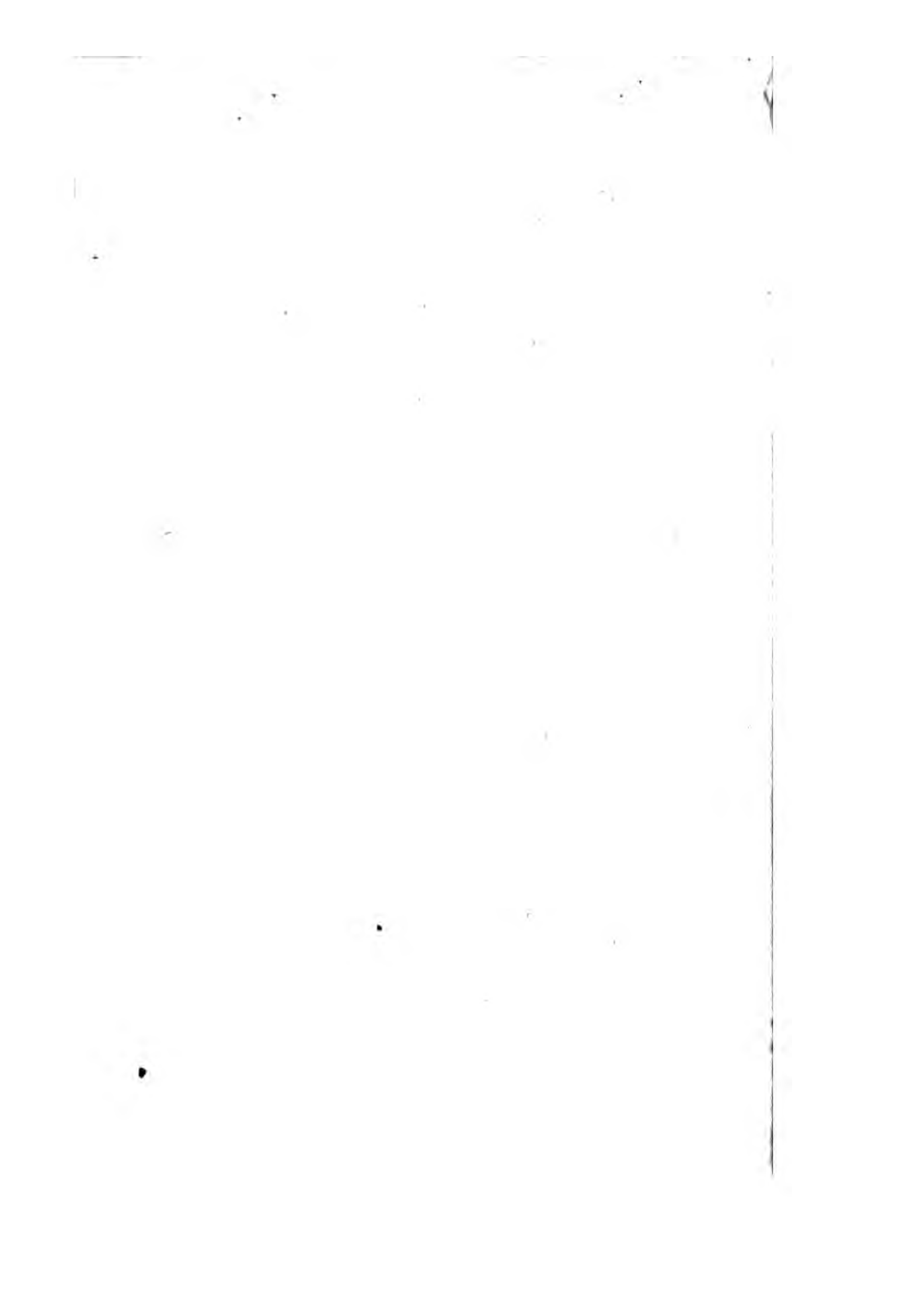
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Anne M. Waller

1846





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THE
WORKS
OF
SPENSER.

VOLUME *the* SIXTH.



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THE
R U I N E S
OF
T I M E.



A 2

To



To the Right Noble and Beautiful Lady,
MARY, Countess of Pembroke.

MOST honourable and bountiful Lady,
there be long sithens deep sowed in my
Breast the Seeds of most entire Love
and humble Affection unto that most
brave Knight, Your noble Brother deceased;
which taking Root, began in his Life-time some-
what to bud forth, and to shew themselves to
him, as then in the weakness of their first spring;
and would in their riper strength (had it pleased
high God till then, to draw out his Days) spired
forth Fruit of more Perfection. But since God
hath disdeigned the World of that most noble
Spirit, which was the Hope of all learned Men,
and the Patron of my young Muses; together
with him, both their hope of any further Fruit
was cut off, and also the tender Delight of those
their first Blossoms nipped and quite dead. Yet
sithens my late coming into England, some Friends
of mine (which might much prevail with me, and
indeed command me) knowing with how straight
Bands of Duty I was tyed to him, and also h

D E D I C A T I O N .

unto that noble House, (of which the chief Hope then rested in him) have sought to revive them by upbraiding me, for that I have not shewed any thankful remembrance towards him, or any of them; but suffer their Names to sleep in silence and forgetfulness. Whom chiefly to satisfy, or else to avoid that foul Blot of Unthankfulness, I have conceived this small Poem, intituled, by a general name, of The World's Ruines: yet specially intended to the renowning of that noble Race, from which both You and He sprong, and to the eternizing of some of the chief of them late deceased. The which I dedicate unto Your Ladyship, as whom it most specially concerneth; and to whom I acknowledg my self bounden by many singular Favours and great Graces. I pray for Your honourable Happiness: and so humbly kiss Your Hands.

Your Ladyship's ever

humbly at Command,

EDMUND SPENSER.



THE
R U I N E S
O F
T I M E.

T chaunced me one day beside the Shore
Of silver streaming *Thamesis* to be,
Nigh where the goodly *Verlame* stood of yore,
Of which there now remains no Memory,
Nor any little Monument to see ;
By which the Traveller, that fares that way,
This once was she, may warned be to say.

There, on the other side, I did behold
A Woman sitting sorrowfully wailing,
Rending her yellow Locks, like wiry Gold,
About her Shoulders carelessly down trailing,
And Streams of Tears from her fair Eyes forth railing :
In her right Hand a broken Rod she held,
Which towards Heaven she seem'd on high to weld.

Whether she were one of that River's Nymphs,
 Which did the Loss of some dear Love lament,
 I doubt ; or one of those three fatal Imps,
 Which draw the Days of Men forth in Extent ;
 Or th' ancient *Genius* of that City brent :
 But seeing her so piteously perplexed,
 I (to her calling) ask'd what her so vexed.

Ah ! what Delight (quoth she) in earthly thing,
 Or Comfort can I wretched Creature have ?
 Whose Happiness the Heavens envying,
 From highest Stair to lowest Step we drape,
 And have in mine own Bowels made my Grave :
 That of all Nations now I am forlorn,
 The World's sad Spectacle, and Fortune's Scorn.

Much was I moved at her piteous Plaint,
 And felt my Heart nigh riven in my Breast
 With tender Ruth to see her sore Constraint,
 That shedding Tears awhile, I still did rest,
 And after, did her Name of her request.
 Name have I none (quoth she) nor any Being,
 Bereft of both by Fates unjust decreeing.

I was that City, which the Garland wore
 Of *Britain's* Pride, delivered unto me
 By *Roman* Victors, which it won of yore ;
 Though nought at all but Ruines now I be,
 And lie in mine own Ashes, as ye see :
Verlame I was ; what boots it that I was,
 Sith now I am but Weeds and wasteful Grass ?

O vain World's Glory, and unstedfast State
 Of all that lives on face of sinful Earth !
 Which from their first until their utmost Date,
 Taste no one hour of Happiness or Mirth ;
 But like as at the Ingate of their Birth,
 They crying creep out of their Mother's Womb ;
 So wailing, back go to their woeful Tomb.

Why then doth Flesh, a Bubble-glass of Breath,
Hunt after Honour and Advancement vain,
And rear a Trophee for devouring Death,
With so great Labour and long-lasting Pain,
As if his Days for ever should remain ?

Sith all that in this World is great or gay,
Doth as a Vapour vanish and decay.

Look back who list unto the former Ages,
And call to count what is of them become :
Where be those learned Wits and antique Sages,
Which of all Wisdom knew the perfect Sum ?
Where those great Warriors, which did overcome
The World with Conquest of their Might and Main,
And made one Mear of th' Earth, and of their Reign ?

What now is of th' *Assyrian* Lionses,
Of whom no Footing now on Earth appears ?
What of the *Persian* Bear's Outrageousness,
Whose Memory is quite worn out with Years ?
Who of the *Grecian* Libbard now ought hears,
That over-ran the East with greedy Powre,
And left his Whelps their Kingdoms to devour ?

And where is that same great seven-headed Beast,
That made all Nations Vassals of her Pride,
To fall before her Feet at her Beheast,
And in the Neck of all the World did ride ?
Where doth she all that wondrous Wealth now hide ?
With her own Weight down pressed now she lies,
And by her Heaps her Hugeness testifies.

O *Rome* ! thy ruin I lament and rue,
And in thy Fall, my fatal Overthrow,
That whilom was, whilst Heavens with equal View
Deign'd to behold me, and their Gifts bestow,
The Picture of thy Pride in pompous Show :
And of the whole World as thou wast the Empress,
So I of this small Northern World was Princess.

To tell the Beauty of my Buildings fair,
 Adorn'd with purest Gold, and precious Stone;
 To tell my Riches, and Endowments rare,
 That by my Foes are now all spent and gone:
 To tell my Forces, matchable to none,
 Were but lost Labour, that few would believe,
 And with rehearsing, would me more agrieve.

High Towers, fair Temples, goodly Theaters,
 Strong Walls, rich Porches, princely Palaces,
 Large Streets, brave Houses, sacred Sepulchers,
 Sure Gates, sweet Gardens, stately Galleries,
 Wrought with fair Pillors, and fine Imageries:
 All those (O pity!) now are turn'd to Dust,
 And overgrown with black Oblivion's Rust.

Thereto for warlike Power, and Peoples Store,
 In *Britanny* was none to match with me,
 That many often did aby full sore:
 Ne *Troynovant*, though elder Sister she,
 With my great Forces may compared be;
 That stout *Pendragon* to his Peril felt,
 Who in a Siege seven Years about me dwelt.

But long e'er this, *Bunduca*, *Britonness*,
 Her mighty Hoast against my Bulwarks brought;
Bunduca, that victorious Conqueress,
 That lifting up her brave heroick Thought
 'Bove Womens Weakness, with the *Romans* fought,
 Fought, and in Field against them thrice prevailed:
 Yet was she foil'd, whenas she me assailed.

And though at last by Force I conquer'd were
 Of hardy *Saxons*, and became their Thrall;
 Yet was I with much Bloodshed bought full dear,
 And priz'd with Slaughter of their General:
 The Monument of whose sad Funeral,
 For Wonder of the World, long in me lasted,
 But now to nought through Spoil of Time is wasted.

Wasted

Wasted it is, as if it never were ;
And all the rest that me so honour'd made,
And of the World admired every where,
Is turn'd to Smoak, that doth to nothing fade :
And of that Brightness now appears no Shade,
But grievously Shades, such as do haunt in Hell,
With fearful Fiends, that in deep Darknes dwell.

Where my high Stee^{Ples} ^{whilom} us'd to stand,
On which the lordly Faulcon went to towre,
There now is but an Heap of Lime and Sand,
For the Skriech-Owl to build her baleful Bowre :
And where the Nightingale went forth to pour
Her restless Plaints, to comfort wakeful Lovers,
There now haunt yelling Mews and whining Plovers.

And where the chrystal *Thamis* went to slide
In silver Channel, down along the Lee,
About whose flowry Banks on either side,
A thousand Nymphs, with mirthful Jollitee,
Were wont to play, from all Annoyance free ;
There now no River's Course is to be seen,
But moorish Fens, and Marshes ever green.

Seems, that the gentle River for great Grief
Of my Mishap, which oft I to him plained ;
Or for to shun the horrible Mischief,
With which he saw my cruel Foes me pained,
And his pure Streams with guiltless Blood oft stained,
From my unhappy Neighbourhood far fled,
And his sweet Waters away with him led.

There also where the winged Ships were seen
In liquid Waves to cut their foamy way,
And thousand Fishers numbred to have been
In that wide Lake, looking for plenteous Prey
Of Fish, which they with Baits us'd to betray ;
Is now no Lake, nor any Fisher's Store,
Nor ever Ship shall sail there any more.

They are all gone, and all with them is gone,
 Ne ought to me remains, but to lament
 My long Decay, which no Man else doth mone,
 And mourn my Fall with doleful Dreriment.
 Yet is it Comfort in great Languishment,
 To be bemoned with Compassion kind,
 And mitigates the Anguish of the Mind.

But me no Man bewaileth, but in Game,
 Ne sheddeth Tears from lamentable Eye;
 Nor any lives that mentioneth my Name
 To be remembred of Posterity,
 Save one, that maugre Fortune's Injury,
 And Time's Decay, and Envy's cruel Tort,
 Hath writ my Record in true-seeming fort.

Cambden, the Nourice of Antiquity,
 And Lanthorn unto late succeeding Age,
 To see the Light of simple Verity,
 Buried in Ruines, through the great Outrage
 Of her own People, led with warlike Rage;
Cambden, though Time all Monuments obscure,
 Yet thy just Labours ever shall endure.

But why (unhappy Wight!) do I thus cry,
 And grieve that my Remembrance quite is rased
 Out of the Knowledge of Posterity,
 And all my antique Monuments defaced?
 Sith I do daily see things higheft placed,
 So soon as Fates their vital Thred have shorn,
 Forgotten quite, as they were never born.

It is not long since these two Eyes beheld
 A mighty Prince of most renowned Race,
 Whom *England* high in count of Honour held,
 And greatest ones did sue to gain his Grace:
 Of greatest ones he greatest in his Place,
 Sate in the Bosom of his Sovereign,
 And *Right and Loyal* did his Word maintain.

I saw him die, I saw him die, as one
Of the mean People, and brought forth on Bier ;
I saw him die, and no Man left to mone
His doleful Fate, that late him loved dear :
Scarce any left to close his Eye-lids near ;
Scarce any left upon his Lips to lay
The sacred Sod, or *Requiem* to say.

O trustless State of miserable Men,
That build your Blifs on hope of earthly Thing,
And vainly think your selves half happy then,
When painted Faces with smooth flattering
Do fawn on you, and your wide Praises sing ;
And when the courting Masker louteth low,
Him true in Heart and trusty to you trow !

All is but feigned, and with Oaker dide,
That every Shower will wash and wipe away ;
All things do change that under Heaven abide,
And after Death all Friendship doth decay.
Therefore what-ever Man bearst worldly sway,
Living, on God, and on thy self rely,
For, when thou diest, all shall with thee die.

He now is dead, and all is with him dead,
Save what in Heaven's Storehouse he uplaid ;
His Hope is fail'd, and come to pass his dread,
And evil Men (now dead) his Deeds upbraid :
Spight bites the dead, that living never baid.
He now is gone, the whiles the Fox is crept
Into the Hole, the which the Badger swept.

He now is dead, and all his Glory gone,
And all his Greatness vapoured to nought.
That as a Glas upon the Water shone,
Which vanisht quite, so soon as it was sought :
His Name is worn already out of thought,
Ne any Poet seeks him to revive ;
Yet many Poets honour'd him alive,
VOL. VI. B

Ne doth his *Colin*, careles *Colin Clout*,
 Care now his idle Bagpipe up to raise,
 Ne tell his Sorrow to the listning Rout
 Of Shepherd Grooms, which wont his Songs to praise:
 Praise who so list, yet I will him dispraise,
 Until he quit him of this guilty Blame:
 Wake Shepherd's Boy, at length awake for shame.

And who so else did Goodness by him gain,
 And who so else his bounteous Mind did try,
 Whether he Shepherd be, or Shepherd's Swain,
 (For many did, which do it now deny)
 Awake, and to his Song a part apply:
 And I, the whilst you mourn for his decease,
 Will with my mourning Plaint your Plaint increase.

He dyde, and after him his Brother dyde,
 His Brother Prince, his Brother noble Peer,
 That whilst he lived, was of none envyde,
 And dead is now, as living, counted dear,
 Dear unto all that true Affection bear:
 But unto thee most dear, O dearest Dame,
 His noble Spouse, and Paragon of Fame.

He, whilst he lived, happy was through thee,
 And being dead, is happy now much more;
 Living, that linked chaunft with thee to be,
 And dead, because him dead thou doost adore
 As living, and thy lost dear Love deplore:
 So whilst that thou, fair Flower of Chastity,
 Doost live, by thee thy Lord shall never die.

Thy Lord shall never die, the whiles this Verse
 Shall live, and surely it shall live for ever:
 For ever it shall live, and shall rehearse
 His worthy Praise, and Vertues dying never,
 Though Death his Soul do from his Body sever.
 And thou thy self herein shalt also live;
 Such Grace the Heavens do to my Verses give.

Ne shall his Sister, ne thy Father die,
Thy Father that good Earl of rare Renown,
And noble Patron of weak Poverty,
Whose great good Deeds in Country and in Town,
Have purchast him in Heaven a happy Crown :
Where he now liveth in eternal Blifs,
And left his Son t'ensue those Steps of his,

He noble Bud, his Grandfire's lively Heir,
Under the shadow of thy Countenance,
Now gins to shoot up fast, and flourish fair
In learned Arts, and goodly Governace,
That him to highest Honour shall advance.
Brave Imp of *Bedford*, grow apace in Bounty,
And count of Wisdom more than of thy County.

Ne may I let thy Husband's Sister die,
That goodly Lady, fith she eke did spring
Out of this Stock, and famous Family ;
Whose Praises I to future Age do sing,
And forth out of her happy Womb did bring
The sacred Brood of Learning and all Honour :
In whom the Heavens pour'd all their Gifts upon her.

Most gentle Spirit breathed from above,
Out of the Bosom of the Maker's Blifs,
In whom all Bounty and all vertuous Love
Appeared in their native Propertis,
And did enrich that noble Breast of his,
With Treasure passing all this Worldes worth,
Worthy of Heaven it self, which brought it forth.

His blessed Spirit full of Power divine,
And Influence of all celestial Grace,
Loathing this sinful Earth and earthly Slime,
Fled back too soon unto his native Place ;
Too soon for all that did his Love embrace,
Too soon for all this wretched World, whom he
Robb'd of all Right, and true Nobility.

Yet ere his happy Soul to Heaven went
 Out of this fleshy Goal, he did devise
 Unto his heavenly Maker to present
 His Body, as a spotless Sacrifice;
 And chose, that guilty Hands of Enemies
 Should pour forth th' Offring of his guiltless Blood:
 So Life exchanging for his Country's Good.

O noble Spirit, live there ever blessed,
 The World's late Wonder, and the Heaven's new Joy,
 Live ever there, and leave me here distressed
 With mortal Cares, and cumbrous World's Annoy.
 But where thou doost that Happiness enjoy,
 Bid me, O bid me quickly come to thee,
 That happy there I may thee always see.

Yet whilst the Fates afford me vital Breath,
 I will it spend in speaking of thy praise,
 And sing to thee, until that timely Death
 By Heaven's Doom do end my earthly Days:
 Thereto do thou my humble Spirit raise,
 And into me that sacred Breath inspire,
 Which thou there breathest, perfect and entire.

Then will I sing: but who can better sing,
 Than thine own Sister, peerless Lady bright,
 Which to thee sings with deep Hearts sorrowing,
 Sorrowing tempered with dear Delight?
 That her to hear, I feel my feeble Spright
 Robbed of Sense, and ravished with Joy,
 O sad Joy, made of Mourning and Annoy!

Yet will I sing: but who can better sing,
 Than thou thyself, thine own self's Valiance,
 That whilst thou livedst, madest the Forrests ring,
 And Fields resound, and Flocks to leap and dance,
 And Shepherds leave their Lambs unto mischance,
 To run thy shrill *Arcadian* Pipe to hear?
 O happy were those days, thrice happy were.

But

But now more happy thou, and wretched we,
Which want the wonted Sweetness of thy Voice,
Whiles thou now in *Elyfian* Fields so free,
With *Orpheus*, with *Linus*, and the choice
Of all that ever did in Rimes rejoyce,
Conversest, and doost hear their heavenly Lays,
And they hear thine, and thine do better praise.

So there thou livest, singing evermore,
And here thou livest, being ever song
Of us, which living, loved thee afore,
And now thee worship, mongst that blessed Throng
Of heavenly Poets, and Heroes strong.
So thou both here and there immortal art,
And every where through excellent Defart.

But such as neither of themselves can sing,
Nor yet are sung of others for reward,
Die in obscure Oblivion, as the thing
Which never was; ne ever with regard,
Their Names shall of the later Age be heard,
But shall in rusty Darkness ever lie,
Unless they mention'd be with Infamy.

What booteth it to have been rich alive?
What to be great? what to be gracious?
When after Death no Token doth survive,
Of former being in this mortal House,
But sleeps in Dust dead and inglorious;
Like Beast, whose Breath but in his Nostrils is,
And hath not hope of Happiness or Blifs,

How many great ones may remembred be,
Which in their Days most famously did flourish;
Of whom no word we hear, nor sign now see,
But as things wip'd out with a Sponge do perish,
Because they living, cared not to cherish
No gentle Wits, through Pride or Covetize,
Which might their Names for ever memorize?

Provide therefore (ye Princes) whilst ye live,
 That of the Muses ye may friended be;
 Which unto Men eternity do give;
 For they be Daughters of Dame Memory,
 And *Jove*, the Father of Eternity;
 And do those Men in golden Thrones repose,
 Whose Merits they to glorify do chose.

The seven-fold yron Gates of grisly Hell,
 And horrid House of sad *Proserpina*,
 They able are with power of mighty Spell
 To break, and thence the Souls to bring away
 Out of drad Darkness, to eternal Day;
 And them immortal make, which else would die
 In foul Forgetfulness, and nameless lie.

So whylom raised they the puissant Brood
 Of golden-girt *Alcmena*, for great Merit,
 Out of the Dust, to which the *Ocean* Wood
 Had him consum'd, and spent his vital Spirit
 To highest Heaven, where now he doth inherit
 All Happiness in *Hebe's* silver Bow'r,
 Chosen to be her dearest Paramour.

So rais'd they eke fair *Leda's* warlike Twins,
 And interchanged Life unto them lent,
 That when th' one dies, th' other then begins
 To shew in Heaven his Brightness orient;
 And they, for pity of the sad Wayment,
 Which *Orpheus* for *Eurydice* did make,
 Her back again to Life sent for his sake.

So happy are they, and so fortunate,
 Whom the *Pierian* sacred Sisters love,
 That freed from Bands of impacable Fate,
 And powre of Death, they live for ay above,
 Where mortal Wrecks their Blis may not remove:
 But with the Gods, for former Vertue's Meed,
 On Nectar and Ambrosia do feed.

For Deeds do die, however nobly done,
And Thoughts of Men do in themselves decay ;
But wise Words taught in Numbers for to run,
Recorded by the Muses, live for ay,
Ne may with storming Showers be washt away ;
 Ne bitter breathing Winds with harmful Blast,
Nor Age, nor Envy shall them ever wast.

In vain do earthy Princes then, in vain
See with Pyramides to Heaven aspired ;
Or huge Colosses built with costly pain ;
Or Brasen Pillows, never to be fixed,
Or Shrines made of the Metal most desired,
 To make their Memories for ever live ;
For how can mortal Immortality give ?

Such one *Mausolus* made, the World's great Wonder,
But now no remnant doth thereof remain :
Such one *Marcellus*, but was torn with Thunder :
Such one *Lisippus*, but is worn with Rain :
Such one King *Edmond*, but was rent for gain.
 All such vain Monuments of earthly Mass,
Devour'd of Time, in time to nought do pass.

But Fame with golden Wings aloft doth fly,
Above the reach of ruinous Decay,
And with brave Plumes doth beat the azure Sky,
Admir'd of base-born Men from far away :
Then who so will with vertuous Deeds assay
 To mount to Heaven, on *Pegasus* must ride,
And with sweet Poets Verse be glorified,

For not to have been dipt in *Lethe* Lake,
Could save the Son of *Tbetis* from to die ;
But that blind Bard did him immortal make,
With Verses, dipt in Dew of *Castalie* :
Which made the Eastern Conquerour to cry,
 O fortunate Young-man, whose Vertue found
So brave a Tromp, thy noble Acts to sound.

Therefore in this, half happy I do read
 Good *Melibæ*, that hath a Poet got
 To sing his living Praises, being dead,
 Deserving never here to be forgot,
 In spite of Envy, that his Deeds would spot :
 Since whose Decease, Learning lies unregarded,
 And Men of Arms do wander unrewarded.

These two be those two great Calamities,
 That long ago did grieve the noble Spright
 Of *Salomon*, with great Indignities ;
 Who whilom was alive the wisest Wight.
 But now his Wisdom is disproved quight :
 For He, that now welds all things at his Will,
 Scorns th' one and th' other in his deeper Skill.

O Grief of Griefs ! O Gall of all good Hearts !
 To see that Vertue should despised be
 Of such as first were rais'd for vertuous Parts.
 And now broad spreading, like an aged Tree,
 Let none shoot up that nigh them planted be :
 O ! let not those, of whom the Muse is scorned,
 Alive nor dead, be of the Muse adorned !

O vile World's Trust, that with such vain Illusion,
 Hath so wise Men bewitched, and overkest,
 That they see not the way of their Confusion !
 O Vainness to be added to the rest,
 That doth my Soul with inward Grief infest !
 Let them behold the piteous Fall of me,
 And in my case their own ensample see.

And who so else that sits in highest Seat
 Of this World's Glory, worshipped of all,
 Ne feareth Change of Time, nor Fortune's Threat ;
 Let him behold the Horror of my Fall,
 And his own End unto remembrance call ;
 That of like Ruine he may warned be,
 And in himself be mov'd to pity me.

Thus

Thus having ended all her piteous Plaint,
With doleful Shrieks she vanished away,
That I through inward Sorrow wexen faint,
And, all astonish'd with deep Dismay
For her Departure, had no word to say :
But fate long time in senseless sad Affright,
Looking still, if I might of her have sight.

Which when I miss'd, having looked long,
My Thought returned griev'd, home again,
Renewing her Complarnt with Passion strong,
For ruth of that same Woman's piteous Pain ;
Whose Words recording in my troubled Brain,
I felt such Anguish wound my feeble Heart,
That frozen Horror ran through every part.

So inly grieving in my groaning Breast,
And deeply musing at her doubtful Speech,
Whose Meaning much I laboured forth to wrest,
Being above my slender Reason's reach :
At length, by Demonstration me to teach,
Before mine Eyes strange Sights presented were,
Like tragick Pageants, seeming to appear.

I.

I Saw an Image, all of massie Gold,
Placed on high upon an Altar fair,
That all, which did the same from far behold,
Might worship it, and fall on lowest Stair.
Not that great Idol might with this compare,
To which th' *Assyrian* Tyrant would have made
The holy Brethren falsly to have praid.

But th' Altar, on the which this Image staid,
Was (O great pity !) built of brittle Clay.
That shortly the Foundation decaid,
With Show'rs of Heaven and Tempest worn away :
Then down it fell, and low in Ashes lay,

Scorned of every one, which by it went ;
That I it seeing, dearly did lament.

II.

N E X T unto this, a stately Towre appear'd,
Built all of richest Stone that might be found,
And nigh unto the Heavens in height uprear'd,
But placed on a Plot of sandy Ground.
Not that great Towre, which is so much renown'd
For Tongues Confusion in Holy Writ,
King *Ninus*' Work, might be compar'd to it.

But O vain Labours of terrestrial Wit,
That builds so strongly on so frail a Soil,
As with each Storm does fall away, and flit,
And gives the Fruit of all your Travail's Toil
To be the Prey of Time, and Fortune's Spoil !
I saw this Towre fall suddenly to dust,
That nigh with Grief thereof my Heart was bruff.

III.

T H E N did I see a pleasant Paradise,
Full of sweet Flowres and daintiest Delights,
Such as on Earth Man could not more devise,
With Pleasures choice to feed his chearful Sprights.
Not that, which *Merlin* by his Magick Sights
Made for the gentle Squire to entertain
His fair *Belphebe*, could this Garden stain.

But O short Pleasure, bought with lasting Pain,
Why will hereafter any Flesh delight
In earthly Blifs, and joy in Pleasures vain ;
Since that I saw this Garden wasted quight,
That where it was, scarce seem'd any fight ?
That I, which once that Beauty did behold,
Could not from Tears my melting Eyes with-hold.

SOON

IV.

SOON after this, a Giant came in place,
Of wondrous Powre, and of exceeding Stature,
That none durst view the Horror of his Face,
Yet was he mild of Speech, and meek of Nature.
Not he, which in despight of his Creatour,
With railing Terms defy'd the *Jewish* Hoast,
Might with this mighty one in Hugeness boast.

For from the one he could to th' other Coast,
Stretch his strong Thighs, and th' Ocean overstride,
And reach his Hand into his Enemies Hoast.
But see the end of Pomp and fleshly Pride!
One of his Feet unwares from him did slide,
That down he fell into the deep Abyss,
Where dround with him is all his earthly Bliss.

V.

THEN did I see a Bridge, made all of Gold,
Over the Sea, from one to th' other side,
Withouten Prop or Pillour it t' uphold,
But like the coloured Rainbow arched wide.
Not that great Arch, which *Trajan* edifice,
To be a Wonder to all Age ensuing,
Was matchable to this in equal viewing.

But (ah!) what boots it to see earthly thing
In Glory, or in Greatness to excel,
Sith Time doth greatest things to ruin bring?
This goodly Bridge, one Foot not fastned well,
'Gan fail, and all the rest down shortly fell;
Ne of so brave a Building ought remained,
That Grief thereof my Spirit greatly pained.

VI.

I SAW two Bears, as white as any Milk,
Lying together in a mighty Cave,
Of mild Aspect, and Hair as soft as Silk,

That

That salvage Nature seemed not to have,
 Nor after greedy Spoil of Blood to crave:
 Two fairer Beasts might not else-where be found,
 Although the compact World were fought around.

But what can long abide above this Ground
 In state of Bliss, or stedfast Happiness?
 The Cave, in which these Bears lay sleeping found,
 Was but of Earth, and with her Weightiness
 Upon them fell, and did unwares oppress;
 That for great sorrow of their sudden Fate,
 Henceforth all World's Felicity I hate.

¶ Much was I troubled in my heavy Spright,
 At sight of these sad Spectacles forepast,
 That all my Senses were bereaved quight,
 And I in mind remained sore agast,
 Diftraught 'twixt Fear and Pity; when at last
 I heard a Voice, which loudly to me call'd,
 That with the suddain Shrill I was appall'd.

Behold (said it) and by ensample see,
 That all is Vanity and Grief of Mind,
 No other Comfort in this World can be,
 But Hope of Heaven, and Heart to God inclin'd;
 For all the rest must needs be left behind.
 With that it bade me, to the other side
 To cast mine Eye, where other sights I spide.

I.

UPON that famous River's further Shore
 There stood a snowy Swan of heavenly Hue,
 And gentle Kind, as ever Fowl afore;
 A fairer one in all the goodly Crew
 Of white *Strimonian* Brood might no Man view:
 There he most sweetly sung the Prophecy
 Of his own Death in doleful Elegy.

At last when all his mourning Melody
 He ended had, that both the Shores refounded,
 Feeling the Fit that him forewarn'd to die,
 With lofty Flight about the Earth he bounded,
 And out of sight to highest Heaven mounted:
 Where now he is become an heavenly Sign;
 There now the Joy is his, here Sorrow mine.

II.

WHILST thus I looked, loe, adown the Lee
 I saw an Harp strung all with silver Twine,
 And made of Gold and costly Ivory,
 Swimming, that whilom seem'd to have been
 The Harp, on which *Dan Orpheus* was seen
 Wild Beasts and Forrests after him to lead;
 But was th' Harp of *Phyllisides* now dead.

At length out of the River it was rear'd,
 And borne about the Clouds to be divin'd,
 Whilst all the way most heavenly Noise was heard
 Of the Strings, stirred with the warbling Wind,
 That wrought both Joy and Sorrow in my Mind:
 So now in Heaven a Sign it doth appear,
 The Harp well known beside the Northern Bear.

III.

SOON after this, I saw on th' other side
 A curious Coffer made of *Heben Wood*,
 That in it did most precious Treasure hide,
 Exceeding all this baser Worldes good:
 Yet through the overflowing of the Flood
 It almost drowned was, and done to nought,
 That sight thereof much griev'd my pensive Thought.

At length, when most in peril it was brought,
 Two Angels down descending with swift Flight,
 Out of the swelling Stream it lightly caught,
 And 'twixt their blessed Arms it carried quight
 Above the reach of any living sight:

So now it is transform'd into that Star,
In which all heavenly Treasures locked are.

IV.

LOOKING aside, I saw a stately Bed,
Adorned all with costly Cloth of Gold,
That might for any Prince's Couch be red,
And deckt with dainty Flowres, as if it should
Be for some Bride, her joyous Night to hold;
Therein a goodly Virgin sleeping lay;
A fairer Wight saw never Summers-day.

I heard a Voice that called far away,
And her awaking, bad her quickly dight,
For loe her Bridegroom was in ready Ray
To come to her, and seek her Love's Delight:
With that she started up with cheerful fight,
When suddenly both Bed and all was gone,
And I in Langour left there all alone.

V.

STILL as I gazed, I beheld where stood
A Knight all arm'd, upon a winged Steed,
The same that bred was of *Medusa's* Blood,
On which *Dan Perseus* born of heavenly Seed,
The fair *Andromeda* from Peril freed:
Full mortally this Knight ywounded was,
That Streams of Blood forth flowed on the Grass.

Yet was he deckt (small joy to him alas!)
With many Garlands for his Victories,
And with rich Spoils, which late he did purchase
Through brave Atchievements from his Enemies.
Fainting at last through long Infirmities,
He smote his Steed, that straight to Heaven bore,
And left me here his Loss for to deplore.

VI.

LASTLY, I saw an Ark of purest Gold
Upon a brazen Pillour standing high,
Which th' Ashes seemed of great Prince to hold;

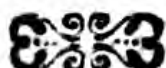
Enclos'd therein for endless Memory
Of him, whom all the World did glorify :
Seemed the Heavens with th' Earth did disagree,
Whether should of those Ashes Keeper be.

At last, me seem'd, wing'd-footed *Mercury*,
From Heaven descending to appease their Strife,
The Ark did bear with him above the Sky,
And to those Ashes gave a second Life,
To live in Heaven, where Happiness is rife:
At which, the Earth did grieve exceedingly,
And I for Dole was almost like to die.

L'Envoy.

Immortal Spirit of *Phyllisides*,
Which now art made the Heaven's Ornament,
That whilom was't the World's chiefest Riches ;
Give leave to him that lov'd thee, to lament
His Loss by lack of thee, to Heaven hent ;
And with last Duties of this broken Verse,
Broken with Sighs, to deck thy sable Herse.

And ye, fair Lady, th' Honour of your Days,
And Glory of the World, your high Thoughts scorn ;
Vouchsafe this Monument of his last Praise,
With some few silver-dropping Tears t' adorn :
And as ye be of heavenly Off-spring born,
So unto Heaven let your high Mind aspire,
And loath this Dross of sinful World's Desire.

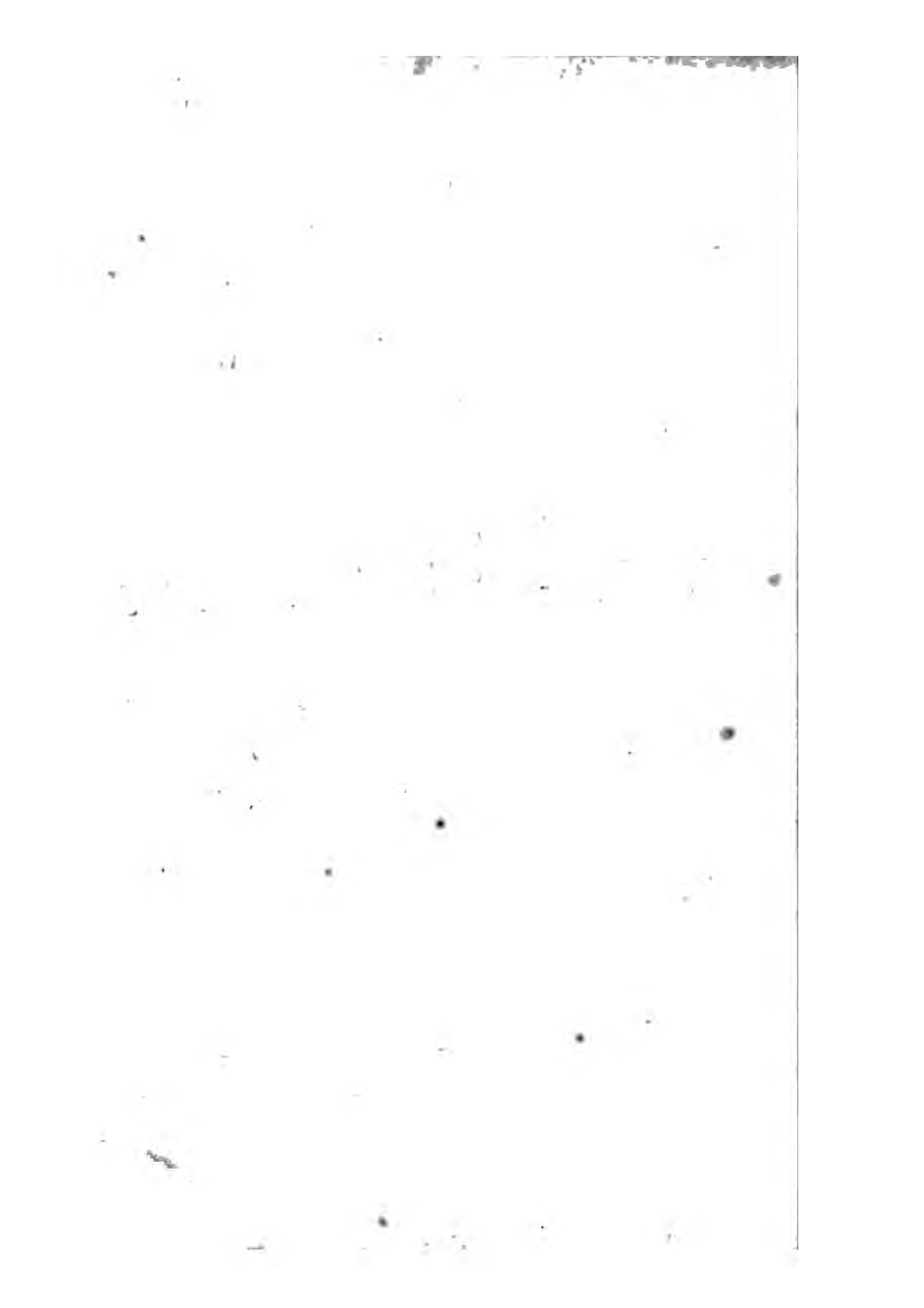




B R I T A I N ' S

I D A.







To the Right Noble Lady *MARY*,
Daughter to the most Illustrious
Prince, *GEORGE* Duke of *Buck-*
ingham.

MOST Noble Lady, I have presumed
to present this Poem to your Honour-
able Hand, encouraged only by the
Worth of the famous Author (for
I am certainly assured by the ablest and most
knowing Men, that it must be a Work of Spen-
ser's, of whom it were pity that any thing should
be lost) and doubting not but your Ladyship will
graciously accept, though from a mean Hand,
this humble Present, since the Man that offers
it, is a true Honourer and Observer of your
Self, and your Princely Family; and shall ever
remain

The humblest of your devoted Servants,

THOMAS WALKLEY.



MARTIAL.

Accipe facundi culicem studiose Maronis,
Ne nugis positus, Arma virumque canas.

SEE here that stately Muse that erst could raise
In lasting Numbers great Eliza's Praise,
And dress fair Virtue in so rich Attire,
That even her Foes were forced to admire,
And court her heavenly Beauty! She that taught
The Graces Grace, and made the Vertues thought
More vertuous than before, is pleased here
To slack her serious Flight, and feed your Ear
With Love's delightfom Toys: do not refuse
These harmless Sports, 'tis learned Spenser's Muse;
But think his loosest Poems worthier than
The serious Follies of unskilful Men.



BRITAIN'S IDA.

CANTO I.

The ARGUMENT.

*The youthly Shepherds winning here,
And Beauties rare displaid appear:
What Exercise he chief affects,
His Name, and scornful Love neglects.*

I.

IN *Ida Vale*, (who knows not *Ida Vale*?)
When harmless *Troy* yet felt not *Græcian*
Spite,
An hundred Shepherds wonn'd; and in the
Dale,

While their fair Flocks the three-leav'd Pastures bite,
The Shepherds Boys, with hundred Sportlings light,
Gave Wings unto the times too speedy haste:
Ah foolish Lads, that strove with lavish waste,
So fast to spend the time, that spends your time as fast.

Among

II.

Amongst the rest that all the rest excell'd,
 A dainty Boy there wonn'd, whose harmless Years
 Now in their freshest Budding gently swell'd;
 His Nymph-like Face ne'er felt the nimble Sheers,
 Youth's downy Blossom through his Cheek appears:
 His lovely Limbs (but Love he quite discarded)
 Were made for play (but he no play regarded)
 And fit Love to reward, and with Love be rewarded.

III.

High was his Fore-head, arch'd with silver Mould,
 (Where never Anger churlish Wrinkle dighted)
 His auburn Locks hung like dark Threads of Gold,
 That wanton Airs (with their fair length incited)
 To play amongst their wanton Curles delighted;
 His smiling Eyes with simple Truth were stor'd:
 Ah! how should Truth in those thief Eyes be stor'd,
 Which thousand Loves had stoln, and never one restor'd?

IV.

His Lilly Cheek might seem an Ivory Plain,
 More purely white than frozen *Appenine*;
 Where lovely Bashfulness did sweetly reign,
 In blushing Scarlet cloth'd, and Purple fine.
 A hundred Hearts had this delightful Shrine,
 (Still cold it self) inflam'd with hot Desire,
 That well the Face might seem in divers Tire,
 To be a burning Snow, or else a freezing Fire.

V.

His cheerful Looks, and merry Face would prove
 (If Eyes the Index be where Thoughts are read)
 A dainty Play-fellow for naked Love;
 Of all the other parts enough is said,
 That they were fit Twins for so fair a Head:
 Thousand Boys for him, thousand Maidens dy'd,
 Die they that list, for such his rigorous Pride,
 He thousand Boys (ah Fool!) and thousand Maids deny'd.

VI.

His Joy was not in Musick's sweet Delight,
 (Though well his Hand had learnt that cunning Art)
 'Tis in the daintier Songs to daintier Ears t' indite

But through the Plains to chace the nimble Hart,
 With well-tun'd Hounds; or with his certain Dart,
 The tusked Boar, or savage Bear to wound:
 Mean time his Heart with Monsters doth abound,
 Ah Fool! to seek so far what nearer might be found.

VII.

His Name (well known unto those woody Shades,
 Where unrewarded Lovers oft complain them)
Ancbises was; *Ancbises* oft the Glades,
 And *Mountains* heard *Ancbises* had disdain'd them:
 Not all their Love one gentle Look had gain'd them,
 That rocky Hills, with ecchoing Noise consenting,
Ancbises plain'd; but he no whit relenting,
 Harder than rocky Hills, laught at their vain Lamenting,



C A N.



CANTO. II.

The ARGUMENT.

*Dione's Garden of Delight,
With Wonder holds Anchifes fight;
While from the Bower such Musick sounds,
As all his Senses near confounds.*

I.

ONE Day it chanc't as he the Deer pursu'd,
Tired with Sport, and faint with weary Play,
Fair *Venus*' Grove not far away he view'd,
Whose trembling Leaves invite him there to stay,
And in their Shades his sweating Limbs display:
There in the cooling Glade he softly paces,
And much delighted with their even Spaces,
What in himself he scorn'd, he prais'd their kind Imbraces.

II.

The Wood with *Paphian* Myrtles peopled,
(Whose springing Youth felt never Winter's spiting)
To Laurels sweet were sweetly married,
Doubling their pleasing Smells in their uniting;
When single, much; much more, when mix'd, delighting:
No Foot of Beast durst touch this hallow'd Place,
And many a Boy that long'd the Woods to trace,
Entred with fear, but soon turn'd back his frighted Face.

III.

The thick-lock'd Boughs shut out the tell-tale Sun,
(For *Venus* hated his all-blabbing Light,
Since her known Fault, which oft she wish'd undone)
And scatter'd Rays did make a doubtful fight,
Like to the first of Day or last of Night:

The

31

The fittest Light for Lovers gentle play ;
Such Light best shews the wandring Lover's way,
And guides his erring Hand: Night is Love's Holy-day.

IV.

So far in this sweet Labyrinth he stray'd,
That now he views the Garden of Delight ;
Whose Breast with thousand painted Flowers array'd,
With divers Joy captiv'd his wandring Sight ;
But soon the Eyes rendred the Ears their right :
For such strange Harmony he seem'd to hear,
That all his Senses flock'd into his Ear,
And every Faculty wish'd to be seated there.

V.

From a close Bower this dainty Musick flow'd,
A Bower apparel'd round with divers Roses,
Both red and white ; which by their Liveries show'd
Their Mistriſs fair, that there her self reposes :
Seem'd that would strive with those rare Musick Cloſes,
By spreading their fair Bosoms to the Light,
Which the distracted Sense should most delight ;
That, raps the melted Ear ; this, both the Smell and Sight,

VI.

The Boy 'twixt fearful Hope, and wishing Fear,
Crept all along (for much he long'd to see
The Bower, much more the Guest so lodged there)
And as he goes, he marks how well agree
Nature and Art in Discord Unity :
Each striving who should best perform his part,
Yet Art now helping Nature ; Nature Art :
While from his Ears a Voice thus stole his Heart.

VII.

Fond Men, whose wretched Care the Life soon ending,
By striving to increase your Joy, do spend it ;
And spending Joy, yet find no Joy in spending :
You hurt your Life by striving to amend it,
And seeking to prolong it, soonest end it :
Then while fit Time affords thee Time and Leasure,
Enjoy while yet thou may'st thy Life's sweet Pleasure :
Too foolish is the Man that starves to feed his Treasure.

VIII.

Love is Life's End ; an End, but never ending ;
 All Joys, all Sweets, all Happiness awarding ;
 Love is Life's Wealth (ne'er spent, but ever spending)
 More rich, by giving, taking by discarding ;
 Love's Life's Reward, rewarded in rewarding :
 Then from thy wretched Heart fond Care remove ;
 Ah shouldst thou live but once Love's Sweets to prove,
 Thou wilt not love to live, unless thou live to love.

IX.

To this sweet Voice a dainty Musick fitted
 Its well-tun'd Strings ; and to her Notes conformed :
 And while with skilful Voice the Song she dittied,
 The blabbing Eccho had her Words retorted ;
 That now the Boy, beyond his Soul transported,
 Through all his Limbs feels run a pleasant shaking,
 And 'twixt a Hope and Fear suspects mistaking,
 And doubts he sleeping dreams, and broad awake fears
 [waking.





C A N T O III.

The ARGUMENT.

*Fair Cytherea's Limbs beheld,
The straying Lad's Heart so intral'd,
That in a Trance his melted Spright
Leaves th' Senses slumbring in delight.*

I.

NOW to the Bower he sent his thievish Eyes,
To steal a happy sight; there do they find
Fair *Venus*, that within half naked lies;
And straight amaz'd (so glorious Beauty shin'd)
Would not return the Message to the Mind:
But full of Fear and superstitious Awe,
Could not retire or back their Beams with-draw,
So fix'd on too much seeing made they nothing saw.

II.

Her goodly Length stretch'd on a Lilly-Bed;
(A bright Foil of a Beauty far more bright,)
Few Roses round about were scattered,
As if the Lillies learnt to blush for spight,
To see a Skin much more than Lilly-white:
The Bed sank with Delight so to be pressed,
And knew not which to think a Chance more blessed,
Both blessed so to kiss, and so again be kissed.

III.

Her spacious Fore-head like the clearest Moon,
Whose full-grown Orb begins now to be spent,
Largely display'd in native Silver shone,
Giving wide room to Beauty's Regiment,
Which on the Plain with Love triumphing went:

Her golden Hair a Rope of Pearl imbrac'd,
Which with their dainty Threds oft-times enlac'd,
Made the Eye think the Pearl was there in Gold inchas'd.

IV.

Her full large Eye, in jetty-black array'd,
Proud Beauty not confin'd to red and white,
But oft her self in black more rich display'd ;
Both Contraries did yet themselves unite,
To make one Beauty in different delight :
A thousand Loves fate playing in each Eye,
And smiling Mirth kissing fair Courtesy,
By sweet Perswasion wan a bloodless Victory.

V.

The whitest White set by her silver Cheek,
Grew pale and wan like unto heavy Lead ;
The freshest Purple fresher Dyes must seek,
That dares compare with them his fainting Red :
On these *Cupido* winged Armies led
Of little Loves, that with bold wanton Train
Under those Colours, marching on the Plain,
Force every Heart, and to low Vassalage constrain.

VI.

Her Lips, most happy each in other's Kisses,
From their so wish'd Imbracements seldom parted,
Yet seem'd to blush at such their wanton Blissess ;
But when sweet Words their joyning Sweets disparted,
To th' Ear a dainty Musick they imparted :
Upon them fitly fate delightful Smiling,
A thousand Souls with pleasing Stealth beguiling :
Ah that such Shews of Joys should be all Joys exiling !

VII.

The Breath came slowly thence, unwilling leaving
So sweet a Lodge ; but when she once intended
To feast the Air with Words, the Heart deceiving,
More fast it thronged so to be expended :
And at each word a hundred Loves attended,
Playing i'th' Breath, more sweet than is that firing,
Where that *Arabian* only Bird expiring,
Lives by her Death, by loss of Breath more fresh respiring.

VIII.

VIII.

Her Chin, like to a Stone in Gold inchas'd,
 Seem'd a fair Jewel wrought with cunning Hand,
 And being double, doubly the Face grac'd.
 This goodly Frame on her round Neck did stand,
 Such Pillar well such curious Work sustain'd ;
 And on his top the heavenly Sphear up-rearing,
 Might well present, with daintier appearing,
 A less but better *Atlas*, that fair Heaven bearing.

IX.

Lower two Breasts stand all their Beauties bearing,
 Two Breasts as smooth and soft ; but ah alas !
 Their smoothest Softness far exceeds comparing :
 More smooth and soft ; but nought that ever was,
 Where they are first, deserves the second place :
 Yet each as soft and each as smooth as other ;
 And when thou first try'st one, and then the other,
 Each softer seems than each, and each than each seems

X.

[smoother.]

Lowly between their dainty Hemispheres,
 (Their Hemispheres the heav'nly Globes excelling,)
 A Path, more white than is the name it bears,
 The lacteal Path, conducts to the sweet dwelling,
 Where best Delight all Joys fits freely dealing ;
 Where hundred Sweets, and still fresh Joys attending ;
 Receive in giving, and still Love dispending,
 Grow richer by their Loss, and wealthy by expending.

XI.

But stay, bold Shepherd, here thy footing stay,
 Nor trust too much unto thy new-born Quill,
 As farther to those dainty Limbs to stray ;
 Or hope to paint that Vale, or beauteous Hill,
 Which past the finest Hand and choicest Skill :
 But were thy Verse and Song as finely fram'd,
 As are those parts, yet should it soon be blam'd,
 For now the shameless World of best things is asham'd.

XII.

That cunning *Artist* that old *Greece* admir'd,
 Thus far his *Venus* fitly pourtrayed ;
 But there he left, nor farther ere aspir'd :
 His *Dædale Hand*, that Nature perfected
 By Art, felt Art by Nature limited.

Ah ! well he knew, though his fit Hand could give
 Breath to dead Colours, teaching Marble live,
 Yet would these lively Parts his Hand of Skill deprive.

XIII.

Such when this gentle Boy her closely view'd,
 Only with thinnest silken Veil o'er-laid,
 Whose snowy Colour much more snowy shew'd,
 By being next that Skin ; and all betray'd.
 Which best in naked Beauties are array'd :
 His Spirits, melted with so glorious sight,
 Ran from their Work to see so splendid Light,
 And left the fainting Limbs sweet slumbring in Delight.





C A N T O IV.

The ARGUMENT.

*The swooning Swain recovered is
By th' Goddess, his Soul rapt in Bliss :
Their mutual Conference, and how
Her Service she doth him allow.*

I.

SOFT sleeping *Venus* waked with the Fall,
Looking behind, the sinking Boy espies ;
Withall she stares, and wondereth withall,
She thinks that there her fair *Adonis* dies,
And more she thinks, the more the Boy she eyes :
So stepping nearer, up begins to rear him ;
And now with Love himself she will confer him,
And now, before her Love himself she will prefer him.

II.

The Lad soon with that dainty Touch reviv'd,
Feeling himself so well, so sweetly seated,
Begins to doubt whether he yet here liv'd,
Or else his flitting Soul to Heav'n translated,
Was there in starry Throne and Bliss instated :
Oft would he die, so to be often sav'd ;
And now with happy Wish he closely crav'd,
For ever to be dead, to be so sweet ingrav'd.

III.

The *Paphian* Princess (in whose lovely Breast
Spiteful Disdain could never find a place)
When now she saw him from his Fit releas't,
(To *Juno* leaving Wrath, and Scolding base)
Comforts the trembling Boy with smiling Grace.

But oh! those Smiles (too full of sweet Delight)
 Surfeit his Heart, full of the former fight;
 So seeking to revive, more wounds his feeble Sprite.

IV.

Tell me, fair Boy (said she) what erring Chance
 Hither directed thy unwary Pace;
 For sure Contempt or Pride durst not advance
 Their foul Aspect, in thy so pleasant Face:
 Tell me, what brought thee to this hidden Place:
 Or Lack of Love, or mutual answering Fire,
 Or hindred by ill Chance in thy Desire:
 Tell me, what is't thy fair and wishing Eyes require?

V.

The Boy, whose Sense was never yet acquainted
 With such a Musick, stood with Ears erected;
 And sweetly with that pleasant Spell enchanted,
 More of those sugred Strains long time expected:
 Till seeing she his Speeches not rejected,
 First Sighs arising from his Heart's low Center,
 Thus 'gan reply; when each Word bold would venter,
 And strive the first, that dainty Labyrinth to enter.

VI.

Fair *Cyprian* Queen (for well that heavenly Face
 Proves thee the Mother of all-conquering Love)
 Pardon, I pray thee, my unweeting Pace,
 For no presumptuous Thoughts did hither move
 My daring Feet to this thy holy Grove;
 But luckless Chance (which if you not gain-say,
 I still must rue) hath caus'd me here to stray,
 And lose my self (alas!) in losing of my way.

VII.

Nor did I come to right my wronged Fire,
 Never till now I saw what ought be lov'd:
 And now I see, but never dare aspire
 To move my Hope, where yet my Love is mov'd;
 Whence though I would, I would it not remov'd:
 Only since I have plac'd my Love so high,
 Which sure thou must, or sure thou wilt deny,
 Grant me yet still to love, though in my Love to die.

VIII.

But she that in his Eyes Love's Face had seen,
 And flaming Heart, did not such Suit disdain,
 (For Cruelty fits not sweet Beauty's Queen)
 But gently could his Passion entertain,
 Though she Love's Princess, he a lowly Swain ;
 First of his bold Intrusion she acquits him ;
 Then to her Service, (happy Boy) admits him ;
 And like another Love, with Bow and Quiver fits him.

IX.

And now with all the Loves he grew acquainted ;
 And *Cupid's* self, with his like Face delighted,
 Taught him a hundred ways with which he daunted
 The prouder Hearts, and wronged Lovers righted,
 Forcing to love, that most his Love despighted.
 And now the practise Boy did so approve him,
 And with such Grace and cunning Art did move him,
 That all the pretty Loves, and all the Graces love him.





C A N T O V.

The ARGUMENT.

*The Lover's sad despairing Complaints
Bright Venus with his Love acquaints;
Sweetly importun'd, he doth show
From whom proceedeth this his Woe.*

I.

YET never durst his faint and coward Heart
(Ah Fool! faint Heart fair Lady ne'er could win)
Affail fair *Venus* with his new-learnt Art,
But kept his Love and burning Flame within,
Which more flam'd out, the more he prest it in:
And thinking oft, how just she might disdain him;
While some cool myrtle Shade did entertain him,
Thus fighting would he sit, and sadly would he plain him.

II.

Ah fond, and hapless Boy! nor know I whether,
More fond, or hapless more, that all so high
Hast plac'd thy Heart, where Love and Fate together
May never hope to end thy Misery,
Nor yet thy self dare with a Remedy.

All Hindrances (alas) conspire to lett it;
Ah fond and hapless Boy! if canst not get it,
In thinking to forget, at length learn to forget it.

III.

Ah far too fond, but much more hapless Swain!
Seeing thy Love can be forgotten never;
Serve and observe thy Love with willing Pain:
And though in vain thy Love thou do persever,
Yet all in vain do thou adore her ever.

No Hope can crown thy Thoughts so far aspiring,
 Nor dares thy self desire thine own desiring,
 Yet live thou in her Love, and die in her admiring.

IV.

Thus oft the hopeless Boy complaining lies ;
 But she that well could guess his sad lamenting,
 (Who can conceal Love from Love's Mother's Eyes ?)
 Did not disdain to give his Love contenting ;
 Cruel the Soul, that feeds on Souls tormenting :
 Nor did she scorn him, though not nobly born,
 (Love is Nobility) nor could she scorn,
 That with so noble Skill her Title did adorn.

V.

One day it chanc'd, thrice happy Day and Chance !
 While Loves were with the Graces sweetly sporting,
 And to fresh Musick sounding play and dance ;
 And *Cupid's* self, with Shepherds Boys conforing,
 Laugh'd at their pritty Sport, and simple Courting :
 Fair *Venus* seats the fearful Boy close by her,
 Where never *Phæbus'* jealous Looks might eye her,
 And bid the Boy his Mistress, and her Name descry her.

VI.

Long time the Youth up-bound, in Silence stood,
 While Hope and Fear with hundred Thoughts begun,
 Fit Prologue to his Speech ; and fearful Blood
 From Heart and Face, with these Post-tydings run,
 That either now he's made, or now undon :
 At length his trembling Words, with Fear made weak,
 Began his too long Silence thus to break,
 While from his humble Eyes first Reverence seem'd to speak.

VII.

Fair Queen of Love, my Life thou mayst command,
 Too slender Price for all thy former Grace,
 Which I receive at thy so bounteous Hand :
 But never dare I speak her Name and Face ;
 My Life is much less-priz'd than her Disgrace :
 And, for I know if I her Name relate,
 I purchase Anger, I must hide her State,
 Unless thou swear by *Styx* I purchase not her Hate.

VIII.

VIII.

Fair *Venus* well perceiv'd his subtle Shift,
And swearing gentle Patience, gently smil'd :
While thus the Boy pursu'd his former Drift :
No Tongue was ever yet so sweetly skill'd,
Nor greatest Orator so highly stil'd,
Though helpt with all the choicest Art's Direction ;
But when he durst describe her Heav'n's Perfection,
By his imperfect Praise, disprais'd his Imperfection.

IX.

Her Form is as her self, perfect Cœlestial,
No mortal Spot her heavenly Frame disgraces ;
Beyond compare, such nothing is Terrestrial :
More sweet than Thought or pow'rful Wish embraces ;
The Map of Heaven ; the Sum of all her Graces.
But if you wish more truly limb'd to eye her,
Than fainting Speech, or Words can well descry her,
Look in a Glass, and there more perfect you may spy her.





CANTO VI.

The ARGUMENT.

*The Boy's short Wish, her larger Grant,
That doth his Soul with Bliss enchant :
Whereof impatient uttering all,
Inraged Jove contrives his Thrall.*

I.

TH Y crafty Art (reply'd the smiling Queen)
Hath well my Chiding, and not Rage prevented ;
Yet might'st thou think, that yet 'twas never seen,
That angry Rage, and gentle Love consented :
But if to me thy true Love is presented,
What Wages for thy Service must I owe thee ?
For by the self-same Vow, I here avow thee,
Whatever thou require, I frankly will allow thee.

II.

Pardon (replies the Boy) for so affecting
Beyond Mortality, and not discarding
Thy Service, was much more than my expecting :
But if thou (more thy Bounty-hood regarding)
Wilt needs heap up Reward upon rewarding ;
Thy Love I dare not ask, or mutual fixing,
One Kiss is all my Love, and Prides aspiring,
And after starve my Heart, for my too much desiring.

III.

Fond Boy ! (said she) too fond that ask'd no more ;
Thy want by taking is no whit decreased,
And giving, spends not our increasing Store :
Thus with a Kiss his Lips she sweetly pressed ;
Most blessed Kiss ! but hope more than most blessed.

The Boy did think Heaven fell while thus he joy'd ;
And while Joy he so greedily enjoy'd,
He felt not half his Joy by being over-joy'd.

IV.

Why sigh'st, fair Boy? (said she) Dost thou repent thee
Thy narrow Wish in such straight Bonds to stay?
Well may I sigh (said he) and well lament me,
That never such a Debt may hope to pay.

A Kiss (said she) a Kiss will back repay:

Wilt thou (reply'd the Boy too much delighted)
Content thee, with such Pay to be requited?

She grants; and he his Lips, Heart, Soul, to Payment

V.

[cited.

Look as a Ward, from time his Lands detain'd,
And subject to his Guardian's cruel Love,
Now spends the more, the more he was restrain'd,
So he; yet tho in laying out his Store,
He doubly takes, yet finds himself grow poor:

With that, he marks, and tells her out a Score,
And doubles them, and trebles all before:

Fond Boy! the more thou payst, thy Debt still grows the

VI.

[more.

At length, whether these Favours so had fir'd him
With kindly Heat, inflaming his desiring;
Or whether those sweet Kisses had inspir'd him;
He thinks that something wants for his requiring;
And still aspires, yet knows not his aspiring;

But yet though that he knoweth, so she gave,
That he presents himself her bounden Slave;

Still his more wishing Face seem'd somewhat else to crave.

VII.

And boldned with Success and many Graces,
His Hand, chain'd up in Fear, he now releas'd:
And asking leave, courag'd with her Embraces;
Again it prison'd in her tender Breast:

Ah blessed Prison! Pris'ners too much blest!

There with those Sisters long time doth he play;

And now full boldly enters Love's High-way; [stray.

While down the pleasant Vale, his creeping Hand doth

VIII,

VIII.

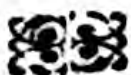
She not displeas'd with this his wanton Play,
 Hiding his Blushing with a sugred Kifs;
 With such sweet Heat his Rudeness doth allay,
 That now he perfect knows whatever Bliss
 Elder Love taught, and he before did miss:
 That moult with Joy, in such untry'd Joys trying,
 He gladly dies; and Death new Life applying,
 Gladly again he dies, that oft he may be dying.

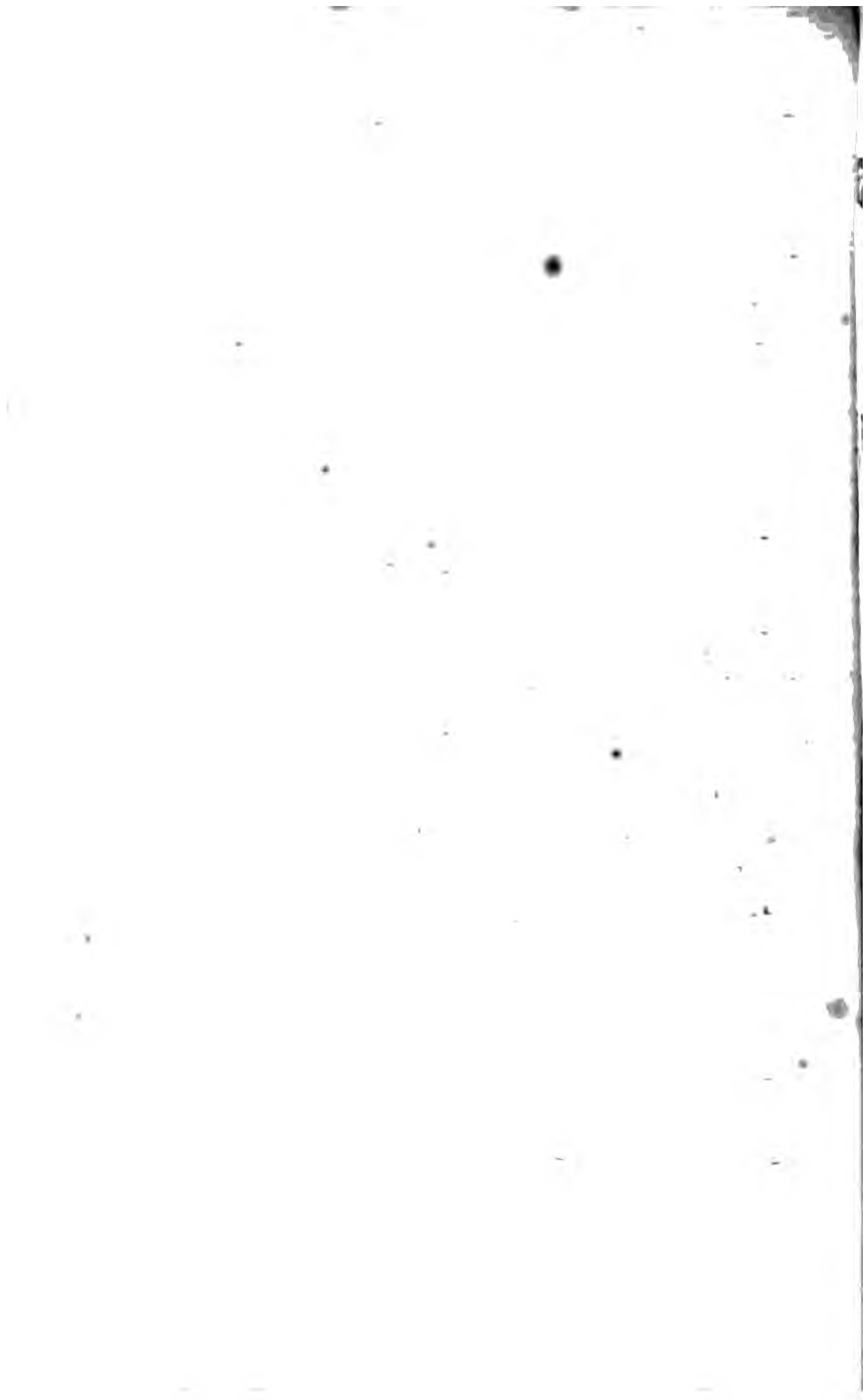
IX.

Long thus he liv'd, slumbring in sweet Delight,
 Free from sad Care, and fickle World's Annoy;
 Bathing in liquid Joys his melted Sprite;
 And longer mought, but he (ah foolish Boy!)
 Too proud, and too impatient of his Joy,
 To Woods, and Heaven, and Earth his Bliss imparted;
 That *Jove* upon him down his Thunder darted,
 Blasting his splendent Face, and all his Beauty swarted.

X.

Such be his Chance, that to his Love doth wrong,
 Unworthy he to have so worthy Place,
 That cannot hold his Peace and blabbing Tongue:
 Light Joys float on his Lips, but rightly Grace
 Sinks deep, and th' Heart's low Center doth embrace.
 Might I enjoy my Love till I unfold it,
 I'd lose all Favours when I blabbing told it:
 He is not fit for Love, that is not fit to hold it.







A
V I E W
O F T H E
S T A T E
O F
I R E L A N D.

Written Dialogue-wise between
EUDOXUS and IRENEUS.







A

V I E W

O F T H E

STATE of *IRELAND*.

Eudox. **B**UT if that Countrey of *Ireland*, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a Soil, as you report, I wonder that no Course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that Nation to better Government and Civility.

Iren. Marry so there have been divers good Plots devised, and wise Counsels cast already about Reformation of that Realm; but they say, it is the fatal Destiny of that Land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect: which, whether it proceed from the very *Genius* of the Soil, or Influence of the Stars, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her Reformation, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet State still, for some secret Scourge, which shall by her
come

come unto *England*, it is hard to be known, but yet much to be feared.

Eudox. Surely I suppose this but a vain Conceit of simple Men, which judge things by their Effects, and not by their Causes; for I would rather think the Cause of this Evil, which hangeth upon that Countrey, to proceed rather of the Unsoundness of the Counsels, and Plots which you say have been oftentimes laid for the Reformation, or of Faintness in following and effecting the same, than of any such fatal Course appointed of God, as you misdeem: but it is the manner of Men, that when they are fallen into any Absurdity, or their Actions succeed not as they would, they are always ready to impute the Blame thereof unto the Heavens, so to excuse their own Follies and Imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also (even of some whose great Wisdoms in Opinion should seem to judge more soundly of so weighty a Consideration) that all that Land were a Sea-pool: Which kind of Speech, is the manner rather of desperate Men far driven, to wish the utter Ruine of that which they cannot redress, than of grave Counsellors, which ought to think nothing so hard, but that through Wisdom it may be mastered and subdued; since the *Poet* saith, that *the Wise-man shall rule even over the Stars*, much more over the Earth: for were it not the part of a desperate Physician, to wish his diseased Patient dead, rather than to apply the best endeavour of his Skill for his Recovery? But since we are so far entred, let us, I pray you, a little devise of those Evils, by which that Countrey is held in this wretched Case, that it cannot (as you say) be recured. And if it be not painful to you, tell us what things, during your late continuance there, you observed to be most offensive, and greatest Impeachment to the good Rule and Government thereof.

Iren. Surely *Eudoxus*, the Evils 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 please, I will out of that infinite number, reckon but some that are most Capital, and commonly occurrent both in the Life and Conditions of private Men; as also in the managing of publick Affairs and Policy, the which you shall

shall understand to be of divers Natures, as I observed them : For some of them are of very great Antiquity and Continuance ; others more late and of less indurance ; others daily growing and increasing continually by their evil Occasions, which are every day offered.

Eudox. Tell me then, I pray you, in the same Order that you have now rehearsed them ; for there can be no better Method than this which the very matter it self offereth. And when you have reckoned all the Evils, let us hear your Opinion for the redressing of them : After which, there will perhaps of it self appear some reasonable way to settle a sound and perfect Rule of Government, by shunning the former Evils, and following the offered Good. The which Method we may learn of the wise Physicians, which first require that the Malady be known throughly, and discovered ; afterwards to reach how to cure and redress it : And lastly do prescribe a Diet, with straight Rule and Orders to be daily observed, for fear of Relapse into the former Disease, or falling into some other more dangerous than it.

Iren. I will then according to your advisement begin to declare the Evils, which seem to me most hurtful to the Common-weal of that Land ; and first those (I say) which were most antient and long grown ; and they also are of three sorts : The first in the Laws, the second in Customs, and the last in Religion.

Eudox. Why *Ireneus*, can there be any Evil in the Laws ? Can things which are ordained for the good and safety of all, turn to the evil and hurt of them ? This well I wote both in that State, and in all other, that were they not contained in Duty with fear of Law, which restraineth Offences, and inflicteth sharp Punishment to Misdoers, no Man should enjoy any thing ; every Man's Hand would be against another. Therefore in finding fault with the Laws, I doubt me, you shall much over-shoot your self, and make me the more dislike your other Dislikes of that Government.

Iren. The Laws, *Eudoxus*, I do not blame for themselves, knowing right well that all Laws are ordained for the good of the common-weal, and for repressing of Licentiousness
and

and Vice; but it falleth out in Laws, no otherwise than it doth in Physick, which was at first devised, and is yet daily ment, and ministred for the Health of the Patient. But nevertheless we often see, that either through Ignorance of the Disease, or through unseasonableness of the Time, or other Accidents coming between, instead of good, it worketh hurt, and out of one Evil, throweth the Patient into many Miseries. So the Laws were at first intended for the Reformation of Abuses, and peaceable continuance of the Subject; but are sithence either disannulled, or quite prevaricated through Change and Alteration of Times, yet are they good still in themselves: but in that Commonwealth which is ruled by them, they work not that good which they should, and sometimes also that evil which they would not.

Eudox. Whether do you mean this by the Common-Laws of that Realm, or by the Statute Laws, and Acts of Parliaments?

Iren. Surely by them both; for even the Common-Law being that which *William* of *Normandy* brought in with his Conquest, and laid upon the Neck of *England*, though perhaps it fitted well with the State of *England* then being, and was readily obeyed through the Power of the Commander, which had before subdued the People unto him, and made easie way to the settling of his Will; yet with the State of *Ireland* peradventure it doth not so well agree, being a People very stubborn and untamed; or if it were ever tamed, yet now lately having quite shooke off their Yoak, and broken the Bonds of their Obedience. For *England* (before the Entrance of the Conqueror) was a peaceable Kingdom, and but lately inured to the mild and goodly Government of *Edward* surnamed the Confessor; besides now lately grown into a loathing and detestation of the unjust and tyrannous Rule of *Harold* an Usurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reasonable Conditions, and Order of the new Victor, thinking surely that it could be no worse than the latter; and hoping well it would be as good as the former: yet what the proof of first bringing in and establishing of those Laws was, was to many full bitterly made known. But with *Ireland* it is far

far otherwise, for it is a Nation ever acquainted with Wars, though but amongst themselves, and in their own kind of Military Discipline trained up ever from their Youths; which they have never yet been taught to lay aside, nor made to learn Obedience unto Laws, scarcely to know the name of Law, but instead thereof have always preserved and kept their own Law, which is the *Brebon* Law.

Eudox. What is that which you call the *Brebon* Law? it is a Word unto us altogether unknown.

Iren. It is a Rule of Right unwritten, but delivered by Tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great shew of Equity, in determining the Right between Party and Party, but in many things repugning quite both to God's Law, and Man's: As for Example, in the case of Murder, the *Brebon*, that is their Judge, will compound between the Murderer, and the Friends of the Party murdered, which prosecute the Action, that the Malefactor shall give unto them, or to the Child, or Wife of him that is slain, a Recompence, which they call an *Eriach*: By which vile Law of theirs, many Murders amongst them are made up, and smothered. And this Judge being (as he is called) the Lord's *Brebon*, adjudgeth for the most part a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the Soil, or the Head of that Sept, and also unto himself for his Judgment a greater Portion, than unto the Plaintiffs or Parties aggrieved.

Eudox. This is a most wicked Law indeed; but I trust it is not now used in *Ireland*, since the Kings of *England* have had the absolute Dominion thereof, and establish their own Laws there.

Iren. Yes truly, for there be many wide Countries in *Ireland*, which the Laws of *England* were never established in, nor any acknowledgment of Subjection made; and also even in those which are subdued, and seem to acknowledge Subjection, yet the same *Brebon* Law is practised amongst themselves, by reason, that dwelling as they do, whole Nations and Septs of the *Irish* together, without any *Englishman* among them, they may do what they list, and compound or altogether conceal amongst themselves their own Crimes,

Crimes, of which no notice can be had by them which would and might amend the same, by the Rule of the Laws of *England*.

Eudox. What is this which you say? and is there any part of that Realm or any Nation therein, which have not yet been subdued to the Crown of *England*? Did not the whole Realm universally accept and acknowledge our late Prince of famous Memory *Henry VIII.* for their only King and Liege Lord?

Iren. Yes verily: In a Parliament holden in the time of Sir *Anthony Saint-Leger* then Lord Deputy, all the *Irish* Lords and Principal Men came in, and being by fair means wrought thereunto, acknowledged King *Henry* for their Sovereign Lord, reserving yet (as some say) unto themselves all their own former Privileges and Seigniories inviolate.

Eudox. Then by that acceptance of his Sovereignty they also accepted of his Laws. Why then should any other Laws be now used amongst them?

Iren. True it is that thereby they bound themselves to his Laws and Obedience, and in case it had been followed upon them, as it should have been, and a Government thereupon settled among them agreeable thereunto, they should have been reduced to perpetual Civility, and contained in continual Duty. But what boots it to break a Colt, and to let him straight run loose at random? So were these People at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledge Allegiance to the Kings of *England*: but being straight left unto themselves and their own inordinate Life and Manners, they eftsoons forgot what before they were taught, and so soon as they were out of sight, by themselves shook off their Bridles, and began to colt anew, more licentiously than before.

Eudox. It is a great pity, that so good an Opportunity was omitted, and so happy an Occasion fore-slacked, that might have been the eternal Good of the Land. But do they not still acknowledge that Submission?

Iren. No, they do not: for now the Heirs and Posterity of them which yielded the same, are (as they say) either ignorant thereof, or do wilfully deny, or stedfastly disavow it.

Eudox.

Eudox. How can they so do justly? Doth not the Act of the Parent, in any lawful Grant or Conveyance, bind their Heirs for ever thereunto? Sith then the Ancestors of those that now live, yielded themselves then Subjects and Liegemen, shall it not tye their Children to the same Subjection?

Iren. They say no: for their Ancestors had no Estate in any their Lands, Seigniories, or Hereditaments, longer than during their own Lives, as they alledge: for all the *Irish* do hold their Land by *Tanistry*; which is (say they) no more but a personal Estate for his Life-time, that is *Tanist*, by reason that he is admitted thereunto by Election of the Country.

Eudox. What is this which you call *Tanist* and *Tanistry*? They be Names and Terms never heard of nor known to us.

Iren. It is a Custom amongst all the *Irish*, that presently after the Death of any of their chief Lords or Captains, they do presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and known unto them to choose another in his stead, where they do nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest Son, nor any of the Children of the 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, or so forth, as any is elder in that Kindred or Sept: and then next to him do they choose the next of the Blood to be *Tanist*, who shall next succeed him in the said Captainry, if he live thereunto.

Eudox. Do they not use any Ceremony in this Election? for all barbarous Nations are commonly great Observers of Ceremonies and Superstitious Rites.

Iren. They use to place him that shall be their Captain, upon a Stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a Hill: In some of which I have seen formed and ingraven a Foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captain's Foot, whereon he standing, received an Oath to preserve all the antient former Customs of the Country inviolable, and to deliver up the Succession peacefully to his *Tanist*; and then hath a Wand delivered unto

by some whose proper Office that is: after which, descending from the Stone, he turneth himself round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.

Eudox. But how is the *Tanist* chosen?

Iren. They say he setteth but one Foot upon the Stone, and receiveth the like Oath that the Captain did.

Eudox. Have you ever heard what was the occasion and first beginning of this Custom? for it is good to know the same, and may perhaps discover some secret meaning and intent therein, very material to the State of that Government.

Iren. I have heard that the beginning and cause of this Ordinance amongst the *Irish*, was specially for the defence and maintenance of their Lands in their Posterity, and for excluding all Innovation or Alienation thereof unto Strangers, and specially to the *English*. For when their Captain dieth, if the Signiorie should descend to his Child, and he perhaps an Infant, another peradventure would step in between, or thrust him out by strong hand, being then unable to defend his Right, or to withstand the Force of a Foreigner; and therefore they do appoint the eldest of the Kin to have the Signiorie, for that he commonly is a Man of stronger Years and better Experience to maintain the Inheritance, and to defend the Country, either against the next bordering Lords which use commonly to encroach one upon another, as one is stronger; or against the *English*, which they think lie still in wait to wipe them out of their Lands and Territories. And to this end, the *Tanist* is always ready known, if it should happen the Captain suddenly to die, or to be slain in Battle, or to be out of the Country, to defend and keep it from all such Doubts and Dangers. For which cause the *Tanist* hath also a share of the Country allotted unto him, and certain cuttings and spendings upon all the Inhabitants under the Lord.

Eudox. When I heard this word *Tanist*, it bringeth to my remembrance what I have read of *Tania*, that it should signify a Province or Signiorie, as *Aquitania*, *Lusitania*, and *Britania*, the which some think to be derived of *Dania*, that is, from the *Danes*; but, I think, amiss. But sure it cometh, that it came anciently from those barbarous Nations

tions that over-ran the World, which possessed those Dominions, whereof they are now so called. And so it may well be, that from thence the first Original of this word *Tanist* and *Tanistry* came, and the Custom thereof hath sithence, as many others else, been continued. But to that general subject of the Land, whereof we formerly spake, meseems that this Custom or Tenure can be no Bar nor Impeachment, seeing that in open Parliament by their said Acknowledgement they waved the Benefit thereof, and submitted themselves to the Benefit of their new Sovereign.

Iren. Yea, but they say, as I earst told you, that they reserved their Titles, Tenures and Seignories whole and sound to themselves; and for proof alledge, that they have ever sithence remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them, should (say they) be a great wrong.

Eudox. What Remedy is there then, or means to avoid this Inconveniency? for without first cutting off this dangerous Custom, it seemeth hard to plant any sound Ordinance, or reduce them to a Civil Government, since all their ill Customs are permitted unto them.

Iren. Surely nothing hard: for by this Act of Parliament whereof we speak, nothing was given to King *Henry* which he had not before from his Ancestors, but only the bare Name of a King; for all other absolute Power of Principality he had in himself before derived from many former Kings, his famous Progenitours and worthy Conquerours of that Land. The which sithence they first conquered and by force subdued unto them, what needed afterwards to enter into any such idle Terms with them to be called their King, when it is in the power of the Conquerour to take upon himself what Title he will, over his Dominions conquered? For all is the Conquerour's, as *Tully* to *Brutus* saith. Therefore (meseems) instead of so great and meritorious a Service as they boast they performed to the King, in bringing all the *Irish* to acknowledge him for their Liege, they did great hurt unto his Title, and have left a perpetual Gall in the Mind of the People; who before being absolutely bound to his Obedience, are now tyed but with Terms: whereas else both their Lives, their Lands, and

their Liberties were in his free Power to appoint what Tenures, what Laws, what Conditions he would over them, which were all his: against which there could be no rightful Resistance, or if there were, he might when he would establish them with a stronger Hand.

Eudox. Yea, but perhaps it seemed better unto that noble King to bring them by their own accord to his Obedience, and to plant a peaceable Government amongst them, than by such violent Means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he thereby lost any thing that he formerly had; for having all before absolutely in his own Power, it remaineth so still unto him, he having thereby neither forgiven, nor forgone any thing thereby unto them, but having received something from them, that is, a more voluntary and loyal Subjection. So as Her Majesty may yet, when it shall please Her, alter any thing of those former Ordinances, or appoint other Laws, that may be more both for her own behoof, and for the good of that People.

Iren. Not so: for it is not so easie, now that things are grown unto an Habit, and have their certain Course, to change the Channel, and turn their Streams another way: for they have now a colorable Pretence to withstand Innovations, having accepted of other Laws and Rules already.

Eudox. But you say they do not accept of them, but delight rather to lean to their old Customs and *Brebon* Laws, though they be more unjust and also more inconvenient for the common People, as by your late Relation of them I have gathered. As for the Laws of *England*, they are surely most just and most agreeable, both with the Government and with the Nature of the People. How falls it then that you seem to dislike of them, as not so meet for that Realm of *Ireland*; and not only the common Law, but also the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which were specially provided and intended for the only Benefit thereof?

Iren. I was about to have told you my Reason therein, but that your self drew me away with other Questions, for I was shewing you by what means, and by what sort:
the

the Positive Laws were first brought in and established by the *Norman Conqueror*; which were not by him devised, nor applyed to the State of the Realm then being, nor as yet might best be (as should by Law-givers principally be regarded) but were indeed the very Laws of his own Country of *Normandy*. The Condition whereof, how far it differeth from this of *England*, is apparent to every least Judgment. But to transfer the same Laws for the governing of the Realm of *Ireland*, was much more inconvenient and unmeet; for he found a better advantage of the time, than was in the planting of them in *Ireland*, and followed the Execution of them with more severity, and was also present in Person to overlook the Maigstrates, and to over-awe these Subjects with the Terrour of his Sword, and Countenance of his Majesty. But not so in *Ireland*, for they were otherwise affected, and yet do so remain; so as the same Laws (me seems) can ill fit with their Disposition, or work that Reformation that is wished. For Laws ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the People, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple Rule of Right: for then (as I said) instead of Good they may work Ill, and pervert Justice to extream Injustice. For he that transfers the Laws of the *Lacedemonians* to the People of *Athens*, should find a great Absurdity and Inconvenience. For those Laws of *Lacedemon* were devised by *Lycurgus*, as most proper and best agreeing with that People, whom he knew to be enclined altogether to Wars; and therefore wholly trained them up even from their Cradles in Arms and Military Exercises, clean contrary to the Institution of *Solon*, who in his Laws to the *Athenians* laboured by all means to temper their warlike Courages with sweet Delights of Learning and Sciences; so that as much as the one excelled in Arms, the other exceeded in Knowledge. The like Regard and Moderation ought to be had in tempering and managing this stubborn Nation of the *Irish*, to bring them from their Delight of licentious Barbarism unto the Love of Goodness and Civility.

Eudox. I cannot see how that may better be, than the Discipline of the Laws of *England*: for the *F*

were at first, as stout and warlike a People as ever the *Irish*, and yet you see are now brought unto that Civility, that no Nation in the World excelleth them in all goodly Conversation, and all the Studies of Knowledge and Humanity.

Iren. What they now be, both you and I see very well: but by how many thorny and hard ways they are come thereunto, by how many civil Broils, by how many tumultuous Rebellions, that even hazarded oftentimes the whole Safety of the Kingdom, may easily be considered: all which they nevertheless fairly overcame, by reason of the continual Presence of their King; whose only Person is oftentimes instead of an Army, to contain the unruly People from a thousand evil Occasions, which this wretched Kingdom for want thereof is daily carried into. The which, whensoever they make head, no Laws, no Penalties can restrain, but that they do in the violence of that Fury, tread down and trample under foot all both Divine and Human Things; and the Laws themselves they do specially rage at, and rend in pieces, as most repugnant to their Liberty and natural Freedom, which in their Madness they effect.

Eudox. It is then a very unseasonable time to plead Law, when Swords are in the Hands of the Vulgar, or to think to retain them with fear of Punishment, when they look after Liberty, and shake off all Government.

Iren. Then so it is with *Ireland* continually. *Eudoxus*; for the Sword was never yet out of their Hand: but when they are weary of Wars, and brought down to extream Wretchedness, then they creep a little perhaps, and sue for Grace, till they have gotten new Breath, and recovered their Strength again. So as it is in vain to speak of planting Laws, and plotting Policy, till they be altogether subdued.

Eudox. Were they not so at the first conquering of them by *Strongbow*, in the time of King *Henry* the Second? Was there not a thorough way then made by the Sword, for the imposing of the Laws upon them? and were they at then executed with such a mighty Hand as you said used by the *Norman Conqueror*? What odds is there
then

then in this case? why should not the same Laws take as good effect on that People as they did here, being in like sort prepared by the Sword, and brought under by Extremity? And why should they not continue in as good Force and Vigour for the containing of the People?

Iren. The Case yet is not like, but there appeareth great odds between them; for by the Conquest of *Henry II.* true it is that the *Irish* were utterly vanquished and subdued, so as no Enemy was able to hold up head against his Power: in which their Weakness he brought in his Laws, and settled them as now they there remain, like as *William* the Conqueror did; so as in thus much they agree, but in the rest, that is the chiefest, they vary. For to whom did King *Henry II.* impose those Laws? not to the *Irish*, for the most part of them fled from his Power into Desarts and Mountains, leaving the wide Country to the Conqueror; who in their stead estfoons placed *Englishmen*, who possessed all their Lands, and did quite shut out the *Irish*, or the most part of them. And to those new Inhabitants and Colonies, he gave his Laws, to wit, the same Law under which they were born and bred; the which it was no difficulty to place amongst them, being formerly well inured thereunto, unto whom afterwards there repaired divers of the poor distressed People of the *Irish* for Succour and Relief: of whom, such as they thought fit for Labour, and industriously disposed, as the most part of their baser sort are, they received unto them as their Vassals, but scarcely vouchsafed to impart unto them the Benefit of those Laws under which themselves lived, but every one made his Will and Commandment a Law unto his own Vassal. Thus was not the Law of *England* ever properly applied unto the *Irish* Nation, as by a purposed Plot of Government, but as they could insinuate and steal themselves under the same, by their humble Carriage and Submission.

Eudox. How comes it then to pass, that having been once so low brought, and thoroughly subjected, they afterwards lifted up themselves so strongly again, and sithence do stand so stiffly against all Rule and Government?

Iren. They say that they continued in that until the time that the Division between the

Lancaster and *York* arose for the Crown of *England*: At which time all the great *English* Lords and Gentlemen, which had great Possessions in *Ireland*, repaired over hither into *England*, some to succour their Friends here, and to strengthen their Party for to obtain the Crown; others to defend their Lands and Possessions here against such as hovered after the same, upon hope of the Alteration of the Kingdom, and Success of that Side which they favoured and affected. Then the *Irish*, whom before they had banished into the Mountains, where they lived only upon whitt Meats, as it is recorded; seeing now their Lands so dispeopled and weakned, came down into all the Plains adjoining; and thence expelling those few *English* that remained, repossessed them again: since which they have remained in them, and growing greater, have brought under them many of the *English*, which were before their Lords. This was one of the Occasions by which all those Countries, which lying near unto any Mountains or *Irish* Desarts, had been planted with *English*, were shortly displanted and lost. As namely in *Mounster*, all the Lands adjoining unto *Slowlogher*, *Arlo*, and the Bog of *Allon*. In *Connaught*, all the Countries bordering upon the *Curlues*, *Mointerolis*, and *Orourkes* Country. In *Leinster*, all the Lands bordering unto the Mountains of *Glanmalour*, unto *Shillelab*, unto the *Brackenab*, and *Polmonte*. In *Ulster*, all the Countries near unto *Tirconnel*, *Tyrone*, and the *Scots*.

Eudox. Surely this was a great Violence: But yet by your speech it seemeth that only the Countries and Vallies near adjoining unto those Mountains and Desarts were thus recovered by the *Irish*. But how comes it now that we see almost all that Realm repossessed of them? Were there any more such evil Occasions growing by the Troubles of *England*? Or did the *Irish*, out of those Places so by them gotten, break further, and stretch themselves out thorough the whole Land? For now, for ought that I can understand, there is no part but the bare *English Pale*, in which the *Irish* have not the greatest footing.

Iren. But out of these small Beginnings by them gotten to the Mountains, did they spread themselves into the
and also to their further Advantage, there did other
like

Like unhappy Accidents happen out of *England*, which gave Heart and good Opportunity to them to regain their old Possessions: For in the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, things remained yet in the same State that they were after the late breaking out of the *Irish*, which I spake of; and that noble Prince began to cast an Eye unto *Ireland*, and to mind the Reformation of things there run amiss. For he sent over his Brother, the worthy Duke of *Clarence*; who having married the Heir of the Earl of *Ulster*, and by her having all the Earldom of *Ulster*, and much in *Meath* and in *Mounster*, very carefully went about the redressing of all those late Evils: and though he could not beat out the *Irish* again, by reason of his short continuance, yet he did shut them up within those narrow Corners and Glyns, under the Mountains foot, in which they lurked; and so kept them from breaking any further, by building strong Holds upon every Border, and fortifying all Passages. Amongst the which, he repaired the Castle of *Clare* in *Thomond*, of which Country he had the Inheritance, and of *Mortimer's* Lands adjoining; which is now (by the *Irish*) called *Killaloe*. But the times of that good King growing also troublesome, did lett the thorough Reformation of all things, And thereunto, soon after, was added another fatal Mischief, which wrought a greater Calamity than all the former. For the said Duke of *Clarence*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was by practice of evil Persons about the King his Brother, called thence away; and soon after, by sinister means, was clean made away. Presently after whose Death, all the North revolting, did set up *O-Neal* for their Captain, being before that of small Power and Regard; and there arose in that part of *Thomond*, one of the *O-Brians*, called *Murrogh en Ranagh*: that is, *Morrice* of the *Fern*, or waste wild Places; who gathering unto him all the Relicks of the discontented *Irish*, eftsoons surpris'd the said Castle of *Clare*, burnt and spoiled all the *English* there dwelling; and in short space, possessed all that Country, beyond the River of *Shanan*, and near adjoining. Whence shortly breaking forth like a sudden Tempest, over-ran all *Mounster* and *Connaught*; breaking do-

the Holds and Fortresses of the *English*, defacing and utterly subverting all corporate Towns, that were not strongly walled: For those, he had no Means nor Engines to overthrow, neither indeed would he stay at all about them, but speedily ran forward, counting his Suddenness his most Advantage, that he might overtake the *English* before they could fortify or gather themselves together. So in short space he clean wiped out many great Towns, as first *Inchequin*, then *Killaloe*, before called *Clariford*, also *Tburlet*, *Mourne*, *Buttevant*, and many others, whose Names I cannot remember, and of some of which there is now no Memory or Sign remaining. Upon report whereof, there flocked unto him all the Scum of the *Irish* out of all Places, that e'er long he had a mighty Army, and thence marched forth into *Leinster*, where he wrought great Outrages, waisting all the Country where he went; for it was his Policy to leave no Hold behind him, but to make all plain and waste. In the which he soon after created himself King, and was called King of all *Ireland*; which before him I do not read that any did so generally, but only *Edward le Bruce*.

Eudox. What? was there ever any general King of all *Ireland*? I never heard it before, but that it was always (whilst it was under the *Irish*) divided into four, and sometimes into five Kingdoms or Dominions. But this *Edward le Bruce*, what was he, that could make himself King of all *Ireland*?

Iren. I would tell you, in case you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand; that is, the Inconvenience and Unfitness which I supposed to be in the Laws of the Land.

Eud. No surely, I have no Cause, for neither is this impertinent thereunto: for sithence you did set your Course (as I remember in your first Part) to treat of the Evils which hindred the Peace and Good-ordering of that Land; amongst which, that of the Inconvenience in the Laws, was the first which you had in hand; this Discourse of the Over-running and Wasting of the Realm, is very material thereunto, for that it was the beginning of all the other Evils which sithence have afflicted that Land, and opened

a way unto the *Irish* to recover their Possession, and to beat out the *English* which had formerly won the same. And besides, it will give a great Light both unto the second and third Part; which is, the redressing of those Evils, and planting of some good Form or Policy therein, by renewing the remembrance of these Occasions and Accidents, by which those Ruins hapned; and laying before us the Examples of those Times, to be compared to ours, and to be warned by those which shall have to do in the like. Therefore I pray you tell them unto us; and as for the Point where you left, I will not forget afterwards to call you back again thereunto.

Iren. This *Edward le Bruce* was Brother of *Robert le Bruce*, who was King of *Scotland*, at such time as King *Edward* the Second reigned here in *England*, and bare a most malicious and spiteful Mind against King *Edward*, doing him all the Scathe that he could, and annoying his Territories of *England*, whilst he was troubled with Civil Wars of his Barons at home. He also, to work him the more Mischief, sent over his said Brother *Edward* with a Power of *Scots* and *Red-shanks* into *Ireland*; where, by the means of the *Lacies*, and of the *Irish*, with whom they combined, they got footing: and gathering unto him all the Scatterlings and Out-laws out of all the Woods and Mountains, in which they long had lurked, marched forth into the *English Pale*, which then was chiefly in the North from the Point of *Donluce*, and beyond unto *Dublin*: Having in the midst of her *Knockfergus*, *Belfast*, *Armagh*, and *Carlingford*; which are now the most Out-bounds and abandoned Places in the *English Pale*, and indeed not counted of the *English Pale* at all; for it stretcheth now no further than *Dundalk* towards the North. There the said *Edward le Bruce* spoiled and burnt all the old *English Pale* Inhabitants, and sacked and rased all Cities and Corporate Towns; no less than *Murrrough en Rannagh*, of whom I earst told you: For he wasted *Belfast*, *Green-Castle*, *Kelles*, *Belturbut*, *Castletown*, *Newton*, and many other very good Towns and strong Holds: He rooted out the noble Families of the *Audlies*, *Tuchets*, *Chamberlains*, *Maundevills*, and the

out of *Ardes*; though of the Lord *Savage* there remaineth yet an Heir, that is now a poor Gentleman of very mean Condition, yet dwelling in the *Ardes*. And coming lastly to *Dundalke*, he there made himself King, and reigned the space of one whole Year; until that *Edward* King of *England*, having some Quiet in his Affairs at home, sent over the Lord *John Birmingham* to be General of the Wars against him; who incountring him near to *Dundalke*, overthrew his Army, and slew him. Also he presently followed the Victory so hotly upon the *Scots*, that he suffered them not to breathe, or gather themselves together again, until they came to the Sea-Coast. Notwithstanding all the way that they fled, for very Rancor and Despight, in their return they utterly consumed and wasted whatsoever they had before left unspoiled; so as of all Towns, Castles, Forts, Bridges and Habitations, they left not any Stick standing, nor any People remaining: for those few which yet survived, fled from their Fury further into the *English Pale* that now is. Thus was all that goodly Country utterly wasted. And sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet Country as any is under Heaven, being stord throughout with many goodly Rivers, replenish'd with all sorts of Fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet Islands and goodly Lakes, like little inland Seas, that will carry even Ships upon their Waters; adorned with goodly Woods, even fit for Building of Houses and Ships, so commodiously, as that if some Princes in the World had them, they would soon hope to be Lords of all the Seas, and e'er long of all the World: Also full of very good Ports and Havens opening upon *England*, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent Commodities that Country can afford; besides, the Soil itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of Fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the Heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the Parts towards the West.

Eudox. Truly *Ireneus*, what with your Praises of the Country, and what with your Discourse of the lamentable Desolation thereof made by those *Scots*, you have filled me with a great Compassion of their Calamities, that I do
much

much pity that sweet Land, to be subject to so many Evils, as I see more and more to be laid upon her, and do half begin to think, that it is (as you said at the Beginning) her fatal Misfortune, above all other Countries that I know, to be thus miserably tossed and turmoiled with these variable Storms of Affliction. But since we are thus far entred into the Consideration of her Mishaps, tell me, have there been any more such Tempests as you term them, wherein she hath thus wretchedly been wrecked?

Iren. Many more, God wot, have there been; in which principal Parts have been rent and torn asunder, but none (as I can remember) so universal as this. And yet the Rebellion of *Thomas Fitz-Garret* did well-nigh stretch itself into all Parts of *Ireland*. But that which was in the time of the Government of the Lord *Grey*, was surely no less general than all those; for there was no Part free from the Contagion, but all conspired in one, to cast off their Subjection to the Crown of *England*. Nevertheless, thorough the most wise and valiant handling of that right noble Lord, it got not the Head which the former Evils found; for in them the Realm was left like a Ship in a Storm, amidst all the raging Surges, unruled, and undirected of any: for they to whom she was committed, either fainted in their Labour, or forsook their Charge. But he (like a most wise Pilot) kept her Course carefully, and held her most strongly even against those roaring Billows, that he safely brought her out of all; so as long after, even by the space of Twelve or Thirteen whole Years, she rode at peace; thorough his only Pains and excellent Indurance, however Envy list to blatter against him. But of this we shall have occasion to speak in another place. Now (if you please) let us return again unto our first Course.

Eudox. Truly I am very glad to hear your Judgment of the Government of that honourable Man so soundly; for I have heard it oftentimes maligned, and his Doings depraved of some, who (I perceive) did rather of malicious Mind, or private Grievance, seek to detract from the Honour of his Deeds and Counsels, than of any just Cause: but he was nevertheless, in the Judgments of all good and wise Men, defended and maintained. And now that he is

dead, his immortal Fame surviveth, and flourisheth in the Mouths of all people, that even those which did backbite him, are checked with their own Venom, and break their Galls to hear his so honourable Report. But let him rest in Peace, and turn we to our more troublesom Matters of Discourse, of which I am right sorry that you make so short an end, and covet to pass over to your former Purposes: for there be many other Parts of *Ireland*, which I have heard have been no less vexed with the like Storms, than these which you have treated of; as the Countries of the *Birnes* and *Tooles* near *Dublin*, with the insolent Outrages and Spoils of *Feagh mac Hugh*; the Countries of *Catherlagh*, *Wexford*, and *Waterford*, by the *Cavenaghes*. The Countries of *Leix*, *Kilkenny*, and *Kildare*, by the *O-Moores*. The Countries of *Ofaly* and *Longford*, by the *Connors*. The Countries of *Westmeath*, *Cavan*, and *Lowth*, by the *O-Relyes*, the *Kellyes*, and many others. So as the discoursing of them, besides the Pleasure which would redound out of their History, be also very profitable for matters of Policy.

Iren. All this which you have named, and many more besides, oftentimes have I right well known, and yet often do kindle great Fires of tumultuous Broils in the Countries bordering upon them. All which to rehearse, should rather be to chronicle Times, than to search into Reformation of Abuses in that Realm; and yet very needful it will be to consider them, and the Evils which they have often stirred up, that some Redress thereof, and prevention of the Evils to come, may thereby rather be devised. But I suppose we shall have a fitter Opportunity for the same, when we shall speak of the particular Abuses, and Enormities of the Government, which will be next after these general Defects and Inconveniencies which I said were in the Laws, Customs, and Religion.

Eudox. Goe to them a God's name, and follow the Course which you have promised to yourself; for it fitteth best, I must confess, with the Purpose of our Discourse. Declare your Opinion, as you began, about the Laws of the Realm, what Incommodity you have conceived to be in them,

them chiefly in the common Law, which I would have thought most free from all such dislike.

Iren. The Common Law is (as I said before) of itself most rightful and very convenient (I suppose) for the Kingdom, for which it was first devised: for this (I think) as it seems reasonable, that out of your Manners of your People, and Abuses of your Country, for which they were invented, they take their first Beginning, or else they should be most unjust; for no Laws of Man (according to the straight Rule of Right) are just, but as in regard of the Evils which they prevent, and the Safety of the Commonwealth which they provide for. As for example, in your true ballancing of Justice, it is a flat Wrong to punish the Thought or Purpose of any before it be enacted; for true Justice punisheth nothing but the evil Act or wicked Word: that by the Laws of all Kingdoms it is a capital Crime to devise or purpose the Death of your King; the reason is, for that when such a Purpose is effected, it should then be too late to devise thereof, and should turn the Commonwealth to more Loss by the Death of their Prince, than such Punishment of the Malefactors. And therefore the Law in that case punisheth the Thought; for better is a Mischief, than an Inconvenience. So that *Jus politicum*, though it be not of itself just, yet by Application, or rather Necessity, it is made just; and this only Respect maketh all Laws just. Now then, if these Laws of *Ireland* be not likewise applied and fitted for that Realm, they are sure very inconvenient.

Eudox. You reason strongly: but what Unfitness do you find in them for that Realm? shew us some particulars.

Iren. The Common Law appointeth, that all Tryals, as well of Crimes, as Titles and Right, shall be made by verdict of a Jury, chosen out of the honest and most substantial Free-holders. Now, most of the Free-holders of that Realm are *Irish*, which when the Cause shall fall betwixt an *Englishman* and an *Irish*, or between the Queen and any Free-holder of that Country, they make no more Scruple to pass against an *Englishman* and the Queen, though it be to strain their Oaths, than to drink Milk strained. So that before the Jury go together, it is

nothing what the Verdict shall be. The Tryal have I so often seen, that I dare confidently avouch the Abuse thereof. Yet is the Law of itself (as I said) good, and the first Institution thereof, being given to all *Englishmen* very rightfully; but now that the *Irish* have stepped into the very Rooms of our *English*, we are now to become heedful and provident in Juries.

Eudox. In sooth *Iren.* you have discovered a Point worthy Consideration: for hereby not only the *English* Subject findeth no Indifferency in deciding of his Cause, be it never so just; but the Queen, as well in all Pleas of the Crown, as also in Inquiries for Escheats, Lands attainted, Wardships, Concealments, and all such like, is abused and exceedingly damaged.

Iren. You say very true; for I dare undertake, that at this day there are more attainted Lands concealed from her Majesty, than she hath now Possessions in all *Ireland*. And it is no small Inconvenience: for, besides that she loseth so much Land as should turn to her great Profit, she besides loseth so many good Subjects, which might be assured unto her, as those Lands would yield Inhabitants and Living unto.

Eudox. But doth many of that People (say you) make no more Conscience to perjure themselves in their Verdicts, and damn their Souls?

Iren. Not only so in their Verdicts, but also in all other their Dealings, especially with the *English*, they are most wilfully bent; for though they will not seem manifestly to do it, yet will some one or other subtle-headed Fellow amongst them, put some Quirk, or devise some Evasion, whereof the rest will likely take hold, and suffer themselves easily to be led by him to that themselves desired. For in the most apparent Matter that may be, the least Question or Doubt that may be moved, will make a stop unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides, that of themselves (for the most part) they are so cautelous and wily-headed, especially being Men of so small Experience, and Practice in Law-Matters, that you would wonder whence they borrow such Subtilties and sly Shifts.

Eudox. But me-thinks this Inconvenience might be much helped in the Judges and chief Magistrates, which have the choosing and nominating of those Jurors, if they would have dared to appoint either most *Englishmen*, or such *Irishmen* as were of the soundest Judgment and Disposition; for no doubt but some there be incorruptible.

Iren. Some there be indeed, as you say; but then would the *Irish* Party cry out of Partiality, and complain he hath no Justice, he is not used as a Subject, he is not suffered to have the free Benefit of the Law; and these Outcries the Magistrates there do much shun, as they have Cause, since they are readily hearkned unto here: neither can it be indeed, altho' the *Irish* Party would be so contented to be so compassed, that such *English* Free-holders, which are but few, and such faithful *Irishmen*, which are indeed as few, shall always be chosen for Tryals; for being so few, they should be made weary of their Free-holds. And therefore a good Care is to be had, by all good Occasions, to increase their Number, and to plant more by them. But were it so, that the Jurors could be pick'd out of such choice Men, as you desire, this would nevertheless be as bad a Corruption in the Tryal; for the Evidence being brought in by the baser *Irish* People, will be as deceitful as the Verdict: for they care much less than the others what they swear, and sure their Lords may compel them to say any thing; for I myself have heard, when one of the baser sort (which they call Churls) being challenged and reprov'd for his false Oath, hath answered confidently, that his Lord commanded him, and it was the least thing that he could do for his Lord, to swear for him: So inconscionable are these common People, and so little feeling have they of God, or their own Soul's Good.

Eudox. It is a most miserable Case; but what Help can there be in this? For though the Manner of their Trials should be altered, yet the Proof of every thing must needs be by the Testimony of such Persons as the Parties shall produce; which if they shall be corrupt, how can there ever any Light of the Truth appear? what Remedy is there for this Evil, but to make heavy Laws and Penalties against Jurors?

Iren. I think sure that will do small Good; for when a People be inclined to any Vice, or have no touch of Conscience, nor Sense of their evil Doings, it is bootless to think to restrain them by any Penalties or Fear of Punishment, but either the Occasion is to be taken away, or a more understanding of the Right and Shame of the Fault to be imprinted. For if that *Lycurgus* should have made it Death for the *Lacedemonians* to steal, they being a People which naturally delighted in Stealth; or if it should be made a capital Crime for the *Flemmings* to be taken in Drunkenness; there should have been few *Lacedemonians* then left, and few *Flemmings* now. So impossible it is to remove any Fault so general in a People, with Terror of Laws or most sharp Restraints.

Eudox. What Means may there be then to avoid this Inconvenience? for the Case seems very hard.

Iren. We are not yet come to the Point to devise Remedies for the Evils, but only have now to recount them; of the which, this which I have told you is one Defect in the Common Law.

Eudox. Tell us then (I pray you) further, have you any more of this sort in the Common Law?

Iren. By Rehearsal of this, I remember also of another like, which I have often observed in Trials, to have wrought great Hurt and Hinderance; and that is, the Exceptions which the Common Law alloweth a Felon in his Trial: for he may have (as you know) 56 Exceptions peremptory against the Jurors, of which he shall shew no Cause. By which Shift there being (as I have shewed you) so small Store of honest Jury-men, he will either put off his Trial, or drive it to such Men as (perhaps) are not of the soundest sort; by whose Means, if he can acquit himself of the Crime, as he is likely, then will he plague such as were brought first to be of his Jury, and all such as made any Party against him: and when he comes forth, he will make their Cows and Garrons to walk, if he do no other Harm to their Persons.

Eudox. This is a sly Device, but I think might soon be remedied; but we must leave it a while to the rest. In the mean-while, do you go forwards with others.

Iren.

Iren. There is another no less Inconvenience than this, which is, the Tryal of Accessories to Felony; for by the Common Law, the Accessories cannot be proceeded against, till the Principal have received his Trial. Now to the Case, how it often falleth out in *Ireland*, that a Stealth being made by a Rebel, or an Out-law, the stolln Goods are conveyed to some Husbandman or Gentleman, which hath well to take to, and yet liveth most by the Receipt of such Stealths, where they are found by the Owner, and handled: Whereupon the Party is perhaps apprehended, and committed to Goal, or put upon Sureties, till the Sessions; at which time, the Owner preferring a Bill of Indictment, proveth sufficiently the Stealth to have been committed upon him by such an Out-law, and to have been found in the Possession of the Prisoner: against whom, nevertheless, no Course of Law can proceed, nor Trial can be had, for that the principal Thief is not to be gotten; notwithstanding that he likewise standing perhaps indicted at once with the Receiver, being in Rebellion, or in the Woods, where peradventure he is slain before he can be gotten, and so the Receiver clean acquitted and discharged of the Crime. By which means the Thieves are greatly encouraged to steal, and their Maintainers emboldned to receive their Stealths, knowing how hardly they can be brought to any Tryal of Law.

Eudox. Truly this is a great Inconvenience, and a great Cause (as you say) of the Maintainance of Thieves, knowing their Receivers always ready; for were there no Receivers, there would be no Thieves. But this (me seems) might easily be provided for by some Act of Parliament, that the Receiver being convicted by good Proofs, might receive his Trial without the Principal.

Iren. You say very well, *Eudox.* but that is almost impossible to be compassed: and herein also you discover another Imperfection in the Course of the Common Law, and first Ordinance of the Realm: for you know that the said Parliament must consist of the Peers, Gentlemen, Free-holders, and Burgeses of that Realm itself. Now these being perhaps themselves, or the most Part of them (as may seem by their stiff withstanding of this Act) culpable

pable of this Crime, or Favourers of their Friends, which are such, by whom their Kitchens are sometimes amended, will not suffer any such Statute to pass. Yet hath it oftentimes been attempted, and in the time of Sir *John Parrot* very earnestly (I remember) laboured, but could by no means be effected. And not only this, but many other like, which are as needful for the Reformation of that Realm.

Eudox. This also is surely a great Defect, but we may not talk (you say) of the redressing of this, until our second Part come, which is purposely appointed thereunto. Therefore proceed to the recounting of more such Evils, if at least you have any more.

Iren. There is also a great Inconvenience, which hath wrought great Damage, both to her Majesty, and to that Commonwealth, through close and colourable Conveyances of the Lands and Goods of Traytors, Felons, and Fugitives. As when one of them mindeth to go into Rebellion, he will convey away all his Lands and Lordships to Feoffees in Trust, whereby he reserveth to himself but a State for Term of Life; which being determined either by the Sword, or by the Halter, their Lands straight cometh to their Heir, and the Queen is defrauded of the Intent of the Law, which laid that grievous Punishment upon Traitors, to forfeit all their Lands to the Prince, to the end that Men might the rather be terrified from committing Treasons: for many which would little esteem of their own Lives, yet for Remorse of their Wives and Children would be with-held from that heinous Crime. This appeared plainly in the late Earl of *Desmond*. For before his breaking forth into open Rebellion, he had conveyed secretly all his Lands to Feoffees in Trust, in hope to have cut off her Majesty from the Escheat of his Lands.

Eudox. Yea, but that was well enough avoided, for the Act of Parliament which gave all his Lands to the Queen, did (as I have heard) cut off and frustrate all such Conveyances, as had at any time by the space of Twelve Years before his Rebellion, been made; within the Compass whereof, the fraudulent Feoffment, and many the like of others his Accomplices and Fellow-Traytors were contained.

Iren.

Iren. Very true, but how hardly that Act of Parliament was wrought out of them, I can witness; and were it to be passed again, I dare undertake it would never be compassed. But were it also that such Acts might be easily brought to pass against Traytors and Felons, yet were it not an endless Trouble, that no Traytor or Felon should be attainted, but a Parliament must be called for bringing of his Lands to the Queen, which the common Law giveth her?

Eudox. Then this is no Fault of the common Law, but of the Persons which work this Fraud to her Majesty.

Iren. Yes, marry; for the common Law hath left them this Benefit, whereof they make Advantage, and wrest it to their bad Purposes: so as thereby they are the bolder to enter into evil Actions, knowing that if the worst befall them, they shall lose nothing but themselves; whereof they seem surely very careless.

Eudox. But what meant you of Fugitives herein? Or how doth this concern them?

Iren. Yes, very greatly; for you shall understand, that there be many ill disposed and undutiful Persons of that Realm, like as in this Point there are also in this Realm of *England* too many, which being Men of good Inheritance, are for 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 live under Princes which are her Majesty's professed Enemies; and converse, and are Confederates with other Traytors and Fugitives which are there abiding. The which nevertheless have the Benefits and Profits of their Lands here, by Pretence of such colourable Conveyances thereof, formerly made by them unto their privy Friends here in Trust, who privily do send over unto them the said Revenues, wherewith they are there maintained and enabled against her Majesty.

Eudox. I do not think that there be any such Fugitives which are relieved by the Profit of their Lands in *England*, for there is a straighter Order taken. And if there be any such in *Ireland*, it were good it were likewise looked unto, for this Evil may easily be remedied. But proceed.

Iren.

Iren. It is also inconvenient in the Realm of *Ireland*, that the Wards and Marriages of Gentlemens Children should be in the Disposition of any of those *Irish* Lords, as now they are, by reason that their Lands be held by Knights Service of those Lords. By which means it comes to pass, that those Gentlemen being thus in the Ward of those Lords, are not only thereby brought up lewdly, and *Irish*-like; but also for ever after so bound to their Services, that they will run with them into any disloyal Action.

Eudox. This Grievance, *Iren.* is also complained of in *England*, but how can it be remedied? since the Service must follow the Tenure of the Lands, and the Lands were given away by the Kings of *England* to those Lords, when they first conquered that Realm; and to say Truth, this also would be some Prejudice to the Prince in her Wardships.

Iren. I do not mean this by the Prince's Wards, but by such as fall into the hands of *Irish* Lords: for I could wish, and this I could enforce, that all those Wardships were in the Prince's Disposition; for then it might be hoped, that she for the universal Reformation of that Realm, would take better Order for bringing up those Wards in good Nurture, and not suffer them to come into so bad hands. And although these things be already passed away, by her Progenitors former Grants unto those said Lords, yet I could find a Way to remedy a great Part thereof, as hereafter, when fit Time serves, shall appear. And since we are entered into Speech of such Grants of former Princes to sundry Persons of this Realm of *Ireland*; I will mention unto you some other, of like nature to this, and of like Inconvenience, by which the former Kings of *England* passed unto them a great Part of their Prerogatives: which though then it was well intended, and perhaps well deserved of them which received the same, yet now such a Gap of Mischiefe lies open thereby, that I could wish it were well stopped. Of this sort are the Grants of Counties Palatines in *Ireland*, which though at first were granted upon good consideration when they were first conquered, for that those Lands lay then as a very Border to the wild *Irish*, subject to continual Invasion, so as it was needful to give them
great

great Privileges for the Defence of the Inhabitants thereof; yet now that it is no more a Border, nor frontiered with Enemies, why should such Privileges be any more continued?

Eudox. I would gladly know what you call a County Palatine, and whence it is so called.

Iren. It was (I suppose) first named Palatine of a Pale, as it were a Pale and Defence to their inward Lands, so as it is called the *English Pale*: and therefore is a Palsgrave named an Earl Palatine. Others think of the Latin *palare*, that is, to forage or out-run; because those Marchers and Borderers use commonly so to do. So as to have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a Privilege to spoyl the Enemies Borders adjoining. [And surely so it is used at this Day, as a Privilege Place of Spoils and Stealths; for the County of *Tipperary*, which is now the only County Palatine in *Ireland*, is by Abuse of some bad ones, made a Receptacle to rob the rest of the Counties about it, by means of whose Privileges none will follow their Stealths: so as it being situate in the very Lap of all the Land, is made now a Border; which how inconvenient it is, let every Man judg. And though that right noble Man, that is the Lord of the Liberty, do pain himself, all he may, to yield equal Justice unto all; yet can there not but great Abuses lurk in so inward and absolute a Privilege, the Consideration whereof is to be respected carefully for the next Succession. And much like unto this Grant, there are other Privileges granted unto most of the Corporations there; that they shall not be bound to any other Government than their own; that they shall not be charged with Garrisons; that they shall not be travailed forth of their own Franchises; that they may buy and sell with Thieves and Rebels; that all Amercements and Fines that shall be imposed upon them, shall come unto themselves. All which, though at the time of their first Grant they were tolerable, and perhaps reasonable, yet now are most unreasonable and inconvenient; but all these will easily be cut off with the superiour Power of her Majesty's Prerogative, against which her own Grants are not to be pleaded or enforced,

Iren. Now truly *Ireneus*, you have (me seems) very well handled this Point, touching Inconveniencies in the Common Law there, by you observed; and it seemeth that you have had a mindful Regard unto the things that may concern the Good of that Realm. And if you can as well go thorough with the Statute Laws of that Land, I will think you have not lost all your time there. Therefore I pray you, now take them in hand, and tell us what you think to be amiss in them.

Iren. The Statutes of that Realm are not many, and therefore we shall the sooner run thorough them; and yet of those few, there are impertinent and unnecessary: the which, though perhaps, at the time of the making of them, were very needful; yet now, thorough change of time, are clean antiquated, and altogether idle: As that which forbiddeth any to wear their Beards all on the upper Lip, and none under the Chin. And that which putteth away Saffron Shirts and Smocks. And that which restraineth the Use of gilt Bridles and Petronels. And that which is appointed for the Recorders and Clerks of *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, to take but two Pence for the Copy of a Plaint. And that which commands Bows and Arrows. And that which makes, that all *Irishmen* which shall converse among the *English*, shall be taken for Spyes, and so punished. And that which forbids Persons amesnable to Law, to enter and distrain in the Lands in which they have Title: and many other the like I could rehearse.

Eudox. These truly, which ye have repeated, seem very frivolous and fruitless; for by the Breach of them, little Damage or Inconvenience can come to the Commonwealth: Neither indeed, if any transgress them, shall he seem worthy of Punishment, scarce of Blame; saving but for that they abide by that name of Laws. But Laws ought to be such, as that the keeping of them should be greatly for the behoof of the Commonweal, and the violating of them should be very heinous, and sharply punishable. But tell us of some more weighty dislikes in the Statutes than these, and that may more behooffully import the Reformation of them,

Iren. There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongful distraining of any Man's Goods against the Form of Common Law, to be Felony. The which Statutes stem surely to have been at first meant for the good of that Realm, and for restraining of a foul Abuse, which then reigned commonly amongst that People, and yet is not altogether laid aside: That when any one was indebted to another, he would first demand his Debt; and if he were not payed, he would straight go and take a Distress of his Goods or Cattle, where he could find them, to the Value; which he would keep till he were satisfied. And this the simple Churl (as they call him) doth commonly use to do: yet through Ignorance of his Misdoing, or evil Use, that hath long settled amongst them. But this, though it be sure most unlawful, yet surely (me seems) too hard to make it Death, since there is no purpose in the Party to steal the other's Goods, or to conceal the Distress; but he doth it openly, for the most part, before Witnesses. And again, the same Statutes are so slackly penned (besides the latter of them is so unsensibly contrived, that it scarce carrieth any reason in it) that they are often and very easily wrested to the Fraud of the Subject: As if one going to distrain upon his own Land or Tenement, where lawfully he may; yet if in doing thereof, he transgress the least Point of the Common Law, he straight committeth Felony. Or if one, by any other Occasion, take any thing from another, as Boys use sometimes to cap one another, the same is straight Felony. This is a very hard Law.

Exdox. Nevertheless, that evil Use of distraining of another Man's Goods, ye will not deny; but it is to be abolished and taken away.

Iren. It is so, but not by taking away the Subject without, for that is too violent a Medicine; especially this use being permitted, and made lawful to some, and to other some Death. As to most of the Corporate Towns there, it is granted by their Charter, That they may, every Man by himself, without an Officer (for that were more tolerable) for any Debt, to distrain the Goods of any *Irish*, being found within their Liberty, or but passing through their Towns. And the first Permission of this was, for

that in those times when that Grant was made, the *Irish* were not amenable to Law; so as it was not Safety for the Townsman to go to him forth to demand his Debt, nor possible to draw him into Law; so that he had leave to be his own Bailiff, to arrest his said Debtors Goods within his own Franchise. The which the *Irish* seeing, thought it as lawful for them to distrain the Townsman's Goods in the Country where they found it. And so by Ensample of that Grant to Townsmen, they thought it lawful, and made it a Use to distrain one another's Goods for small Debts. And to say truth, methinks it is hard for every trifling Debt of two or three Shillings, to be driven to Law, which is so far from them sometimes to be sought; for which methinketh it too heavy an Ordinance to give Death, especially to a rude Man that is ignorant of Law, and thinketh, that a common Use or Grant to other Men is a Law for himself.

Eudox. Yea, but the Judge, when it cometh before him to trial, may easily decide this doubt, and lay open the Intent of the Law by his better Discretion.

Iren. Yea, but it is dangerous to leave the Sense of the Law unto the Reason or Will of the Judges, who are Men, and may be miscarried by Affections, and many other means. But the Laws ought to be like stony Tables, plain, steadfast, and unmovable. There is also such another Statute or two, which made *Coigny* and *Livery* to be Treason, no less inconvenient than the former, being at it is penned, however the first Purport thereof were expedient; for thereby now, no Man can go into another Man's House for Lodging, nor to his own Tenant's House to take Victualling by the way, notwithstanding that there is no other means for him to have Lodging, nor Horse Meat, nor Man's Meat, there being no Inns, nor none otherwise to be bought for Money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for Treason, whensoever he shall happen to fall out with his Tenant, or that his said Host list to complain of Grievance; as oftentimes I have seen them very maliciously to do through the least Provocation.

Eudox. I do not well know, but by ghefs, what you do mean by thefe Terms of *Coigny* and *Livery*; therefore I pray you explain them.

Iren. I know not whether the words be *Engliſh* or *Iriſh*, but I ſuppoſe them to be rather ancient *Engliſh*; for the *Iriſh-men* can make no derivation of them. What *Livery* is, we by common Uſe in *England* know well enough; namely, that it is an Allowance of Horſe-Meat, as they commonly uſe the word in *Stabling*, as to keep Horſes at *Livery*; the which word, I ghefs, is derived of *livering* or *delivering* forth their nightly Food. So in great Houſes, the *Livery* is ſaid to be ſerved up for all Night; that is, their Evenings Allowance for Drink. And *Livery* is alſo called the Upper Weed which a Serving-Man weareth; ſo called (as I ſuppoſe) for that it was delivered and taken from him at Pleaſure. So it is apparent, that by the word *Livery* is there meant Horſe-meat; like as by the word *Coigny* is underſtood Man's-Meat: but whence the word is derived, is hard to tell. Some ſay, of *Coin*: for that they uſed commonly in their *Coignies* not only to take Meat, but *Coin* alſo; and that taking of Money was ſpecially meant to be prohibited by that Statute. But I think rather, this word *Coigny* is derived of the *Iriſh*. The which is a common uſe amongſt Landlords of the *Iriſh*, to have a common ſpending upon their Tenants: for all their Tenants, being commonly but Tenants at Will, they uſe to take of them what Victuals they liſt; for of Victuals they were wont to make ſmall Reckoning: neither in this was the Tenant wronged, for it was an ordinary and known Cuſtom, and his Lord uſed commonly ſo to covenant with him; which if at any time the Tenant diſliked, he might freely depart at his Pleaſure. But now by this Statute, the ſaid *Iriſh* Lord is wronged, for that he is cut off from his cuſtomary Services, of the which this was one, beſides many other of the like; as *Cuddy*, *Coſbery*, *Bonnaght*, *Sbrab*, *Sorebin*, and ſuch others; the which (I think) were Cuſtoms at firſt brought in by the *Engliſh* upon the *Iriſh*: for they never wont, and yet are loth to yield any certain

but only spendings: for their common saying is, *Spend me, and defend me.*

Eudox. Surely I take it as you say, that therein the *Irish* Lord hath Wrong, since it was an ancient Custom, and nothing contrary to Law; for to the Willing there is no Wrong done. And this right well I wot, that even here in *England*, there are in many Places as large Customs and Privileges, as that of *Coignie* and *Livery*. But I suppose by your Speech, that it was the first meaning of the Statute, to forbid the violent taking of Victuals upon other Men's Tenants against their Wills, which surely is a great Out-rage; and yet not so great (me seems) as that it should be made Treason: For considering, that the nature of Treason is concerning the Royal Estate or Person of the Prince, or practising with his Enemies, to the Derogation and Danger of his Crown and Dignity, it is hardly wrested to make this Treason. But (as you said) *Better a Mischiefe than an Inconvenience.*

Iren. Another Statute I remember, which having been an ancient *Irish* Custom, is now, upon Advise, made a Law; and that is called the Custom of *Kin-cogish*: which is, That every Head of every Sept, and every Chief of every Kindred or Family, should be answerable, and bound to bring forth every one of that Sept and Kindred under it, at all times to be justified, when he should be required or charged with any Treason, Felony, or other heinous Crime.

Eudox. Why, surely this seems a very necessary Law. For, considering that many of them be such Losels and Scatterlings, as that they cannot easily, by any Sheriff, Constable, Bayliff, or other ordinary Officer, be gotten, when they are challenged for any such Fact; this is a very good means to get them to be brought in by him, that is the Head of that Sept, or Chief of that House: Wherefore I wonder what just Exception you can make against the same.

Iren. Truly, *Eudoxus*, in the Pretence of the good of this Statute, you have nothing erred; for it seemed very expedient and necessary, but the Hurt which cometh thereby is greater than the Good. For whilst every Chief of

a Sept standeth so bound to the Law, for every Man of his Blood or Sept that is under him, he is made great by the commanding of them all: For if he may not command them, then that Law doth wrong, that bindeth him to bring them forth to be justified. And if he may command them, then he may command them as well to Ill as to Good. Hereby the Lords and Captains of Countreys, the Principals and Heads of Septs, are made stronger, whom it should be a most special Care in Policy to weaken, and to set up and strengthen divers of his Underlings against him; which whensoever he shall swerve from Duty, may be able to beard him: For it is dangerous to leave the command of so many, as some Septs are, being five or six thousand Persons, to the Will of one Man; who may lead them to what he will, as he himself shall be inclined.

Eudox. In very deed, *Iren.* it is very dangerous, seeing the Disposition of those People is not always inclinable to the best; and therefore I hold it no wisdom to leave unto them too much command over their Kindred, but rather to withdraw their Followers from them as much as may be, and to gather them under the Command of Law, by some better means than this Custom of *Kin-cogish*; the which word I would be glad to know what it namely signifieth, for the meaning thereof I seem to understand reasonably well.

Iren. It is a word mingled of *English* and *Irish* together, so as I am partly led to think, that the Custom thereof was first *English*, and afterwards made *Irish*; for such another Law they had here in *England*, as I remember, made by King *Alured*, That every Gentleman should bring forth his Kindred and Followers to the Law. So *Kin* is *English*, and *Cogish* Affinity in *Irish*.

Eudox. Sith then we have thus reasonably handled the Inconveniencies in the Law; let us now pass unto the second Part, which was, I remember, of the Abuses of the Customs; in which, me seems, you have a fair Champion laid open unto you, in which you may at large stretch out your Discourse into many sweet Remembrances of Antiquities;

ties ; from whence it seemeth that the Customs of that Nation proceeded.

Iren. Indeed, *Eudox.* you say very true ; for all the Customs of the *Irish*, which I have often noted and compared with that I have read, would minister occasion of a most ample Discourse of the Original of them, and the Antiquity of that People ; which, in truth, I think to be more ancient than most that I know in this end of the World : so as if it were in the handling of some Man of sound Judgment and plentiful Reading, it would be most pleasant and profitable. But, it may be, we may, at some other time of Meeting, take occasion to treat thereof more at large. Here only it shall suffice, to touch such Customs of the *Irish* as seem offensive and repugnant to the good Government of the Realm.

Eudox. Follow then your own Course, for I shall the better content my self to forbear my desire now, in hope that you will, as you say, some other time, more abundantly satisfy it.

Iren. Before we enter into the Treaty of their Customs, it is first needful to consider from whence they first sprung, for from the sundry Manners of the Nations, from whence that People, which now is called *Irish*, were derived, some of the Customs which now remain amongst them, have been first fetch'd, and thence there continued amongst them : for not of one Nation was it peopled, as it is, but of sundry People of different Conditions and Manners. But the chiefest which have first possessed and inhabited it, I suppose to be *Scythians*.

Eudox. How cometh it then to pass, that the *Irish* do derive themselves from *Gathelus* the *Spaniard* ?

Iren. They do indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground : For if there were any such notable Transmission of a Colony hither out of *Spain*, or any such famous Conquest of this Kingdom by *Gathelus*, a *Spaniard*, as they would fain believe ; it is not unlikely but the very Chronicles of *Spain* (had *Spain* then been in so high regard as they now have it) would not have omitted so memorable a thing, as the subduing of so noble a Realm to the *Spaniard*, no more than they do now neglect to memorize

morize 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 *Romans*. But the *Irish* do herein no otherwise, than our vain *English-men* do 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 *Gatbelus* of *Spain*. But surely the *Scythians* (of whom I erst spoke) at such time as the Northern Nations over-flowed all Christendom, came down to the Sea-Coast; where enquiring for other Countries abroad, and getting Intelligence of this Country of *Ireland*, finding Shipping convenient, passed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called *Ulster*; which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the Land, as their Numbers increased, named it all of themselves *Scuttenland*, which more briefly is called *Scutland*, or *Scotland*.

Eudox. I wonder (*Ireneus*) whither you run so far astray; for whilst we talk of *Ireland*, methinks you rip up the Original of *Scotland*; but what is that to this?

Iren. Surely very much, for *Scotland* and *Ireland* are all one and the same.

Eudox. That seemeth more strange; for we all know right well, they are distinguished by a great Sea running between them; or else, there are two *Scotlands*.

Iren. Never the more are there two *Scotlands*; but two kinds of *Scots* were indeed (as you may gather out of *Buchanan*) the one *Iren*, or *Irish Scots*, the other *Albin-Scots*: for those *Scots* are *Scythians*, arrived (as I said) in the North parts of *Ireland*; where some of them after passed into the next Coast of *Albine*, now called *Scotland*, which (after much Trouble) they possessed, and of themselves named *Scotland*: but in process of Time (as it is commonly seen) the Denomination of the Part prevaieth in the Whole; for the *Irish Scots* putting away the name of *Scots*, were called only *Irish*: and the *Albine Scots*, leaving the name of *Albine*, were called only *Scots*. Therefore it cometh thence, that of some Writers *Ireland* is called

Scotia

Scotia Major, and that which now is called *Scotland*, *Scotia Minor*.

Eudox. I do now well understand your distinguishing of the two sorts of *Scots*, and two *Scotlands*; how that this which now is called *Ireland*, was anciently called *Erin*, and afterwards of some written *Scotland*: and that which now is called *Scotland*, was formerly called *Albin*, before the coming of the *Scythes* thither. But what other Nation inhabited the other parts of *Ireland*?

Iren. After this People thus planted in the North, or before, (for the certainty of things in Times so far from all Knowledge, cannot be justly avouched) another Nation coming out of *Spain*, arrived in the West part of *Ireland*; and finding it waste, or weakly inhabited, possessed it: who whether they were native *Spaniards*, or *Gauls*, or *Africans*, or *Goths*, or some other of those Northern Nations which did over-spread all Christendom, it is impossible to affirm; only some naked Conjectures may be gathered: but that out of *Spain* certainly they came, that do all the *Irish* Chronicles agree.

Eudox. You do very boldly, *Iren.* adventure upon the Histories of ancient Times, and lean too confidently on those *Irish* Chronicles which are most fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the Original of such a Nation so antique, as that no Monument remains of her Beginning and first Inhabiting; especially having been in those times without Letters; but only bare Traditions of Times and Remembrances of *Bardes*, which use to forge and falsify every thing as they list, to please or displease any Man.

Iren. Truly I must confess I do so, but yet not so absolutely as you suppose. I do herein rely upon those *Bardes* or *Irish* Chronicles, though the *Irish* themselves, through their Ignorance in matters of Learning and deep Judgment, do most constantly believe and avouch them: but unto them besides I add mine own Reading; and out of them both together, with Comparison of Times, likewise of Manners and Customs, Affinity of Words and Names, Properties of Natures, and Uses, Resemblances of Rites and Ceremonies, Monuments of Churches and Tombs,
and

and many other like Circumstances, I do gather a likelihood of Truth, not certainly affirming any thing, but by conferring of Times, Language, Monuments, and such like, I do hunt out a probability of Things, which I leave to your Judgment to believe or refuse. Nevertheless there be some very ancient Authors that make mention of these things, and some modern; which by comparing them with present Times, Experience, and their own Reason, do open a Window of great Light unto the rest that is yet unseen: as namely, of the elder times, *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Ptolemie*, *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Berosus*; of the later, *Vincentius*, *Æneas Sylvius*, *Luidus*, *Buchanan*; for that he himself being an *Irish*, *Scot*, or *Pict*, by Nation, and being very excellently learned, and industrious to seek out the Truth of all things concerning the Original of his own People, hath both set down the Testimony of the Ancients truly, and his own Opinion together, withal very reasonably, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the *Bardes* and *Irish* Chroniclers themselves, though through desire of pleasing too much, and Ignorances of Arts and purer Learning, they have clouded the Truth of those Lines; yet there appear among them some Reliques of the true Antiquity, though disguised, which a well-eyed Man may happily discover and find out.

Eudox. How can here be any truth in them at all, since the ancient Nations which first inhabited *Ireland*, were altogether destitute of Letters, much more of Learning; by which they might leave the Verity of Things written? And those *Bardes* coming also so many hundred Years after, could not know what was done in former Ages, nor deliver Certainty of any thing, but what they feigned out of their unlearned Heads.

Iren. Those *Bardes* indeed, *Cæsar* writeth, delivered no certain Truth of any thing, neither is there any certain hold to be taken of any Antiquity which is received by Tradition, since all Men be Lyars, and many lye when they will; yet for the Antiquities of the written Chronicles of *Ireland*, give me leave to say something, not to justify them, but to shew that some of them might say truth. For where you say the *Irish* have always been without Let

you are therein much deceived; for it is certain, that *Ireland* hath had the use of Letters very anciently, and long before *England*.

Eudox. Is it possible? How comes it then that they are so unlearned still, being so old Scholars? For Learning (as the Poet saith) *Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros.* Whence then, I pray you, could they have those Letters?

Iren. It is hard to say: for whether they at their first coming into the Land, or afterwards by Trading with other Nations which had Letters, learned them of them, or devised them amongst themselves, is very doubtful; but that they had Letters anciently, is nothing doubtful, for the *Saxons* of *England* are said to have their Letters and Learning, and learned Men from the *Irish*; and that also appeareth by the Likeness of the Character, for the *Saxons* Character is the same with the *Irish*. Now the *Scythians* never, as I can read, of old, had Letters amongst them, therefore it seemeth that they had them from the Nation which came out of *Spain*; for in *Spain* there were (as *Strabo* writeth) Letters anciently used, whether brought unto them by the *Phenicians*, or the *Persians*, which (as it appeareth by him) had some footing there, or from *Marsellis*, which is said to have been inhabited by the *Greeks*, and from them to have had the *Greek* Character: of which *Marsilians* it is said, that the *Gaules* learned them first, and used them only for the furtherance of their Trades and private Business. For the *Gaules* (as is strongly to be proved by many ancient and authentical Writers) did first inhabit all the Sea-Coast of *Spain*, even unto *Cales*, and the Mouth of the *Straights*, and peopled also a great part of *Italy*; which appeareth by sundry Havens and Cities in *Spain* called from them, as *Portugallia*, *Gallecia*, *Galdunum*, and also by sundry Nations therein dwelling, which yet have received their own names of the *Gaules*; as the *Rbegni*, *Presamarci*, *Tamari*, *Cineri*, and divers others. All which *Pomponius Mela*, being himself a *Spaniard*, yet saith to have descended from the *Celts* of *France*; whereby it is to be gathered, that that Nation which came out of *Spain* into *Ireland*, were anciently *Gaules*, and that they brought with them those Letters which

which they had anciently learned in *Spain*, first into *Ireland*; which some also say, do much resemble the old *Phe-
nician* Character, being likewise distinguished with Prick
and Accent, as theirs anciently: but the further Enquiry
hereof needeth a place of longer Discourse than this our
short Conference.

Eudox. Surely you have shewed a great Probability of
that which I had thought impossible to have been proved;
but that which you now say, That *Ireland* should have been
peopled with the *Gaules*, seemeth much more strange; for
all the Chronicles do say, that the West and South was pos-
sessed and inhabited of *Spaniards*: and *Cornelius Tacitus* doth
also strongly affirm the same; all which you must overthrow
and falsify, or else renounce your Opinion.

Iren. Neither so, nor so; for the *Irish* Chronicles (as
I shewed you) being made by unlearned Men, and writ-
ing things according to the appearance of the Truth, which
they conceived, do err in the Circumstances, not in the
Matter. For all that came out of *Spain*, they (being no
diligent Searchers into the Differences of the Nations)
supposed to be *Spaniards*, and so called them; but the
Ground-work thereof is nevertheless true and certain, how-
ever they through Ignorance disguise the same, or through
Vanity, whilst they would not seem to be ignorant, do
thereupon build and enlarge many forged Histories of their
own Antiquity, which they deliver to Fools, and make
them believe for true. As for Example, That first of one
Gathelus the Son of *Cecrops* or *Argos*, who having mar-
ried the King of *Egypt* his Daughter, thence sailed with
her into *Spain*, and there inhabited: Then that of *Ne-
medus* and his Sons, who coming out of *Scythia*, peopled
Ireland, and inhabited it with his Sons 250 Years, until he
was overcome of the Giants dwelling then in *Ireland*,
and at the last quite banished and rooted out. After whom
200 Years, the Sons of one *Dela*, being *Scythians*, ar-
rived there again, and possessed the whole Land; of
which the youngest called *Slanius*, in the end made him-
self *Monarch*. Lastly, of the four Sons of *Milesius* King
of *Spain*, which conquered the Land from the *Scythians*,
and inhabited it with *Spaniards*, and called it of the name
of

of the youngest *Hiberus*, *Hibernia*: All which are in truth Fables, and very *Milesian* Lyes, as the Latin Proverb is; for never was there such a King of *Spain* called *Milesius*, nor any such Colony seated with his Sons, as they feign, that can ever be proved: but yet under these Tales you may in a manner see the Truth lurk. For *Scythians* here inhabiting, they name and put *Spaniards*, whereby appeareth that both these Nations here inhabited; but whether very *Spaniards*, as the *Irish* greatly affect, is no ways to be proved.

Eudox. Whence cometh it then, that the *Irish* do so greatly covet to fetch themselves from the *Spaniards*, since the old *Gaules* are a more ancient and much more honourable Nation?

Iren. Even of a very desire of New-fangleness and Vanity; for they derive themselves from the *Spaniards*, as seeing them to be a very honourable People, and near bordering unto them. But all that is most vain; for from the *Spaniards* that now are, or that People that now inhabit *Spain*, they no ways can prove themselves to descend: neither should it be greatly glorious unto them, for the *Spaniard* that now is, is come from as rude and savage Nations as they; there being, as there may be gathered by Course of Ages, and view of their own History (though they therein labour much to ennoble themselves) scarce any Drop of the old *Spanish* Blood left in them: for all *Spain* was first conquered by the *Romans*, and filled with Colonies from them, which were still increased, and the native *Spaniard* still cut off. Afterwards the *Cartbaginians* in all the long *Punick* Wars (having spoiled all *Spain*, and in the end subdued it wholly unto themselves) did, as it is likely, root out all that were affected to the *Romans*. And lastly, the *Romans* having again recovered that Country, and beat out *Hannibal*, did doubtless cut off all that favoured the *Cartbaginians*; so that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was scarce a Native *Spaniard* left, but all inhabited of *Romans*. All which Tempests of Troubles being over-blown, there long after arose a new Storm, more dreadful than all the former, which over-ran all *Spain*, and made an infinite Confusion of all things; that

That was, the coming down of the *Goths*, the *Hunns*, and the *Vandals*; and lastly, all the Nations of *Scythia*: which like a Mountain Flood, did over-flow all *Spain*, and quite drowned and wash'd away whatsoever Reliques there was left of the Land-bred People, yea, and of all the *Romans* too. The which Northern Nations finding the Nature of the Soil, and the vehement Heat thereof far differing from their Constitutions, took no Felicity in that Country, but from thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all Countries of Christendom; of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprinkling, if not throughly peopling of them. And yet after all these, the *Moors* and the *Barbarians* breaking over out of *Africa*, did finally possess all *Spain*, or the most part thereof, and did tread under their heathenish Feet whatever little they found yet there standing. The which though after they were beaten out by *Ferdinando* of *Arragon* and *Isabella* his Wife, yet they were not so cleansed, but that through the Marriages which they had made, and mixture with the People of the Land, during their long continuance there, they had left no pure Drop of *Spanish* Blood, no more than of *Roman* or *Scythian*. So that of all Nations under Heaven (I suppose) the *Spaniard* is the most mingled and most uncertain. Wherefore most foolishly do the *Irish* think to ennoble themselves, by wresting their Ancientry from the *Spaniard*, who is unable to derive himself from any in certain.

Eudox. You speak very sharply, *Iren.* in dispraise of the *Spaniard*, whom some others boast to be the only brave Nation under the Sky.

Iren. So surely he is a very brave Man, neither is that any thing which I speak to his derogation: for in that I said he is a mingled People, it is no dispraise; for I think there is no Nation now in Christendom, nor much further, but is mingled and compounded with others. For it was a singular Providence of God, and a most admirable purpose of his Wisdom, to draw those Northern Heathen Nations down into those Christian Parts, where they might receive Christianity, and to mingle Nations so remote miraculously, to make, as it were, one Blood

and Kindred of all People, and each to have knowledge of him.

Eudox. Neither have you sure any more dishonoured the *Irish*, for you have brought them from very great and ancient Nations as any were in the World, however fondly they affect the *Spanish*. For both *Scythians* and *Gaules* were two as mighty Nations as ever the World brought forth. But is there any Token, Denomination, or Monument of the *Gaules* yet remaining in *Ireland*, as there is of the *Scythians*?

Iren. Yea surely, very many words of the *Gaules* remaining, and yet daily used in common Speech.

Eudox. What was the the *Gaulish* Speech? Is there any part of it still used among any Nation?

Iren. The *Gaulish* Speech is the very *British*, the which was very generally used here in all *Britain*, before the coming of the *Saxons*; and yet is retained of the *Welshmen*, *Cornishmen*, and the *Britains* of *France*: though Time working the Alteration of all things, and the Trading and Interdeal with other Nations round about, have changed and greatly altered the Dialect thereof; but yet the Original Words appear to be the same, as who hath list to read in *Cambden* and *Buchanan*, may see at large. Besides, there be many Places, as Havens, Hills, Towns, and Castles, which yet bear the Names from the *Gaules*: of the which *Buchanan* rehearseth above five hundred in *Scotland*; and I can (I think) recount near as many in *Ireland*, which retain the old denomination of the *Gaules*; as the *Menapii*, *Cauci*, *Venti*, and others. By all which, and many other reasonable Probabilities (which this short Course will not suffer to be laid forth) it appeareth, that the chief Inhabitants in *Ireland* were *Gaules*; coming thither first out of *Spain*, and after from besides *Tenais*, where the *Gotbes*, the *Hunnes*, and the *Getes* sat down; they also being (as it is said of some) ancient *Gaules*: And, lastly, passing out of *Gallia* it self, from all the Sea-Coast of *Belgia* and *Celtica*, into all the Southern Coasts of *Ireland*, which they possessed and inhabited; whereupon it is at this day, amongst the *Irish*, a common use, to call any
Stranger,

Stranger, Inhabitant there amongst them, *Gald*; that is, descended from the *Gaules*.

Eudox. This is very likely, for even so did those *Gaules* anciently possess all the Southern Coasts of our *Britain*. which yet retain their old Names; as the *Belgæ* in *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and part of *Hampshire*; *Attrebatii* in *Berkshire*; *Regni* in *Suffex* and *Surry*, and many others. Now thus far then I understand your Opinion, that the *Scythians* planted in the North part of *Ireland*, the *Spaniards* (for so we call them, whatever they were that came from *Spain*) in the West, the *Gaules* in the South; so that there now remain the East parts towards *England*, which I would be glad to understand from whence you do think them to be peopled.

Iren. Marry I think of the *Britains* themselves, of which, though there be little footing now remaining, by reason that the *Saxons* afterwards, and lastly the *English*; driving out the Inhabitants thereof, did possess and people it themselves: yet amongst the *Tooles*, the *Birns*, or *Brins*, the *Cavenaghes*, and other Nations in *Leinster*, there is some Memory of the *Britains* remaining. As the *Tooles* are called of the old *British* word *Tol*, that is, a Hill Country; the *Brins* of the *British* word *Brin*, that is, Woods; and the *Cavenaghes* of the word *Caune*, that is, strong: so that in these three People, the very Denomination of the old *Britains* do still remain. Besides, when any flieth under the Succour and Protection of any against an Enemy, he crieth unto him, *Comericke*; that is, in the *British*, Help; for the *Britain* is called in their own Language *Comeroy*. Furthermore to prove the same, *Ireland* is, by *Diodorus Siculus*, and by *Strabo*, called *Britannia*, and a part of *Great Britain*. Finally, it appeareth by good Record yet extant, that King *Arthur*, and before him *Gurgunt*, had all that Island under their Allegiance and Subjection. Hereunto I could add many Probabilities of the names of Places, Persons, and Speeches; as I did in the former; but they should be too long for this, and I reserve them for another. And thus you have had my Opinion, how all that Realm of *Ireland* was peopled, and by what Nations. After all which

Saxons succeeding, subdu'd it wholly to themselves. For first, *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland* did utterly waste and subdue it, as appeareth out of *Beda's* Complaint against him; and after him, King *Edgar* brought it under his Obedience, as appeareth by an ancient Record, in which it is found written, that he subdued all the Islands of the North even unto *Norway*, and brought them into his Subjection.

Eudox. This ripping of Ancestors is very pleasing unto me, and indeed favoureth of good Conceit, and some Reading withal. I see hereby, how profitable Travel and Experience of foreign Nations is, to him that will apply them to good purpose. Neither indeed would I have thought, that any such Antiquities could have been avouch'd for the *Irish*; that maketh me the more to long to see some other of your Observations, which you have gathered out of that Country, and have earst half promised to put forth. And sure in this mingling of Nations appeareth (all you earst well noted) a wonderful Providence and Purpose of Almighty God, that stirred up the People in the further Parts of the World, to seek out the Regions so remote from them; and by that means, both to restore their decayed Habitations, and to make himself known to the Heathen. But was there, I pray you, no more general employing of that Island, than first by the *Scythians*, which you say were the *Scots*, and afterwards by the *Spaniards*; besides the *Gaules*, *Britains*, and *Saxons*?

Iren. Yes, there was another, and that last and greatest, which was by the *English*, when the Earl *Strongbowe* having conquered that Land, delivered up the same into the Hands of *Henry* the Second, then King; who sent over thither a great store of Gentlemen, and other warlike People, amongst whom he distributed the Land, and settled such a strong Colony therein, as never since could, with all the subtil Practices of the *Irish*, be rooted out; but abide still a mighty People, of so many as remain *English* of them.

Eudox. What is this that you say, of so many as remain *English* of them? Why, are not they that were once *English*, *English* still?

Iren.

Iren. No, for some of them are degenerated, and grown mere *Irish*; yea, and more malicious to the *English*, than the *Irish* themselves.

Eudox. What heard I? And is it possible that an *Englishman*, brought up in such sweet Civility as *England* affords, should find such liking in that barbarous Rudeness, that he should forget his own Nature, and forego his own Nation? How may this be? or what (I pray you) may be the Cause thereof?

Iren. Surely nothing, but the first evil Ordinance and Institution of that Commonwealth. But thereof here is no fit place to speak, lest by the Occasion thereof, offering matter of a long Discourse, we might be drawn from this that we have in hand; namely, the handling of Abuses in the Customs of *Ireland*.

Eudox. In truth, *Iren.* you do well remember the Plot of your first purpose; but yet from that (me-seems) ye have much swarved in all this long Discourse of the first inhabiting of *Ireland*: for what is that to your purpose?

Iren. Truly very material; for if you marked the course of all that Speech well, it was to shew by what means the Customs that now are in *Ireland*, being some of them indeed very strange, and almost Heathenish, were first brought in: and that was, as I said, by those Nations from whom that Country was first peopled; for the difference in Manners and Customs doth follow the difference of Nations and People. The which I have declared to you to have been three especially, which seated themselves here: To wit, first, the *Scythian*; then the *Gaules*; and lastly, the *English*. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were sundry Nations which got footing in that Land, of the which there yet remain divers great Families and Steps, of whom I will also in their proper places make mention.

Eudox. You bring your self, *Iren.* very well into the way again, notwithstanding that it seemeth that you were never out of the way; but now that you have passed through those Antiquities, which I could have wished not so soon ended, begin when you please, to declare what Customs and Manners have been derived from those

Nations to the *Irish*, and which of them you find fault withal.

Iren. I will begin then to count their Customs in the same Order that I counted their Nations, and first with the *Scythian* or *Scottish* Manners: Of the which, there is one use amongst them, to keep their Cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the Year in *Boolies*, pasturing upon the Mountain and waste wild Places, and removing still to fresh Land as they have depastured the former. The which appeareth plain to be the Manner of the *Scythians*, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus* and *Job. Boemus*, and yet is used amongst all the *Tartarians*, and the People about the *Caspian Sea*, which are naturally *Scythians*, to live in Heards, as they call them; being the very same that the *Irish Boolies* are, driving their Cattle continually with them, and feeding only on their Milk and White-Meats.

Eudox. What fault can you find with this Custom? for though it be an old *Scythian* use, yet it is very behooveful in this Country of *Ireland*, where there are great Mountains, and waste Desarts full of Grass, that the same should be eaten down, and nourish many thousands of Cattel, for the good of the whole Realm; which cannot (methinks) well be any other way, than by keeping those *Boolies* there, as ye have shewed.

Iren. But by this Custom of *Boolying*, there grow in the mean time many great Enormities unto that Commonwealth. For first, if there be any Out-laws, or loose People, (as they are never without some) which live upon Stealths and Spoils, they are evermore succoured and find Relief only in these *Boolies*, being upon the waste Places; whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come down to the Towns to seek Relief, where by one means or other they should soon be caught. Besides, such Stealths of Cattle as they make, they bring commonly to those *Boolies*, being upon those waste Places, where they are readily received, and the Thief harboured from Danger of Law, or such Officers as might light upon him. Moreover, the People that thus live in those *Boolies*, grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiously than
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they could in Towns, using what Manners they list, and practising what Mischiefs and Villanies they will, either against the Government there by their Combinations, or against private Men, whom they malign, by stealing their Goods, or murdering themselves: For there they think themselves half exempted from Law and Obedience, and having once tasted Freedom, do, like a Steer that hath been long out of his Yoke, grudge and repine ever after, to come under Rule again.

Eudox. By your Speech, *Iren.* I perceive more Evil comes by this use of *Booies*, than Good by their grasing; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that must be in his due Course. Do you proceed to the next.

Iren. They have another Custom from the *Scythians*, that is, the wearing of *Mantles* and long *Glibbs*, which is a thick curled Bush of Hair hanging down over their Eyes, and monstrously disguising them; which are both very bad and hurtful.

Eudox. Do you think that the *Mantle* cometh from the *Scythians*? I would surely think otherwise; for by that which I have read, it appeareth, that most Nations of the World anciently used the *Mantle*: For the *Jews* used it, as you may read of *Elias's Mantle*, &c. the *Chaldees* also used it, as ye may read in *Diodorus*; the *Egyptians* likewise used it, as ye may read in *Herodotus*, and may be gathered by the Description of *Berenice*, in the *Greek Commentary upon Callimachus*: The *Greeks* also used it anciently, as appeareth by *Venus's Mantle* lined with Stars, tho' afterwards they changed the Form thereof into their Cloaks, called *Pallia*, as some of the *Irish* also use: And the ancient *Latines* and *Romans* used it, as you may read in *Virgil*, who was a very great Antiquary, That *Evander*, when *Æneas* came to him at his Feast, did entertain and feast him, sitting on the Ground, and lying on *Mantles*; insomuch as he useth the very word *Mantile* for a *Mantle*.

— *Humi mantilia sternunt.*

So that it seemeth, that the *Mantle* was a general Habit most Nations, and not proper to the *Scythians* only. suppose.

Iren. I cannot deny, but that anciently it was common to most; and yet since thence difused and laid away. But in this latter Age of the World, since the Decay of the *Roman Empire*, it was renewed and brought in again by those northern Nations, when breaking out of their cold Caves and frozen Habitations, into the sweet Soil of *Europe*, they brought with them their usual Weeds, fit to shield the Cold, and that continual Frost to which they had at home been inured: the which yet they left not off, by reason that they were in perpetual Wars with the Nations whom they had invaded, but still removing from Place to Place, carried always with them that Weed, as their House, their Bed, and their Garment: and coming lastly into *Ireland*, they found there more special use thereof, by reason of the raw cold Climate, from whom it is now grown into that general Use in which that People now have it. After whom the *Gaules* succeeding, yet finding the like Necessity of that Garment, continued the like Use thereof.

Eudox. Since then the Necessity thereof is so commodious, as you alledge, that it is instead of Housing, Bedding, and Cloathing; what reason have you then to wish so necessary a thing cast off?

Iren. Because the Commodity doth not countervail the Discommodity; for the Inconveniencies which thereby do arise, are much more many: for it is a fit House for an Out-law, a meet Bed for a Rebel, and an apt Cloke for a Thief. First, the Out-law, being for his many Crimes and Villanies banished from the Towns and Houses of honest Men, and wandring in waste Places, far from Danger of Law, maketh his Mantle his House, and under it covereth himself from the Wrath of Heaven, from the Offence of the Earth, and from the Sight of Men. When it raineth, it is his Pent-house; when it bloweth, it is his Tent; when it freezeth, it is his Tabernacle. In Summer, he can wear it loose; in Winter he can wrap it close; at all times, he can use it; never heavy, never cumbersome. Likewise for a Rebel it is as serviceable: for in this War that he maketh (if at least it deserve the Name of War) when he still flieth from his Foe, and lurketh in the thick Woods, and strait Passages, waiting for Advantages;

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it is his Bed; yea, and almost his Household-stuff. For the Wood is his House against all Weathers, and his Mantle is his Couch to sleep in: therein he wrappeth himself round, and coucheth himself strongly against the Gnats, which, in that Countrey, do more annoy the naked Rebels, whilst they keep the Woods, and do more sharply wound them, than all their Enemies Swords or Spears, which can seldom come nigh them. Yea, and oftentimes their Mantle serveth them, when they are near driven, being wrapped about their left Arm, instead of a Target; for it is hard to cut through with a Sword; besides, it is light to bear, light to throw away, and being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly, for a Thief, it is so handsom, as it may seem it was first invented for him: for under it he may cleanly convey any fit Pillage that cometh handsomely in his way; and when he goeth abroad in the Night in Free-booting, it is his best and surest Friend; for lying, as they often do, two or three Nights together abroad, to watch for their Booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a Bush or a Bank-side, till they can conveniently do their Errand: and when all is over, he can, in his Mantle, pass through any Town or Company, being close hooded over his Head, as he useth, from Knowledge of any to whom he is endangered. Besides this, he, or any Man else, that is disposed to Mischief or Villany, may, under his Mantle, go privily armed, without Suspicion of any, carry his Head-piece, his Skean, or Pistol if he please, to be always in readiness. Thus necessary and fitting is a Mantle for a bad Man, and surely for a bad Housewife it is no less convenient; for some of them that be wandring Women, called of them *Mona-Shull*, it is half a Wardrobe; for in Summer you shall find her arrayed commonly, but in her Smock and Mantle, to be more ready for her light Services: in Winter, and in her Travail, it is her Cloke and Safeguard, and also a Coverlet for her lewd Exercise: and when she hath filled her Vessel, under it she can hide both her Burden, and her Blame; yea, and when her Bastard is born, it serves instead of swaddling Clouts. And as for all other good Women which love to do but little Work, how handsome it is to lie in and sleep,

or

or to louse themselves in the Sun-shine, they that have been but a while in *Ireland* can well witness. Sure I am that you will think it very unfit for a good Huswife to stir in, or to busie her self about her Huswifery in such sort as she should. These be some of the Abuses for which I would think it meet to forbid all Mantles.

Eudox. O evil-minded Man, that having reckoned up so many Uses of a Mantle, will yet wish it to be abandoned! Sure I think *Diogenes's* Dish did never serve his Master for more Turns, notwithstanding that he made it his Dish, his Cup, his Cap, his Measure, his Water-pot; than a Mantle doth an *Irish* Man. But I see they be most to bad Intent, and therefore I will join with you in abolishing it. But what Blame lay you to the Glibb? take heed (I pray you) that you be not too busie therewith, for fear of your own Blame; seeing our *Englishmen* take it up in such a general Fashion to wear their Hair so immeasurably long, that some of them exceed the longest *Irish* Glibbs.

Iren. I fear not the Blame of any undeserved Dislikes: but for the *Irish* Glibbs, they are as fit Masks as a Mantle is for a Thief. For whensoever he hath run himself into that Peril of Law, that he will not be known, he either cutteth off his Glibb quite, by which he becometh nothing like himself; or pulleth it so low down over his Eyes, that it is very hard to discern his thievish Countenance, and therefore fit to be trussed up with the Mantle.

Eudox. Truly these three *Scythian* Abuses, I hold most fit to be taken away with sharp Penalties: and sure I wonder how they have been kept thus long, notwithstanding so many good Provisions and Orders, as have been devised for that People.

Iren. The Cause thereof shall appear to you hereafter; but let us now go forward with our *Scythian* Customs. Of which the next that I have to treat of, is the Manner of raising the Cry in their Conflicts, and at other troublesome Times of Uproar: the which is very natural *Scythian*, as you may read in *Diodorus Siculus*, and in *Herodotus*, describing the Manner of the *Scythians* and *Partians* coming to give the Charge at Battles; at which it is said, that they came
running

running with a terrible Yell, as if Heaven and Earth would have gone together; which is the very Image of the *Irish Hubub*, which their *Kern* use at their first Encounter. Besides, the same *Herodotus* writeth, that they used in their Battles to call upon the Names of their Captains or Generals, and sometimes upon their greatest Kings deceased, as in that Battle of *Thomyris* against *Cyrus*: which Custom to this day manifestly appeareth amongst the *Irish*. For at their joyning of Battle, they likewise call upon their Captain's Name, or the Word of his Ancestors. As they under *Oneal* cry *Laundarg-abo*, that is, the bloody Hand, which is *Oneal's* Badge. They under *O-Brien* call *Laun-laidir*, that is, the strong Hand. And to their ensample, the old *English* also, which there remaineth, have gotten up their Cryes *Scythian-like*, as *Crom-abo*, and *Butler-abo*. And here also lyeth open another manifest Proof, that the *Irish* be *Scythes* or *Scots*, for in all their Incounters they use one very common Word, crying *Ferragh*, *Ferragh*; which is a *Scottish* Word, to wit the Name of one of the first Kings of *Scotland*, called *Feragus*, or *Fergus*, which fought against the *Picks*, as you may read in *Buchanan, de rebus Scoticis*: but as others write, it was long before that, the Name of their chief Captain, under whom they fought against the *Africans*; the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his Name in their Battles.

Eudox. Believe me, this Observation of yours, *Ireneus*, is very good and delightful; far beyond the blind Concept of some, who (I remember) have upon the same Word *Ferragh*, made a very blunt Conjecture: as namely Mr. *Staniburst*, who though he be the same Countreyman born, that should search more nearly into the secret of these things; yet hath strayed from the Truth all the Heavens wide, (as they say) for he thereupon grounded a very gross imagination, that the *Irish* should descend from the *Egyptians* which came into that Island, first under the leading of one *Scota* the Daughter of *Pharaob*; whereupon they use (saith he) in all their Battles, to call upon the Name of *Pharaob*, crying *Ferragh*, *Ferragh*. Surely he shoots wide on the Bow-Hand, and very far from the Mark. For

I would first know of him, what ancient Ground of Authority he hath for such a senseless Fable, and if he have any of the rude *Irish* Books, as it may be he hath, yet (me seems) that a Man of his Learning should not so lightly have been carried away with old Wives Tales, from Approvance of his own Reason; for whether it be a Smack of any learned Judgment, to say, that *Scota* is like an *Egyptian* Word, let the Learned judge. But his *Scota* rather comes of the *Greek* σκοτος, that is, Darkness, which hath not let him see the Light of the Truth.

Iren. You know not, *Eudoxus*, how well *M. Stan.* could see in the dark, perhaps he hath Owls or Cats Eyes: but well I wot he seeth not well the very Light in Matters of more Weight. But as for *Ferragb*, I have told my Conjecture only: and yet thus much I have more to prove a Likelihood, that there be yet at this day in *Ireland* many *Irishmen* (chiefly in the Northern Parts) called by the Name of *Ferragb*. But let that now be: this only for this Place sufficeth, that it is a Word used in their common Hububs, the which (with all the rest) is to be abolished, for that it discovereth an Affectation to *Irish* Captainry, which in this Platform I endeavour specially to beat down. There be other sorts of Cryes also used amongst the *Irish*, which savour greatly of the *Scythian* Barbarism; as their Lamentations at their Burials, with despairful Outcryes, and immoderate Wailings, the which *M. Staniburst* might also have used for an Argument to prove them *Egyptians*: For so in Scripture it is mentioned, that the *Egyptians* lamented for the Death of *Joseph*. Others think this Custom to come from the *Spaniards*, for that they do immeasurably likewise bewail their Dead. But the same is not proper *Spanish*, but altogether Heathenish, brought in thither first either by the *Scythians*, or the *Moors* that were *Africans*, and long possessed that Countrey. For it is the Manner of all *Pagans* and *Infidels* to be intemperate in their Wailings of their Dead, for that they had no Faith nor Hope of Salvation. And this ill Custom also is specially noted by *Diodorus Siculus*, to have been in the *Scythians*, and is yet amongst the Northern *Scots* at this as you may read in their Chronicles.

Eudox.

Eudox. This is sure an ill Custom also, but yet doth not so much concern civil Reformation, as Abuse in Religion.

Iren. I did not rehearse it at one of the Abuses which I thought most worthy of Reformation; but having made mention of *Irish* Cryes, I thought this Manner of lewd crying and howling, not impertinent to be noted, as uncivil and *Scythian*-like: for by these old Customs, and other like conjectural Circumstances, the Descents of Nations can only be proved, where other Monuments of Writings are not remaining.

Eudox. Then (I pray you) whensoever in your Discourse you meet with them by the way, do not shun, but boldly touch them: for besides their great Pleasure and Delight for their Antiquity, they bring also great Profit and Help unto Civility.

Iren. Then sith you will have it so, I will here take Occasion, since I lately spake of their Manner of Cryes in joyning of Battle, to speak also somewhat of the Manner of their Arms, and Array in Battle, with other Customs perhaps worthy the noting. And first of their Arms and Weapons, amongst which their broad Swords are proper *Scythian*; for such the *Scyths* used commonly, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus*, and the same also the old *Scots* used, as you may read in *Buchanan*, and in *Solinus*, where the Pictures of them are in the same form expressed. Also their short Bows, and little Quivers, with short bearded Arrows; are very *Scythian*, as you may read in the same *Olaus*. And the same sort both of Bows, Quivers, and Arrows, are at this day to be seen commonly amongst the Northern *Irish-Scots*, whose *Scottish* Bows are not past three quarters of a Yard long, with a String of wreathed Hemp slackly bent, and whose Arrows are not much above half an Ell long, tipped with steel Heads, made like common broad Arrow Heads, but much more sharp and slender; that they enter into a Man or Horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth with great Force. Moreover, their long broad Shields, made up with Rods, which are commonly used amongst the *Irish*, but especially of the *Scots*, are brought

Scythians, as you may read in *Olaus Magnus*, *Solinus*, and others: likewise their going to battle without Armour on their Bodies or Heads, but trusting to the Thickness of their Glibs, the which (they say) will sometimes bear off a good stroke, is meer *Scythian*, as you may see in the said Images of the old *Scythes* or *Scots*, set forth by *Horodrianus* and others. Besides, their confused kind of March in Heaps, without any Order or Array, their clashing of Swords together, their fierce running upon their Enemies, and their manner of Fight, resembleth altogether that which is read in Histories to have been used of the *Scythians*. By which it may almost infallibly be gathered together, with other Circumstances, that the *Irisb* are very *Scots* or *Scythes* originally, though since intermingled with many other Nations repairing and joyning unto them. And to these I may also add another strong Conjecture which cometh to my Mind, that I have often observed there amongst them; that is, certain religious Ceremonies, which are very superstitiously yet used amongst them, the which are also written by fundry Authors to have been observed amongst the *Scythians*, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the Nations were anciently all one. For *Plutarch* (as I remember) in his Treatise of *Homer*, endeavouring to search out the Truth, what Countreyman *Homer* was, proveth it most strongly (as he thinketh) that he was an *Æolian* born, for that in describing a Sacrifice of the *Greeks*, he omitted the Loyn, the which all the other *Grecians* (saving the *Æolians*) use to burn in their Sacrifices: also for that he makes the Intrails to be roasted on five Spits, which was the proper manner of the *Æolians*, who only, of all the Nations of *Grecia*, used to sacrifice in that sort. By which he inferreth necessarily, that *Homer* was an *Æolian*. And by the same Reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the *Irisb* are descended from the *Scythians*; for that they use (even to this day) some of the same Ceremonies which the *Scythians* anciently used. As for example, you may read in *Lucian*, in that sweet Dialogue, which is intitled *Toxaris*, or of Friendship, that the common Oath of the *Scythians* was by

by the Sword, and by the Fire; for that they accounted those two special Divine Powers, which should work Vengeance on the Perjurers. So do the *Irish* at this Day, when they go to Battle, say certain Prayers or Charms to their Swords, making a Cross therewith upon the Earth, and thrusting the Points of their Blades into the Ground, thinking thereby to have the better Success in Fight. Also they use commonly to swear by their Swords. Also the *Scythians* used, when they would bind any solemn Vow or Combination amongst them, to drink a Bowl of Blood together, vowing thereby to spend their last Blood in that Quarrel: and even so do the wild *Scots*, as you may read in *Bucbanan*; and some of the Northern *Irish*. Likewise at the kindling of the Fire, and lighting of Candles, they say certain Prayers, and use some other superstitious Rites, which shew that they honour the Fire and the Light: for all those Northern Nations having been used to be annoyed with much Cold and Darkness, are wont therefore to have the Fire and the Sun in great Veneration: like as contrariwise the *Moors* and *Egyptians*, which are much offended and grieved with extream Heat of the Sun, do every Morning when the Sun ariseth, fall to cursing and banning of him as their Plague. You may also read in the same Book, in the Tale of *Arsacomas*, that it was the manner of the *Scythians*, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any Forces of People to join with him in his Revenge, to sit in some publick Place for certain Days upon an Ox-hide, to which there would resort all such Persons as, being disposed to take Arms, would enter into his Pay, or join with him in his Quarrel. And the same you may likewise read to have been the ancient Manner of the wild *Scots*, which are indeed the very natural *Irish*. Moreover the *Scythians* used to swear by their King's Hand, as *Olaus* sheweth. And so do the *Irish* use now to swear by their Lord's Hand; and to forswear it, hold it more criminal than to swear by God. Also the *Scythians* said, That they were once a Year turned into Wolves, and so is it written of the *Irish*: though Master *Camden* in a better sense doth suppose it was a Dis-

case, called *Lycanthropia*, so named of the Wolf. And yet some of the *Irish* do use to make the Wolf their God-fip. The *Scythians* used also to seeth the Flesh in the Hide; and so do the Northern *Irish*. The *Scythians* used to draw the Blood of the Beast living, and to make Meat thereof: and so do the *Irish* in the North still. Many such Customs I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of Marrying, of Burying, of Dancing, of Singing, of Feasting, of Cursing, though Christians have wiped out the most part of them: by Resemblance whereof it might plainly appear to you, that the Nations are the same, but that by the reckoning of these few, which I have told unto you, I find my Speech drawn out to a greater Length than I purposed. Thus much only for this time, I hope, shall suffice you, to think that the *Irish* are anciently deduced from the *Scythians*.

Eudox. Surely, *Iren.* I have heard, in these few Words, that from you which I would have thought had been impossible to have been spoken of Times so remote, and Customs so ancient: with Delight whereof I was all that while as it were intranced, and carried so far from my self, as that I am now right sorry that you ended so soon. But I marvail much how it cometh to pass, that in so long continuance of time, and so many Ages come between, yet any Jot of those old Rites and superstitious Customs should remain amongst them.

Iren. It is no Cause of Wonder at all, for it is the Manner of many Nations to be very superstitious, and diligent Observers of old Customs and Antiquities, which they receive by continual Tradition from their Parents, by recording of their Bards and Chronicles, in their Songs, and by daily use and ensample of their Elders.

Eudox. But have you (I pray you) observed any such Customs amongst them, brought likewise from the *Spaniards* or *Gaules*, as these from the *Scythians*? that may sure be very material to your first Purpose.

Iren. Some perhaps I have, and who that will by this Occasion more diligently mark and compare their Customs, shall find many more. But there are fewer remaining of
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The *Gaules* or *Spaniards*, than of the *Scythians*, by reason that the Parts which they then possessed, lying upon the Coast of the Western and Southern Sea, were thence visited with Strangers and foreign People, repairing thither for Traffick, and for Fishing, which is very plentiful upon those Coasts: for the Trade and Interdeal of Sea-coast Nations one with another, worketh more Civility and good Fashions, (all Seamen being naturally desirous of new Fashions) than amongst the Inland Folk, which are seldom seen of Forreigners; yet some of such as I have noted, I will recount unto you. And first I will for the better Credit of the rest, shew you one out of their Statutes, among which it is enacted, that no Man shall wear his Beard, only on the upper Lip, shaving all his Chin. And this was the ancient Manner of the *Spaniards*, as yet it is of all the *Mabometans* to cut off all their Beards close, save only their *Muschachies* which they wear long. And the cause of this Use was, for that they being bred in a hot Country, found much Hair on their Faces and other Parts, to be noyous unto them; for which Cause they did cut it most away: like as contrarily all other Nations brought up in cold Countreys, do use to nourish their Hair, to keep them the warmer; which was the Cause that the *Scythians* and *Scots* wore Glibbs (as I shewed you) to keep their Heads warm, and long Beards to defend their Faces from Cold. From them also (I think) came saffron Shirts and Smocks, which were devised by them in those hot Countreys, where Saffron is very common and rife, for avoiding that Evil which cometh by much sweating, and long wearing of Linen: also the Women amongst the old *Spaniards* had the Charge of all Household Affairs, both at home and abroad, (as *Boemus* writeth) though now the *Spaniards* use it quite otherwise. And so have the *Irish* Women the Trust and Care of all things, both at Home, and in the Field. Likewise round Leather Targets in the *Spanish* Fashion, who used it (for the most part) painted, which in *Ireland* they use also in many Places, coloured after their rude Fashion. Moreover the Manner of their Womens riding on the wrong side of the Horse, I

mean with their Faces toward the right side, as the *Irish* use, is (as they say) old *Spanish*, and some say *African*, for amongst them the Women (they say) use so to ride. Also the deep Smock Sleive, which the *Irish* Women use, they say was old *Spanish*, and is used yet in *Barbary*: and yet that should seem rather to be an old *English* Fashion; for in Armory the Fashion of the *Manche*, which is given in Arms, by many, being indeed nothing else but a Sleive, is fashioned much like to that Sleive. And that Knights in ancient times used to wear their Mistresses or Love's Sleive upon their Arms; as appeareth by that which is written of Sir *Launcelot*, That he wore the Sleive of the fair Maid of *Asteloth* in a Tourney, whereat Queen *Guenever* was much displeas'd.

Eudox. Your Concept is good, and well fitting for things so far grown from certainty of Knowledge and Learning, only upon Likelyhoods and Conjectures. But have you any Customs remaining from the *Gaules* or *Britains*?

Iren. I have observed a few of either; and who will better search into them, may find more: And first, the Profession of their *Bardes* was (as *Cæsar* writeth) usual amongst the *Gaules*, and the same was also common amongst the *Britains*, and is not yet altogether left off with the *Welsh*, which are their Posterity. For all the Fashions of the *Gaules* and *Britains*, as he testifieth, were much like. The long Darts came also from the *Gaules*, as you may read in the same *Cæsar*, and in *Jo. Boemus*. Likewise the said *Jo. Boemus* writeth, that the *Gaules* used Swords a handful broad, and so do the *Irish* now. Also they used long wicker Shields in Battail, that should cover their whole Bodies, and so do the Northern *Irish*. But I have not seen such fashioned Targets used in the Southern parts, but only amongst the Northern People, and *Irish Scots*: I do think that they were brought in rather by the *Scythians* than by the *Gaules*. Also the *Gaules* used to drink their Enemies Blood, and paint themselves therewith. So also they write, that the old *Irish* were wont, and so have I seen some of the *Irish* do, but not their Enemies,
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but Friends Blood : as namely, at the Execution of a notable Traitor at *Limmerick*, called *Murrogb O-Brien*, I saw an old Woman, which was his Foster-Mother, take up his Head, whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the Blood that run thereout, saying, That the Earth was not worthy to drink it ; and therewith also steeped her Face and Breast, and tore her Hair, crying out and shrieking most terribly.

Eudox. You have very well run through such Customs as the *Irish* have derived from the first old Nations which inhabited the Land ; namely, the *Scythians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Gaules*, and the *Britains*. It now remaineth that you take in hand the Customs of the old *English* which are amongst the *Irish* ; of which I do not think that you shall have much Cause to find fault with, considering that by the *English* most of the old bad *Irish* Customs were abolished, and more civil Fashions brought in their stead.

Iren. You think otherwise, *Eudox.* than I do ; for the chiefest Abuses which are now in that Realm, are grown from the *English*, and some of them are now much more lawless and licentious than the very wild *Irish* : so that as much care as was by them had to reform the *Irish*, so and much more must now be used to reform them ; so much Time doth alter the Manners of Men.

Eudox. That seemeth very strange which you say, that Men should so much degenerate from their first Natures, as to grow wild.

Iren. So much can Liberty and ill Examples do.

Eudox. What Liberty had the *English* there, more than they had here at home ? Were not the Laws planted amongst them at the first, and had they not Governours to curb and keep them still in Awe and Obedience ?

Iren. They had, but it was for the most part such as did more hurt than good ; for they had Governours for the most part of themselves, and commonly out of the two Families of the *Geraldines* and *Butlers*, both Adversaries and Corrivals one against the other : who though for the most part they were but Deputies under some of the Kings of *England's* Sons, Brethren, or other near Kinsmen,
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who were the Kings's Lieutenants; yet they swayed so much, as they had all the Rule, and the others but the Title. Of which *Butlers* and *Geraldines*, albeit (I must confess) they were very brave and worthy Men, as also of others the Peers of that Realm, made Lord Deputies, and Lord Justices at sundry times; yet through Greatness of their late Conquests and Seigniories, they grew insolent, and bent both the Regal Authority, and also their private Powers one against another, to the utter Subversion of themselves, and strengthning of the *Irish* again. This you may read plainly discovered by a Letter written from the Citizens of *Cork* out of *Ireland*, to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* then in *England*, and remaining yet upon Record, both in the Tower of *London*, and also among the Chronicles of *Ireland*; wherein it is by them complained, that the *English* Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great Possessions in *Ireland*, began, through Pride and Insolency, to make private Wars one against another: and when either part was weak, they would wage and draw in the *Irish* to take their part; by which means they both greatly encouraged and enabled the *Irish*, which till that time had been shut up within the Mountains of *Slewlogher*, and weakened and disabled themselves: insomuch, that their Revenues were wonderfully impaired, and some of them which are there reckoned to have been able to have spent 12 or 1300 Pounds *per Annum*, of old Rent, (that I may say no more) besides their Commodities of Creeks and Havens, were now scarce able to dispend the third part. From which Disorder, and through other huge Calamities which have come upon them thereby, they are almost now grown like the *Irish*; I mean of such *English* as were planted above towards the West; for the *English Pale* hath preserved it self through nearness of the State, in reasonable Civility; but the rest which dwelt in *Connaught* and in *Mounster*, which is the sweetest Soil of *Ireland*, and some in *Leinster* and *Ulster*, are degenerate; yea, and some of them have quite shaken off their *English* Names, and put on *Irish*, that they might be alto-

Irish.

Eudox,

Eudox. Is it possible that any should so far grow out of Frame, that they should, in so short space, quite forget their Country and their own Name? That is a most dangerous Lethargy, much worse than that of *Messala Corvinus*, who being a most learned Man, through Sickness forgot his own Name. But can you count us any of this kind?

Iren. I cannot, but by the Report of the *Irish* themselves, who report, that the *Mac-mabons* in the North were anciently *English*; to wit, descended from the *Fitz-Ursula's*, which was a Noble Family in *England*; and that the same appeareth by the signification of their *Irish* names. Likewise that the *Mac-swynes*, now in *Ulster*, were anciently of the *Veres* in *England*; but that they themselves for hatred of the *English*, so disguised their Names.

Eudox. Could they ever conceive any such dislike of their own natural Countries, as that they would be ashamed of their Name, and bite at the Dug from which they sucked Life?

Iren. I wot well there should be none; but proud Hearts do oftentimes (like wanton Colts) kick at their Mothers: as we read *Alcibiades* and *Themistocles* did, who being banished out of *Athens*, fled unto the Kings of *Asia*, and there stirred them up to War against their Country, in which Wars they themselves were Chieftains. So they say did these *Mac-swynes* and *Mac-mabons*, or rather *Veres* and *Fitz-Ursula's*, for private Despight, turn themselves against *England*. For at such time as *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford* was in the Barons Wars against King *Richard* the Second, through the Malice of the Peers, banished the Realm, and proscribed, he with his Kinsman *Fitz-Ursula* fled into *Ireland*; where being prosecuted, and afterwards in *England* put to death, his Kinsman there remaining behind in *Ireland* rebelled, and conspiring with the *Irish*, did quite cast off both their *English* Name and Allegiance: since which time they have so remained still, and have since been counted meer *Irish*. The very like is also reported of the *Mack-swynes*, *Mac-mabones*, and *Mac-shebies* of *Mounster*, how they likewise
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were anciently *English*, and old Followers to the Earl of *Desmond*, untill the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth : at which time the Earl of *Desmond* that then was, called *Thomas*, being through false Subornation (as they say) of the Queen, for some Offence by her against him conceived, brought to his death at *Tredagh* most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound Subject to the King ; thereupon all his Kinsmen of the *Geraldines*, which then was a mighty Family in *Mounster*, in Revenge of that huge Wrong, rose into Arms against the King, and utterly renounced and forsook all Obedience to the Crown of *England* ; to whom the said *Mac-swynes*, *Mac-shebies*, and *Mac-mabones*, being then Servants and Followers, did the like, and have ever since so continued. And with them (they say) all the People of *Mounster* went out, and many other of them which were mere *English*, thenceforth joined with the *Irish* against the King, and termed themselves very *Irish*, taking on them *Irish* Habits and Customs, which could never since be clean wiped away ; but the Contagion hath remained still amongst their Posterities. Of which sort (they say) be most of their Surnames which end in *an*, as *Hernan*, *Sbinan*, *Mungan*, &c. the which now account themselves natural *Irish*. Other great Houses there be of the *English* in *Ireland*, which through licentious conversing with the *Irish*, or marrying, or fostering with them, or lack of meet Nurture, or other such unhappy Occasions, have degenerated from their ancient Dignities, and are now grown as *Irish* as *O-Hanlon's Breech*, as the Proverb there is.

Eudox. In truth this which you tell is a most shameful hearing, and to be reformed with most sharp Censures in so great Personages, to the terror of the meaner : for if the Lords and chief Men degenerate, what shall be hoped of the Peasants and baser People ? And hereby sure you have made a fair way unto your self, to lay open the Abuses of their evil Customs, which you have now next to declare ; the which, no doubt, but are very bad, being borrowed from the *Irish*, as their Apparel, their Language, Riding, and many other the like.

Iren.

Iren. You cannot but hold them sure to be very uncivil; for were they at the best that they were of old, when they were brought in, they should in so long an Alteration of Time seem very uncouth and strange. For it is to be thought, that the use of all *England* was (in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, when *Ireland* was planted with *English*) very rude and barbarous; so as if the same should be now used in *England* by any, it would seem worthy of sharp Correction, and of new Laws for Reformation: for it is but even the other Day since *England* grew civil. Therefore in counting the evil Customs of the *English* there, I will not have regard, whether the beginning thereof were *English* or *Irish*, but will have respect only to the Inconvenience thereof. And first I have to find fault with the Abuse of Language; that is, for the speaking of *Irish* among the *English*, which as it is unnatural that any People should love another's Language more than their own, so it is very inconvenient, and the Cause of many other Evils.

Eudox. It seemeth strange to me, that the *English* should take more delight to speak that Language than their own; whereas they should (methinks) rather take Scorn to inure their Tongues thereto. For it hath ever been the use of the *Conqueror*, to despise the Language of the *Conquered*, and to force him by all means to learn his: So did the *Romans* always use, insomuch that there is almost no Nation in the World, but is sprinkled with their Language. It were good therefore (me-seems) to search out the original Cause of this Evil; for the same being discovered, a Redress thereof will the more easily be provided: For I think it very strange, that the *English* being so many, and the *Irish* so few as they then were left, the fewer should draw the more unto their use.

Iren. I suppose that the chief Cause of bringing in the *Irish* Language amongst them, was specially their fostering and marrying with the *Irish*, the which are two most dangerous Infections: For first, the Child that sucketh the Milk of the Nurse, must of necessity learn his first Speech of her; the which being the first inured to his
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Tongue, is ever after most pleasing unto him : inſomuch, as though he afterwards be taught *English*, yet the ſmack of the firſt will always abide with him ; and not only of the Speech, but alſo of the Manners and Conditions. For beſides that young Children be like Apes, which will affect and imitate what they ſee done before them, eſpecially by their Nurſes, whom they love ſo well ; they moreover draw into themſelves, together with their Suck, even the Nature and Diſpoſition of their Nurſes : for the Mind followeth much the Temperature of the Body, and alſo the Words are the Image of the Mind ; ſo as they proceeding from the Mind, the Mind muſt needs be affected with the Words : ſo that the Speech being *Iriſh*, the Heart muſt needs be *Iriſh* ; for out of the Abundance of the Heart, the Tongue ſpeaketh. The next is, the marrying with the *Iriſh*, which how dangerous a thing it is in all Commonwealths, appeareth to every ſimpleſt Senſe ; and though ſome Great Ones have perhaps uſed ſuch Matches with their Vaſſals, and have of them nevertheleſs raiſed worthy Iſſue, as *Telamon* did with *Tecmeſſa*, *Alexander* the Great with *Roxana*, and *Julius Cæſar* with *Cleopatra* ; yet the Example is ſo perillous, as it is not to be adventured : for inſtead of thoſe few Good, I could count unto them infinite many Evil. And indeed how can ſuch Matching ſucceed well, ſeeing that commonly the Child taketh moſt of his Nature of the Mother, beſides Speech, Manners, and Inclination, which are (for the moſt part) agreeable to the Conditions of their Mothers ? for by them they are firſt framed and faſhioned, ſo as what they receive once from them, they will hardly ever after forgo. Therefore are theſe evil Cuſtoms of foſtering and marrying with *Iriſh*, moſt carefully to be reſtrained : for of them two, the third Evil, that is, the Cuſtom of Language, (which I ſpake of) chiefly proceedeth.

Eudox. But are there not Laws already provided for avoiding of this Evil ?

Iren. Yes, I think there be ; but as good never a whit as never the better : for what do Statutes avail without Penalties, or Laws without Charge of Execution ? For ſo
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there is another like Law enacted against wearing of the *Irish* Apparel, but nevertheless is it observed by any, or executed by them that have the Charge; for they in their private Discretions think it not fit to be forced upon the poor Wretches of that Country, which are not worth the Price of *English* Apparel, nor expedient to be practised against the abler sort, by reason that the Country (say they) doth yield no better; and were there better to be had, yet these were fitter to be used: as namely, the Mantle in travelling; because there be no Inns where meet Bedding may be had, so that his Mantle serves him then for a Bed. The Leather quilted Jack in journeying and in camping, for that it is fittest to be under his Shirt of Mayl, and for any occasion of sudden Service, as there happen many, to cover his Trousers on Horse-back. The great Linen Roll, which the Women wear to keep their Heads warm, after cutting their Hair, which they use in any Sickness. Besides their thick-folded Linen Shirts, their long-sleev'd Smocks, their half-sleev'd Coats, their silken Fillets, and all the rest, they will devise some colour for, either of Necessity, or of Antiquity, or of Comeliness.

Eudox. But what colour soever they alledge, methinks it not expedient that the Execution of a Law once ordained, should be left to the Discretion of the Judge, or Officer; but that without Partiality or Regard, it should be fulfilled as well on *English* as *Irish*.

Iren. But they think this Preciseness in Reformation of Apparel, not to be so material, or greatly pertinent.

Eudox. Yes surely, but it is; for Mens Apparel is commonly made according to their Conditions, and their Conditions are oftentimes governed by their Garments: for the Person that is gowned, is by his Gown put in mind of Gravity, and also restrained from Lightness, by the very Unaptness of his Weed. Therefore it is written by *Aristotle*, That when *Cyrus* had overcome the *Lydians*, that were a warlike Nation, and devised to bring them to a more peaceable Life, he changed their Apparel and Musick, and in stead of their short warlike Coat, clothed them in long Garments like Women; and in stead of their w^a

like Mufick, appointed to them certain lascivious Lays, and loose Jigs; by which, in short space, their Minds were so mollified and abated, that they forgot their former Fierceness, and became most tender and effeminate. Whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the Garment to the fashioning of the Mind and Conditions. But be these, which you have described, the Fashions of the *Irish* Weeds?

Iren. No: all these which I have rehearsed to you be not *Irish* Garments, but *English*; for the quilted Leather Jack is old *English*: for it was the proper Weed of the Horseman, as you may read in *Chaucer*, when he describeth Sir *Thopas's* Apparel and Armour, as he went to fight against the Gyant in his Robe of Shecklaton, which is that kind of gilded Leather with which they use to imbroider their *Irish* Jackets. And there likewise by all that Description, you may see the very Fashion and Manner of the *Irish* Horseman most truly set forth in his long Hose, his riding Shoes of costly Cordwain, his Hacqueton, and his Haberjeon, with all the rest thereunto belonging.

Eudox. I surely thought that the Manner had been *Irish*, for it is far differing from that we have now; as also all the Furniture of his Horse, his strong brass Bit, his sliding Reins, his shank Pillion without Stirrups, his Manner of Mounting, his Fashion of Riding, his Charging of his Spear aloft above-head, the Form of his Spear.

Iren. No sure, they be native *English*, and brought in by the *Englishmen* first into *Ireland*: neither is the same accounted an uncomely manner of Riding; for I have heard some great Warriors say, that in all the Services which they had seen abroad in foreign Countries, they never saw a more comely Man than the *Irish* Man, nor that cometh on more bravely in his Charge: neither is his manner of Mounting unseemly, though he lack Stirrups, but more ready than with Stirrups; for in his getting up, his Horse is still going, whereby he gaineth way. And therefore the Stirrup was called so in Scorn, as it were a Stay to get up, being derived of the old *English* word *Sty*; which is, to get up, or mount.

Eudox.

Eudox. It seemeth then that you find no fault with this manner of Riding, why then would you have the quilted Jack laid away?

Iren. I do not wish it to be laid away, but the Abuse thereof to be put away; for being used to the end that it was framed, that is, to be worn in War under a Shirt of Mayl, it is allowable; as also the Shirt of Mayl, and all his other Furniture: but to be worn daily at Home, and in Towns and civil Places, is a rude Habit, and most uncomely, seeming like a Player's painted Coat.

Eudox. But it is worn (they say) likewise of *Irish* Footmen; how do you allow of that? for I should think it very unseemly.

Iren. No, not as it is used in War; for it is worn then likewise of Footmen under their Shirts of Mayl, the which Footmen they call *Gallowglasses*; the which name doth discover them also to be ancient *English*; for *Gallogla* signifies an *English* Servitor or Yeoman. And he being so armed in a long Shirt of Mayl down to the Calf of his Leg, with a long broad Ax in his Hand, was then *Pedes gravis armoræ*, (and was instead of the Footman that now weareth a Corset) before the Corset was used, or almost invented.

Eudox. Then him belike you likewise allow in your strait Reformation of old Customs.

Iren. Both him and the Kern also, (whom only I take to be the proper *Irish* Souldier) can I allow, so that they use that Habit and Custom of theirs in the Wars only, when they are led forth to the Service of their Prince, and not usually at Home, and in Civil Places; and besides, do lay aside the evil and wild Uses which the *Galloglasse* and *Kerne* do use in their common Trade of Life.

Eudox. What be those?

Iren. Marry those be the most barbarous and loathly Conditions of any People (I think) under Heaven: for from the time that they enter into that Course, they do use all the beastly Behaviour that may be; they oppress all Men they spoil as well the Subject as the Enemy; they are cruel and bloody, full of Revenge, and

ing in deadly Execution, Licentious, Swearers, and Blasphemers, common Ravishers of Women, and Murtherers of Children.

Eudox. These be most villainous Conditions; I marvail then that they be ever used or imployed, or almost suffered to live: what good can there then be in them?

Iren. Yet sure they are very valiant, and hardy, for the most part great Indurers of Cold, Labour, Hunger, and all Hardiness, very active and strong of Hand, very swift of Foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their Enterprises, very present in Perils, very great Scorners of Death.

Eudox. Truly by this that you say, it seems that the *Irishman* is a very brave Soldier.

Iren. Yea surely, in that rude kind of Service he beareth himself very courageously. But when he cometh to Experience of Service abroad, or is put to a Piece, or a Pike, he maketh as worthy a Soldier as any Nation he meeteth with. But let us (I pray you) turn again to our Discourse of evil Customs amongst the *Irish*.

Eudox. Methinks, all this which you speak of, concerneth the Customs of the *Irish* very materially; for their uses in War are of no small Importance to be considered, as well to reform those which are evil, as to confirm and continue those which are good. But follow you your own Course, and shew what other their Customs you have to dislike of.

Iren. There is amongst the *Irish* a certain kind of People called *Bardes*, which are to them instead of Poets, whose Profession is to set forth the Praises or Dispraises of Men in their Poems or Rithmes; the which are had in so high Regard and Estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for fear to run into Reproach thorough their Offence, and to be made infamous in the Mouths of all Men. For their Verses are taken up with a general Applause, and usually sung at all Feasts and Meetings by certain other Persons, whose proper Function that is, who also receive for the same great Rewards and Reputation amongst them.

Eudox.

Eudox. Do you blame this in them, which I would otherwise have thought to have been worthy of good Account, and rather to have been maintained and augmented amongst them, than to have been disliked: for I have read, that in all Ages Poets have been had in special Reputation, and that (methinks) not without great Cause; for besides their sweet Inventions and most witty Layes, they have always used to set forth the Praises of the Good and Vertuous, and to beat down and disgrace the Bad and Vicious. So that many brave young Minds have oftentimes, through hearing the Praises and famous *Eulogies* of worthy Men sung and reported unto them, been stirred up to affect the like Commendations, and so to strive to the like Deserts. So they say, that the *Lacedemonians* were more excited to desire of Honour, with the excellent Verses of the Poet *Tirtæus*, than with all the Exhortations of their Captains, or Authority of their Rulers and Magistrates.

Iren. It is most true, that such Poets as in their Writings do labour to better the Manners of Men, and thorough the sweet Bait of their Numbers to steal into the young Spirits a desire of Honour and Vertue, are worthy to be had in great Respect. But these *Irish Bardes* are for the most Part of another Mind, and so far from instructing young Men in moral Discipline, that they themselves do more deserve to be sharply disciplined: for they seldom use to choose unto themselves the Doings of good Men for the Arguments of their Poems, but whomsoever they find to be most licentious of Life, most bold and lawless in his Doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of Disobedience and rebellious Disposition; him they set up and glorify in their Rithmes, him they praise to the People, and to young Men make an Example to follow.

Eudox. I marvel what kind of Speeches they can find, or what Faces they can put on, to praise such bad Persons as live so lawlessly and licentiously upon Stealths and Spoils, as most of them do; or how can they think that any good Mind will applaud or approve the same?

Iren. There is none so bad, *Eudoxus*, but shall find some to favour his Doings; but such licentious parts as
L 3
these

these tending for the most part to the Hurt of the *English*, or Maintenance of their own leud Liberty, they themselves being most desirous thereof, do most allow. Besides this, evil things being decked and attired with the gay Attire of goodly Words, may easily deceive, and carry away the Affection of a young Mind, that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bold Adventures to make proof of himself: for being (as they all be) brought up idely without Awe of Parents, without Precepts of Masters, and without Fear of Offence; not being directed, nor imployed in any Course of Life which may carry them to Vertue; will easily be drawn to follow such as any shall set before them: for a young Mind cannot rest; if he be not still busied in some Goodness, he will find himself such Business, as shall soon busy all about him. In which, if he shall find any to praise him, and to give him Encouragement, as those *Bardes* and Rithmers do for little Reward, or a Share of a stoln Cow; then waxeth he most insolent and half mad with the love of himself, and his own leud Deeds. And as for words to set forth such Leudness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed even from the Praises which are proper to Vertue itself. As of a most notorious Thief and wicked Out-law, which had lived all his Life-time of Spoils and Robberies, one of their *Bardes* in his praise will say, That he was none of the idle Milk-sops that was brought up by the Fire-side, but that most of his days he spent in Arms and valiant Enterprises; that he did never eat his Meat, before he had won it with his Sword; that he lay not all Night slugging in a Cabin under his Mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their Lives; and did light his Candle at the Flames of their Houses, to lead him in the Darknes; that the Day was his Night, and the Night his Day; that he loved not to be long wooing of Wenches to yield to him, but where he came he took by Force the Spoil of other Mens Love, and left but Lamentation to their Lovers; that his Musick was not the Harp, nor Lays of Love, but the Cries of People, and Clashing of Armour; and finally, that he died not bewailed of
many,

many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his Death. Do you not think (*Eudoxus*) that many of these Praises might be applied to Men of best Deserts, yet are they all yielded to a most notable Traitor, and amongst some of the *Irish* not smally accounted of. For the Song, when it was first made and sung to a Person of high Degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for forty Crowns.

Eudox. And well worthy sure. But tell me (I pray you) have they any Art in their Compositions? or be they any thing witty or well favoured, as Poems should be?

Iren. Yea truly, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them; and surely they favoured of sweet Wit, and good Invention, but skilled not of the goodly Ornaments of Poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty Flowers of their natural Device, which gave good Grace and Comeliness unto them; the which it is great Pity to see so abused, to the gracing of Wickedness and Vice, which with good Usage would serve to adorn and beautify Vertue. This evil Custom therefore needeth Reformation. And now next after the *Irish Kern*, me-thinks the *Irish Horse-Boys* would come well in order; the use of which, though Necessity (as times now be) do enforce, yet in the thorough Reformation of that Realm, they should be cut off. For the cause why they are now to be permitted, is want of convenient Inns for lodging of Travellers on Horseback, and of Hostlers to tend their Horses by the way. But when things shall be reduced to a better pass, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the Frie of these Rake-hell Horse-boys, growing up in Knavery and Villany, are their *Kern* continually supply'd and maintained. For having been once brought up an idle Horse-boy, he will never after fall to Labour, but is only made fit for the Halter. And these also (the which is one foul over-sight) are, for the most part, bred up amongst the *Englishmen*; of whom learning to shoot in a Piece, and being made acquainted with all the Trades of the *English*, they are afterwards, when they become *Kern*,
made

made more fit to cut their Throats. Next to this, there is another much like, but much more leud and dishonest, and that is, of their *Carrows*; which is a kind of People that wander up and down to Gentlemens Houses, living only upon Cards and Dice; the which, though they have little or nothing of their own, yet will they play for much Mony; which if they win, they waste most lightly; and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make Recompence with one Stealth or another; whose only Hurt is, not that they themselves are idle Lossels, but that through Gaming, they draw others to like Leudness and Idleness. And to these may be added, another sort of like loose Fellows, which do pass up and down amongst Gentlemen by the name of Jesters, but are (indeed) notable Rogues, and partakers not only of many Stealths, by setting forth other Mens Goods to be stoln, but also privy to many traiterous Practises, and common carriers of News; with desire whereof you would wonder how much the *Irish* are fed, for they send commonly up and down to know News; and if any meet with another, his second Word is, What News? insomuch that hereof is told a pretty Jest of a *French-man*, who having been sometimes in *Ireland*, where he marked their great Inquiry for News; and meeting afterwards in *France* an *Irish-man*, whom he knew in *Ireland*; first saluted him, and afterwards said thus merrily, O Sir, I pray you tell me of Courtesie, have you heard any thing of the News that you so much inquired for in your Countrey?

Eudox. This argueth sure in them a great Desire of Innovation, and therefore these Occasions which nourish the same must be taken away; as namely, those Jesters, Carrows, Mona-shutes, and all such Straglers; for whom (me-thinks) the short Riddance of a Marshal were meeter, than an Ordinance or Prohibition to restrain them. Therefore (I pray you) leave all this Rabblement of Runnagates, and pass to other Customs.

Iren. There is a great Use amongst the *Irish*, to make great Assemblies together upon a Rath or Hill, there to ^r they say) about Matters and Wrongs between Township

Township and Township, or one private Person and another. But well I wot, and true it hath been oftentimes proved, that in their Meetings many Miſchiefs have been both practiſed and wrought; for to them do commonly reſort all the Scum of the People, where they may meet and confer of what they liſt, which elſe they could not do without Suspicion or Knowledge of others. Beſides, at theſe Meetings, I have known divers Times, that many *Engliſhmen*, and good *Iriſh* Subjects, have been villanouſly murdered, by moving one Quarrel or another againſt them. For the *Iriſh* never come to thoſe Rathſ but armed, whether on Horſe or on Foot; which the *Engliſh* nothing ſuſpecting, are then commonly taken at advantage, like Sheep in the Pin-fold.

Eudox. It may be (*Irenæus*) that Abufe may be in thoſe Meetings. But theſe round Hills and ſquare Bawns which you ſee ſo ſtrongly trenched and thrown up, were (they ſay) at firſt ordained for the ſame Purpoſe, that People might aſſemble themſelves therein; and therefore anciently they were called *Folk-motes*, that is, a Place of People, to meet or talk of any thing that concerned any Difference between Parties and Townſhips: which ſeemeth yet to me very requiſite.

Iren. You ſay very true, *Eudoxus*, the firſt making of theſe high Hills were at firſt indeed to very good purpoſe for People to meet: but howſoever the Times, when they were firſt made, might well ſerve to good Occaſions, as perhaps they did then in *England*; yet things being ſince altered, and now *Ireland* much differing from the State of *England*, the good Uſe that then was of them, is now turned to Abufe: for thoſe Hills whereof you ſpeak, were (as you may gather by reading) appointed for two ſpecial Uſes, and built by two ſeveral Nations; the one is that which you call *Folk-motes*, which were built by the *Saxons*, as the Word bewraieth, for it ſigniſieth in *Saxon* a Meeting of Folk; and theſe are, for the moſt part, in Form four-ſquare, well intrenched: the others that were round, were caſt up by the *Danes*, as the Name of them doth betoken; for they are called *Danes-Rathes*,

Rathes, that is, Hills of the *Danes*; the which were by them devised, not for Treaties and Parleys, but appointed as Forts for them to gather unto in troublesome Time, when any Trouble arose. For the *Danes* being but a few in comparifon of the *Saxons* (in *England*) used this for their Safety; they made those small round Hills so strongly fenced in every quarter of the Hundred, to the end that if in the Night, or any other Time, any troublous Cry or Uproar should happen, they might repair with all Speed unto their own Fort, which was appointed for their Quarter, and there remain safe, till they could assemble themselves in greater Strength: for they were made so strong with one small Entrance, that whosoever came thither first, were he one or two, or like few, he or they might there rest safe, and defend themselves against many, till more Succour came unto them: and when they were gathered to a sufficient Number, they marched to the next Fort, and so forward till they met with the Peril, or knew the Occasions thereof. But besides these two sorts of Hills, there were anciently divers others; for some were raised where there had been a great Battle fought, as a Memory or Trophy thereof: others, as Monuments of Burials of the Carcaffes of all those that were slain in any Field, upon whom they did throw such round Mounts, as Memorials of them; and sometimes did cast up great Heaps of Stones, (as you may read the like in many places of the Scripture) and other whiles, they did throw up many round Heaps of Earth in a Circle, like a Garland, or pitch many long Stones on end in compass, every of which (they say) betokened some Person of Note there slain and buried: for this was their ancient Custom, before Christianity came in amongst them, that Church-yards were inclosed.

Eudox. You have very well declared the Original of their Mounts and great Stones encompassed, which some vainly term the old *Giants Trevetts*; and think that those huge Stones would not else be brought into order, or reared up, without the Strength of *Giants*. And others vainly think they were never placed there by Man's Hand
or

or Art, but only remained there so since the beginning, and were afterwards discovered by the Deluge, and laid open as then by the washing of the Waters, or other like Casualty. But let them dream their own Imaginations, to please themselves; you have satisfied me much better, both for that I see some Confirmation thereof in the Holy Writ, and also remember that I have read in many Histories and Chronicles the like Mounts and Stones oftentimes mentioned.

Iren. There be many great Authorities (I assure you) to prove the same; but as for these Meetings on Hills, whereof we were speaking, it is very inconvenient that any such should be permitted.

Eudox. But yet it is very needful (me-thinks) for many other Purposes; as for the Countreys to gather together, when there is any Imposition to be laid upon them, to the which they then may all agree at such Meetings, to divide upon themselves, according to their Holdings and Abilities. So as if at these Assemblies, there be any Officers, as Constables, Bayliffs, or such like amongst them, there can be no peril, or doubt of such bad Practices.

Iren. Nevertheless, dangerous are such Assemblies, whether for Cess or ought else; the Constables and Officers being also of the *Irish*; and if any of the *English* happen to be there, even to them they may prove perillous. Therefore for avoiding of all such evil Occasions, they were best to be abolished.

Eudox. But what is that which you call Cess? it is a Word sure unused amongst us here; therefore (I pray you) expound the same.

Iren. Cess is none other than that which you your self called Imposition, but is in a kind unacquainted perhaps unto you: for there are Cesses of sundry sorts; one is, the Cessing of Soldiers upon the Countrey. For *Ireland* being a Countrey of War, (as it is handled) and always full of Soldiers, they which have the Government, whether they find it the most Ease to the Queen's Purse, or the most ready Means at hand for victualling of the Soldier, or that Necessity enforceth them thereunto, do scatter the Army abroad in the
Country,

Country, and place them in Villages to take their Victuals of them, at such vacant Times as they lie not in Camp, nor are otherwise imployed in service. Another kind of Cefs is, the imposing of Provision for the Governours House-keeping, which though it be most necessary, and be also (for avoiding of all the Evils formerly therein used) lately brought to a Composition; yet it is not without great Inconveniencies, no less than here in *England*, or rather much more. The like Cefs is also charged upon the Countrey sometimes, for victualling of the Soldiers, when they lie in Garrison, at such times as there is none remaining in the Queen's Store, or that the same cannot be conveniently conveyed to their Place of Garrison. But these two are not easily to be redressed, when Necessity thereto compelleth: but as for the former, as it is not necessary, so it is most hurtful and offensive to the poor Countrey, and nothing convenient for the Soldiers themselves, who during their lying at Cefs, use all kind of outrageous Disorder and Villany, both towards the poor Men which victual and lodge them, as also to all the Countrey round about them, whom they abuse, oppress, spoyl, and afflict by all the means they can invent: for they will not only not content themselves with such Victuals as their Hosts, not yet as the Place perhaps affords, but they will have other Meat provided for them, and *Aqua-vitæ* sent for, yea and Money besides laid at their Trenchers: which if they want, then about the House they walk with the wretched poor Man and his silly Wife, who are glad to purchase their Peace with any thing. By which vile manner of Abuse, the Countrey People, yea, and the very *English* which dwell abroad, and see, and sometimes feel this Outrage, grow into great Detestation of the Soldiers, and thereby into Hatred of the very Government which draweth upon them such Evils: and therefore this you may also join unto the former evil Customs, which we have to reprove in *Ireland*.

Eudox. Truly this is one not the least; and though the Persons by whom it is used, be of better Note than the former roguish sort, which you reckoned, yet the Fault (methinks) is no less worthy of a Marshal.

Iren.

Iren. That were a harder Course, *Eudoxus*, to redress every Abuse by a Marshal; it would seem to you very evil Surgery to cut off every unsound or sick part of the Body, which being by other due means recovered, might afterwards do very good Service to the Body again, and happily help to save the whole: therefore I think better that some good Salve for the Redress of the Evil be sought forth, than the least Part suffered to perish: but hereof we have to speak in another Place. Now we will proceed to other like Defects, amongst which there is one general **Inconvenience**, which reigneth almost throughout all *Ireland*: that is, the Lords of Land, and Free-holders, do not there use to set out their Land in Farm, or for Term of Years, to their Tenants, but only from Year to Year, and some during Pleasure; neither indeed will the *Irish* Tenant or Husbandman otherwise take his Land, than so long as he list himself. The Reason hereof in the Tenant is, for that the Landlords there use not shamefully to rack their Tenants, laying upon them *Cogny* and *Livery* at Pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his Covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poor Husbandman either dare not bind himself to him for longer Term, or thinketh by his continual Liberty of Change, to keep his Landlord the rather in Awe from wronging of him. And the reason why the Landlord will no longer covenant with him, is, for that he daily looketh after Change and Alteration, and hovereth in Expectation of new Worlds.

Eudox. But what Evil cometh hereby to the Commonwealth, or what reason is it that any Landlord should not set, nor any Tenant take his Land, as himself list?

Iren. Marry the Evils which come hereby are great; for by this means both the Landlord thinketh that he hath his Tenant more at command, to follow him into what Action soever he shall enter, and also the Tenant being left at his liberty, is fit for every Occasion of Change that shall be offered by Time: and so much also the more ready and willing is he to run into the same; for that he hath no such State in any his Holding, no such Building upon Farm, no such Cost employed in fencing or husbandry.

the same, as might with-hold him from any such wilful Course as his Lord's Cause, or his own leud Disposition may carry him unto. All which he hath forborn, and spared so much Expence; for that he had no firm Estate in his Tenement, but was only a Tenant at Will, or little more, and so at Will may leave it. And this Inconvenience may be reason enough to ground any Ordinance for the good of the Commonwealth, against the private Behoof or Will of any Landlord that shall refuse to grant any such Term or Estate unto his Tenant, as may tend to the Good of the whole Realm.

Eudox. Indeed (methinks) it is a great Wilfulness in any such Landlord to refuse to make any longer Farms unto their Tenents, as may, besides the general Good of the Realm, be also greatly for their own Profit and Avail. For what reasonable Man will not think that the Tenement shall be made much better for the Lord's behoof, if the Tenant may by such good Means be drawn to build himself some handsom Habitation thereon, to ditch and inclose his Ground, to manure and husband it, as good Farmers use? For when his Tenant's Term shall be expired, it will yield him in the renewing his Lease, both a good Fine, and also a better Rent. And also it shall be for the good of the Tenant likewise, who by such Buildings and Inclosures shall receive many Benefits: First, by the handsomeness of his House, he shall take more Comfort of his Life, more safe Dwelling, and a Delight to keep his said House neat and cleanly; which now being, as they commonly are, rather Swine-sties than Houses, is the chiefest cause of his so beastly manner of Life, and savage Condition, lying and living together with his Beast in one House, in one Room, in one Bed; that is, clean Straw, or rather a foul Dunghil. And to all these other Commodities, he shall, in short time, find a greater added; that is, his own Wealth and Riches increased, and wonderfully enlarged, by keeping his Cattle in Inclosures; where they shall always have fresh Pasture, that now is all trampled and over-run; warm Covert, that now lieth open to all Weather; safe Being, that now are continually filched and stoln.

Iren.

Iren. You have, *Eudoxus*, well accompted the Commodities of this one good Ordinance, amongst which, this that you named last is not the least; for all the other being most beneficial to the Landlord and Tenant, this chiefly redoundeth to the good of the Commonwealth, to have the Land thus inclosed, and well fenced. For it is both a principal Bar and Impeachment unto Thieves from stealing of Cattle in the Night, and also a Gall against all Rebels and Out-Laws, that shall rise up in any Numbers against the Government; for the Thief thereby shall have much ado, first to bring forth, and afterwards to drive away his stolen Prey, but thorough the common Highways, where he shall soon be descryed and met withal: And the Rebel or open Enemy, if any such shall happen, either at Home or from Abroad, shall easily be found when he cometh forth, and also be well incountred withal by a few, in so straight Passages and strong Inclosures. This therefore, when we come to the reforming of all those evil Customs before mentioned, is needful to be remembred; but now by this time (methinks) I have well run through the evil Uses which I have observed in *Ireland*. Nevertheless, I well note, that there be many more, and infinitely many more in the private Abuses of Men. But these that are most general, and tending to the Hurt of the Commonweal, (as they have come to my remembrance) I have, as briefly as I could, rehearsed unto you. And therefore now I think best that we pass unto our third Part, in which we noted the Inconveniences that are in Religion.

Eudox. Surely you have very well handled these two former; and if ye shall as well go through the third likewise, you shall merit a very good Meed.

Iren. Little have I to say of Religion, both because the Parts thereof be not many, (it self being but one) and my self have not much been conversant in that Calling; but as lightly passing by I have seen or heard: Therefore the Fault which I find in Religion is but one, but the same is universal throughout all that Country; that is, that they be all Papists by their Profession, but in the same so blindly and

brutishly informed, (for the most part) that not one amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of Religion, or any Article of his Faith; but can perhaps say his *Pater-noster*, or his *Ave-Maria*, without any Knowledg or Understanding what one word thereof meaneth.

Eudox. Is it not then a little Blot to them that now hold the place of Government, that they which now are in the Light themselves, suffer a People under their Charge, to wallow in such deadly Darkness?

Iren. That which you blame, *Eudoxus*, is not (I suppose) any fault of Will in those godly Fathers which have charge thereof; but the Inconvenience of the Time and troublous Occasions, wherewith that wretched Realm hath continually been turmoiled. For Instruction in Religion needeth quiet Times; and e'er we seek to settle a sound Discipline in the Clergy, we must purchase Peace unto the Laity: for it is ill time to preach among Swords, and most hard, or rather impossible, it is to settle a good Opinion in the Minds of Men, for Matters of Religion doubtful, which have doubtless an evil Opinion of us. For e'er a new be brought in, the old must be removed.

Eudox. Then belike it is meet that some fitter time be attended, that God send Peace and Quietness there in Civil Matters, before it be attempted in Ecclesiastical. I would rather have thought that (as it is said) Correction must first begin at the House of God, and that the Care of the Soul should have been preferred before the Care of the Body.

Iren. Most true, *Eudox.* the Care of the Soul, and Soul Matters, is to be preferred before the Care of the Body, in consideration of the Worthiness thereof; but not till the time of Reformation. For if you should know a wicked Person dangerously sick, having now both Soul and Body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable; would you not think it evil Advertisement to bring the Preacher before the Physician? For if his Body were neglected, it is like that his languishing Soul being disquieted by his diseaseful Body would utterly refuse and loath all spiritual Comfort; but if his Body were first recured and brought

to good Frame, should there not then be found best time to recover the Soul also? So it is in the State of a Realm: Therefore (as I said) it is expedient, first to settle such a Course of Government there, as thereby both Civil Disorders and Ecclesiastical Abuses may be reformed and amended; whereto needeth not any such great distance of times, as you suppose: I require but one joint Resolution for both, that each might second and confirm the other.

Eudox. That we shall see when we come thereunto; in the mean time I conceive thus much, as you have delivered, touching the general Fault, which you suppose in Religion, to wit, that it is Popish: but do you find no particular Abuses therein, nor in the Ministers thereof?

Iren. Yes, verily, for what ever Disorders you see in the Church of *England*, you may find there, and many more: namely, gross Simony, greedy Covetousness, fleshly Incontinency, careless Sloth, and generally all disordered Life in the common Clergymen. And besides all these, they have their particular Enormities: For all *Irish* Priests, which now enjoy the Church-Livings, they are in a manner meer Lay-men, saving that they have taken Holy Orders; but otherwise they do go, and live like Lay-men, follow all kind of Husbandry, and other worldly Affairs, as other *Irishmen* do. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the People, nor administer the Communion; but Baptism they do: for they christen yet after the Popish Fashion, only they take the Tythes and Offerings, and gather what Fruit else they may of their Livings, the which they convert as badly; and some of them (they say) pay as due Tributes and Shares of their Livings to their Bishops (I speak of those which are *Irish*) as they receive them duly.

Eudox. But is that suffered amongst them? It is wonder, but that the Governours do redress such shameful Abuses.

Iren. How can they, since they know them not? For the *Irish* Bishops have their Clergy in such Awe and Subjection under them, that they dare not complain of

them; so as they may do to them what they please: for they knowing their own Unworthiness and Incapaciay, and that they are therefore still removable at their Bishop's Will, yield what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth: yea, and some of them whose Diocesses are in remote Parts, somewhat out of the World's eye, do not at all bestow the Benefices which are in their own Donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own Servants and Horse-boys to take up the Tythes and Fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great Lands, and build fair Castles upon the same. Of which Abuse, if any question be moved, they have a very seemly Colour and Excuse, that they have no worthy Ministers to bestow them upon, but keep them so bestowed for any such sufficient Person as any shall bring unto them.

Eudox. But is there no Law nor Ordinance to meet with this Mischiefe? Nor hath it never before been looked into?

Iren. Yes, it seems it hath; for there is a Statute there enacted in *Ireland*, which seems to have been grounded upon a good meaning, That whatsoever *Englishman*, of good Conversation and Sufficiency, shall be brought unto any of the Bishops, and nominated unto any Living within their Diocess that is presently void, that he shall (without contradiction) be admitted thereunto before any *Irish*.

Eudox. This is surely a very good Law, and well provided for this Evil, whereof you speak; but why is not the same observed?

Iren. I think it is well observed, and that none of the Bishops transgress the same; but yet it worketh no Reformation thereof, for many Defects. First, There are no such sufficient *English* Ministers sent over, as might be presented to any Bishop for any Living; but the most part of such *English* as come over thither of themselves, are either unlearned, or Men of some bad Note, for which they have forsaken *England*: So as the Bishop to whom they shall be presented, may justly reject them, as
incapable

incapable and insufficient. Secondly, The Bishop himself is perhaps an *Irishman*, who being made Judge by that Law of the Sufficiency of the Ministers, may, at his own will, dislike of the *Englishman*, as unworthy in his Opinion, and admit of any *Irish*, whom he shall think more for his turn. And if he shall, at the Instance of any *Englishman* of Countenance there, whom he will not displease, accept of any such *English* Minister as shall be tendred unto him, yet he will under-hand carry such a hard hand over him; or by his Officers wring him so fore, that he will soon make him weary of his poor Living. Lastly, The Benefices themselves are so mean, and of so small Profit in those *Irish* Countries, through the ill Husbandry of the *Irish* People which do inhabit them, that they will not yield any competent Maintenance for any honest Minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a Gown. And were all this redressed, (as haply it might be) yet what good should any *English* Minister do amongst them, by teaching or preaching to them, which either cannot understand him, or will not hear him? Or what Comfort of Life shall he have, where his Parishioners are so insatiable, so intractable, so ill-affected to him, as they usually be to all the *English*? Or finally, how dare almost any honest Minister, that are peaceable civil Men, commit his Safety to the Hands of such Neighbours, as the boldest Captains dare scarcely dwell by?

Eudox. Little good then (I see) was by that Statute wrought, however well intended; but the Reformation thereof must grow higher, and be brought from a stronger Ordinance than the Commandment or Penalty of a Law, which none dare inform or complain of, when it is broken. But have you any more of those Abuses in the Clergy?

Iren. I could perhaps reckon more, but I perceive my Speech to grow too long, and these may suffice to judge of the general Disorders which reign amongst them; as for the Particulars, they are too many to be reckoned. For the Clergy there, (excepting the grave Fathers which are in high place about the State, and some few others which are lately
planted

planted in their new Colledge) are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.

Eudox. You have then (as I suppose) gone through these three first parts which you proposed unto yourself; to wit, The Inconveniencies which you observed in the Laws, in the Customs, and in the Religion of that Land. The which (methinks) you have so thoroughly touched, as that nothing more remaineth to be spoken thereof.

Iren. Not so thoroughly as you suppose, that nothing can remain, but so generally as I purposed; that is, to lay open the general Evils of that Realm, which do hinder the good Reformation thereof. For to count the particular Faults of private Men, should be a work too infinite; yet some there be of that nature, that though they be in private Men, yet their Evil reacheth to a general Hurt: as the Extortion of Sheriffs, and their Sub-Sheriffs, and Bailiffs; the Corruption of Victuallers, Cessors, and Purveyors; the Disorders of Senescals, Captains, and their Soldiers; and many such like. All which I will only name here, that their Reformation may be mended in place where it most concerneth. But there is one very foul Abuse, which, by the way, I may not omit; and that is in Captains, who notwithstanding that they are specially employed to make Peace, through strong Execution of War, yet they do so dandle their Doings, and dally in the Service to them committed, as if they would not have the Enemy subdued, or utterly beaten down; for fear, lest afterwards they should need Employment, and so be discharged of Pay: for which cause some of them that are laid in Garrison, do so handle the matter, that they will do no great hurt to the Enemies; yet for colour sake, some Men they will kill, even half with the Consent of the Enemy, being Persons either of base Regard, or Enemies to the Enemy; whose Heads estfoons they send to the Governour for a Commendation of their great Endeavour, telling how weighty a Service they performed, by cutting off such and such dangerous Rebels.

Eudox. Truly this is a pretty Mockery, and not to be permitted by the Governours.

Iren.

Iren. But how can the Governour know readily what Persons those were, and what the Purpose of their killing was; yea, and what will you say, if the Captains do justify this their Course by Ensamble of some of their Governours, which (under *Benedicite* I do tell it to you) do practise the like Sleight in their Governments?

Eudox. Is it possible? Take heed what you say, *Irenæus.*

Iren. To you only, *Eudoxus*, I do tell it, and that even with great Heart's Grief, and inward Trouble of Mind, to see her Majesty so much abused by some who are put in special Trust of those great Affairs: of which, some being Martial Men, will not do always what they may for quieting of things, but will rather wink at some Faults, and will suffer them unpunished, lest that (having put all things in that Assurance of Peace that they might) they should seem afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their Governments with so great a Charge to her Majesty. And therefore they do cunningly carry their Course of Government, and from one hand to another do bandy the Service like a Tennis-ball, which they will never strike quite away, for fear lest afterwards they should want.

Eudox. Do you speak of under Magistrates, *Irenæus*, or principal Governours?

Iren. I do speak of no Particulars; but the Truth may be found out by Trial and reasonable Insight into some of their Doings. And if I should say, there is some Blame thereof in the principal Governours, I think I might also shew some reasonable Proof of my Speech. As for example, some of them seeing the End of their Government to draw nigh, and some Mischiefs and troublous Practice growing up, which afterwards may work Trouble to the next succeeding Governour, will not attempt the Redress or Cutting off thereof, either for fear they should leave the Realm unquiet at the end of their Government, or that the next that cometh should receive the same too quiet, and so haply win more Praise thereof than they before. And therefore they will not (as I said) seek at all to repress that Evil, but will either by granting Protection for a time, or holding some
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Emparance with the Rebel, or by Treaty of Commissioners, or by other like Devices, only smother and keep down the Flame of the Mischief, so as it may not break out in their time of Government; what comes afterwards, they care not, or rather wish the worst. This Course hath been noted in some Governours.

Eudox. Surely, *Irenæus*, this, if it were true, should be worthy of an heavy Judgment; but it is hardly to be thought, that any Governour should so much either envy the Good of that Realm which is put into his hand, or defraud her Majesty, who trusteth him so much, or malign his Successor which shall possess his Place, as to suffer an Evil to grow up, which he might timely have kept under; or perhaps to nourish it with coloured Countenance, or such sinister Means.

Iren. I do not certainly avouch so much, *Eudoxus*, but the Sequel of things doth in a manner prove, and plainly speak so much, that the Governours usually are envious one of another's greater Glory; which if they would seek to excel by better Governing, it should be a most laudable Emulation: but they do quite otherwise. For this (as you may mark) is the common Order of them, that who cometh next in place will not follow that Course of Government, however good, which his Predecessors held, either for Disdain of himself, or doubt to have his Doings drowned in another Man's Praise; but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the *Irish*) to reform them; the next, by discountenancing the *English*, will curry Favour with the *Irish*, and so make his Government seem plausible, as having all the *Irish* at his Command: but he that comes after, will perhaps follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort, as he will suck sweet out of them both, and leave bitterness to the poor Country; which if he that comes after shall seek to redress, he shall perhaps find such Crosses as he shall hardly be able to bear, or do any good that might work the Disgrace of his Predecessors. Examples you may see hereof in the Governours of late times sufficiently, and
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in others of former times more manifestly, when the Government of that Realm was committed sometimes to the *Geraldines*, as when the House of *York* had the Crown of *England*; sometimes to the *Butlers*, as when the House of *Lancaster* got the same. And other whiles, when an *English* Governour was appointed, he perhaps found Enemies of both.

Eudox. I am sorry to hear so much as you report, and now I begin to conceive somewhat more of the Cause of her continual Wretchedness, than heretofore I found, and wish that this Inconvenience were well looked into; for sure (methinks) it is more weighty than all the former, and more hardly to be redressed in the Governour than in the Governed; as a Malady in a Vital Part is more incurable than in an External.

Iren. You say very true: but now that we have thus ended all the Abuses and Inconveniencies of that Government, which was our first part; it followeth now, that we pass unto the second Part, which was, of the Means to cure and redress the same: which we must labour to reduce to the first beginning thereof.

Eudox. Right so, *Irenæus*; for by that which I have noted in all this your Discourse, you suppose, that the whole Ordinance and Institution of that Realm's Government, was both at first, when it was placed, evil plotted; and all fithence, through other Oversight, came more out of square to that Disorder which it is now come unto; like as two indirect Lines, the further that they are drawn out, the further they go asunder.

Iren. I do see, *Eudoxus*, and, as you say, so think, that the longer that Government thus continueth, in the worse Course will the Realm be; for it is all in vain that they now strive and endeavour by fair Means and peaceable Plots, to redress the same, without first removing all those Inconveniencies, and new-framing (as it were) in the Forge, all that is worn out of fashion: For all other Means will be but as lost Labour, by patching up one Hole to make many. For the *Irish* do strongly hate and abhor all Reformation and Subjection to the *English*, by reason, that
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having been once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their Possessions. So as now they fear, that if they were again brought under, they should likewise be expelled out of all: which is the Cause that they hate the *English* Government, according to the saying, *Quæ i metuunt oderunt*. Therefore the Reformation must now be the strength of a greater Power.

Eudox. But (methinks) that might be by making of good Laws, and establishing of new Statutes, with sharp Penalties and Punishments, for amending of all that is presently amiss, and not (as you suppose) to begin all as it were anew, and to alter the whole Form of the Government: which how dangerous a thing it is to attempt, you yourself must needs confess; and they which have the managing of the Realm's whole Policy, cannot, without great Cause, fear and refrain: for all Innovation is perillous, insomuch, as though it be meant for the better, yet so many Accidents and fearful Events may come between, as that it may hazard the loss of the whole.

Iren. Very true, *Eudoxus*, all Change is to be shunned, where the Affairs stand in such sort, as that they may continue in quietness, or be assured at all to abide as they are. But that in the Realm of *Ireland* we see much otherwise; for every day we perceive the Troubles growing more upon us, and one Evil growing upon another; insomuch, as there is no part now sound or ascertained, but all have their Ears upright, waiting when the Watch-word shall come, that they should all arise generally into Rebellion, and cast away the *English* Subjection. To which there now little wanteth; for I think the Word be already given, and there wanteth nothing but Opportunity; which truly is the Death of one Noble Person, who being himself most steadfast to his Sovereign Queen, and his Country, coasting upon the *South-Sea*, stoppeth the In-gate of all that Evil which is looked for, and holdeth in all those which are at his Beck, with the Terror of his Greatness, and the Assurance of his most immovable Loyalty. And therefore where you think that good and sound Laws might amend and reform things there amiss, you think surely amiss.

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For it is vain to prescribe Laws, where no Man careth for keeping of them, nor feareth the Danger for breaking of them. But all the Realm is first to be reformed, and Laws are afterwards to be made, for keeping and continuing it in that reformed Estate.

Eudox. How then do you think is the Reformation thereof to be begun, if not by Laws and Ordinances ?

Iren. Even by the Sword ; for all these Evils must first be cut away by a strong Hand, before any good can be planted : like as the corrupt Branches and unwholesome Boughs are first to be pruned, and the foul Moss cleansed and scraped away, before the Tree can bring forth any good Fruit.

Eudox. Did you blame me even now for wishing of Kern Horse-Boys and Carrows to be clean cut off, as too violent a means ; and do you your self now prescribe the same Medicine ? Is not the Sword the most violent Redress that may be used for any Evil ?

Iren. It is so ; but where no other Remedy may be devised, nor hope of Recovery had, there must needs this violent means be used. As for the loose kind of People which you would have cut off, I blamed it ; for that they might otherwise perhaps be brought to good, as namely, by this way which I set before you.

Eudox. Is not your way all one with the former in effect, which you found fault with ; save only in this odds, That I said by the Halter, and you say by the Sword : what difference is there ?

Iren. There is surely great, when you shall understand it ; for by the Sword which I named, I did not mean the cutting off all that Nation with the Sword ; which far be it from me that I should ever think so desperately, or wish so uncharitably : but by the Sword, I mean, the Royal Power of the Prince, which ought to stretch it self forth in the chiefest Strength, to the redressing and cutting off those Evils which I before blamed, and not of the People which are evil. For evil People, by good Ordinances and Government, may be made good ; but the Evil that is of it self Evil, will never become Good.

Eudox. I pray you then declare your Mind at large, how you would wish that Sword, which you mean, to be used to the Reformation of all those Evils.

Iren. The first thing must be, to send over into that Realm such a strong Power of Men, as should perforce bring in all that rebellious Rout and loose People, which either do now stand out in open Arms, or wandering in Companies, do keep the Woods, spoiling the good Subjects.

Eudox. You speak now, *Ireneus*, of an infinite Charge to her Majesty, to send over such an Army as should tread down all that standeth before them on Foot, and lay on the Ground all the stiff-necked People of that Land: for there is now but one Out-law of any great reckoning, to wit the Earl of *Tyrone*, abroad in Arms; against whom, you see, what huge Charges she hath been at this last Year, in sending of Men, providing of Victuals, and making head against him: yet there is little or nothing at all done, but the Queen's Treasure spent, her People wasted, the poor Country troubled, and the Enemy nevertheless brought into no more subjection than he was, or list outwardly to shew, which in effect is none, but rather a scorn of her Power, and emboldning of a proud Rebel, and an Encouragement to all like leudly-disposed Traitors, that shall dare to lift up their Heel against their Sovereign Lady. Therefore it were hard Counsel to draw such an exceeding great Charge upon her, whose Event should be so uncertain.

Iren. True indeed, if the Event should be uncertain; but the certainty of the Effect hereof shall be so infallible, as that no reason can gainsay it; neither shall the charge of all this Army (the which I demand) be much greater, than so much as in these last two Years Wars hath vainly been expended. For I dare undertake, that it hath cost the Queen above 200000 Pounds already; and for the present Charge which she is at there, amounteth to very near 12000 Pounds a Month, whereof cast you the Account; yet nothing is done. The which Sum, had it been employed as it should be, would have effected all this which now

Eudox.



Eudox. How mean you to have it employed? but to be spent in the Pay of Soldiers, and Provision of Victuals.

Iren. Right so; but it is now not disbursed at once, as it might be, but drawn out into a long length, by sending over now 20000 Pounds, and next half Year ten thousand Pounds; so as the Soldier in the mean time, for want of due Provision of Victual, and good Payment of his due, is starved and consumed; that of 1000 which came over lusty able Men, in half a Year there are not left 500. And yet is the Queen's Charge never a whit the less, but what is not paid in present Mony, is accounted in Debt, which will not be long unpaid; for the Captain, half of whose Soldiers are dead, and the other Quarter never mustered, nor seen, comes shortly to demand Payment of his whole Account; where by good means of some Great ones, and privy Sharings with the Officers and Servants of other some, he receiveth his Debt, much less perhaps than was due, yet much more indeed than he justly deserved.

Eudox. I take this, sure, to be no good Husbandry; for what must needs be spent, as good spend it at once, where is enough, as to have it drawn out into long Delays, seeing that thereby both the Service is much hindered, and yet nothing saved. But it may be, *Ireneus*, that the Queen's Treasure in so great Occasions of Disbursements (as it is well known she hath been at lately) is not always so ready, nor so plentiful, as it can spare so great a Sum together; but being paid as it is, now some, and then some, it is no great burden unto her, nor any great impoverishment to her Coffers; seeing by such Delay of Time, it daily cometh in as fast as she parteth it out.

Iren. It may be as you say; but for the going through of so honourable a Course, I doubt not but if the Queen's Coffers be not so well stored, (which we are not to look into) but that the whole Realm, which now, as things are used, do feel a continual burden of that wretched Realm hanging upon their Backs, would, for a small riddance of all that trouble, be once troubled for all; and put to all

their Shoulders, and helping Hands, and Hearts also, to the defraying of that Charge most gladly and willingly: and surely the Charge, in effect, is nothing to the infinite great Good which should come thereby, both to the Queen and all this Realm, generally, as, when time serveth, shall be shewed.

Eudox. How many Men would you require to the furnishing of this which ye take in hand? And how long space would you have them entertained?

Iren. Verily, not above 10000 Footmen, and a 1000 Horse, and all these not above the space of a Year and a half; for I would still, as the Heat of the Service abateth, abate the Number in Pay, and make other Provision for them, as I will shew.

Eudox. Surely it seemeth not much which you require, nor no long time; but how would you have them used? Would you lead forth your Army against the Enemy, and seek him where he is to fight?

Iren. No, *Eudoxus*, that would not be; for it is well known that he is a flying Enemy, hiding himself in Woods and Bogs, from whence he will not draw forth but into some strait Passage, or perillous Foard, where he knows the Army must needs pass; there will he lie in wait, and if he find Advantage fit, will dangerously hazard the troubled Soldier. Therefore to seek him out that still flitteth, and follow him that can hardly be found, were vain and bootless. But I would divide my Men in Garrison upon his Country, in such Places as I should think might most annoy him.

Eudox. But how can that be, *Ireneus*, with so few Men? For the Enemy, as you may see, is not all in one Country, but some in *Ulster*, some in *Connaght*, and others in *Leinster*. So as to plant strong Garrisons in all those Places, should need many more Men than you speak of; or to plant all in one, and to leave the rest naked, should be but to leave them to the Spoil.

Iren. I would wish the chief Power of the Army to be garrison'd in one Countrey that is strongest, and the other upon the rest that is weakest. As for example, the
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Earl of Tyrone is now accounted the strongest, upon him would I lay 8000 Men in Garrison; 1000 upon *Pbeagh Macb-Hugh* and the *Cavanagh*s; and 1000 upon some Parts of *Connaght*, to be at the Direction of the Governour.

Eudox. I see now all your Men bestowed; but what places would you set their Garrisons, that they might rise out most conveniently to service? And though perhaps I am ignorant of the Places, yet I will take the Map of *Ireland*, and lay it before me, and make mine Eyes (in the mean time) my School-masters, to guide my Understanding to judge of your Plot.

Iren. Those 8000 in *Ulster*, I would divide likewise into four Parts, so as there should be 2000 Footmen in every Garrison; the which I would thus place: upon the *Black-water*, in some convenient Place, as high upon the River as might be, I would lay one Garrison; another would I put at *Castle-liffer*, or thereabouts, so as they should have all the Passages upon the River to *Logb-foyle*; the third I would place about *Fermanagh*, or *Bundroife*, so as they might lie between *Connaght* and *Ulster*, to serve upon both sides as occasion shall be offered: and this therefore would I have stronger than any of the rest, because it should be most enforced, and most employed; and that they might put Wards at *Balls-shanon* and *Belick*, and all those Passages. The last would I set about *Monaghan* or *Balturbut*, so as it should front both upon the Enemy that way, and also keep the Countreys of *Cavan* and *Meath* in awe, from passage of Stragglers from those Parts, whence they use to come forth, and oftentimes use to work much Mischief. And to every of these Garrisons of 2000 Footmen, I would have 200 Horsemen added; for the one without the other can do but little service. The four Garrisons thus being placed, I would have to be victualled before-hand for half a Year; which you will say to be hard, considering the Corruption and usual Waste of Victuals. But why should not they be as well victualled for so long time, as the Ships are usually for a Year, and sometimes two; seeing it is easier to keep

Victuals on Land than Water? Their Bread I would have in Flower, so as it might be baked still to serve their necessary Want. Their Beer there also brewed within them, from time to time, and their Beef before-hand barrell'd, the which may be used but as it is needed: For I make no doubt but fresh Victuals they will sometimes purvey for themselves, amongst their Enemies. Hereunto likewise would I have them have a store of Hoses and Shoes, with such other Necessaries as may be needful for Soldiers, so as they should have no occasion to look for Relief from abroad, or occasion of such Trouble for their continual Supply, as I see, and have often proved in *Ireland* to be more cumberous to the Deputy, and dangerous to them that relieve them, than half the leading of an Army; for the Enemy knowing the ordinary ways through the which their Relief must be brought them, useth commonly to draw himself into the straight Passages thitherward, and oftentimes doth dangerously distress them: Besides the Pay of such Force as should be sent for their Convoy, the Charge of the Carriages, the Exactions of the Countrey shall be spared. But only every half Year the Supply brought by the Deputy himself, and his Power, who shall then visit and overlook all those Garisons, to see what is needful to change, what is expedient, and to direct what he shall best advise. And those four Garisons issuing forth, at such convenient times as they shall have Intelligence or Espial upon the Enemy, will so drive him from one side to another, and tennis him amongst them, that he shall find no where safe to keep his Creet in, nor hide himself; but flying from the Fire, shall fall into the Water, and out of one Danger into another: that in short space his Creet, which is his chief Sustenance, shall be wasted with preying, or killed with driving, or starved for want of Pasture in the Woods; and he himself brought so low, that he shall have no Heart nor Ability to indure his Wretchedness, the which will surely come to pass in very short Time; for one Winter well followed upon him will so pluck him on his Knees, that he will never be able to stand up again.

Eudox.

Eudox. Do you then think the Winter time fittest for the Services of *Ireland*? How falls it then that our most Employments be in Summer, and the Armies then led commonly forth?

Iren. It is surely misconceived; for it is not with *Ireland*, as it is with other Countreys where the Wars flame most in Summer, and the Helmets glister brightest in the fairest Sunshine: but in *Ireland*, the Winter yieldeth best Services; for then the Trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and house the Kern; the Ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his Bedding; the Air is sharp and bitter, to blow through his naked Sides and Legs; the Kyne are barren and without Milk, which useth to be his only Food; neither if he kill them, will they yield him Flesh, nor if he keep them will they give him Food: besides, being all with Calf (for the most part) they will through much chafing and driving, cast all their Calves, and lose their Milk, which should relieve him the next Summer.

Eudox. I do well understand your Reason: but by your leave, I have heard it otherwise said, of some that were Out-laws; that in Summer they kept themselves quiet, but in Winter they would play their parts, and when the Nights were longest, then burn and spoil most, so that they might safely return before day.

Iren. I have likewise heard, and also seen proof thereof true: but that was of such Out-laws as were either abiding in well inhabited Countries, as in *Mounster*, or bordering on the *English Pale*, as *Feagh Mac-Hugh*, the *Cavanaghes*, the *Moors*, the *Dempsies*, or such like: for, for them the Winter indeed is the fittest time for spoiling and robbing, because the Nights are then (as you said) longest and darkest, and also the Countries round about are then most full of Corn, and good Provision to be gotten every where by them: but it is far otherwise with a strong peopled Enemy, that possess a whole Countrey; for the other being but a few, and indeed privily lodged, and kept in Out-Villages, and Corners nigh to the Woods and Mountains, by some of their privy Friends, to whom they bring their Spoils

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and Stealths, and of whom they continually receive secret Relief: but the open Enemy having all his Countrey waſted, what by himſelf, and what by the Soldiers, findeth them Succour in no place: Towns there are none, of which he may get Spoil, they are all burnt; Bread he hath none, he ploweth not in Summer; Fleſh he hath, but if he kill it in Winter, he ſhall want Milk in Summer, and ſhortly want Life. Therefore if they be well followed but one Winter, you ſhall have little work with them the next Summer.

Eudox. I do now well perceive the Difference, and do verily think that the Winter-time is their fitteſt for Service; withal I conceive the manner of your handling of the Service, by drawing ſuddain Draughts upon the Enemy, when he looketh not for you, and to watch Advantages upon him, as he doth upon you. By which ſtraight keeping of them in, and not ſuffering them at any time long to reſt, I muſt needs think that they will ſoon be brought low, and driven to great Extremities. All which when you have performed, and brought them to the very laſt caſt, ſuppoſe that they will offer, either to come to you and ſubmit themſelves, or that ſome of them will ſeek to withdraw themſelves; what is your Advice to do? Will you have them received?

Iren. No; but at the beginning of thoſe Wars, and when the Garrifons are well planted, and fortified, I would wiſh a Proclamation were made generally, to come to their knowledge, That what Perſons ſoever would within twenty Days abſolutely ſubmit themſelves, (excepting only the very Principals and Ring-leaders) ſhould find Grace: I doubt not, but upon the ſettling of the Garrifons, ſuch a Terror and near Conſideration of their perilous State, would be ſtrucken into moſt of them, that they will covet to draw away from their Leaders. And again, I well know that the Rebels themſelves (as I ſaw by proof in *Deſmond's Wars*) will turn away all their rascal People, whom they think unſerviceable; as old Men, Women, Children, and Hinds (which they call Churls) which would only waſte their Victuals, and yield them no Aid;
but

but their Cattle they will surely keep away. These therefore, though Policy would turn them back again, that they might the rather consume and afflict the other Rebels; yet in a pitiful Commiseration I would wish them to be received: the rather, for that this sort of base People doth not for the most part rebel of themselves, having no Heart thereunto, but are by force drawn by the grand Rebels into their Action, and carried away with the Violence of the Stream, else they should be sure to lose all that they have, and perhaps their Lives too: the which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the strong Rebels themselves soon turned out of all, so that the Constraint hereof, may in them deserve Pardon. Likewise if any of their able Men or Gentlemen shall then offer to come away, and to bring their Cattle with them, as some no doubt may steal them away privily; I wish them also to be received, for the disabling of the Enemy, but withal, that good Assurance may be taken for their true Behaviour and absolute Submission; and that then they be not suffered to remain any longer in those Parts, no nor about the Garrisons, but sent away into the inner Parts of the Realm, and dispersed in such sort as they may not come together, nor easily return if they would: for if they might be suffered to remain about the Garrisons, and there inhabit, as they will offer to till the Ground, and yield a great part of the Profit thereof, and of their Cattle, to the *Colonel*, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many; they would (as I have by Experience known) be ever after such a Gall and Inconvenience to them, as that their Profit shall not recompense their Hurt: for they will privily relieve their Friends that are forth, they will send the Enemy secret Advertisements of all their Purposes and Journeys, which they mean to make upon them, they will not also stick to draw the Enemy privily upon them; yea and to betray the Fort it self, by discovery of all her Defects and Disadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their Throats. For avoiding whereof and many other Inconveniences, I wish that should be carried far from thence into some ot-

so that (as I say) they come in and submit themselves, upon the first Summons: But afterwards I would have none received, but left to their Fortune and miserable End; my Reason is, for that those which will afterwards remain without, are stout and obstinate Rebels, such as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to Labour or civil Conversation; having once tasted that licentious Life, and being acquainted with Spoil and Outrages, will ever after be ready for the like Occasions, so as there is no hope of their Amendment or Recovery, and therefore needful to be cut off.

Eudox. Surely of such desperate Persons, as will follow the Course of their own Folly, there is no Compassion to be had; and for others you have proposed a merciful means, much more than they have deserved: but what then shall be the Conclusion of this War, for you have prefixed a short time of its continuance?

Iren. The end will (I assure me) be very short and much sooner than can be in so great a Trouble, as it seemeth, hoped for: although there should none of them fall by the Sword, nor be slain by the Soldier, yet thus being kept from Manurance, and their Cattle from running abroad, by this hard Restraint they would quickly consume themselves, and devour one another. The Proof whereof I saw sufficiently exemplified in these late Wars of *Mounster*; for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful Countrey, full of Corn and Cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet e'er $\frac{1}{2}$ one Year and a half they were brought to such Wretchedness, as that any stony Heart would have rued the same. Out of every Corner of the Woods and Glynnes they came creeping forth upon their Hands, for their Legs could not bear them; they looked like Anatomies of Death, they spake like Ghosts crying out of their Graves, they did eat the dead Carrions, happy were they could find them, yea $\frac{1}{2}$ one another soon after, insomuch as the very Carcases they spared not to scrape out of their Graves, and if they found a Plot of Water-creffes or Shamrocks, there they flocked as to a Feast for the time, yet not able
long

long to continue there withal; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful Countrey suddenly left void of Man and Beast: yet sure in all that War, there perished not many by the Sword, but all by the Extremity of Famine, which they themselves had wrought.

Eudox. It is a wonder that you tell, and more to be wondred how it should so shortly come to pass.

Iren. It is most true, and the Reason also very ready, for you must conceive that the Strength of all that Nation is the *Kern, Galloglass, Stocab, Horseman and Horseboy*; the which having been never used to have any thing of their own, and now being upon Spoil of others, make no spare of any thing, but Havock and Confusion of all they meet with, whether it be their own Friends Goods, or their Foes. And if they happen to get never so great Spoil at any time, the same they waste and consume in a trice, as naturally delighting in Spoil, though it do themselves no good. On the other side, whatsoever they leave unspent, the Soldier, when he cometh there, spoileth and havocketh likewise; so that between both, nothing is very shortly left. And yet this is very necessary to be done for the soon finishing of the War; and not only this in this wise, but also those Subjects which do border upon those Parts, are either to be removed and drawn away, or likewise to be spoiled, that the Enemy may find no Succour thereby: for what the Soldier spares, the Rebel will surely spoil.

Eudox. I do now well understand you. But now when all things are brought to this pass, and all filled with these rueful Spectacles of so many wretched Carcases starving, goodly Countreys wasted, so huge Desolation and Confusion, that even I that do but hear it from you, and do picture it in my Mind, do greatly pity and commiserate it; if it shall happen, that the State of this Misery and lamentable Image of things shall be told, and feelingly presented to her sacred Majesty, being by Nature full of Mercy and Clemency, who is most inclineable to such pitiful Complaints, and will not endure to hear such

such Tragidies made of her poor People and Subjects, as some about her may insinuate : then she perhaps, for very Compassion of such Calamities, will not only stop the stream of such Violences, and return to her wonted Mildness, but also conn' them little Thanks which have been the Authors and Counsellors of such bloody Platforms. So I remember that in the late Government of that good Lord *Grey*, when after long Travail, and many perillous Assays, he had brought things almost to this pass that you speak of, that it was even made ready for Reformation, and might have been brought to what her Majesty would ; like Complaint was made against him, that he was a bloody Man, and regarded not the Life of her Subjects no more than Dogs, but had wasted and consumed all, so as now she had nothing almost left but to reign in their Ashes. Ear was soon lent thereunto, and all suddenly turned topside-turvy, the noble Lord estsoones was blamed, the wretched People pitied, and new Counsels plotted, in which it was concluded, that a general Pardon should be sent over to all that would accept of it. Upon which all former Purposes were blanked, the Governor at a bay, and not only all that great and long Charge which she had before been at, quite lost and cancelled, but also all that hope of Good which was even at the door, put back, and clean frustrated. All which whether it be true or no, your self can well tell,

Iren. Too true, *Eudoxus*, the more the pity, for I may not forget so memorable a thing : neither can I be ignorant of that perillous Devise, and of the whole means by which it was compassed, and very cunningly contrived, by sowing first Dissension between him and another noble Personage ; wherein they both at length found how notably they had been abused, and how thereby underhand this universal Alteration of things was brought about, but then too late to stay the same : for in the mean time all that was formerly done, with long Labour and great Toil, was (as you say) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the Name of a bloody Man, whom, who that well knew, knew to be most gentle, affable,

fable, loving, and temperate; but that the Necessity of that present State of things enforced him to that Violence, and almost changed his natural Disposition. But otherwise he was so far from delighting in Blood, that oftentimes he suffered not just Vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of them which were afterwards his Accusers, had tasted too much of his Mercy, and were from the Gallows brought to be his Accusers. But his Course indeed was this, that he spared not the Heads and Principals of any mischievous Practices or Rebellion, but shewed sharp Judgment on them, chiefly for Ensamble sake, that all the meaner sort, which also were generally then infected with that Evil, might, by Terrour thereof, be reclaimed, and saved, if it were possible. For in the last Conspiracy of some of the *English Pale*, think you not that there were many more guilty than they that felt the Punishment? yet he touched only a few of special note: and in the Trial of them also, even to prevent the blame of Cruelty, and partial Proceeding, and seeking their Blood, which he, as in his great Wisdom, (as it seemeth) did foresee would be objected against him; he, for the avoiding thereof did use a singular Discretion and Regard: for the Jury that went upon their Trial, he made to be chosen out of their nearest Kinsmen, and their Judges he made of some of their own Fathers; of others, their Uncles and dearest Friends; who when they could not but justly condemn them, yet he uttered their Judgment in abundance of Tears: and yet he even herein was called bloody and cruel.

Eudox. Indeed so have I heard it here often spoken, but I perceive (as I always verily thought) that it was most unjustly; for he was always known to be a most just, sincere, godly, and right noble Man, far from such Sternness, far from such Unrighteousness. But in that sharp Execution of the *Spaniards* at the Fort of *Smerwick*, I heard it specially noted, and if it were true as some reported, surely it was a great touch to him in Honour; for some say that he promised them Life: others, at least he did them in hope thereof.

Iren. Both the one and the other is most untrue: for this I can assure you, my self being as near them as any, that he was so far either from promising, or putting them in hope, that when first their Secretary (called, as I remember, *Signior Jeffrey*) an *Italian*, being sent to treat with the Lord Deputy for Grace, was flatly refused; and afterwards their Colonel, named *Don Sebastian*, came forth to intreat that they might part with their Arms like Soldiers, at least with their Lives according to the Custom of War, and Law of Nations; it was strongly denied him, and told him by the Lord Deputy himself, that they could not justly plead either Custom of War, or Law of Nations, for that they were not any lawful Enemies; and if they were, he willed them to shew by what Commission they came thither into another Prince's Dominions to war, whether from the Pope, or the King of *Spain*, or any other. The which when they said they had not, but were only Adventurers, that came to seek Fortune abroad, and to serve in Wars amongst the *Irish*, who desired to entertain them; it was then told them, that the *Irish* themselves, as the Earl and *John of Desmond*, with the rest, were no lawful Enemies, but Rebels and Traitors; and therefore they that came to succour them, no better than Rogues and Runnagates, specially coming with no Licence nor Commission from their own King: so as it should be dishonourable for him, in the name of his Queen, to condition, or make any Terms with such Rascals; but left them to their Choice, to yield and submit themselves, or no. Whereupon the said Colonel did absolutely yield himself and the Fort, with all therein, and craved only Mercy: which it being not thought good to shew them, for danger of them, if, being saved, they should afterward join with the *Irish*; and also for Terrour to the *Irish*, who are much emboldned by those forreign Succours, and also put in hope of more e'er long; there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made. Therefore most untruly and maliciously do these evil Tongues backbite and slander the
 1. Ashes of that most just and honourable Personage,
 whose

whose least Virtue, of many most excellent that abounded in his Heroick Spirit, they were never able to aspire unto.

Eudox. Truly, *Ireneus*, I am right glad to be thus satisfied by you, in that I have often heard it questioned, and yet was never able till now to choke the Mouth of such Detractors, with the certain Knowledge of their slanderous Untruths. Neither is the Knowledge hereof impertinent to that which we formerly had in hand: I mean, for the thorough prosecuting of that sharp Course which you have set down, for the bringing under of those Rebels of *Ulster* and *Connaght*, and preparing a way for their perpetual Reformation; lest haply by any such sinister Suggestions of Cruelty and too much Blood-shed, all the Plot might be overthrown, and all the Cost and Labour therein employed, be utterly lost and cast away.

Iren. You say most true; for after that Lord's calling away from thence, the two Lords Justices continued but a while: of which, the one was of mind (as it seemed) to have continued in the footing of his Predecessors, but that he was curbed and restrained. But the other was more mildly disposed, as was meet for his Profession, and willing to have all the Wounds of that Common-wealth healed and re-cured, but not with that heed as they should be. After, when Sir *John Perrot* succeeding (as it were) into another's Man's Harvest, found an open way to what Course he list, the which he bent not to that Point which the former Governours intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in scorn of the former, and in vain vaunt of his own Counsels, with the which he was too wilfully carried: for he did tread down and disgrace all the *English*, and set up and countenance the *Irish* all that he could; whether thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his Government, (wherein he thought much amiss) or privily plotting some other Purposes of his own, as it partly afterwards appeared. But surely his manner of Government could not be sound nor wholesome for that Realm, it being so contrary to the former, for it was even as two Physicians should take one f

in hand, at two sundry times; of which, the former would minister all things meet to purge and keep under the Body, the other to pamper and strengthen it suddenly again; whereof what is to be looked for but a most dangerous Relapse? That which we now see through his Rule, and the next after him, hapned thereunto, being now more dangerously sick than ever before. Therefore by all means it must be foreseen and assured, that after once entering into this Course of Reformation, there be afterwards no remorse nor drawing back for the sight of any such rueful Objects as must thereupon follow, nor for compassion of their Calamities; seeing that by no other means it is possible to cure them, and that these are not of will, but of very urgent necessity.

Eudox. Thus far then you have now proceeded to plant your Garrisons, and to direct their Services; of the which nevertheless I must needs conceive, that there cannot be any certain Direction set down, so that they must follow the Occasions which shall be daily offered, and diligently awaited. But by your leave, *Ireneus*, notwithstanding all this your careful foresight and provision, methinks I see an Evil lurk unesp'y'd, and that may chance to hazard all the hope of this great Service, if it be not very well looked into; and that is, the Corruption of their Captains: for though they be placed never so carefully, and their Companies filled never so sufficiently, yet may they, if they list, discard whom they please, and send away such as will perhaps willingly be rid of that dangerous and hard Service; the which (well I wote) is their common custom to do, when they are laid in Garrison, for then they may better hide their Defaults, than when they are in Camp, where they are continually eyed and noted of all Men. Besides, when their Pay cometh, they will, (as they say) detain the greatest Portions thereof at their pleasure, by a hundred shifts that need not here be named, through which they oftentimes deceive the Soldier, and abuse the Queen, and greatly hinder the Service. So that let the Queen pay never so fully, let the Muster-master view them never so diligently, let the Deputy or General
look

look to them never so exactly ; yet they can cozen them all. Therefore (me-thinks) it were good, if it be possible, to make provision for this Inconvenience.

Iren. It will surely be very hard ; but the chiefest help, for prevention hereof, must be the Care of the *Colonel* that hath the Government of all his Garison, to have an eye to their Alterations, to know the Numbers and Names of the sick Soldiers and the Slain, to mark and observe their Ranks in their daily rising forth to service, by which he cannot easily be abused ; so that he himself be a Man of special Assurance and Integrity. And therefore great regard is to be had in the choosing and appointing of them. Besides, I would not by any means, that the Captains should have the paying of their Soldiers, but that there should be a Paymaster appointed, of special Trust, which should pay every Man according to his Captain's Ticket, and the Accompt of the Clerk of his Band ; for by this means the Captain will never seek to falsify his Alterations, nor to diminish his Company, nor to deceive his Soldiers, when nothing thereof shall be sure to come unto himself, but what is his own bare Pay. And this is the manner of the *Spaniards* Captain, who never hath to meddle with his Soldier's Pay, and indeed scorneth the Name as base, to be counted his Soldier's *Pagadore* : Whereas the contrary amongst us hath brought things to so bad a pass, that there is no Captain but thinks his Band very sufficient, if he can muster 60, and sticks not to say openly, that he is unworthy to have a Captainship, that cannot make it worth 500 *l.* by the Year, the which they right well verify by the Proof.

Eudox. Truly I think this is a very good means to avoid that Inconvenience of Captains Abuses. But what say you to the *Colonel* ? What Authority think you meet to be given him ? Whether will you allow him to protect, or safe-conduct, and to have Martial Laws as they are accustomed ?

Iren. Yea verily, but all these to be limited with very strait Instructions. As first, for Protections ; that they shall have Authority, after the first Proclamation, for the space of twenty Days, to protect all that shall come in, and them to send to the Lord Deputy, with their Safe-

Conduct or Pass, to be at his disposition ; but so, as none of them return back again, being once come in, but be presently sent away out of the Countrey, to the next Sheriff, and so convey'd in safety. And likewise for Martial Law, that to the Soldier it be not extended, but by Trial formally of his Crime, by a Jury of his Fellow-Soldiers, as it ought to be, and not rashly, at the Will or Displeasure of the Colonel, as I have sometimes seen too lightly. And as for other of the Rebels that shall light into their hands, that they be well aware of what condition they be, and what holding they have. For in the last general Wars there, I knew many good Freeholders executed by Martial Law, whose Lands were thereby saved to their Heirs, which should have otherwise escheated to her Majesty. In all which, the great Discretion and Uprightness of the Colonel himself is to be the chief stay, both for all those Doubts, and for many other Difficulties that may in the Service happen.

Eudox. Your Caution is very good. But now touching the Arch-Rebel himself, I mean the Earl of *Tyrone*, if he, in all the time of these Wars, should offer to come in, and submit himself to her Majesty, would you not have him received, giving good Hostages, and sufficient Assurance of himself ?

Iren. No marry ; for there is no doubt but he will offer to come in, as he hath done divers times already ; but it is without any intent of true Submission, as the Effect hath well shewed ; neither indeed can he now, if he would come in at all, nor give that assurance of himself that should be meet : for being, as he is, very subtil-headed, seeing himself now so far engaged in this bad Action, can you think that by his Submission, he can purchase to himself any Safety, but that hereafter, when things shall be quieted, these his Villanies will be ever remembered ; and whensoever he shall tread awry, (as needs the most righteous must sometimes) advantage will be taken thereof, as a Breach of his Pardon, and he brought to a Reckoning for all former Matters. Besides, how hard it is now for him to frame himself to Subjection, that having
once

once set before his Eyes the hope of a Kingdom, hath thereunto not only found Encouragement from the greatest King in Christendom, but also found great Faintness in her Majesty's withstanding him; whereby he is animated to think, that his Power is able to defend him, and offend further than he hath done, whensoever he please; let every reasonable Man judge. But if he himself should come, and leave all other his Accomplices without, as *O-Donnel*, *Mac-mabone*, *Maguire*, and the rest; he must needs think, that then, even they will e'er long cut his Throat, which having drawn them all into this occasion, now in the midst of their Trouble giveth them the slip: whereby he must needs perceive, how impossible it is for him to submit himself. But yet if he would do so, can he give any good assurance of his Obedience? For how weak hold is there by Hostages, hath too often been proved; and that which is spoken of taking *Sban O-Neal's* Sons from him, and setting them up against him as a very perilous Counsel, and not by any means to be put in proof; for were they let forth, and could overthrow him, who should afterwards overthrow them, or what Assurance can be had of them? It will be like the Tale in *Æsop*, of the wild Horse, who having Enmity with the Stag, came to a Man to desire his Aid against his Foe; who yielding thereunto, mounted upon his Back, and so following the Stag, e'er long slew him: But then when the Horse would have him alight, he refused, but ever after kept him in his Subjection and Service. Such I doubt, would be the proof of *Sban O-Neal's* Sons: Therefore it is most dangerous to attempt any such Plot; for even that very manner of Plot was the means, by which this traiterous Earl is now made great. For when the last *O-Neal*, called *Terlagb Leinagb*, began to stand upon some tickle Terms, this Fellow then, called Baron of *Dunganon*, was set up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and strengthened by the Queen so far, as that he is now able to keep her self play; much like unto a Gamester, that having lost all, borroweth of his next Fellow-Gamester, somewhat to maintain play; which he setting unto him again, shortly thereby winneth all from the Winner.

Eudox. Was this Rebel then at first set up by the Queen (as you say) and now become so undutiful?

Iren. He was (I assure you) the most out-cast of all the *O-Neals* then, and lifted up by her Majesty out of the Dust, to that he hath now wrought himself unto: and now he playeth like the frozen Snake, who being for Compassion relieved by the Husbandman, soon after he was warm, began to hiss, and threaten Danger even to him and his.

Eudox. He surely then deserveth the Punishment of that Snake, and should worthily be hewed to pieces. But if you like not the letting forth of *Sban O-Neal's* Sons against him, what say you then of that Advice which (I heard) was given by some, to draw in *Scots* to serve against him? How like you that Advice?

Iren. Much worse than the former; for who that is experienced in those Parts knoweth not, that the *O-Neals* are nearly allied unto the *Mac-Neals* of *Scotland*, and to the Earls of *Argile*, from whence they use to have all Succours of those *Scots* and *Redshanks*? Besides, all these *Scots* are, through long continuance, intermingled and ally'd to all the Inhabitants of the North; so as there is no hope that they will ever be wrought to serve faithfully against their old Friends and Kinsmen: And though they would, how, when they have overthrown him, and the Wars are finished, shall they themselves be put out? Do we not all know, that the *Scots* were the first Inhabitants of all the North, and that those which now are called the *North-Irish*, are indeed very *Scots*, which challenge the ancient Inheritance and Dominion of that Countrey, to be their own anciently? This then were but to leap out of the Pan into the Fire: For the chiefest Caveat and Provision in Reformation of the North, must be to keep out those *Scots*.

Eudox. Indeed I remember, that in your Discourse of the first peopling of *Ireland*, you shewed, that the *Scythians* or *Scots* were the first that fate down in the North; whereby it seems, that they may challenge some right therein. How comes it then, that *O-Neals* claim the Dominion thereof,

thereof, and this Earl of *Tyrone* saith, that the Right is in him? I pray you resolve me herein; for it is very needful to be known, and maketh unto the Right of the War against him; whose Success useth commonly to be according to the Justness of the Cause for which it is made. For if *Tyrone* have any right in that Seigniory (methinks) it should be wrong to thrust him out: Or if (as I remember you said in the beginning) that *O-Neal* when he acknowledged the King of *England* for his Leige Lord and Sovereign, did (as he alledgeth) reserve in the same Submission his Seigniories and Rights unto himself, what should it be accounted to thrust him out of the same?

Iren. For the Right of *O-Neal* in the Seigniory of the North, it is surely none at all: For besides that the Kings of *England* conquered all the Realm, and thereby assumed and invested all the Right of that Land to themselves and their Heirs and Successors for ever, so as nothing was left in *O-Neal* but what he received back from them; *O-Neal* himself never had any ancient Seigniory over that Countrey, but what by Usurpation and Incroachment after the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, he got upon the *English*, whose Lands and Possessions being formerly wasted by the *Scots*, under the Leading of *Edward le Bruce*, (as I formerly declared unto you) he eftsoons entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other Occupations and great Affairs which the Kings of *England* (soon after) fell into here at home; so as they could not intend to the Recovery of that Countrey of the North, nor restrain the Insolency of *O-Neal*, who finding none now to withstand him, reigned in that Desolation, and made himself Lord of those few People that remained there, upon whom ever sithence he hath continued his first usurped Power, and now exacteth and extorteth upon all Men what he list: so that now to subdue or expel an Usurper, should be no unjust Enterprize or wrongful War, but a Restitution of ancient Right unto the Crown of *England*, from whence they were most unjustly expelled and long kept out.

Eudox. I am very glad herein to be thus satisfied by you, that I may the better satisfy them whom I have often heard to object these Doubts, and slanderously to bark at the Courses which are held against that traitorous Earl and his Adherents. But now that you have thus settled your Service for *Ulster* and *Connaght*, I would be glad to hear your Opinion for the prosecuting of *Feagh Mac-Hugh*; who being but a base Villain, and of himself of no power, yet so continually troubleth the State, notwithstanding that he lieth under their Nose, that I disdain his bold Arrogancy, and think it to be the greatest Indignity to the Queen that may be, to suffer such a Caitiff to play such *Rex*; and by his Ensamble, not only to give Heart and Encouragement to all such bad Rebels, but also to yield them Succour and Refuge against her Majesty, whensoever they fly unto his Comerick. Whereof I would first wish, before you enter into your Plot of Service against him, that you should lay open by what means, he being so base, first lifted himself up to this dangerous Greatness, and how he maintaineth his part against the Queen and her Power, notwithstanding all that hath been done and attempted against him: And whether also he have any pretence of Right in the Lands which he holdeth, or in the Wars that he maketh for the same.

Iren. I will so, at your pleasure; and will further declare, not only the first Beginning of his private House, but also the Original of the Sept of the *Birns* and *Tools*, so far as I have learned the same from some of themselves, and gathered the rest by reading. The People of the *Birns* and *Tools* (as before I shewed unto you my Conjecture) descended from the ancient *Britains*, which first inhabited all those Eastern parts of *Ireland*, as their Names do be-token; for *Brin* in the *British* Language signifieth woody, and *Tool* hilly: which Names it seemeth they took of the Countries which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody. In the which it seemeth that ever since the coming in of the *English* with *Dermot ni-Gall*, they have continued: Whether that their Countrey being so rude and mountainous was of them despised, and thought

thought unworthy the inhabiting, or that they were received to grace by them, and suffered to enjoy their Lands, as unfit for any other; yet it seemeth that in some Places of the same they have put foot, and fortified with sundry Castles, of which the Ruines only do there now remain: since which time they are grown to that strength, that they are able to lift up Hand against all that State; and now lately through the Boldness and late good Success of this *Feagh Mac-Hugh*, they are so far imboldned, that they threaten Peril even to *Dublin*, over whose Neck they continually hang. But touching your demand of this *Feagh's* Right unto that Countrey which he claims, or the Seigniorie therein, it is most vain and arrogant. For this you cannot be ignorant, that it was part of that which was given in Inheritance by *Dermot Mac-Morrrough* King of *Leinster*, unto *Strongbow* with his Daughter, and which *Strongbow* gave over unto the King and his Heirs; so as the Right is absolutely now in her Majesty, and if it were not, yet could it not be in this *Feagh*, but in *O-Brin*, which is the ancient Lord of all that Country: for he and his Ancestors were but Followers unto *O-Brin*, and his Grand father *Sbane Mac-Terlagh* was a Man of meanest Regard amongst them, neither having Wealth nor Power. But his Son *Hugh Mac-Sbane*, the Father of this *Feagh*, first began to lift up his Head, and thro' the Strength and great Fastness of *Glan-Malor*, which adjoineth unto his House of *Ballinecor*, drew unto him many Thieves and Outlaws, which fled unto the Succour of that *Glynn*, as to a Sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the Spoil of all the Country; thro' which he grew strong, and in short space got unto himself a great Name thereby amongst the *Irish*: in whose Footing this his Son continuing, hath thro' many unhappy Occasions increased his said Name, and the Opinion of his Greatness, insomuch that now he is become a dangerous Enemy to deal withal.

Eudox. Surely I can commend him, that being of himself of so mean Condition, hath through his own Hardiness lifted himself up to that height, that he dare now front Princes, and make Terms with great Potentates; the
which

which as it is to him honourable, so it is to them most disgraceful, to be bearded of such a base Varlet, that being but of late grown out of the Dunghil, beginneth now to overcrow so high Mountains, and make himself the great Protector of all Out-laws and Rebels that will repair unto him. But do you think he is now so dangerous an Enemy as he is counted, or that it is so hard to take him down as some suppose?

Iren. No verily, there is no great reckoning to be made of him; for had he ever been taken in hand, when the rest of the Realm (or at least the Parts adjoining) had been quiet, as the honourable Gentleman that now governeth there (I mean Sir *William Ruffel*) gave a notable attempt thereunto, and had worthily perform'd it, if his Course had not been crossed unhappily, he could not have stood three Months, nor ever have looked up against a very mean Power: but now all the Parts about him being up in a madding Mood, as the *Moores* in *Leix*, the *Cavenoghes* in the Country of *Wexford*, and some of the *Butlers* in the County of *Kilkenny*; they all flock unto him, and draw into his Country, as to a strong Hold where they think to be safe from all that prosecute them: And from thence they do at their pleasures break out into all the Borders adjoining, which are well-peopled Countrys, as the Counties of *Dublin*, of *Kildare*, of *Catberlagh*, of *Kilkenny*, of *Wexford*, with the Spoils whereof they victual and strengthen themselves, which otherwise should in short time be starved, and fore pined; so that what he is of himself, you may hereby perceive.

Eudox. Then by so much as I gather out of your Speech, the next way to end the Wars with him, and to rout him quite, should be to keep him from invading of those Countrys adjoining; which (as I suppose) is to be done, either by drawing all the Inhabitants of those next Borders away, and leaving them utterly waste, or by planting Garisons upon all those Frontiers about him, that when he shall break forth, may set upon him and shorten his Return.

Iren. You conceive very rightly, *Eudoxus*: but for that the dispeopling and driving away all the Inhabitants from
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the Country about him, which you speak of, should be a great Confusion and Trouble, as well for the Unwillingness of them to leave their Possessions, as also for placing and providing for them in other Countrys; methinks the better Course should be by planting of Garrisons about him, which whensoever he shall look forth, or be drawn out with the Desire of the Spoil of those Borders, or for Necessity of Victual, shall be always ready to intercept his going or coming.

Eudox. Where then do you wish those Garrisons to be planted, that they may serve best against him, and how many in every Garrison?

Iren. I my self, by reason that (as I told you) I am no martial Man, will not take upon me to direct so dangerous Affairs; but only as I understood by the Purposes and Plots, which the Lord *Grey*, who was well experienc'd in that Service, against him did lay down: To the Performance whereof he only required 1000 Men to be laid in six Garrisons; that is, at *Ballinecor* 200 Footmen and 50 Horsemen, which should shut him out of his great *Glynn*, whereto he so much trusteth; at *Knocklough* 200 Footmen and 50 Horsemen, to answer the County of *Catherlagh*; at *Arclo* to *Wicklow* 200 Footmen and 50 Horsemen, to defend all that side towards the Sea; in *Sbillelagh* 100 Footmen, which should cut him from the *Cavenaghes*, and the County of *Wexford*; and about the three Castles 50 Horsemen, which should defend all the County of *Dublin*; and 100 Footmen at *Talbots-Town*, which should keep him from breaking out into the County of *Kildare*, and be always on his Neck on that side. The which Garrisons so laid, will so busy him, that he shall never rest at home, nor stir forth abroad, but he shall be had. As for his Creet, they cannot be above ground, but they must needs fall into their hands or starve, for he hath no Fastness nor Refuge for them. And as for his Partakers of the *Moors*, *Butlers*, and *Cavenaghes*, they will soon leave him, when they see his Fastness and strong Places thus taken from him.

Eudox. Surely this seemeth a Plot of great Reason and small Difficulty, which promiseth Hope of a short end : But what special Directions will you set down for the Services and Risings out of these Garisons ?

Iren. None other than the present Occasions shall minister unto them ; and as by good Espials, whereof there they cannot want store, they shall be drawn continually upon him, so as one of them shall be still upon him, and sometimes all at one instant baiting him. And this (I assure my self) will demand no long time, but will be all finished in the space of one Year, which how small a thing it is unto the eternal Quietness which shall thereby be purchased to that Realm, and the great Good which should grow to her Majesty, should methinks readily draw on her Highness to the undertaking of the Enterprise.

Eudox. You have very well (methinks) *Ireneus*, plotted a Course for the atchieving of those Wars now in *Ireland*, which seems to ask no long Time, nor great Charge, so as the effecting thereof be committed to Men of sure Trust and sound Experience, as well in that Countrey, as in the manner of those Services ; for if it be left in the hands of such raw Captains as are usually sent out of *England*, being thereunto only preferred by Friendship, and not chosen by Sufficiency, it will soon fall to the ground.

Iren. Therefore it were meet (methinks) that such Captains only were thereunto employed, as have formerly served in that Countrey, and been at least Lieutenants unto other Captains there. For otherwise being brought and transferred from other Services abroad, as in *France*, in *Spain*, 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 of 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 but short, in which it might be finished, almost before they have taken out a new Lesson, or can tell what is to be done.

Eudox.

Eudox. You are no good Friend to new Captains; it seems, *Ireneus*, that you bar them from the credit of this Service: but, to say truth, methinks it were meet, that any one before he came to be a Captain, should have been a Soldier; for, *Parere qui nescit, nescit imperare*. And besides, there is a great wrong done to the old Soldier, from whom all means of Advancement, which is due unto him, is cut off, by shuffling in these new cutting Captains into the place for which he hath long served, and perhaps better deserved. But now that you have thus (as I suppose) finished all the War, and brought all things to that low Ebb which you speak of, what Course will you take for the bringing in of that Reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this desolate Estate? in which, methinks, I behold them now left, unto that perfect Establishment and new Commonwealth which you have conceived of, by which so great Good may redound unto her Majesty, and an assured Peace be confirmed; for that is it whereunto we are now to look, and do greatly long for, being long sithence, made weary with the huge Charge which you have laid upon us, and with the strong Indurance of so many Complaints, so many Delays, so many Doubts and Dangers, as will hereof, I know well, arise: unto the which, before we come, it were meet, methinks, that you should take some Order for the Soldier, which is now first to be discharged and disposed of some way; the which if you do not well foresee, may grow to as great Inconvenience, as all this that I suppose you have quit us from, by the loose leaving off so many thousand Soldiers, which from thenceforth will be unfit for any Labour or other Trade, but must either seek Service and Employment abroad, which may be dangerous, or else employ themselves here at home, as may be discommodious.

Iren. You say very true, and it is a thing much disliked in this our Commonwealth, that no better Course is taken for such as have been employed in Service, but that returning, whether maimed, and so unable to labour, or otherwise whole and sound, yet afterwards unwilling to work, or rather willing to set the Hangman on work. But

that needeth another Consideration ; but to this which we have now in hand, it is far from my meaning to leave the Soldier so at random, or to leave that waste Realm so weak and destitute of Strength ; which may both defend it against others that might seek then to set upon it, and also keep it from that Relapse which I before did forecast. For it is one special good of this Plot, which I would devise, that 6000 Soldiers of these whom I have now employed in this Service, and made throughly acquainted, both with the State of the Countrey and Manners of the People, should henceforth be still continued, and for ever maintained of the Countrey, without any Charge to her Majesty ; and the rest, that are either old, and unable to serve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have seen many Soldiers, after the Service, to prove very good Husbands, should be placed in part of the Lands by them won, at such rate, or rather better than others, to whom the same shall be set out.

Eudox. Is it possible, *Ireneus* ? Can there be any such means devised, that so many Men should be kept still in her Majesty's Service, without any Charge to her at all ? Surely this were an exceeding great Good, both to her Highness, to have so many old Soldiers always ready at call, to what purpose soever she list to employ them ; and also to have that Land thereby so strengthened, that it shall neither fear any foreign Invasion, nor Practice which the *Irish* shall ever attempt, but shall keep them under in continual Awe, and firm Obedience.

Iren. It is so indeed : And yet this truly I do not take to be any matter of great difficulty, as I think it will also soon appear unto you. And first, we will speak of the North Part, for that the same is of more Weight and importance. So soon as it shall appear that the Enemy is brought down, and the stout Rebel either cut off, or driven to that Wretchedness, that he is no longer able to hold up his Head, but will come into any Conditions, which I assure my self will be before the end of the second Winter ; I wish that there be a general Proclamation made, whatsoever Out-laws will freely come in, and submit themselves

themselves to her Majesty's Mercy, shall have liberty so to do, where they shall either find that Grace they desire, or have leave to return again 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 meet for Subjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or else all of them (for I think that all will be but a very few) upon Condition and Assurance, that they will submit themselves absolutely to her Majesty's Ordinance for them, by which they shall be assured of Life and Liberty, and be only tied to such Conditions as shall be thought by her meet for containing them ever after in due Obedience. To the which Conditions I nothing doubt, but they will all most readily, and upon their Knees, submit themselves, by the Proof of that which I have seen in *Mounster*. For upon the like Proclamation there, they all came in both tag and rag; and whenas afterwards many of them were denied to be received, they bade them do with them what they would, for they would not by any means return again, nor go forth. For in that Case, who will not accept almost of any Conditions, rather than die of Hunger and Misery?

Eudox. It is very likely so. But what then is the Ordinance, and what be the Conditions which you will propose unto them, which shall reserve unto them an Assurance of Life and Liberty?

Iren. So soon then as they have given the best Assurance of themselves which may be required, which must be (I suppose) some of their principal Men, to remain in Hostage one for another, and some other for the rest; for other Surety I reckon of none that may bind them, neither of Wife, nor of Children, since then perhaps they would gladly be rid of both from the Famine; I would have them first unarmed utterly, and stripped quite of all their warlike Weapons, and then these Conditions set down and made known unto them, that they shall be placed in *Leinster*, and have Land given them to occupy and to live upon, in such sort as shall become good Subjects, to labour thenceforth for their Living, and to apply themselves to

honest Trades of Civility, as they shall every one be found meet and able for.

Eudox. Where then a God's name will you place them in *Leinster*? or will you find out any new Land there for them that is yet unknown?

Iren. No, I will place them all in the Country of the *Birnes* and *Tooles*, which *Pbeagb Mac-Hugh* hath; and in all the Lands of the *Cavanagbes*, which are now in Rebellion; and all the Lands which will fall to her Majesty thereabouts, which I know to be very spacious, and large enough to contain them, being very near twenty or thirty Miles wide.

Eudox. But then what will you do with all the *Birnes*, the *Tooles*, and the *Cavanagbes*, and all those that now are joined with them?

Iren. At the same very time, and in the same very manner that I make that Proclamation to them of *Ulster*, will I also have it made to these; and upon their Submission thereunto, I will take like Assurance of them as of the other. After which, I will translate all that remain of them unto the Places of the other in *Ulster*, with all their Creet, and what else they have left them; the which I will cause to be divided amongst them in some meet sort, as each may thereby have somewhat to sustain himself a while withal, until by his further Travel and Labour of the Earth, he shall be able to provide himself better.

Eudox. But will you give the Land then freely unto them, and make them Heirs of the former Rebels? so may you perhaps make them also Heirs of all their former Villanies and Disorders; or how else will you dispose of them?

Iren. Not so: but all the Lands will I give unto *Englishmen*, whom I will have drawn thither, who shall have the same, with such Estates as shall be thought meet, and for such Rent as shall estfoons be rated. Under every of those *Englishmen* will I place some of those *Irish* to be Tenants, for a certain Rent, according to the Quantity of such Land as every Man shall have allotted unto him, and shall be found able to wield; wherein this special regard shall

shall be had, that in no place under any Landlord, there shall be many of them placed together, but dispersed wide from their Acquaintance, and scattered far abroad through all the Country. For that is the Evil which now I find in all *Ireland*, that the *Irish* dwell altogether by their Septs, and several Nations, so as they may practise or conspire what they will: whereas if there were *English* well placed among them, they should not be able once to stir or to murmur, but that it should be known, and they shortned according to their Demerits.

Eudox. You have good reason; but what rating of Rents mean you? to what end do you purpose the same?

Iren. My Purpose is, to rate the Rent of all those Lands of her Majesty, in such sort unto those *Englishmen* which shall take them, as they shall be well able to live thereupon, to yield her Majesty reasonable Chiefrie, and also give a competent Maintenance unto the Garrisons which shall be there left amongst them: For those Soldiers (as I told you) remaining of the former Garisons, I cast to maintain upon the Rent of those Lands which shall be escheated, and to have them divided through all *Ireland*, in such places as shall be thought most convenient, and occasion may require. And this was the Course which the *Romans* observed in the Conquest of *England*; for they planted some of their Legions in all places convenient, the which they caused the Country to maintain, cutting upon every Portion of Land a reasonable Rent, which they called *Romescot*, the which might not surcharge the Tenant or Freeholder, and might defray the Pay of the Garison: and this hath been always observed by all Princes, in all Countrys to them newly subdued, to set Garisons amongst them, to contain them in Duty, whose Burden they made them to bear. And the want of this Ordinance in the first Conquest of *Ireland* by *Henry* the Second, was the Cause of the so short Decay of that Government, and the quick Recovery again of the *Irish*. Therefore by all means it is to be provided for. And this [is that I would blame, if it should not mis-become me, in the late planting of *Mounster*, that no care was had of this Ordinance,

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nor any strength of Garison provided for, by a certain Allowance out of the said Lands; but only the present Profit looked into, and the safe Continuance thereof for ever hereafter neglected.

Eudox. But there is a Band of Soldiers laid in *Mounster*, to the Maintenance of which, what odds is there whether the Queen, receiving the Rent of the Country, do give pay at her pleasure, or that there be a settled Allowance appointed unto them out of her Lands there?

Iren. There is great odds: for now that said Rent of the Country is not appointed to the Pay of the Soldiers, but it is, by every other occasion coming between, converted to other Uses, and the Soldiers, in time of Peace, discharged and neglected as unnecessary: Whereas if the said Rent were appointed and ordained by an Establishment to this end only, it should not be turned to any other; nor in troublous Times, upon every occasion, her Majesty be so troubled with sending over new Soldiers as she is now; nor the Country ever should dare to mutiny, having still the Soldier in their Neck; nor any foreign Enemy dare to invade, knowing there so strong and great a Garison, always ready to receive them.

Eudox. Sith then you think that this *Romescot* of the Pay of the Soldiers upon the Land, to be both the readiest way to the Soldiers, and least troublesom to her Majesty; tell us (I pray you) how would you have the said Lands rated, that both a Rent may rise thereout unto the Queen and also the Soldiers receive Pay? which, methinks, will be hard.

Iren. First, we are to consider, how much Land there is in all *Ulster*, that according to the Quantity thereof we may cels the said Rent and Allowance issuing thereout. *Ulster* (as the antient Records of that Realm do testify) doth contain 9000 Plow-Lands, every of which Plow-Lands containeth 120 Acres, after the rate of 21 Foot to every Perch of the Acre: every of which Plow-Lands I will rate at 40s. by the Year; the which yearly Rent amounteth in the whole to 18000*l.* besides 6*s.* 8*d.* Chiefly out of every Plow-Land, But because the County of
Louth,

Louth, being a part of *Ulster*, and containing in it 712 Plow-Lands, is not wholly to escheat to her Majesty, as the rest, they having in all their Wars continued, for the most part, dutiful, though otherwise a great part thereof is now under the Rebels; there is an Abatement to be made thereout of 400 or 500 Plow-Lands, as I estimate the same, the which are not to pay the whole yearly Rent of 40 s. out of every Plow-Land, like as the escheated Lands do, but yet shall pay for their Composition of Cefs towards the keeping of Soldiers, 20 s. out of every Plow-Land: so as there is to be deducted out of the former Sum 200 or 300 *l.* yearly; the which may nevertheless be supplied by the Rent of the Fishings, which are exceeding great in *Ulster*, and also by an Increase of Rent in the best Lands, and those that lie in the best Places near the Sea-Coast. The which 18000 *l.* will defray the Entertainment of 1500 Soldiers, with some Over-plus towards the Pay of the Victuallers, which are to be employed in the victualling of these Garisons.

Eudox. So then belike you mean to leave 15000 Soldiers in Garisons for *Ulster*, to be paid principally out of the Rent of those Lands, which shall be there escheated unto her Majesty. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garisoned?

Iren. I will have them divided into three parts; that is, 500 in every Garison, the which I will have to remain in three of the same Places where they were before appointed; to wit, 500 at *Strabane* and about *Loughfoile*, so as they may hold all the Passages of that part of the Countrey; and some of them be put in Wards upon all the Straits thereabouts, which I know to be such, as may stop all Passages into the Countrey on that side; and some of them also upon the *Ban*, up towards *Lough-Sidney*, as I formerly directed. Also other 500 at the Fort upon *Lough-Earne*, and Wards taken out of them, which shall be laid at *Fermannagh*, at *Bealick*, at *Ballyshannon*, and all the Straits towards *Connaght*; the which, I know, do so strongly command all the Passages that way, as that none can pass from *Ulster* into *Connaght* without their leave.

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The last 500 shall also remain in their Fort at *Monogaban*, and some of them be drawn into Wards, to keep the *Kaies* of all that Countrey, both downwards, and also towards *O-Relie's* Countrey and the Pale; and some at *Eniskillin*, some at *Belturbut*, some at the Black Fort, and so along that River, as I formerly shewed in the first planting of them. And moreover, at every of these Forts, I would have the Seat of a Town laid forth and encompassed, in the which I would wish, that there should be Inhabitants placed of all sorts, as Merchants, Artificers, and Husbandmen, to whom there should Charters and Franchises be granted to incorporate them. The which, as it will be no matter of Difficulty to draw out of *England* Persons, which would very gladly be so placed, so would it in short space turn those Parts to great Commodity, and bring, e'er long, to her Majesty much Profit; for those Places are so fit for Trade and Traffick, having most convenient Out-gates by divers ways to the Sea, and In-gates to the richest parts of the Land, that they would soon be enriched, and mightily enlarged; for the very seating of the Garisons by them, besides the Safety and Assurance which they shall work unto them, will also draw thither store of People and Trade, as I have ensample at *Mariborough* and *Philipstown* in *Leinster*; where by reason of these two Forts, though there be but small Wards left in them, there are two good Towns now grown, which are the greatest Stay of both those two Countreys.

Eudox. Indeed (methinks) three such Towns as you say, would do very well in those Places with the Garisons, and in short space would be so augmented, as they would be able with little to in-wall themselves strongly. But for planting of all the rest of the Countrey, what Order would you take?

Iren. What other then (as I said) to bring People out of *England*, which should inhabit the same; whereunto, though I doubt not but great Troops would be ready to run, yet for that in such cases, the worst and most decayed Men are most ready to remove, I would wish them rather to be chosen out of all Places of this Realm, either by
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Discretion of wise Men thereunto appointed, or by Lot, or by the Drum, as was the old use in sending forth of Colonies, or such other good Means as shall in their Wisdom be thought meetest. Amongst the chief of which, I would have the Land set into Seigniories, in such sort as it is now in *Mounster*, and divided into Hundreds and Parishes, or Wards, as it is in *England*, and laid out into Shires, as it was anciently, viz. the County of *Down*, the County of *Antrim*, the County of *Louth*, the County of *Armagh*, the County of *Cavan*, the County of *Colerane*, the County of *Monaghan*, the County of *Tyrone*, the County of *Fermannagh*, the County of *Donnegall*, being in all ten. Over all which, I wish a Lord President, and a Council to be placed, which may keep them afterwards in Awe and Obedience, and minister unto them Justice and Equity.

Eudox. Thus I see the whole purpose of your Plot for *Ulster*; and now I desire to hear your like Opinion for *Connaght*.

Iren. By that which I have already said of *Ulster*, you may gather my Opinion for *Connaght*, being very answerable to the former. But for that the Lands which shall therein escheat unto her Majesty, are not so intirely together, as that they can be accompted in one Sum, it needeth that they be considered severally. The Province of *Connaght* in the whole containeth (as appeareth by the Records of *Dublin*) 7200 Plow-lands of the former Measure, and is of late divided into six Shires or Counties; the County of *Clare*, the County of *Leytrim*, the County of *Roscoman*, the County of *Galway*, the County of *Maio*, and the County of *Sligo*. Of the which, all the County of *Sligo*, all the County of *Maio*, the most part of the County of *Roscoman*, the most part of the County of *Leytrim*, a great part of the County of *Galway*, and some of the County of *Clare*, is like to escheat to her Majesty for the Rebellion of their present Possessors. The which two Counties of *Sligo* and *Maio* are supposed to contain almost 3000 Plow-lands, the Rent whereof rateably to the former, I value almost at 6000 *l. per Annum*.

Annum. The County of *Roscoman*, saving that which pertaineth to the House of *Roscoman*, and some few other *English* there lately seated, is all one, and therefore it is wholly likewise to escheat to her Majesty, saving those Portions of *English* Inhabitants; and even those *English* do (as I understand by them) pay as much Rent to her Majesty, as is set upon those in *Ulster*; counting their Composition-Money therewithal, so as it may all run into one reckoning with the former two Counties. So that this County of *Roscoman* containing 1200 Plow-lands, as it is accompted, amounteth to 2400 *l.* by the Year, which with the former two Counties Rent, maketh about 8300 *l.* for the former wanted somewhat. But what the escheated Lands of the County of *Galway* and *Leytrim* will rise unto, is yet uncertain to define, till survey thereof be made; for that those Lands are intermingled with the Earl of *Clanricard's*, and other Lands: but it is thought they be the one half of both those Counties, so as they may be counted to the Value of one whole County, which containeth above 1000 Plow-lands, for so many the least County of them all comprehendeth, which maketh 2000 *l.* more, that is in all ten or eleven thousand Pounds. The other two Counties must remain till their Escheats appear; the which letting pass yet, as unknown, yet this much is known to be accompted for certain, that the Composition of these two Counties being rated at 20 *s.* every Plow-land, will amount to above 2000 Pounds more; all which being laid together to the former, may be reasonably estimated to rise unto 13000 Pounds: the which Sum, together with the Rent of the escheated Lands in the two last Counties, which cannot yet be valued, being, as I doubt not, no less than a thousand Pounds more; will yield Pay largely unto 1000 Men and their Victuallers, and 1000 Pounds over towards the Governor.

Eudox. You have (methinks) made but an Estimate of those Lands of *Connaght* even at a very venture, so as it should be hard to build any Certainty of Charge, to be raised upon the same.

Iren.

Iren. Not altogether upon Uncertainties; for this much may easily appear unto you to be certain, as the Composition-Money of every Plow-land amounteth unto; for this I would have you principally to understand, that my purpose is to rate all the Lands in *Ireland* at 20 Shillings every Plow-land, for their Composition towards the Garison. The which I know, in regard of being freed from all other Charges whatsoever, will be readily and most gladly yielded unto. So that there being in all *Ireland* (as appeareth by their old Records) 43920 Plow-lands, the same shall amount to the Sum likewise of 43920 Pounds; and the rest to be reared of the escheated Lands which fall to her Majesty in the said Provinces of *Ulster*, *Connaght*, and that part of *Leinster* under the Rebels, for *Mounster* we deal not yet withal.

Eudox. But tell me this by the way, do you then lay Composition upon the escheated Lands, as you do upon the rest? for so (methinks) you reckon altogether. And that sure were too much to pay seven Nobles out of every Plow-land, and Composition-Money besides, that is, 20 Shillings out of every Plow-land.

Iren. No, you mistake me, I do put only seven Nobles Rent and Composition both upon every Plow-land escheated; that is, 40 Shillings for Composition, and 6 Shillings and 8 Pence for Chiefry to her Majesty.

Eudox. I do now conceive you: proceed then (I pray you) to the appointing of your Garisons in *Connaght*, and shew us both how many, and where you would have them placed.

Iren. I would have 1000 laid in *Connaght*, in two Garisons; namely, 500 in the County of *Maio*, about *Clan Mac-Costilagh*, which shall keep all *Maie* and the *Bourkes* of *Mac-William Eighter*: The other 500 in the County of *Galway*, about *Garandough*, that they may contain the *Connors* and the *Bourkes* there, the *Kellies* and *Murries*, with all them thereabouts; for that Garison which I formerly placed at *Lougbearn* will serve for all Occasions in the County of *Sligo*, being near adjoyning thereunto; so as in one Night's march, they may be almost in any place thereof, when

need shall require them. And like as in the former Places of Garisons in *Ulster*, I wished three Corporate Towns to be planted, which under the Safe-guard of that Strength should dwell and trade safely with all the Countrey about them; so would I also wish to be in this of *Connaght*: and that, besides, there were another established at *Atblone*, with a convenient Ward in the Castle there for their Defence.

Eudox. What should that need, seeing the Governour of *Connaght* useth to lie there always, whose Presence will be a Defence to all that Township?

Iren. I know he doth so, but that is much to be disliked, that the Governour should lie so far off, in the remotest place of all the Province, whereas it were meeter that he should be continually abiding in the midst of the Charge; that he might both look out alike unto all Places of his Government, and also be soon at hand in any Place where occasion shall demand him; for the Presence of the Governour is (as you said) a great Stay and Bridle unto those that are ill disposed: like as I see it is well observed in *Mounster*, where the daily good thereof is continually apparent. And for this cause also, do I greatly mislike the Lord Deputy's seating at *Dublin*, being the outest Corner of the Realm, and least needing the Awe of his Presence; whereas (methinks) it were fitter, since his proper Care is of *Leinster*, though he have Care of all besides generally, that he should seat himself at *Athie*, or thereabouts, upon the Skirt of that unquiet Countrey; so that he might sit as it were at the very Main-Mast of his Ship; whence he might easily over-look, and sometimes over-reach the *Moores*, the *Dempsies*, the *Connors*, *O-Carroll*, *O-Molloy*, and all that heap of *Irish* Nations which there lie hudled together, without any to over-awe them, or contain them in Duty. For the *Irish-man* (I assure you) fears the Government no longer, than he is within sight or reach.

Eudox. Surely (methinks) herein you observe a matter of much Importance, more than I have heard ever noted; but sure that seems so expedient, as that I wonder that heretofore it hath been overseen or omitted: but I suppose
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the Instance of the Citizens of *Dublin* is the greatest lett thereof.

Iren. Truly then it ought not so to be, for no cause have they to fear that it will be any hindrance to them; for *Dublin* will be still as it is, the Key of all Passages and Transportations out of *England* thither, to no less Profit of those Citizens than it now is; and besides, other Places will hereby receive some Benefit. But let us now (I pray you) come to *Leinster*, in the which I would wish the same Course to be observed that was in *Ulster*.

Eudox. You mean for the leaving of the Garisons in their Forts, and for planting of *English* in all those Countreys, between the County of *Dublin* and the County of *Wexford*; but those waste wild Places, I think when they are won unto her Majesty, that there is none which will be hasty to seek to inhabit.

Iren. Yes, enough, (I warrant you) for though the whole Track of the Countrey be mountainous and woody, yet there are many goodly Valleys amongst them, fit for fair Habitations; to which those Mountains adjoyned will be a great increase of Pasturage; for that Countrey is a great Soil of Cattle, and very fit for Breed. As for Corn, it is nothing natural, save only for Barley and Oats, and some places for Rye; and therefore the larger Pennyworths may be allowed to them; though otherwise the wideness of the mountain Pasturage do recompense the badness of the Soil; so as I doubt not but it will find Inhabitants and Undertakers enough.

Eudox. How much do you think that all those Lands, which *Feagh Mac-Hugh* holdeth under him, may amount unto, and what Rent may be reared thereout, to the Maintenance of the Garisons that shall be laid there?

Iren. Truly it is impossible by aim to tell it, and for Experience and Knowledge thereof, I do not think that there was ever any of the Particulars thereof; but yet I will (if it please you) guess thereat, upon ground only of their Judgment, which have formerly divided all that Countrey into two Shires or Counties; namely, the County of *Wicklow*, and the County of *Fernes*. The which two I see no

cause but that they should wholly escheat to her Majesty, all save the Baronry *Arlo*, which is the Earl of *Ormond's* ancient Inheritance, and hath ever been in his Possession; for all the whole Land is the Queen's, unless there be some Grant of any part thereof, to be shewed from her Majesty; as I think there is only of *New-Castle* to Sir *Henry Harrington*, and of the Castle of *Fernes* to Sir *Thomas Maister*; the rest, being almost thirty Miles over, I do suppose can contain no less than 2000 Plow-lands, which I will estimate at 4000 *l.* Rent by the Year. The rest of *Leinster*, being seven Counties, to wit, the County of *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Catherlagh*, *Wexford*, *Kilkenny*, the *King's* and the *Queen's* County, do contain in them 7400 Plow-lands, which amounteth to so many Pounds for Composition to the Garison; that makes in the whole 11400 *l.* which Sum will yield Pay unto 1000 Soldiers, little wanting, which may be supplied out of other Lands of the *Cavenaghes*, which are to be escheated to her Majesty, for the Rebellion of their Possessors; though otherwise indeed they be of her own ancient Demeas'n.

Eudox. It is great reason. But tell us now where you will wish those Garisons to be laid, whether all together, or to be dispersed in sundry places of the Countrey?

Iren. Marry in sundry places, *viz.* in this sort, or much the like as may be better advised; for 200 in a place I do think to be enough for the Safeguard of that Countrey, and keeping under all sudden Upstarts, that shall seek to trouble the Peace thereof: Therefore I wish 200 to be laid at *Bal-linecor*, for the keeping of all bad Persons from *Glan-malor*, and all the Fastnesses thereabouts, and also to contain all that shall be planted in those Lands thenceforth. Another 200 at *Knockelough* in their former place of Garison, to keep the *Bracknagh*, and all those Mountains of the *Cavenaghes*. 200 more to lie at *Fernes*, and upwards, inward upon the *Slane*. 200 to be placed at the Fort of *Leix*, to restrain the *Moors*, *Upper-Ossory*, and *O-Carrol*. Other 200 at the Fort of *Osaly*, to curb the *O-Conners*, *O-Molloyes*, *Mac-Coghlan*, *Mageogbegan*, and all those *Irish* Nations bordering thereabouts.

Eudox.

Eudox. Thus I see all your Men bestow'd in *Leinster*; what think you then of *Meath*?

Iren. *Meath*, which containeth both *East-Meath* and *West-Meath*, and of late the *Annaly*, now called the County of *Longford*, is counted thereunto: But *Meath* it self, according to the old Records, containeth 4320 Plow-lands, and the County of *Longford* 947, which in the whole makes 5267 Plow-lands; of which, the Composition-Money will amount likewise to 5267 *l.* to the Maintenance of the Garison. But because all *Meath*, lying in the Bosom of that Kingdom, is always quiet enough, it is needless to put any Garison there, so as all that Charge may be spared. But in the County of *Longford*, I wish 200 Footmen and 50 Horsemen to be placed in some convenient Seat, between the *Annaly* and the *Breny*, as about *Lough-Sillon*, or some like place of that River, so as they might keep both the *O-Relies*, and also the *O-Ferrals*, and all that Out-skirt of *Meath*, in awe; the which use upon every light Occasion to be stirring, and having continual Enmity amongst themselves, do thereby oftentimes trouble all those Parts; the Charge whereof being 3400 and odd Pounds, is to be cut out of that Composition-Mony for *Meath* and *Longford*; the Overplus being almost 2000 *l.* by the Year, will come in clearly to her Majesty.

Eudox. It is worth the hearkning unto. But now that you have done with *Meath*, proceed (I pray you) to *Mounster*, that we may see how it will rise there for the Maintenance of the Garison.

Iren. *Mounster* containeth, by Record at *Dublin*, 16000 Plow-lands; the Composition whereof, as the rest, will make 16000 *l.* by the Year: out of the which I would have 1000 Soldiers to be maintained for the Defence of that Province, the Charge whereof, with the Victuallers Wages, will amount to 1200 *l.* by the Year; the other 4000 *l.* will defray the Charge of the Presidency and the Council of that Province.

Eudox. The Reckoning is easy; but in this account, by your leave, (methinks) you are deceived; for in this Sum of the Composition-mony, you account the Lands of the

Undertakers of that Province, who are, by their Grant from the Queen, to be freed from all such Impositions whatsoever, excepting their only Rent, which is surely enough.

Iren. You say true, I did so; but the same 20s. for every Plow-land, I mean to have deducted out of that Rent due upon them to her Majesty: which is no hindrance nor Charge at all more to her Majesty than it now is; for all that Rent which she receives of them, she putteth forth again to the Maintenance of the Presidency there, the Charge whereof it doth scarcely defray; whereas in this Account, both that Charge of the Presidency, and also of 1000 Soldiers more shall be maintained.

Eudox. It should be well if it could be brought to that. But now, where will you have your 1000 Men garison'd?

Iren. I would have 100 of them placed at the *Bantry*, where is a most fit place, not only to defend all that side of the West part from foreign Invasion, but also to answer all Occasions of Troubles, to which that Countrey being so remote, is very subject. And surely there also would be planted a good Town, having both a good Haven and a plentiful Fishing, and the Land being already cheated to her Majesty, but being forcibly kept from her by one that proclaims himself the Bastard Son of the Earl of *Clancar*, being called *Donell Mac-Carty*, whom it is meet to foresee to: For whensoever the Earl shall die, all those Lands (after him) are to come unto her Majesty, he is like to make a foul Stir there, though of himself no Power, yet through supportance of some others, who lie in the Wind, and look after the Fall of that Inheritance. Another 100 I would have placed at *Castle-Mayne*, which should keep all *Desmond* and *Kerry*, for it answereth them both most conveniently. Also about *Kilmore*, in the County of *Cork*, would I have 200 placed, the which should break that Nest of Thieves there, and answer equally both to the County of *Limerick*, and also the County of *Cork*. Another 100 would I have lie at *Cork*, as well to command the Town, as also to be ready for any foreign Occasion. Likewise at *Waterford* would I place 200 for the same Reasons, and also
for

For other privy Causes that are no less important. Moreover, on this side of *Arlo*, near to *Muskery Quirk*, which is the Countrey of the *Burkes*, about *Kill-Patrick*, I would have 200 more to be garison'd, which should scour both the *White Knights* Countrey, and *Arlo*, and *Muskery Quirk*; by which Places all the Passages of Thieves do lie, which convey their Stealth from all *Mounster* downwards towards *Tipperary*, and the *English Pale*; and from the *English Pale* also up unto *Mounster*, whereof they use to make a common Trade. Besides that, e'er long I doubt that the County of *Tipperary* itself will need such a Strength in it, which were good to be there ready before the Evil fall, that is daily of some expected. And thus you see all your Garisons placed.

Eudox. I see it right well. But let me (I pray you) by the way, ask you the reason, why in those Cities of *Mounster*, namely, *Waterford* and *Cork*, you rather placed Garisons, than in all others in *Ireland*? for they may think themselves to have a great Wrong to be so charged above all the rest.

Iren. I will tell you, those two Cities, above all the rest, do offer an In-gate to the *Spaniard* most fitly: But yet, because they shall not take Exceptions to this, that they are charged above all the rest, I will also lay a Charge upon the others likewise; for indeed it is no reason that the Corporate Towns, enjoying great Franchises and Privileges from her Majesty, and living thereby not only safe, but drawing to them the Wealth of all the Land, should live so free, as not to be partakers of the Burthen of this Garison, for their own Safety, especially in this time of Trouble, and seeing all the rest burthened: and therefore I will charge them all thus ratably, according to their Abilities, towards their Maintenance; the which her Majesty may (if she please) spare out of the Charge of the rest, and reserve towards her other Costs, or else add to the Charge of the Presidency in the North.

<i>Waterford</i>	C.	<i>Clonmell</i>	X.	<i>Dundalk</i>	X.
<i>Cork</i>	L.	<i>Cashell</i>	X.	<i>Mellingare</i>	X.
<i>Limerick</i>	L.	<i>Fedard</i>	X.	<i>Newrie</i>	X.
<i>Galway</i>	L.	<i>Kilkenny</i>	XXV.	<i>Trim</i>	X.
<i>Dinglecush</i>	X.	<i>Wexford</i>	XXV.	<i>Ardee</i>	X.
<i>Kingsale</i>	X.	<i>Tredagh</i>	XXV.	<i>Kells</i>	X.
<i>Yogball</i>	X.	<i>Rofs</i>	XXV.	<i>Dublin</i>	C.
<i>Kilmallock</i>	X.				

In all 580.

Eudox. It is easy, *Irenæus*, to lay a Charge upon any Town; but to foresee how the same may be answered and defrayed, is the chief part of good Advisement.

Iren. Surely this Charge which I put upon them, I know to be so reasonable, as that it will not much be felt; for the Port Towns that have the Benefit of Shipping, may cut it easily off their Trading; and in-land Towns of their Corn and Cattle: neither do I see, but since to them especially the Benefit of Peace doth redound, that they especially should bear the Burthen of their Safeguard and Defence, as we see all the Towns of the *Low Countries* do cut upon themselves an Excise of all things towards the Maintenance of the War that is made in their behalf; to which, though these are not to be compared in Riches, yet are they to be charged according to their Poverty.

Eudox. But now that you have thus set up these Forces of Soldiers, and provided well (as you suppose) for their Pay, yet there remaineth to fore-cast how they may be victualled, and where Purveyance may thereof be made; for in *Ireland* itself, I cannot see almost how any thing is to be had for them, being already so pitifully wasted, as it is with this short time of War.

Iren. For the first two Years, it is needful indeed, that they be victualled out of *England* thoroughly, from half-year to half-year, aforehand. All which time the *English* Pale shall not be burthened at all, but shall have time to recover themselves. And *Mounster* also being reasonably well

well stored, will by that time, (if God send seasonable Weather) be thoroughly well-furnished to supply a great part of that Charge; for I know there is great plenty of Corn sent over Sea from thence, the which if they might have sale for at home, they would be glad to have Money so near hand; specially if they were streightly restrained from transporting of it. Thereunto, also there will be a great help and furtherance given, in the putting forward of Husbandry in all meet places, as hereafter shall in due place appear. But hereafter when things shall grow unto a better strength, and the Countrey be replenished with Corn, as in short space it will, if it be well followed, for the Countrey People themselves are great Plowers, and small Spenders of Corn; then would I wish that there should be good store of Houses and Magazins erected in all those great places of Garison, and in all great Towns, as well for the victualing of Soldiers and Ships, as for all Occasions of suddain Services; as also for preventing of all times of Dearth and Scarcity. And this want is much to be complained of in *England*, above all other Countries, who trusting too much to the usual Blessing of the Earth, do never fore-cast any such hard Seasons, nor any such suddain Occasions as these troublous Times may every day bring forth, when it will be too late to gather provision from abroad, and to bring it perhaps from far, for the furnishing of Ships or Soldiers, which peradventure may need to be presently employed, and whose want may (which God forbid) hap to hazard a Kingdom.

Eudox. Indeed the want of those Magazins of Victuals, I have oftentimes complained of in *England*, and wondered at in other Countreys; but that is nothing now to our purpose: but as for these Garisons which you have now so strongly planted throughout all *Ireland*, and every place swarming with Soldiers, shall there be no end of them? For now thus being (methinks) I do see rather a Countrey of War, than of Peace and Quiet, which you earst pretended to work in *Ireland*; for if you bring all things to that Quietness that you said, what then needeth to maintain so great Forces, as you have charged upon it?

Iren.

Iren. I will unto you, *Eudoxus*, in privity discover the Drift of my Purpose ; I mean (as I told you) and do well hope thereby both to settle an eternal Peace in that Countrey, and also to make it very profitable to her Majesty ; the which I see must be brought in with a strong hand, and so continued, till it run in a stedfast Course of Government, which in this sort will neither be difficult nor dangerous : for the Soldier being once brought in for the Service into *Ulster*, and having subdued it and *Cannaght*, I will not have him to lay down his Arms any more, till he have effected that which I purpose ; that is, first to have this general Composition for maintenance of these throughout all the Realm, in regard of the troublous Times, and daily Danger which is threatned to this Realm by the King of *Spain*. And thereupon to bestow all my Soldiers in such sort as I have done, that no part of all that Realm shall be able to dare to quinch : Then will I eftsoons bring in my Reformation, and thereupon establish such a Form of Government, as I may think meetest for the Good of that Realm ; which being once settled, and all things put into a right way, I doubt not but they will run on fairly. And though they would ever seek to swerve aside, yet shall they not be able without foreign Violence, once to remove, as you yourself shall soon (I hope) in your own reason readily conceive ; which if it shall ever appear, then may her Majesty at pleasure withdraw some of the Garisons, and turn their Pay into her Purse : or if she will never please so to do (which I would rather wish) then shall she have a number of brave old Soldiers always ready for any occasion that she will imploy them unto, supplying their Garisons with fresh ones in their stead. The maintenance of whom, shall be no more charge to her Majesty, than now that Realm is ; for all the Revenue thereof, and much more she spendeth, even in the most peaceable times that are there, as things now stand. And in time of War, which is now surely every seventh Year, she spendeth infinite Treasure besides to small purpose.

Eudox. I perceive your purpose ; but now that you have thus strongly made way unto your Reformation, and that I
see

see the People so humbled and prepared, that they will and must yield to any Ordinance that shall be given them, I do much desire to understand the same: for in the beginning you promised to shew a means how to redress all those Inconveniences and Abuses, which you shewed to be in that state of Government, which now stands there; as in the Laws, Customs, and Religion. Wherein I would gladly know first, whether in stead of those Laws, you would have new Laws made; for now, for ought that I see, you may do what you please.

Iren. I see, *Eudoxus*, that you well remember our first Purpose, and do rightly continue the Course thereof. First therefore to speak of Laws, since we first began with them: I do not think it now convenient, though it be in the power of the Prince, to change all the Laws, and make new; for that should breed a great trouble and confusion, as well in the *English* there dwelling, and to be planted, as also in the *Irish*. For the *English* having been always trained up in the *English* Government, will hardly be inured to any other, and the *Irish* will better be drawn to the *English*, than the *English* to the *Irish* Government. Therefore sithence we cannot now apply Laws fit to the People, as in the first Institutions of Commonwealths it ought to be, we will apply the People, and fit them unto the Laws, as it most conveniently may be. The Laws therefore we resolve shall abide in the same sort that they do, both Common Law and Statutes, only such Defects in the Common Law, and Inconveniences in the Statutes, as in the beginning we noted, and as Men of deeper insight shall advise, may be changed by some other new Acts and Ordinances, to be by a Parliament there confirmed: as those for Tryals of Pleas of the Crown, and private Rights between Parties, colourable Conveyances, and Accessaries.

Eudox. But how will those be redressed by Parliament, when as the *Irish* which sway most in Parliament (as you said) shall oppose themselves against them?

Iren. That may well now be avoided: For now that so many Freeholders of *English* shall be established, they together with Burgesses of Towns, and such other loyal *Irishmen*,

as may be preferred to be Knights of the Shire, and such like, will be able to beard, and to counterpoise the rest; who also being now more brought in awe, will the more easily submit to any such Ordinances as shall be for the good of themselves, and that Realm generally.

Eudox. You say well, for by the Increase of Freeholders their numbers hereby will be greatly augmented: but how shall it pass through the higher House, which still must consist all of *Irish*?

Iren. Marry that also may be redressed by ensample of that which I have heard was done in the like case by King *Edward* the Third (as I remember) who being greatly bearded and crossed by the Lords of the Clergy, they being there, by reason of the Lords Abbots, and others, too many and too strong for him, so as he could not for their Frowardness, order and reform things as he desired; was advised to direct out his Writs to certain Gentlemen of the best Ability and Trust, entitling them therein Barons, to serve, and sit as Barons in the next Parliament. By which means he had so many Barons in his Parliament, as were able to weigh down the Clergy and their Friends: the which Barons, they say, were not afterwards Lords, but only Baronets, as sundry of them do yet retain the name. And by the like Device her Majesty may now likewise curb and cut short those *Irish* and unruly Lords, that hinder all good Proceedings.

Eudox. It seems no less than for reforming of all those inconvenient Statutes that you noted in the beginning, and redressing of all those evil Customs; and lastly, for settling of sound Religion amongst them, methinks you shall not need any more to over-goe those Particulars again, which you mentioned, nor any other which might besides be remembered: but to leave all to the Reformation of such a Parliament, in which, by the good care of the Lord Deputy and Council, they may all be amended. Therefore now you may come unto that general Reformation which you spake of, and bringing in of that Establishment, by which you said all Men should be contained in Duty ever after, without the terrour of warlike Forces, or violent wresting of things by sharp Punishments.

Iren.

Iren. I will so at your pleasure; the which (methinks) can by no means be better plotted, than by ensample of such other Realms as have been annoyed with the like Evils that *Ireland* now is, and useth still to be. And first in this our Realm of *England*, it is manifest by Report of the Chronicles, and ancient Writers, that it was greatly infested with Robbers and Outlaws; which lurking in Woods and fast Places, used often to break forth into the Highways, and sometimes into small Villages to rob and spoil. For redress whereof it is written, that King *Alured*, or *Aldred*, did divide the Realm into Shires, and the Shires into Hundreds, and the Hundreds into Lathes or Wapentacks, and the Wapentacks into Tythings; so that ten Tythings make an Hundred, and five make a Lathe or Wapentack: of which ten, each one was bound for another, and the eldest or best of them, whom they called the Tythingman or Borfolder, that is the eldest Pledge, became Surety for all the rest. So that if any one of them did start into any undutiful Action, the Borfolder was bound to bring him forth; when joining est-soons with all his Tything, would follow that loose Person through all places, till they brought him in. And if all that Tything failed, then all that Lathe was charged for that Tything; and if that Lathe failed, then all that Hundred was demanded for them; and if the Hundred, then the Shire, who joining estsoons together, would not rest till they had found out and delivered in that undutiful Fellow, which was not amenable to Law. And herein it seems, that that good *Saxon King* followed the Counsel of *Jetbro* to *Moses*, who advised him to divide the People into Hundreds, and to set Captains and wise Men of Trust over them, who should take the charge of them, and ease of that Burthen. And so did *Romulus* (as you may read) divide the *Romans* into Tribes, and the Tribes into Centuries or Hundreds. By this Ordinance, this King brought this Realm of *England* (which before was most troublesom) unto that quiet State, that no one bad Person could stir, but he was straight taken hold of by those of his own Tything, and their Borfolder, who being his Neighbour or next Kinsman,

were privy to all his Ways, and looked narrowly at his Life. The which Institution (if it were observed in *Ireland*) would work that Effect which it did in *England* and keep all Men within the Compass of Duty and Obedience.

Eudox. This is contrary to that you said before; for, as I remember, you said, that there was a great Disproportion between *England* and *Ireland*, so as the Laws which were fitting for one, would not fit the other. How comes it now then, that you would transfer a principal Institution from *England* to *Ireland*?

Iren. This Law was not made by the *Norman Conqueror*, but by a *Saxon King*, at what time *England* was very like to *Ireland*, as now it stands: for it was (as I told you) annoyed greatly with Robbers and Out-Laws, which troubled the whole State of the Realm, every Corner having a *Robin Hood* in it, that kept the Woods, that spoiled all Passengers and Inhabitants, as *Ireland* now hath: so as, methinks, this Ordinance would fit very well, and bring them all into Awe.

Eudox. Then when you have thus tythed the Commonalty, as you say, and set Borfolders over them all, what would you do when you came to the Gentlemen? Would you hold the same Course?

Iren. Yea marry, most especially; for this you must know, that all the *Irish* almost boast themselves to be Gentlemen, no less than the *Welsh*; for if he can derive himself from the Head of any Sept (as most of them can, they are so expert by their Bards) then he holdeth himself a Gentleman, and thereupon scorneth to work, or use any hard Labour, which, he saith, is the Life of a Peasant or Churl; but thenceforth becometh either an Horse-boy, or a *Stocab* to some Kern, enuring himself to his Weapon, and to the Gentlemanly Trade of stealing (as they count it.) So that if a Gentleman, or any wealthy Yeoman of them, have any Children, the eldest of them, perhaps, shall be kept in some order, but all the rest shall shift for themselves, and fall to this Occupation. And moreover it is a common Use amongst some of their Gentlemens Sons, that

hat so soon as they are able to use their Weapons, they straight gather to themselves three or four Straglers, or Lovers, with whom wandring a while up and down idly the Country, taking only Meat, he at last falleth unto some good Occasion that shall be offered; which being once made known, he is thenceforth counted a Man of Worth, in whom there is Courage: whereupon there draw to him many other like loose young Men, which stirring him up with Encouragement, provoke him shortly to flat Rebellion. And this happens not only sometimes in the Sons of their Gentlemen, but also of their Noblemen, especially of them who have base Sons. For they are not only not ashamed to acknowledge them, but also boast of them, and use them to such secret Services, as they themselves will not be seen in; as to plague their Enemies, to spoil their Neighbours, to oppress and crush some of their own too stubborn Freeholders, which are not tractable to their Wills.

Eudox. Then it seemeth, that this Ordinance of Tything them by the Pole, is not only fit for the Gentlemen, but also for the Noblemen, whom I would have thought to be of so honourable a Mind, as that they should not need such a kind of being bound to their Allegiance, who should rather have held in, and staid all the other from Undutifulness, than need to be forced thereunto themselves.

Iren. Yea so it is, *Eudoxus*; but because that Noblemen cannot be tythed, there being not many Tythings of them, and also because a Borsolder over them should be not only a great Indignity, but also a Danger to add more Power to them than they have, or to make one the Commander of ten; I hold it meeter that there were only Sureties taken of them, and one bound for another; whereby if any shall swerve, his Sureties shall, for Safeguard of their Bonds, either bring him in, or seek to serve upon him. And besides this, I would wish them all to be sworn to her Majesty, which they never yet were, but at the first Creation; and that Oath would sure contain them greatly, or the Breach of it bring them to shorter Vengeance, for God useth to punish Perjury sharply. So I read, that

there was a corporal Oath taken in the Reigns of *Edward* the Second, and of *Henry* the Seventh (when the Times were very broken) of all the Lords and best Gentlemen, of Fealty to the King; which now is no less needful, because many of them are suspected to have taken another Oath privily to some bad Purposes, and thereupon to have received the Sacrament, and been sworn to a Priest, which they think bindeth them more than their Allegiance to their Prince, or Love of their Country.

Eudox. This Tything to the Common People, and taking Sureties of Lords and Gentlemen, I like very well, but that it will be very troublesom; should it not be as well for to have them all booked, and the Lords and Gentlemen to take all the meaner sort upon themselves, for they are best able to bring them in, whensoever any of them starteth out?

Iren. This indeed, *Eudoxus*, hath been hitherto, and yet is a common Order amongst them, to have all the People booked by the Lords and Gentlemen; but yet the worst Order that ever was advised: for by this booking of Men, all the inferior sort are brought under the Command of their Lords, and forced to follow them into any Action whatsoever. Now this you are to understand, that all the Rebellions, which you see from time to time happen in *Ireland*, are not begun by the Common People, but by the Lords and Captains of Countrys, upon Pride or wilful Obstinacy against the Government; which whensoever they will enter into, they draw with them all their People and Followers, which think themselves bound to go with them, because they have booked them, and undertaken for them. And this is the reason that in *England* you have such few bad Occasions, by reason that the Noblemen, however they should happen to be evil disposed, have no Command at all over the Commonalty, though dwelling under them, because that every Man standeth upon himself, and buildeth his Fortunes upon his own Faith and firm Assurance. The which this manner of tything the Poles will work also in *Ireland*; for by this, the People are broken into many small Parts, like little Streams, that they cannot

cannot easily come together into one Head, which is the principal Regard that is to be had in *Ireland*, to keep them from growing unto such a Head, and adhering unto great Men.

Eudox. But yet I cannot see how this can be well brought, without doing great wrong unto the Noblemen there; for at the first Conquest of that Realm, those great Seigniories and Lordships were given them by the King, that they should be the stronger against the *Irish*, by the Multitudes of Followers and Tenants under them: all which hold their Tenements of them by Fealty, and such Services, whereby they are (by the first Grant of the King) made bounden unto them, and tied to rise out with them into all Occasions of Service. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord *Deputy* hath raised any general Hostings, the Noblemen have claimed the leading of them, by Grant from the Kings of *England*, under the Great Seal exhibited; so as the *Deputies* could not refuse them to have the leading of them, or if they did, they would so work, as none of their Followers should rise forth to the Hostage.

Iren. You say very true; but will you see the Fruit of those Grants? I have known when those Lords have had the leading of their own Followers under them to the general Hostings, that they have for the same cut upon every Plow-Land within their Country forty Shillings or more; whereby some of them have gathered together above seven or eight hundred Pounds, and others much more, into their Purse; in lieu whereof, they have gathered unto themselves a number of loose Kearn out of all Parts, which they have carried forth with them, to whom they never gave any penny of Entertainment, allowed by the Country, or forced by them, but let them feed upon the Countrys, and extort upon all Men where they come: for that People will never ask better Entertainment, than to have a colour of Service or Employment given them, by which they will poll and spoil so outrageously, as the very Enemy cannot do much worse; and they also sometimes turn to the Enemy.

Eudox. It seems, the first Intent of those Grants was against the *Irish*, which now some of them use against the Queen herself: But now, what Remedy is there for this? or how can those Grants of the Kings be avoided, without wronging of those Lords, which had those Lands and Lordships given them?

Iren. Surely they may be well enough, for most of those Lords, since their first Grants from the Kings, by which those Lands were given them, have since bestowed the most part of them amongst their Kinsfolk; as every Lord perhaps hath given in his time one or another of his principal Castles to his younger Son, and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him; and others they have sold, and others they have bought, which were not in their first Grant, which now nevertheless they bring within the Compass thereof; and take and exact upon them, as upon their first Demeasnes, all those kind of Services, yea, and the very wild Exactions, *Coignie*, *Livery*, *Sorebon*, and such like; by which they poll and utterly undo the poor Tenants and Freeholders under them, which either through Ignorance know not their Tenures, or through Greatness of their new Lords dare not challenge them: yea, and some Lords of Countrys also, as great ones as themselves, are now by strong hand brought under them, and made their Vassals. As for example, *Arundel* of the *Stronde*, in the County of *Cork*, who was anciently a great Lord, and was able to spend 3500 *l.* by the Year, as appeareth by good Records, is now become the Lord *Barrie's* Man, and doth to him all those Services which are due unto her Majesty. For reformation of all which, I wish that there were a Commission granted forth, under the Great Seal, as I have seen one recorded in the old Council-Book of *Mounster*, that was sent forth in the time of Sir *William Drury*, unto Persons of special Trust and Judgment, to inquire throughout all *Ireland*, beginning with one County first, and so resting awhile till the same were settled, by the Verdict of a sound and substantial Jury, how every Man holdeth his Land, of whom, and by what Tenure; so that every one should be admitted

to shew and exhibit what Right he hath, and by what Services he holdeth his Land, whether in Chief, or in Socage, or by Knights Service, or how else soever. Thereupon would appear, first, how all those great *English* Lords do claim those great Services, what Seigniories they usurp, what Wardships they take from the Queen, what Lands of hers they conceal. And then, how those *Irish* Captains of Countrys have incroached upon the Queen's Freeholders and Tenants, how they have translated the Tenures of them from *English* holding, unto *Irish Tanistry*, and defeated her Majesty of all her Rights and Duties which are to accrue to her thereout; as Wardships, Liveries, Marriages, Fines of Alienations, and many other Commodities, which now are kept and concealed from her Majesty, to the value of 40000 *l. per annum*, I dare undertake in all *Ireland*, by that which I know in one County.

Eudox. This, *Irenæus*, would seem a dangerous Commission, and ready to stir up all the *Irish* in Rebellion, who knowing that they have nothing to shew for all those Lands which they hold, but their Swords, would rather draw them, than suffer the Lands to be thus drawn away from them.

Iren. Neither should their Lands be taken away from them, nor the utmost Advantages enforced against them: But this, by Discretion of the Commissioners, should be made known unto them, that it is not her Majesty's meaning to use any such Extremity, but only to reduce things into order of *English* Law, and make them hold their Lands of her, and to restore to her her due Services, which they detain out of those Lands, which were anciently held of her. And that they should not only not be thrust out, but also have Estates and Grants of their Lands new made to them from her Majesty, so as they should thenceforth hold them rightfully, which they now usurp wrongfully. And yet withal I would wish, that in all those *Irish* Countrys there were some Land reserved to her Majesty's free Disposition, for the better containing of the rest, and intermingling them with *English* Inhabitants and Customs, that Knowledge might still be had of them,

them, and of all their Doings, so as no manner of Practice or Conspiracy should be had in hand amongst them, but notice should be given thereof by one means or another, and their Practices prevented.

Eudox. Truly neither can the *Irish* nor yet the *English* Lords think themselves wronged, nor hardly dealt withal herein, to have that which is indeed none of their own at all, but her Majesty's absolutely given to them, with such equal Conditions, as that both they may be assured thereof better than they are, and also her Majesty not defrauded of her Right utterly: For it is a great Grace in a Prince, to take that with Conditions, which is absolutely her own. Thus shall the *Irish* be well satisfy'd. And as for the great Men which had such Grants made to them at first by the Kings of *England*, it was in regard that they should keep forth the *Irish*, and defend the King's Right, and his Subjects: but now seeing that instead of defending them, they rob and spoil them; and instead of keeping out the *Irish*, they do not only make the *Irish* their Tenants in those Lands, and thrust out the *English*, but also some of themselves become meer *Irish*, with marrying with them, with fostering with them, and combining with them against the Queen; what reason is there, but that those Grants and Privileges should be either revoked, or at least reduced to the first Intention for which they were granted? For sure, in mine opinion, they are more sharply to be chastised and reformed, than the rude *Irish*, which being very wild at the first, are now become more civil; whereas these, from Civility, are grown to be wild and meer *Irish*.

Iren. Indeed, as you say, *Eudoxus*, these do need a sharper Reformation than the *Irish*; for they are more stubborn and disobedient to Law and Government than the *Irish* be.

Eudox. In truth, *Irenæus*, this is more than ever I heard that any *English* there should be worse than the *Irish*: Lord, how quickly doth that Country alter Mens Natures? It is not for nothing (I perceive) which I have heard, that the Council of *England* think it no good Policy

Policy to have that Realm reformed, or planted with *English*, lest they should grow so undutiful as the *Irish*, and become more dangerous: As appeareth by the Examples of the *Lacis* in the time of *Edward* the Second, which you spake of, that shook off their Allegiance to their Natural Prince, and turned to *Edward le Bruce*, to make him King of Ireland.

Iren. No Times have been without bad Men: But as for that Purpose of the Council of *England*, which you spake of, that they should keep that Realm from Reformation, I think they are most leudly abus'd; for their great Carefulness, and earnest Endeavours do witness the contrary. Neither is it the Nature of the Country to alter Mens Manners, but the bad Minds of the Men, who having been brought up at home under a strait Rule of Duty and Obedience, being always restrained by sharp Penalties from leud Behaviour, so soon as they come thither, where they see Laws more slackly tended, and the hard Restraint which they were used unto, now slack'd, they grow more loose and careless of their Duty: and as it is the Nature of all Men to love Liberty, so they become flat Libertines, and fall to all Licentiousness, more boldly daring to disobey the Law, through the Presumption of Favour and Friendship, than any *Irish* dareth.

Eudox. Then if that be so, methinks, your late Advise-ment was very evil, whereby you wished the *Irish* to be sowed and sprinkled with *English*, and in all the *Irish* Countrys to have *English* planted amongst them, for to bring them to *English* Fashions, since the *English* sooner draw to the *Irish*, than the *Irish* to the *English*: For, as you said before, if they must run with the Stream, the greater Number will carry away the less. Therefore, methinks, by this reason it should be better to part the *Irish* and *English*, than to mingle them together.

Iren. Not so, *Eudoxus*; but where there is no good Stay of Government, and strong Ordinances to hold them, there indeed the fewer follow the more; but where there is due Order of Discipline and good Rule, there the better shall go foremost, and the worst shall follow. And therefore

therefore now, since *Ireland* is full of her own Nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and somewhat stored with *English* already, and more to be; I think it best, by an Union of Manners, and Conformity of Minds, to bring them to be one People, and to put away the dislikeful Conceit both of the one and the other, which will be by no means better, than by this intermingling of them. For neither all the *Irish* may dwell together, nor all the *English*, but by translating of them, and scattering them amongst the *English*, not only to bring them, by daily Conversation to better liking of each other, but also to make both of them less able to hurt. And therefore when I come to the Tything of them, I will tythe them one with another, and, for the most part, will make an *Irishman* the Tything-man, whereby he shall take the less Exception to Partiality, and yet be the more tied thereby. But when I come to the *Head-Borough*, which is the Head of the Lathe, him will I make an *Englishman*, or an *Irishman* of special Assurance. As also when I come to appoint the *Alderman*, that is the Head of the Hundred, him will I surely chuse to be an *Englishman*, of special regard, that may be a Stay and Pillar of all the Borough under him.

Eudox. What do you mean by your Hundred, and what by your Borough? By that that I have read in ancient Records of *England*, an Hundred did contain an Hundred Villages, or, as some say, an Hundred Plow-Lands, being the same which the *Saxons* called *Cantred*; the which *Cantred*, as I find it recorded in the black Book of [*the Exchequer of*] *Ireland*, did contain 30 *Villatas terra*, which some call Quarters of Land; and every *Villata* can maintain 400 Cows in Pasture, and the 400 Cows to be divided into four Herds, so as none of them shall come near each other: every *Villata* containing 18 Plow-Lands, as is there set down. And by that which I have read of a Borough, it signifieth a Free-Town, which had a principal Officer, called a *Head-Borough*, to become Ruler, and undertake for all the Dwellers under him, having for the Franchises and Privileges granted them by the King, whereof

whereof it was called a Free-Borough, and of the Lawyers *Franci plegium*.

Iren. Both that which you said, *Eudoxus*, is true, and yet that which I say not untrue. For that which you spake of dividing the Country into Hundreds, was a Division of the Lands of the Realm; but this which I tell was of the People, which were thus divided by the Pole: so that Hundred in this sense signifieth a Hundred Pledges, which were under the Command and Assurance of their Alderman; the which (as I suppose) was also called a Wapentake, so named of touching the Weapon or Spear of their Alderman, and swearing to follow him faithfully, and serve their Prince truly. But others think, that a Wapentake was ten Hundreds or Boroughs. Likewise a Borough, as I here use it, and as the old Laws still use, is not a Borough-Town, as they now call it, that is a Franchised Town; but a main Pledge of a Hundred free Persons, therefore called a free Borough, or, (as you say) *Franci plegium*. For *Borb*, in old Saxon, signifieth a Pledge or Surety; and yet it is so used with us in some Speeches (as *Chaucer* saith) *St. John to Borob*, that is, for Assurance and Warranty.

Eudox. I conceive the Difference. But now that you have thus divided the People into these Tythings and Hundreds, how will you have them so preserved and continued? for People do often change their Dwelling-places, and some must die, whilst other some do grow up into Strength of years, and become Men.

Iren. These Hundreds I would wish to assemble themselves once every Year with their Pledges, and to present themselves before the Justices of the Peace, which shall be thereunto appointed, to be surveyed and numbred, to see what change hath hapned since the Year before; and the Defects to supply, of young Plants late grown up, the which are diligently to be over-looked and viewed, of what Condition and Demeanour they be, so as Pledges may be taken for them, and they put into order of some Tything. Of all which Alterations, Notes are to be taken, and Books made thereof accordingly.

Eudox. Now, methinks, *Irenæus*, you are to be warned to take heed, lest unawares you fall into that Inconvenience which you formerly found fault with in others; namely, that by this Booking of them, you do not gather them into a new Head; and having broken their former Strength, do not unite them more strongly again. For every *Alderman*, having all these Free Pledges of his Hundred under his Command, may, methinks, if he be evil disposed, draw all his Company into an evil Action. And likewise by this assembling of them once a year unto their Alderman by their Wapentakes, take heed lest you also give them occasion and means to practise together in any Conspiracies.

Iren. Neither of both is to be doubted; for their Aldermen and Head-Boroughs will not be such Men of Power and Countenance of themselves, being to be chosen thereunto, as need to be feared: Neither if he were, is his Hundred at his Command, further than his Prince's Service; and also every Tything-man may control him in such a case. And as for the assembling of the Hundred, much less is any Danger thereof to be doubted, seeing it is before some Justice of Peace, or some High-Constable, to be thereunto appointed. So as of these Tythings, there can no Peril ensue, but a certain Assurance of Peace and great Good; for they are thereby withdrawn from their Lords, and subjected to the Prince. Moreover, for the better breaking of these Heads and Septs, which (I told you) was one of the greatest Strengths of the *Irish*, methinks it should be very well to renew that old Statute which was made in the Reign of *Edward* the Fourth in *Ireland*, by which it was commanded, that whereas all Men then used to be called by the Name of their Septs, according to the several Nations, and had no Surnames at all; that from thenceforth each one should take upon himself a several Surname, either of his Trade and Faculty, or of some Quality of his Body or Mind, or of the Place where he dwelt; so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, whereby they shall not only not depend upon the Head of their Sept, as now they do,

do, but also in time learn quite to forget his *Irish* Nation. And herewithal, would I also wish all the *O's* and the *Mac's*, which the Heads of Septs have taken to their Names, to be utterly forbidden and extinguished. For that the same being an Ordinance (as some say) first made by *O-Brien* for the strengthening of the *Irish*, the abrogating thereof will as much enfeeble them.

Eudox. I like this Ordinance very well. But now that you have thus divided and distinguished them, what other Order will you take for their manner of Life?

Iren. The next thing that I will do, shall be, to appoint to every one that is not able to live of his Free-hold, a certain Trade of Life, to which he shall find himself fittest, and shall be thought ablest; the which Trade he shall be bound to follow, and live only thereupon. All Trades therefore are to be understood to be of three kinds, *Manual*, *Intellectual*, and *Mixed*. The first containeth all such as needeth Exercise of bodily Labour, to the Performance of their Profession. The second, consisting only of the Exercise of Wit and Reason. The third sort, part of bodily Labour, and part of Wit, but depending most of Industry and Carefulness. Of the first sort be all Handycrafts and Husbandry Labour. Of the second, be all Sciences, and those which be called Liberal Arts. Of the third is, Merchandise and Chaffery; that is, Buying and Selling. And without all these three there is no Commonwealth can almost consist, or at the least be perfect. But the Realm of *Ireland* wanteth the most principal of them, that is, the *Intellectual*; therefore in seeking to reform her State, it is specially to be looked unto. But because by Husbandry, which supplieth unto us all things necessary for Food, we chiefly live; therefore it is first to be provided for. The first thing therefore that we are to draw these new tythed Men into, ought to be Husbandry: First, because it is the most easy to be learned, needing only the Labour of the Body. Next, because it is most general, and most needful. Then, because it is most natural. And, lastly, because it is most Enemy to War, and most hateth Unquietness: As the Poet saith,

— *Bella execrata solent.*

For Husbandry being the Nurse of Thrift and the Daughter of Industry and Labour, detesteth all that may work her Scathe, and destroy the Travail of her Hands, whose Hope is all her Lives Comfort unto the Plough; therefore are those Kearn, Stocaghes and Horse-boys to be driven and made to imploy that Ableness of Body which they were wont to use to Theft and Villany, henceforth to Labour and Industry. In the which, by that time they have spent but a little Pain, they will find such Sweetness and happy Contentment, that they will afterwards hardly be haled away from it, or drawn to their wonted leud Life in Thievery and Roguery. And being once thus inured thereunto, they are not only to be countenanced and encouraged by all good means; but also provided that their Children after them may be brought up likewise in the same, and succeed in the rooms of their Fathers. To which end there is a Statute in *Ireland* already well provided, which commandeth, that all the Sons of Husbandmen shall be trained up in their Fathers Trades; but it is (God wot) very slenderly executed.

Eudox. But do you not count in this Trade of Husbandry, pasturing of Cattle, and keeping of their Cows? for that is reckoned as a part of Husbandry.

Iren. I know it is, and needfully to be used; but I do not mean to allow any of those able Bodies, which are able to use bodily Labour, to follow a few Cows grazing. But such impotent Persons, as being unable for strong Travail, are yet able to drive Cattle to and fro to their Pasture; for this keeping of Cows, is of it self a very idle Life, and a fit Nursery for a Thief. For which cause (you remember) I disliked the *Irish* manner of keeping *Booilies* in the Summer upon the Mountains, and living after that savage sort. But if they will aligates feed many Cattle, or keep them on the Mountains, let them make some Towns near to the Mountain's side, where they may dwell together with Neighbours, and be conversant in the View of the World. And to say truth, though *Ireland* be by nature counted a great Soyl of Pasture, yet had I rather have fewer Cows kept, and Men better mannered, than to have such huge increase of Cattle, and no increase of
good

good Conditions. I would therefore wish, that there were some Ordinances made amongst them, that whosoever keepeth twenty Kine, should keep a Plough going, for otherwise all Men would fall to Pasturage, and none to Husbandry; which is a great Cause of this Dearth now in *England*, and a Cause of the usual Stealths in *Ireland*: For look into all Countreys that live in such sort by keeping of Cattle, and you shall find that they are both very barbarous and uncivil, and also greatly given to War. The *Tartarians*, the *Muscovites*, the *Norwegians*, the *Gotbes*, the *Armenians*, and many other do witness the same. And therefore since now we purpose to draw the *Irish* from desire of War and Tumults, to the love of Peace and Civility, it is expedient to abridge their great Custom of hardning, and augment their Trade of Tillage and Husbandry. As for other Occupations and Trades, they need not be enforced to, but every Man to be bound only to follow one that he thinks himself aptest for. For other Trades of Artificers will be occupied for very Necessity, and constrained Use of them; and so likewise will Merchandise for the Gain thereof: But Learning and bringing up in Liberal Sciences will not come of it self, but must be drawn on with streight Laws and Ordinances. And therefore it were meet that such an Act were ordained, that all the Sons of Lords, Gentlemen, and such others as are able to bring them up in Learning, should be trained up therein from their Child-hoods; and for that end, every Parish should be forced to keep a petty School-master adjoyning unto the Parish-Church, to be the more in view, which should bring up their Children in the first Elements of Letters: and that in every Country or Barony, they should keep another able School-master, which should instruct them in Grammar, and in the Principles of Sciences, to whom they should be compelled to send their Youth to be disciplined; whereby they will in short space grow up to that civil Conversation, that both the Children will loath their former Rudeness in which they were bred, and also their Parents will, even by the Ensamble of their young Children, perceive the foulness of their own Behaviour,

viour, compared to theirs. For Learning hath that wonderful Power in it self, that it can soften and temper the most stern and savage Nature.

Eudox. Surely I am of your mind, that nothing will bring them from their uncivil Life sooner than Learning and Discipline, next after the Knowledg and Fear of GOD. And therefore I do still expect that you should come thereunto, and set some Order for Reformation of Religion, which is first to be respected; according to the saying of *CHRIST*, *Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Righteousness thereof.*

Iren. I have in mind so to do; but let me (I pray you) first finish that which I had in hand, whereby all the Ordinances which shall afterwards be set for Religion, may abide the more firmly, and be observed more diligently. Now that this People is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound unto some honest Trade of Life, which shall be particularly entred and set down in the Tything-Book; yet perhaps there will be some Stragglers and Runagates, which will not of themselves come in, and yield themselves to this Order; and yet after the well finishing of the present War, and establishing of the Garisons in all strong Places of the Countrey, where their wonted Refuge was most, I suppose there will few stand out; or if they do, they will shortly be brought in by the Ears. But yet afterwards, lest any one of them should swerve, or any that is tied to a Trade, should afterwards not follow the same, according to this Institution, but should straggle up and down the Countrey, or mich in Corners amongst their Friends idly, as *Carrowes, Bardes, Jesters*, and such like; I would wish that a Provost-Marshal should be appointed in every Shire, which should continually walk about the Countrey with half a dozen, or half a score Horsemen, to take up such loose Persons as they should find thus wandering, whom he should punish by his own Authority, with such Pains as the Person shall seem to deserve: for if he be but once so taken idly roguing, he may punish him more lightly, as with Stocks, or such like; but if he be found again so loitering, he may scourge him with Whips, or Rods; after which, if he be
again

again taken, let him have the Bitterness of Martial Law. Likewise if any Relicks of the old Rebellion be found by any, that either have not come in and submitted themselves to the Law, or that having once come in, do break forth again, and walk disorderly, let them taste of the same Cup in God's Name; for it was due to them for their first Guilt; and now being revived by their latter Looseness, let them have their first Desert, as now being found unfit to live in the Commonwealth.

Eudox. This were a good Ordinance: but methinks! it is an unnecessary Charge, and also unfit to continue the Name or Form of any Martial Law, when as there is a proper Officer already appointed for these turns, to wit, the Sheriff of the Shire, whose peculiar Office it is to walk up and down his Bayliwick; as you would have a Marshal to snatch up all those Runnagates and unprofitable Members, and to bring them to his Goal to be punished for the same. Therefore this may well be spared.

Iren. Not so, methinks; for though the Sheriff have this Authority of himself to take up all such Straglers, and imprison them, yet shall he not do so much good, nor work that Terror in the Hearts of hem, that a Marshal will, whom they shall know to have power of Life and Death in such cases, and especially to be appointed for them. Neither doth it hinder that, but that though it pertain to the Sheriff, the Sheriff may do therein what he can, and yet the Marshal may walk his Course besides; for both of them may do the more good, and more terrifie the idle Rogue; knowing, that though he have a watch upon the one, yet he may light upon the other. But this proviso is needful to be had in this case, that the Sheriff may not have the like Power of Life as the Marshal hath, and as heretofore they have been accustomed; for it is dangerous to give Power of Life into the Hands of him which may have Benefit by the Party's Death: as if any loose Liver have any Goods of his own, the Sheriff is to seize thereupon; whereby it hath come to pass, that some who hath not deserved Judgment of Death, though otherwise perhaps offending, have been for their Goods sake

caught up, and carried freight to the Bough; a thing indeed very pitiful and horrible. Therefore by no means I would have the Sheriff have such Authority, nor yet to imprison that Lozel till the Sessions; for so all Goals might soon be filled: but to send him to the Marshal, who esteems finding him faulty, shall give him meet Correction, and send him away forthwith.

Eudox. I do now perceive your reason well. But come we now to that whereof we earst spake; I mean, to Religion and religious Men: what Order will you set amongst them?

Iren. For Religion, little have I to say, my self being (as I said) not professed therein, and itself being but one, so as there is but one way therein; for that which is true only is, and the rest is not at all. Yet in planting of Religion, thus much is needful to be observed, that it be not sought forcibly to be impressed into them with Terror and sharp Penalties, as now is the manner; but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their Professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient, that some discreet Ministers of their own Countrey-men be first sent over amongst them, which by their meek Persuasions and Instructions, as also by their sober Lives and Conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to embrace the Doctrine of their Salvation. For if that the ancient godly Fathers, which first converted them when they were Infidels, to the Faith, were able to pull them from Idolatry and Paganism, to the true Belief in *CHRIST*, as *St. Patrick* and *St. Columb*; how much more easily shall godly Teachers bring them to the true Understanding of that which they already professed? wherein it is great wonder to see the odds which is between the Zeal of Popish Priests, and the Ministers of the Gospel; for they spare not to come out of *Spain*, from *Rome*, and from *Rennes*, by long Toil, and dangerous travelling hither, where they Peril of Death awaiteth them, and no Reward or to be found, only to draw the People unto the
Church

Church of Rome: whereas some of our idle Ministers, having a way for Credit and Estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the Livings of the Country offer'd unto them, without Pains, and without Peril, will neither for the same, nor any Love of God, nor Zeal of Religion, nor for all the Good they may do, by winning Souls to God, be drawn forth from their warm Nests, to look out into God's Harvest, which is even ready for the Sickle, and all the Fields yellow long ago. Doubtless those good old godly Fathers will (I fear me) rise up in the Day of Judgment to condemn them.

Eudox. Surely it is great pity, *Iren.* that there are none chosen out of the Ministers of *England*, good, sober, and discreet Men, which might be sent over thither to teach and instruct them; and that there is not as much Care had of their Souls as of their Bodies: for the Care of both lieth upon the Prince.

Iren. Were there never so many sent over, they should do small good till one Enormity be taken from them; that is, that both they be restrained from sending their young Men abroad to other Universities beyond the Sea, as *Remes*, *Doway*, *Lovain*, and the like; and others from abroad, be restrained from coming in to them: for they lurking secretly in their Houses, and in Corners of the Countrey, do more Hurt and Hinderance to Religion with their private Persuasions, than all the others can do Good with their publick Instructions; and though for these latter there be a good Statute there ordained, yet the same is not executed: and as for the former, there is no Law nor Order for their Restraint at all.

Eudox. I marvel it is no better looked unto; and not only this, but that also which I remember you mentioned in your Abuses concerning the Profits and Revenues of the Lands of Fugitives in *Ireland*; which by pretence of certain colourable Conveyances are sent continually over unto them, to the comforting of them and others against her Majesty, for which here in *England* there is good Order taken; and why not then as well in *Ireland*? For though there be no Statute there yet enacted therefore,
yet

Yet might her Majesty by her only Perogative, seize the Fruits and Profits of those Fugitives Lands into her Hands, till they come over to testify their true Allegiance.

Iren. Indeed she might so do, but the comberous Times do perhaps hinder the regard thereof, and of many other good Intentions.

Eudox. But why then did they not mend it in peaceable times?

Iren. Leave we that to their grave Considerations; but proceed we forward. Next Care in Religion, is to build up and repair all the ruined Churches, whereof the most part lie even with the Ground; and some that have been lately repaired, are so unhandsomely patched, and thatched, that Men do even shun the Places for the Uncomeliness thereof. Therefore I would wish that there were Order taken to have them built in some better Form, according to the Churches of *England*: for the outward Shew (assure your self) doth greatly draw the rude People to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, whatever some of our late too nice Fools say, there is nothing in the seemly Form and comely Order of the Church. And for the keeping and continuing them, there should likewise Churchwardens of the gravest Men in the Parish be appointed, as they be here in *England*, which should take the yearly Charge both hereof, and also of the School-houses, which I wish to be built near the said Churches; for maintenance of both which, it were meet that some small portion of Lands were allotted, sith no more Mort-mains are to be looked for.

Eudox. Indeed, methinks, it would be so convenient; but when all is done, how will you have your Churches served, and your Ministers maintained? since the Livings (as you say) are not sufficient scarce to make them Gowns, much less to yield meet Maintenance, according to the Dignity of their Degree.

Iren. There is no way to help that, but to lay two or three of them together, until such time as the Countrey are rich and better inhabited; at which time the and other Obventions will also be more augmented
and

and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all the three sorts of Trades, and set a Course for their good Establishment, let us (if it please you) go next to some other needful Points of publick Matters, no less concerning the Good of the Commonwealth, though but accidentally depending on the former. And first, I wish that Order were taken for the cutting and opening of all Places through Woods; so that a wide way of the space of 100 Yards might be laid open in every of them, for the Safety of Travellers, which use often in such perilous Places to be robbed, and sometimes murdered. Next, that Bridges were built upon the Rivers, and all the Fords marred and spilt, so as none might pass any other way but by those Bridges, and every Bridge to have a Gate and a Gate-house set thereon; whereof this good will come, that no Night Stealth, which are commonly driven in By-ways, and by blind Fords unused of any but such like, shall not be conveyed out of one Countrey into another, as they use, but they must pass by those Bridges, where they may either be haply encountred, or easily tracked, or not suffered to pass at all, by means of those Gate-houses thereon. Also that in all Straights and narrow Passages, as between two Bogs, or through any deep Ford, or under any Mountain side, there should be some little Fortilage, or wooden Castle set, which should keep and command that Straight, whereby any Rebels that should come into the Countrey might be stopped that way, or pass with great Peril. Moreover, that all Highways should be fenced and shut up on both sides, leaving only 40 Foot breadth for Passage, so as none should be able to pass but through the Highways; whereby Thieves and Night-Robbers might be the more easily pursued and encountered, when there shall be no other way to drive their stolln Cattle, but therein, as I formerly declared. Further, that there should be in sundry convenient Places by the Highways, Towns appointed to be built; the which should be free Boroughs, and incorporate under Bayliffs, to be by their Inhabitants well and strongly intrenched, or otherwise fenced with Gates on each side thereof, to be shut

shut nightly, like as there is in many Places in the *English* Pale; and all the ways about it to be strongly shut up, so as none should pass but through those Towns: To some of which it were good that the Privilege of a Market were given, the rather to strengthen and inable them to their Defence; for there is nothing doth sooner cause Civility in any Countrey than many Market Towns, by reason that People repairing often thither for their Needs, will daily see and learn civil Manners of the better sort. Besides, there is nothing doth more stay and strengthen the Countrey, than such Corporate Towns, as by proof in many Rebellions hath appeared; in which when all the Countreys have swerved, the Towns have stood fast, and yielded good Relief to the Soldiers in all Occasions of Services. And lastly, there is indeed nothing doth more enrich any Countrey or Realm, than many Towns; for to them will all the People draw and bring the Fruits of their Trades, as well to make Money of them, as to supply their needful Uses; and the Countreymen will also be more industrious in Tillage, and rearing of all Husbandry Commodities, knowing that they shall have ready Sale for them at those Towns. And in all those Towns should there be convenient Inns erected for the lodging and harbouring of Travellers, which are now oftentimes spoiled by Lodging abroad in weak thatched Houses, for want of such safe Places to shroud them in.

Eudox. But what Profit shall your Market Towns reap of their Market, whenas each one may sell their Corn and Cattle abroad in the Countrey, and make their secret Bargains amongst themselves, as now I understand they use?

Iren. Indeed, *Eudoxus*, they do so, and thereby no small Inconvenience doth rise to the Commonwealth: for now when any one hath stolen a Cow or a Garron, he may secretly sell it in the Countrey without privity of any; whereas if he brought it to a Market Town, it would perhaps be known, and the Thief discovered. Therefore it were good that a straight Ordinance were made, that none should buy or sell any Cattle, but in some open Market, (there being now Market Towns every where at hand)

hand) upon a great Penalty. Neither should they likewise buy any Corn to sell the same again, unless it were to make Malt thereof: for by such ingrossing and regrating, we see the Dearth that now commonly reigneth here in *England*, to have been caused. Hereunto also is to be added that good Ordinance, which I remember was once proclaimed throughout all *Ireland*; That all Men should mark their Cattle with an open several Mark upon their Flanks or Buttocks, so as if they happened to be stoln, they might appear whose they were; and they which should buy them, might thereby suspect the Owner, and be warned to abstain from buying them of a suspected Person, with such an unknown Mark.

Eudox. Surely these Ordinances seem very expedient, but specially that of free Towns, of which I wonder there is so small store in *Ireland*, and that in the first peopling and planting thereof, they were neglected and omitted.

Iren. They were not omitted, for there were through all Places of the Countrey convenient, many good Towns seated; which thorough that Inundation of the *Irish*, which I first told you of, were utterly wasted and defaced, of which the Ruines are yet in many Places to be seen, and of some no sign at all remaining, save only their bare Names, but their Seats are not to be found.

Eudox. But how then cometh it to pass, that they have never since been recovered, nor their Habitations re-edified, as of the rest, which have been no less spoiled and wasted?

Iren. The cause thereof was, for that after their Desolation they were begged by Gentlemen, (of the Kings, under colour to repair them, and gather the poor Reliques of the People again together; of whom having obtained them, they were so far from re-edifying of them, as that by all means they have endeavoured to keep them waste; lest that being repaired, their Charters might be renewed, and their Burgeses restored to their Lands, which they had now in their Possession: much like as in those old Monuments of Abbeyes and religious Houses, we see them likewise use to do: For which cause it is judged that King
Henry

Henry the Eighth bestowed them upon them, conceiving that thereby they should never be able to rise again. And even so do these Lords, in these poor old Corporate Towns, of which I could name divers, but for kindling of Displeasure. Therefore as I wished many Corporate Towns to be erected, so would I again wish them to be free, not depending upon the Service, nor under the Command of any but the Governour. And being so, they will both strengthen all the Countrey round about them, which by their Means will be the better replenished and enriched; and also be as continual Holds for her Majesty, if the People should revolt or break out again; for without such it is easy to forage and over-run the whole Land. Let be for ensample all those Free-Boroughs in the Low-Countreys, which are now all the Strength thereof. These and other like Ordinances might be delivered for the good Establishment of the Realm, after it is once subdued and reformed, in which it might afterwards be very easily kept and maintained, with small Care of the Governours and Council there appointed, so as it should in short space yield a plentiful Revenue to the Crown of *England*, which now doth but suck and consume the Treasure thereof, through those unsound Plots and changeful Orders, which are daily devised for her good, yet never effectually prosecuted or performed.

Eudox. But in all this your Discourse, I have not marked any thing by you spoken, touching the Appointment of the principal Officer, to whom you wish the Charge and Performance of all this to be committed: Only I observed some foul Abuses by you noted in some of the late Governours; the Reformation whereof you left off, for this present place.

Iren. I delight not to lay open the Blames of great Magistrates to the Rebuke of the World, and therefore their Reformation I will not meddle with, but leave unto the Wisdom of greater Heads to be considered: only thus much I will speak generally thereof, to satisfy your desire, that the Government and chief Magistracy, I wish to continue as it doth; to wit, that it be ruled by a Lord Deputy

Deputy or Justice, for that it is a very safe kind of Rule; but therewithal I wish, that over him there were placed also a Lord Lieutenant of some of the greatest Personages in *England*: such a one I could name, upon whom the Eye of all *England* is fixed, and our last Hopes now rest; who being intituled with that Dignity, and being here always resident, may back and defend the good Course of that Government against all Maligners, which else will through their cunning working under-hand, deprave and pull back what ever thing shall be begun or intended there, as we commonly see by Experience at this day, to the utter Ruine and Desolation of that poor Realm. And this Lieutenancy should be no discountenancing of the Lord Deputy, but rather a strengthening of all his doings; for now the chief Evil in that Government is, that no Governour is suffered to go on with any one Course, but upon the least Information here, of this or that, he is either stopped and crossed, or other Courses appointed him from hence which he shall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this hour too well felt. And therefore this should be one principal in the appointing of the Lord Deputy's Authority, that it should be more ample and absolute than it is, and that he should have uncontrouled Power, to do any thing that he, with the Advise of the Council, should think meet to be done: For it is not possible for the Council here, to direct a Government there, who shall be forced oftentimes to follow the Necessity of present Actions, and to take the sudden Advantage of Time, which being once lost, will not be recovered; whilst through expecting Direction from hence, the Delays whereof are oftentimes through other greater Affairs most irksome, the Opportunities there in the mean time pass away, and great Danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped. And this (I remember) is worthily observed by *Machiavel* in his Discourses upon *Livie*, where he commendeth the manner of the *Romans* Government, in giving absolute Power to all their Counsellors and Governours, which if they abused, they should afterwards dearly answer: And the

trary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of *Venice*, of *Florence*, and many other Principalities of *Italy*; who use to limit their chief Officers so strictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes lost such happy Occasions, as they could never come unto again: the like whereof, whoſo hath been converſant in the Government of *Ireland*, hath too often ſeen to their great Hindrance and Hurt. Therefore this I could wiſh to be redreſſed; and yet not ſo, but that in particular things he ſhould be reſtrained, though not in the general Government: as namely in this, that no Offices ſhould be ſold by the Lord Deputy for Money, nor no Pardons, nor no Protections bought for Reward, nor no Beoves taken for Captainries of Counties, nor no Shares of Biſhopricks for nominating of Biſhops, nor no Forfeitures nor Diſpenſations with penal Statutes given to their Servants or Friends, nor no ſelling of Licences for transportation of prohibited Wares, and ſpecially of Corn and Fleſh, with many the like; which need ſome manner of reſtraint, or elſe very great Truſt in the honourable Diſpoſition of the Lord Deputy.

Thus I have, *Eudoxus*, as briefly as I could, and as my Memory would ſerve me, run through the State of that whole Countrey, both to let you ſee what it now is, and alſo what it may be by good Care and Amendment: Not that I take upon me to change the Policy of ſo great a Kingdom, or preſcribe Rules to ſuch wiſe Men as have the handling thereof; but only to ſhew you the Evils, which in my ſmall Experience I have obſerved to be the chief Hinderance of the Reformation, and by way of Conference, to declare my ſimple Opinion for the redreſſ thereof, and eſtabliſhing a good Courſe for Government: which I do not deliver as a perfect Plot of mine own Invention to be only followed, but as I have learned and underſtood the ſame by the Conſultations and Actions of very wiſe Governours and Counſellors, whom I have (ſometimes) heard treat hereof: ſo have I thought good to ſet down a Remembrance of them for my own good, and your ſatisfaction, that whoſo liſt to overlook them, although

although perhaps much wiser than they which have thus advised of that State, yet at least by comparison hereof, may perhaps better his own Judgment, and by the Light of others fore-going him, may follow after with more ease, and haply find a fairer way thereunto, than they which have gone before.

Eudox. I thank you, *Ireneus*, for this your gentle Pains, withal not forgetting now in the shutting up, to put you in mind of that which you have formerly half promised; that hereafter when we shall meet again, upon the like good Occasion, you will declare unto us those your Observations which you have gathered, of the Antiquities of *Ireland*.

The End of Spenser's Works.







Calendarium Pastorale,

S I V E

Æglogæ Duodecim,

Totidem Anni Mensibus
accommodatæ.

Anglicè olim Scriptæ ab *Edmundo Spensero*,
Anglorum Poetarum Principe: Nunc au-
tem Eleganti Latino carmine donatæ à
Theodoro Bathurst, Aulæ Pembrokianæ
apud Cantabrigienses aliquando Socio.







Viro Eximio, & vere Generoso
FRANCISCO LANE, Armi-
gero, Amico meo singulari, Sa-
lutem.

PLURA sunt (Præstantissime Do-
mine) quæ me tibi devinxerunt pluri-
mum; morum candor, omnigenus lite-
ratura, & prudentia tua singularis:
hæ sunt artes & præstigiæ, quibus facile te induis
in aliorum pectora, quotquot virtutum tuarum
testes admovit fors fœlicior. Verum, nè quid
dissimulem, ulteriore adhuc Catenâ me Capti-
vum ducis; enimverò suavissima tua consuetudo
dum hic olim studendi causâ commorare, cum
perpetua tua erga me voluntate, atque indè
tot enatis beneficiis haud vulgaribus; hæc illa
sunt quæ me vehementiùs rapiunt, & arctiori
debendi nexu constrictum tenent. Quorum ego,
quoniam nè minimam quidem partem assequi
possum remunerando, id unum mihi relictum
esse

esse intelligo, ut quæ tibi solvendo non sum, ea lubenter tibi debeam, & agnoscam. Quod idem ego nunc amplum in modum factum cupio, & certè præstarem quidem si aut voluntati meæ par facultas esset, aut merita erga me tua non adeo fuissent omnem modum supergressa. Quoniam autem etiam verba me destituunt, accipe (quæso) hæc chartas, muta quædam gratitudinis meæ signa & indicia; accipe quâ me soles fronte, apertâ, placidâ, exporrectâ. Erat olim tibi Spenserus tuus in deliciis; quocirca nullus metuo nè ingratus hodie tibi sit, indutus idem Romanâ togâ; quæ ita quidem illum decet, tamque aptè illi convenit, ut aut non aliâ cute natus, aut in eam non tam translatus, quàm restitutus esse videatur. Erat quidem hoc Poema Anglicè cum barbâ, (quod de Esavo Judæi fabulantur) imò & canitie suâ natum; ac si Poeta non tam in Parnasso somniasset, quàm cum Endymione in Latmo stertuisset, atque adeò post tertium indè seculum ad scribendum demum evigilasset. Ità quidem illi visum est atavorum voces ab oblivione vindicare, eorumque παλιγενεσίαν accelerare; (siquidem.

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentq;
 Quæ jam sunt in honore vocabula,

inquit Horatius) verùm inde tamen interea
 est, ut nonnulli, quia non retrò sibi vi-
 vendum

*vendum esse constituerant, ejusmodi dictiones
 tanquam Evandri matris carmina, aut palen-
 tia quædam spectra abhorruerint. At metu
 illos isthoc dehinc porrò liberavit vir doctissi-
 mus Theodorus Bathurst, (Poeta non minùs
 elegans, quàm gravis idem postea Theologus)
 qui in eodem Collegio has Æglogas Latine ver-
 tit, quo Spenserus ante aliquot annos po-
 emata sua concepisse dicitur; & quidem ità
 vertit, ut & obscuris lucem, & facilitatem as-
 peris, atque omnibus ferè nitorem ac eleganti-
 am fœneraverit; ac si unus ejusdem loci Ge-
 nius idem carmen diversis temporibus illi An-
 glicè, huic Latine dicitasset. Hanc autem
 versionem suam clam sibi & Musis habuit,
 quoad in vivis erat autor modestissimus; post-
 quam autem diem suum obiisset vir doctissimus,
 continuo factum est, ut, dum Libraria ejus
 supellex quaquaversum divenderetur, bina hujus
 operis exemplaria ad manus meas deferrentur,
 quæ propria ipsius manu frequenter interpolata,
 non parum eum in iis relambendis curæ posu-
 isse, testabantur; penitus autem introspiciens,
 ejusmodi opus esse facile deprehendi, quale ad
 thus & scombro damnari minimè oportebat,
 sed neq; blattis & tineis amandari. Quocirca
 operæ pretium me facturum arbitrabar, si quod
 non parvâ me affecerat voluptate, cum aliis
 etiam illud participarem, quibus non ingratum
 fore confido, cum nec inutile certè, nec inju-
 cundum.*

cundum. Tibi verò imprimis (vir amice) dicandum existimavi, tum quod sciverim te ab hujusmodi studiis nullo unquam tempore abhorruisse, tum quò extaret aliquod amoris, gratitudinis, & observantiæ erga te meæ Testimonium. Tu autem fave, & perge me amare, ut qui semper optimè tui causâ velim,

Coll. Emman. Cantabrigiæ Calendis Julii, MDCLIII.

Ad omnia obsequii & amicitiae munia præstanda tibi paratissimus,

Guil. Dillingham.





IN ÆGLOGA

- Primâ,* *Mæret neglectus Amator.*
Secundâ, *Haud impunè spreta Senectus.*
Tertiâ, *Amoris Effigies.*
Quartâ, *Elizabethæ Reginae laudes.*
Quintâ, *Romana Vulpes & Pastor Evangelicus.*
Sextâ, *Plorat desertus Amator.*
Septimâ, *Pastoris munus & merces.*
Octavâ, *Certamen Poeticum.*
Nonâ, *Peregrinationis incommoda, & Pastorum*
Romanensium vita pessima.
Decimâ, *Alget neglecta Poesis.*
Undecimâ, *Elegium.*
Duodecimâ, *Infælix Amor.*



Authoris ad Librum suum.

ITO Liber, te sistito
Natum patris vix cogniti,
Coram viro, qui præminet
Re bellica, & natalibus,
Si livor allatraverit,
(Quod mox futurum est) illico
Hujus sub alas confuge.

Et si rogeris, quo satus,
Dic, quod rudis pastorculus
Pascens gregem te enixus est.
Cumque ille te perlegerit,
Fac deprecere audaciam.

Nomen tuum si quis velit,
Respondeas te spurium;
Nomen rubori illinc tibi.
Et cum periculum evaseris,
De me refer quid dixerint,
Pluresque mox emisero.

Calendarium



Calendarium Pastorale.

J A N U A R I U S.

Ægloga Prima.

ALEXIS.

UPILIO (nec enim titulo potiore misellus
Dignandus) jam nunc brumâ laxantē rigorem,
Æthere sub sudo, (sodus fortè obtigit æther)
Eduxit fessas diuturno carcere caulæ
Strigofas pecudes, macie brumâq; rigentes,
Ut vix succiduo sustentent poplite gressus.

Isque status pecoris Pastoris concolor Ori,
Lurida quod macies pallenti tabe colorat;
Æger curâ forsan, & æger forsan amore;
Scit tamen & calamos inflare, & dicere versus:
Tum pecora ad montem languentia languidus egit,
Effuditque istas, dum pascunt illa, querelas.

O superi, curas ô qui miseratis amantùm,
(Si tamen è Superis quisquam miseretur amantes)
Despicite è Cœlis ubi lætum ducitis ævum,
Luctifonisque, precor, submittite cantibus aures.
Tu quoq; pastorum Deus, olim fixus Amoris
Cuspide *Pan*, priùs expertos miserere dolores.

Effœta ô tellus, brumalis præda furoris,
Viva meæ vitæ occasum spectantis Imago,
Te modò millicuplo florum discrimine pinxit
Ver, tuaq; asphodelis stellata superbiit æstas;
At jam nimbosæ sævit violentia brumæ,
Quæq; triumphabat modò, jam tua purpura fardet.

Pectore sub nostro rabies furit æmula brumæ,
Nam stupet in venis immiti frigore sanguis:
Sævit & in nostrum tempestas tanta carinam,
Tanquam jam tremulos spectaret vita *Decembres*.
Vix tamen (ah miserum!) florescere cœperat Annus,
Et tamen (ah miserum!) mihi jam defloruit Annus.

O vos umbroso nudatæ tegmine quercus,
Quâ volucres vernos gaudebant texere nidos;
Nunc musco indutæ, canæq; horrore pruinae,
En, ubi vestra novo turgebant germina fœtu,
Brachia conspicio lachrymis rorantia crebris,
Pendulaq; astrictis glaciatur stiria guttis.

Sic quoq; sic nostræ folia inconcussa juventæ
Nunc flaccet, nimis curarum exercita ventis;
En, emarcescit fœlix flos puberis ævi,
Ustulat & canum mihi præcoqua germina frigus:
Sic vitreis rigui lachrymis rorantur ocelli,
Pendet ut à vestris glacialis stiria ramis.

Languide grex, lacero implicitam qui vellere lanam
Gestas, cui victu jejunia crebra maligno
Hauerunt vires, macie testare, probasq;
ta sollicitis pastoris pectora curis.

Debilis

Debilis ille, & tu; macer es, macrescit & ille:
Languendo luges, lugendo languet & ille.

Damno millenis tempus lachrymabile diris,
Urbs vicina oculis quo primùm erat obvia nostris.
Et tamen illam horam votis bis mille beavi,
Quâ vidi nostram (spectacula tanta) puellam.
Sed frustrâ; nostræ primus gradus ille Ruinæ:
Proh Superi! mellis fœcundi, & fellis amores!

Non importunum queritur mea fistula Mopsum,
Ambiat ille meum licèt indefessus amorem.
Agrestis sperno tam rustica munera Mopsi;
Hædos, involucres nidos, & præcoqua poma.
Insipiens frustrâ mittis tua munera Mopsi,
Quæ tuus ille suæ mox Phillidi mittit Alexis.

Phillis amata mihi est (heu cur mihi Phillis amata?)
Despectusq; ab ea sum, (cur despectus ab illa?)
Respuit usq; meos & dedignatur amores,
Fastiditq; audire rudem sufflata cicutam.
Quin pastorales velut anguem exhorret avenas,
Subsannatq; elata, suos quæ cantat Alexis.

Ergo places licèt agresti mea fistula Pani,
Cùm tamen haud placeas ubi vellem sola placeres;
Et tu Musa meos sopire assueta dolores,
Nunc oblita tamen, cum res efflagitat, artis,
Solvētis meritas & Musa, & fistula pœnas.
Tum calamos frangit, fufusq; recumbit in herbam.

Jam Sol emeritos devexo tramite currus
Urgebat præceps, glaciatoq; horrida rore
Nox involvebat furvo velamine terram:
Ut videt, arrodens cæcis præcordia curis
Surgit, apricatas pecudes ad ovilia cogens
Upilio, vultu referentes fata Magistri.



F E B R U A R I U S.

Ægloga Secunda.

D A M O N, T H Y R S I S.

AH Superi, nunquamne hyemis desæviet ira?
Nunquamne immites ponent sua flamina venti?
Squamofam findit frigus penetrabile pellem,
Ossa mihi rigidis ut credam pervia ventis.
Strigosiq; boves vibrantur frigore corpus,
Summæ ut succusso nutant fundamine turres:
Assuetique suæ sinuare volumina caudæ,
Perque auras agitare, en, ut sub ventre remulcent.

T H Y R S I S.

Improbe, cur rigida fundis convicia brumæ,
Obvia quod solito tua terga rigore laceffit?
Nonne suis celeres decurrunt legibus Anni?
Succedunt invisa bonis, pejoraq; pravis:
Pejora excipiunt tandem deterrima, & inde
In se transacti celeris rota volvitur ævi.
Qui non hybernas patietur frigeris iras,
Quò se proripiet, redeant dum veris honores?
Ipse ego (qui effæctus jam ter sex Lustra peregi)
Nunc risu effusus, nunc fletu absorptus amaro;
Nunquam æstus, nunquam torpentia frigora questus,
Brumalesve minas, aut summi tædia solis;
Nec torvam rabadâ fortunam voce laceffi,
Mente ferens æquâ quæ sors infixit iniqua;
Cura pecus semper mihi nostræ credita curæ,
Æstate ut saturent hanc pascua, pabula brumâ.

D A M O N.

D A M O N.

Non equidem miror, si tu (rigidissime Thyrsi)
Insanos brumæ fers æquâ mente rigores :
Nam tremulæ tremula est affinis bruma senectæ,
Hæc friget, riget illa, hæc canet, canet & illa.
Utque æther terris iratus luce malignâ
Contristat pluviis Cælum, sic torva tuetur
Nubila frons ; tua sic Ætas obnubilat ora,
Morosa ut tristem caperent jejunia vultum.
Ætas nostra virens canæ est inimica pruinae,
Nec mea brumales ratis est experta procellas.

T H Y R S I S.

Nequicquam incusat Neptunia numina demens,
Qui credit tumido jam naufraga carbasa ponto.
Sic, sic ignavi, pastoria turba, puelli
Pascitis auricomis balantum armenta genistis.
Quod si sol forsan vultu meliore renidet,
Ver rediisse statim brumâ cedente putatis.
Inde juvat victos hyemis ridere furores,
Et stipulâ argutas interstridere cicadas,
Vosq; anni dominos malè credula turba putatis ;
Sæpe tamen cum vos defunctos esse periclo,
Speratis, subitò rugoso pallida vultu
Bruma venit, fulcis perarata senilibus ora,
Quaq; procellosas tremulè jaculata sagittas ;
Cor stupet hinc, rigidus coit in præcordia sanguis :
Tum demum cadet inconsulta ferocia vobis,
Et pecudes brumâ recrudescente rigescunt,
Commeritas pendit tum vestra superbia pœnas,
Planctuq; & gemitu, glomeratoq; agmine cladum.

D A M O N.

Non hujus facio monitus (delire) seniles ;
Ætatis vernans brumæ me exponere germen
Velles ? exhaustum puto defecisse cerebrum,
Exedit exuccæ tibi quod rubigo senectæ.
Utq; caput quassum malè justo pondere nutat,
Sic & gibbosâ obstipum cervice recumbit :
Quumq; tibi toto periit cum germine truncus,
Vis nostram parili florem marcescere fato.

Quòd si æquæva meæ tibi jam floresceret ætas,
 Mox aliò sensus deflexeret alma voluptas;
 Tum tua formosam resonaret Phillida canna,
 Æternùm nostro devotam Phillida amori.
 Hanc mihi demerui quando aurea cingula misi,
 Cingula queis bullis stellatur balthæus aureis.
 Talia Pastores lætos, vultusq; serenos
 Efficerent, vitæq; tuæ revirescere florem.

T H Y R S I S.

Desipis, ingratos jactando insanus amores;
 His quæcunq; dabis, rapidis dabis irrita ventis.

D A M O N.

En: Viden' ? ille meus, subrufâ fronte juvenus,
 Quàm bellè arrectas crispas petulantius aures !
 Iridos ut lunata imitantur cornua flexum,
 Cantiacas vincunt palearia mollia nymphas.
 Aspicias elatis auras ut naribus haurit ?
 Non illum dulces meditari credis amores ?
 Credo tuas pecudes mentem callere magistri ;
 Corpore sic languent omnes, animoq; fatiscunt,
 Tergoraq; horrentes bruma, canæq; pruinâ.
 Dux gregis obtuso, fractoq; vigore relanguet :
 Quæ modò turgidulæ tendebant ubera matres,
 Ut viduæ prono tellurem lumine figunt :
 Primigenas agnos brumalis concutit horror,
 Quippe regit vetulus defectus viribus illos.

T H Y R S I S.

Non operæ frugivæ bonæ te censeo, (Damon)
 Qui tumidè vanas sic tollis ad æthera cristas.
 Nam satis inflato est instar turgescere bullæ,
 Cui mens est amens ; cui mors est debita merces ;
 Cui via desertum ; cui diversoria pœna,
 Inflatiq; ætas domitrix, solita hospita curis.
 Sed vin' fabellam tibi me pertexere, quondam
 Quam pubescenti dixit mihi Tityrus ævo,
 Quæ pandit lætos celeberrima Cantia Colles ?

D A M O N.

Nil æquè vellem, nil est optatius illis,
 Quæ senis ex hujus lepido fluxere cerebro :

Tanta in facundis lucet sapientia dictis,
Doctiloquo quæcunq; senex depromptit ab ore.

THYRSIS.

Hic cecinit Venerem, Martem, effrænemq; juventam,
Verùm sub ficti velo Sermonis obumbrans;
E queis præ reliquis in nos hæc fabula quadrat.
Nunc aures adhibe, & quò se feret exitus, audi.

Annosa en puri stetit arbor in æquore campi,
Quæ quondam quercus, nunc truncus, inutile lignum:
Lataq; jam modicâ sua brachia porrigit umbrâ,
Brachia, quæ frondis nudârat honore senectâ;
Ingenti trunco, demissa in viscera terræ,
Tendat ut in cælos vertex, in Tartara radix.
Altior hæc sylvam quondam despexerat omnem,
Et gratum Domino fuerat vectigal agresti,
Innumeros porcos numerosâ glande saginans;
Glaucâ at nunc musci squalet putredine cortex,
Nunc pulsant rigidæ ramalia nuda procellæ,
Calvoq; informes pascuntur vertice vermes,
Deflorescit honos, & brachia nuda putrescunt.

Ad latus huic surgens spinis paliurus acutis,
Armatas hamis extollit in æthera frondes,
Inq; altum jactat ramos, cæloq; minatur,
Formoso florum vernabat honore superbus.
Semper & agrestes huc adventare solebant
Pastorum natæ, paliuri & carpere flores,
Quos sunt floricomis solitæ intertexere sertis.
Sæpiùs istius ramis innixa sedebat
Prata volubilibus mulcens Philomela susurris:
Hinc tanta infano crevit fiducia vepri,
Ausit ut annosa convitia fundere trunco,
Atq; infæcundam multùm exprobrare senectam.

Quid stas vernanti jam stipes inutilis agro,
Cum tua nec fructu moles, nec proficit umbra?
Aspicias ut nostris laxant nova germina flores,
Lilia qui candore, rubore rosaria vincant,
Ut vivo vernant folia hæc induta virore,
Qui color innuptam potuit decuisse Dianam?
Vestra ingens læto moles incommoda campo,
Nostris invisas offundit frondibus umbras:

Quiq; tuo canus dependet cortice muscus
 Infecit nostros spirantes Cinnama flores.
 Ergo (en ! præmoneo) procul hinc annosa faceffe,
 Ne nostri solvas pretium non vile furoris.
 Dixerat hæc vepres voce indignatus acerbâ,
 At nil è contrâ quercus longæva locuta,
 Cedebat, tristi & perculsa pudore dolebat,
 Probrosis vili dictis à vepre laceffi.

Inde die quodam (sic fors & fata volebant)
 Intulit huc gressus ejusdem cultor agelli,
 Dum de more suos invisit sedulus agros,
 Condendisque notat quæ trabs accommoda tectis.
 Hunc simulac vidit læto paliurus in arvo,
 (Ut jam sopitos litis malè fuscitet ignes)
 Ultrò conqueritur, magnâque ita voce profatur.

O Domine, ô à quo pendet mea vita, salusque,
 Sollicitos æquo dignare examine questus,
 Quos nunc extorsit violenta injuria, quali
 Vestrum ego mancipium (nec spes super ulla) laboro :
 Et tua ni lapsis succurrat dextera rebus,
 Me mittet Stygiis dolos insuperabilis umbris,
 Hostis è crevit funesta potentia nostri.

Attonitus multùm miserandâ voce colonus,
 Gramineo viridis confedit cespite campi,
 Atque rubum jussit scelerato pergere questu ;
 Inde audax cœpit phaleratis herbula dictis,
 (Ambitosorum mos hic solennis agendi)
 Artis pigmentis fucatum obtexere crimen.

O cui cum cunctis famulatur sylvâ viretis,
 Qui feris immanes quercus, humilesque myricas,
 Non tua me teneram defixit dextera plantam,
 Prima ut sylvestris lucerem gloria campi,
 Illustrans vernos formosis floribus agros,
 Æstatemque rubris possem ditare racemis ?
 Hoc ergo unde venit ? cur annis obsita quercus,
 Exuccus cujus truncus, ramalia fracta,
 Nuda in vicinos quæ brachia porrigit ignes,
 In nos exercet regnum imperiosius æquo,
 Obnubens umbrâ nostrum malè grata nitorem,
 Solaremque mihi discludens invida lucem ?

En cariosa meum pertundunt brachia corpus,
Manet ut obtrito viridis de cortice sanguis ;
Hinc immaturo dejecti tempore flores,
Quæ prima esse solent capiti gestamina vestro ;
Sæpe etiam turpes, exeso è stipite, bruchos
Dejicit in ramos, pars nè qua illæsa maneret.
Sæpeque canentes calvo de vertice cyrri
Delapsi vivum florum obfuscâre nitorem.
Contra hæc, atque alia in nostram tentata salutem,
Auxilium supplex posco, ut tua, scilicet, hostis
Latè grassantem refrænet dextra furorem.
Unum hoc, nè primâ cogar decedere sorte ;
Sic hæc iudicio vestro pensanda relinquens,
Oro vicinum perituro arcere periculum.

His mota, ad causam quercus se accingit agendam,
Diluat ut fictum crimen ; sed præviis hostis
Irarum tantas exciverat ante procellas,
Ut decernendæ non sit data copia litis.
Hic sua tecta petens, ultrici fervidus irâ,
Volvebat sub corde minas, acuitque furorem.
Et jam funestâ dextra est armata securi,
(Hei mihi, tam promptè occurrit scelerata securis !)
Jamque relegit iter, solus repetivit agellum.
(Quantillâ ah opus est ope cui sunt vota nocendi !)
Quò minùs appellet quercum, gravis obstitit ira,
Mollefcens sensim nè fors languesceret ardor ;
Atqui in radicem libratos destinat ictus,
Ingeminans tremulo creberrima vulnera trunco ;
At sæpe inflictae est acies replicata securi,
Et iussa invitum penetrabat corpora ferrum.
Detrectâsse operam videatur adacta securis,
Aut timidè abstinuisse sacram violare senectam.
Nam longæva trabes multos jam vixerat annos,
Culta metu patrumque, & Religione nepotum :
Transversoque crucis signo, quam sæpe rotatam
Illam lustrali festus circumtulit undâ
Sacrificus ; sed cura superstitionis colentum
Vana fuit, miseram nequies arcere senectam ;
Aut jam vicinum trepidanti avertere casum.
Nam dominus ferrum totâ cervice reductum

Vibrat,

Vibrat, ut inflicto tremere sub verbera truncus,
Viciniq; videns gemeret properare ruinam.
Cumq; chalybs mediam penetrârat adufq; medullam,
Corruit, & duxit de nubibus acta ruinam;
Quaffavit lassatam immani pondere terram,
Cedit & ipsa oneri, latè & succussa tremiscit;
Ecce cadit quercus, nullo miserante cadentem.

Nunc vacuo inflatus regnat paliurus in agro,
Vanaque ventoso turgescunt pectora fastu;
Sed viget ad tempus non duratura voluptas,
Nam tumidis irrumpit hyems armata procellis,
Et rigidus gelido Boreas bacchatur ab axe,
Pulsans dejecto viduatam robore veprem;
(Nullâ etenim stabat munitus parte misellus)
Nunc igitur serâ damnat sua vota querelâ;
Namque quod assueto nudatus tegmine stabat,
Torpentem glacies mordebat frigore caulem,
In terram nutans madido caput imbre gravatur,
Et jam lassâ nimis subsidunt pondere terga,
Amplius ut nequeant surrecto stipite stare;
Tum prostratus humi, & submersus vertice, cœno
Obteritur pedibus, carpunt & brachia tauri.
En talem vepri sortita superbia finem,
Quod senium spreuit.

D A M O N.

O he; jam satis est, jam finem abrumpe loquelæ,
Siste gradum, ad nihilum tantis ambigibus itur;
Lassas arrexisti lentis sermonibus aures,
Dum miseri clunes hærent tellure refixi;
Quinetiam in venis stupidum riguisse cruorem
Sentio, & en! calci concrevit pera gelato;
Non facit ad tales hæc improba fabula casus:
Ito domum, pastor, prope jam lux occidit, ito.



M A R T I U S.

Ægloga Tertia.

L A M P S U S, A L S U S.

A L S E, cur mœsti residemus unà,
Pectora ut curis domiti inquietis,
Dum novis Phœbus radiis serenus

Purpurat agros ?

Obvia en votis venit hora nostris,
Quæ coercebit Boreæ furores,
Quæ graves Brumæ malè sævientis
Leniet iras.

Als. Euge, quàm bellè monuisti ! (amice)
Namque mitescunt hyemis rigores,
Appetit jam ver roseis revinctum

Tempora fertis ;

Jámq; lactescens revirescit herba,
Spectat è nidis vigilax hirundo,
Et repurgato fugiunt citata

Nubila cœlo.

Lamp. Ut frutex illo tener in rubet
Trudit è rupta cute germen actum,
Et caput vernum temerè in remisias

Exerit auras !

Evocat vernos nova Flora fœtus,
Nectit & gratam Maiæ coronam,
Quæ modo & terræ gremio solutæ

Orta refulsit.

Nunc monet ludos agitare tempus,
Et leves nosmet jubet esse Nais,
Deviâ obliquos acie retorquens

In latus orbes.

Nunc

Nunc & alatum puerum excitemus,
 (Dormit his propter vada nigra Lethes)
 Præsit ut nostris agilis choreis

Ductor amicus.

Alfus. Falleris vero nimium remotus
 Non capit somnos puer ales unquam,
 Semper alternis animis amantum

Ludit, & errat.

Lampus. Quomodo nôsti vigilare Amorem ?
 An quiescentem puerum excitasti ?
 An quiescentem tibi qui excitavit

Dixerit alter ?

Alfus. Neutiquam, at casu duce conspicabar,
 Dum sub arbusto viridi latebat,
 Cæulas inter radiata pennas

Purpura tinxit,

Et nisi errarent pecudes protervæ,
 Jam notas essem tibi proditurus,
 Fortè queis natum modo deprehendi

Cypridis esse.

Lampus. Hoc onus nostris numeris recumbat,
 Excubent visus in utrumque nostri,
 Et gregem nostrum pariterque vestrum

Semper obibunt.

Ah! domi nobis Pater est severus,
 Acrior flammis etiam noverca ;
 Hi, domum quando pecudes reduco,

Ambo recensent.

Alfus. Non satis caulis tua cura utrisque ;
 Fortè aget nostras pecudes per arva,
 Proprio accersens capiti periculum,

Devius error.

Vix ab hinc Titan abiit secundus,
 Cum mihi indulsi modicam quietem,
 Postea exsomnia graviore stringor

Corda flagello.

Interim infœlix ovis illa, cujus
 Fasciis, vulnus docet, involuta
 Tibia, in cæcam foveam supina

Præcipitatur.

Indè compages utriusque nodi
Luxat, ô nervis utinam solutis
Vertebræ illisam premeret medulla
Saucia cervix!

Non magos rursus exigeret susurros,
Effet aut contra mala munienda
Voce, cùm tuto pecudes ovili
Claudo repôstas.

Tam procax nuper, petulans, proterva,
(Spero nunc frugi melioris esse)
Nollet ut nostro grege mista notum
Carpere gramen.

Lampus. Ut tulit casus, maneat peracta,
Excubes curis vigil in futura;
Quæque sint vestris oculis per agros
Obvia pande.

Alfus. Festa lux, albis celebris lapillis,
Ferias lætis pueris ferebat,
Alites cùm me calamis ferire
Impetus egit.

Dum diu lætis spatiatus agris,
Dexteram armatus levibus sagittis,
Quæro per nanas volucres myricas
Dulcè strepentes.

Tandem in arbuftis hederâ revinctis
Ales abstrusus puer hic latebat:
Audio quendam strepitum trementes
Edere ramos.

Dirigo in sepem attonitus sagittam,
Aure solerti strepitum aucupatus,
Nullus arrectas fragor hinc laceffit
Obvius aures.

Lumine arbuftum penetrans sagaci,
Corpus hîc vivum video moveri,
Nulla at occurrit facies latentis
Corporis inde.

Incubus seu fit, lemures, vel anguis,
Sive quid monstri, libet excitare,
Ergo lunato jaculatus arcu
Spicula torfi.

Troffulus nudo micat indè tergo,
Fimbriis pavi affimilatus alas,
Proxima ascendens agili citatus
Robora saltu.

Aurea à tergo sonuit pharetra,
Lentus argento radiabat arcus,
Hunc adaptatâ sinuans sagittâ
Dirigit in me.

Hoc videns tenso furiosus arcu
Impigrè fufas glomero sagittas,
Ut ruit Cœlo crepitans ab alto
Grandinis imber.

Tam diu torfi volucres sagittas,
Donec effufis calamis inermis
Dextera arreptos lapides vibrarem
Irritus aufi.

Tam levi nifu librat ille corpus,
Mutet ut, saltu superante, ramos :
Saxa mox in fe medio rotata in-
tercipit ictu.

Territus grefsu hinc fugio citato,
At puer vifus modò qui jocari,
Serio promit gravidâ sonora
Tela pharetrâ.

Et ferit calcem calamo fugacem,
Nec dolor crudum comitatur ictum,
Auxit at tempus breve sævientis
Tædia peftis.

Serpit en carnis graviore ftrage,
En finu laxo fanie vorago
Stagnat, & peftis populatur artus
Nefcia fifi.

Lampus. Defleo multùm tua fata, pastor,
Infcius telo petiifti amorem,
En mihi fignum modò prodidifti
Indubitatum.

Hoc mihi patrem memini locutum,
Quomodo imprudens capiebat illum,
(Hei vices patri misero reponet
Aliger olim.)

nexu temerè involutum,
endit pater implicandis
s corvis, solitis sedere

Arbore nostrâ.

dixit puerum fuisse,
huic arcus, calamive præstò;
qualis tremor occupâset

Membra parentis?

en'?) nimbis glomeratur æther,
eclivis pelago appropinquat,
pet tempus pecudes redactas

Condere caulis.



P R I L I S.

Ægloga Quarta.

T H Y R S I S, M O P S U S.

hi, Mopse, precor, lachrymas quæ causa dolenti
uit? lupus ane tuum populatus ovile est?
diluvis defecit fistula cantus?
tuos fastidit amica furores?

quæ cura oculos attemperat anno,
fissos terræ committit hiatus?
lis guttis distillat lachryma vernis,
ora, graves ut sedet pectoris æstus!

M O P S U S.

non illud tanti mihi causa doloris,
um juvenis, quem tanto amplector amore,
tumidæ macrescit amore puellæ,
que malis lacerat rabido ungue capillos:

Rustica Pastorum proscribit gaudia, curis
 Indulgens ; suavem (nostrum solamen) avenam
 Fregit, & à solitis nunc abstinet ora Camænis,
 Quarum laude alios sub se premit altior omnes.

T H Y R S I S.

Quis quæso fuerit tibi sic defletus ephebus ?
 Tantis alma Venus flammis incendit amantes ?
 Tantúmne hic musis & amica Pallade pollet,
 Nec potis insanos Veneris cohibere furores ?

M O P S U S.

Australis nostin' puerum pastoris Alexin ?
 Hunc transfixit amor funesto cuspidis ictu.
 Dudum in eo curas defixi & gaudia solo,
 Oppugnans variis juvenilia pectora donis :

At nunc à nobis furiato corde recessit,
 Et viduæ natam vicinæ uxoriis ambit.
 Sic, sic angoris procudit Phyllis Alexi,
 Sic pro non nota mutatur amicus amica.

T H Y R S I S.

Quòd si tanta Venus juvenili in carmine ridet,
 Unam ne pigeat mihi te recitasse Poesin,
 Dum sub conspectu pecus utraque vellicat herbas,
 Nòsq; hàc abstrusi umbrosam recubamus ad ulmum.

M O P S U S.

Convenit : Ergo ejus de magna carmen Elisa
 Cantando recolam, (pastorum ea maxima præses.)
 Quod panxit propter labentis murmura rivi,
 Et stringens modulos ad lapsum attemperat undæ.

Nymphæ, lacteolæ Nymphæ, quæ flumine puro
 Pectora lucidiora lavatis ;
 Paulisper vitreis, vos oro, emergite testis,
 Meque rogante, reflectite visus.
 Túque innupta cohors Parnassia templa frequentans,
 Defluit unde Helicon, sanctis pia cura poetis ;
 Laudes doceto ebuccinare
 Sydereæ celebres Elifæ,
 Inæi sexus quæ longè antè eminent omnes.

Candida

Candida in æternum vobis fit carmen Elisa,
 Illa per omnia virgo beata,
 Virginei flos illa chori sine fine virescat,
 Scepstrigeroque decore coruscet.
 Immaculata etenim Syringis filia fertur,
 Quam Pani enixa est Thamefina ad littoris undam,
 Inde orta Majestas reluxit,
 Ætherea indè propago fulsit ;
 Cujus nè minimâ fordescit gloria labe.

En ! viden' ? ô oculis spectacula grata tuentis !
 Ut viridantibus affidet herbis.
 Ut viridi vernat velamine regia virgo,
 Pallia tincta virore refulgent.
 Multicolor lambit regalia tempora sertum,
 Purpureo asphodelis interlucente roseto.
 Has Daphnis interserpit herbas,
 Primula veris eam secuta,
 Lucida luteolo pinxit violaria tinctu.

Dicite, divinos vultûs vidistis honores ?
 Cynthia ut orbe micante renidet ;
 Regales habitus Majestatemque venustam
 Anne quod æquet in orbe repertum ?
 Alternæq; rosis interflua candida rubris
 Vivo animans utraq; genas inspirat honore.
 En quale signum celsitatis
 Ore oculoque micat pudico !
 Obvia ubi vestris spectacula talia ocellis ?

Auricomo (vidi) Phœbus caput extulit orbe,
 Ut faciem tueatur Elisæ ;
 Sed postquam vidit radiantia virginis ora,
 Attonitus, stupidusque recessit ;
 Erubuitque alium subter se surgere solem,
 Igniferumque iterum caput exeruisse timebat :
 Lumen suum componat ergo
 Auricomæ radiis Elisæ,
 Scilicet ut victus caput atra in nube recondat.

Eja, age, pande modò radios argentea Phæbe,
Si potes absque rubore, micantes.
Quòd si tum formæ radios fortè explicet illa,
Ut subito inficis ora rubore !
Sed Latonigenæ non fas contendere proli
Istam, sic Niobe numerosa morte cadebat ;
Nunc faxea squallescit arvis,
Assiduo liquefacta fletu ;
Exemplòque alios istis à litibus arcet.

Fœlix, ô nimium fœlix Pan jure triumphet,
Quòd celebris pater audit Elisæ.
Fortunata etiam ter & ampliùs aurea Syrix,
Quòd cluet aucta propagine tanta.
Et simulac nostri depulsi à matribus agni
Balabunt, statuam huic villo candente bidentem,
Numen mihi semper colendum :
Huic ego mancipium perenne,
Callosus licèt, & torrenti decolor æstu.

En ! ut Calliope festinat præpete cursu,
Quà radians dea nostra coruscat,
Agmine Pieridum circumstipata sororum,
Quæque vibrantia nabilia gestat !
Nonne triumphales victricia germina laurus,
Debita Elisææ portant gestamina dextræ ?
Sic murmurant dulci susurro
Fila trementia, iterque mulcent,
Ut videar fœlix mediis discumbere in astris.

Quam dextrè nifus accommodat alite talo
Ad modulamina Gratia triplex !
Aspice quanta agiles ineunt levitate choreas,
Ut modulatibus æthera mulcent.
An non una Charis deest, partibus angulus æquis
Ut coeat ? Diæ sedes hæc cedat Elisæ ;
Fiat Charis, nam sic meretur,
Quartaque Gratia claudat orbem :
Olim rutilum, sed serò, ascendat Olympum.
Nympharum

Nympharum quónam ista cohors ruit incita, tantæ
Ordine continuata Catervæ ?

Agnosco natas Thamefino in litore Nymphas :
Ad mea numina tendit Elisam,

Quæque omnes formâ supereminet aurea Chloris,
Palladiâ texam præfert de fronde coronam :

Pacem decent frondes olivæ,
Cum ferus exulat orbe Mavors ;

Unica Reginæ debetur Palladis arbor.

Vicini ô proles pastoris ruris alumnae,
Eja agite appropere frequenter.

Sed nulla accedat, nisi castæ operata Dianæ,
Quæ nitidam comitetur Elisam.

Et coram inuictam cum convenietis Elisam,
Rusticitas vobis nè quæ sit vestra pudori,

Certâ comas nodate vittâ,
Fasciolâ cohibete pectus

Purpureâ, Tyrium quod murice tinxit ahenum.

Huc agite, huc plenis vaccinia ferte quasillis,
Huc casia cumuletis odores.

Ferte rosas festinae, anemones germina ferte,
Germina Cypridi grata dolosæ ?

Pulverulenta viæ flaventia lilia sternant,
Asphodelusque solum verbasco mixtus obumbret,

Huic bellis adnascatur, illi
Caltha metallum imitata fulvum.

Ultima nubigenas Iris mentita colores.

Surge, virago potens, nativis fulgida gemmis,
Scepstrigero radiata decore.

Quinetiam comptæ (monet hora) redite puellæ,
Semita quæ sua quamque reducet.

Ah vereor nè vos nimium lassaverò, at ipsa
Imputet hoc vobis, quodcumque est, carmen Elisa,

Et si obvias vos fecerit fors,
Cum mihi pruna reponet arbor,

Arboreos fetus inter vos partiar omnes.

T H Y R S I S.

Hocine suaviloquus carmen pangebatur Alexis ?
 Ah excors juvenis nimio excæcatus amore !
 Ut piget huc cecidisse illum, nam scilicet omnes
 Nil pensi ducunt, qui castra sequuntur amoris.

M O P S U S.

Atque hoc delirare magis mihi visus Alexis,
 Non responsuros quòd fervidus ambit amores.
 Sed retro relegamus iter, nox appetit atra,
 Occiduumque fugant vibrantia sydera lucem.



M A I U S.

Ægloga Quinta.

D O R Y L A S.

DIC mihi, dic sodes, hic ne anni gloria Maius ?
 Quando Dionæus renovata insignia tyro
 Induit & viridi vultus gestamine inumbrat.
 Cur non nos lætâ laxamus gaudia fronte,
 Ut reliqui vernâ præcinēti tempora fronde ?
 En canum nobis pubenti ut discolor anno
 Gausape ? quando omnis profitetur gaudia vultus,
 Cum frondes sylvas, & terram gramen opacat,
 Et tenero hirsuti pubescunt germine vepres.
 Nunc passim ad sylvas glomeratur conflua pubes,
 Ut verni primos ruris prædetur honores,
 Mox regressa novo postes umbramine vestit,
 Antequæ lucanis hilarat nova templa Corollis,
 Congrege quas spinâ violaria lucida texunt,
 Alternèque rosis intersita candida bellis.
 Talia Sylvano frontem Satyrisque serenant,
 Nos consopiti stupido torpore sedemus.

L Y C I D A S.

LYCIDAS.

Hæc (Doryla) teneris infantia convenit annis,
 Altius at saperet nostra hæc maturior ætas.

DORYLAS.

Hac equidem aurorâ (nuper transacta renarro)
 Egressos vidi denso agmine ruris alumnos,
 Solenni streperos plausu, festisque choreis;
 Cornicen his etiam buccosus prævius ibat,
 Qui tremulum raucis diverberat æra bombis:
 Dum (latus unicuique suâ stipante puellâ)
 Hi peronato gaudent pede plaudere terram,
 Hanc dum lætitiâ stupui, fremitusque secundos,
 Æmula subsultant parili præcordia gestu.
 Inde petunt virides glomerato examine sylvas,
 Ut primùm verni carpant libamina Maii.
 Tum Faunum solio fultum, cinctumque corollis
 Arboreum gestant; huic conjux affidet unâ
 Flora novopeplo solito conspectior; illam
 Stipant densato famulantes agmine Nymphæ.
 (O hujus partem esse chori, si fata dedissent,
 Cum Nymphis Floram ut sociâ cervice subirem!)
 O Lycida, potis es non intabescere, tantas
 Delicias recolens nullo conamine partas?

LYCIDAS.

His ut ego invidiam? (Doryla) quin semper eorum
 Et miror miserorque imo deliria corde:
 Infrænes quòd nullâ obeant sua munia curâ,
 Sed pecudes passim sine lege vagari,
 Decurrunt vitam parcè cautèque terendam
 Ebria turba jocis, lascivo diffusa risu.
 Tartareum genus hoc pastorum emerfit ab orco,
 Qui ludunt dum grex agros jejunos oberrat;
 Apparet liquidò gregis hos tantùm esse magistros,
 Non Dominos, quòd non prohibent errare vagantes:
 Nempe hos conduxit levior mercedula, qualem
 Indulgent alii, pretium quos majus opimat;
 Commissæ pecudis sed par incuria damnat,
 Dum raso ad vivum se involvunt vellere pigri,
 Et totum nacti dant de Centusse deuncem.
 Sed quamnam poterunt rationem reddere, miror,

Quando

Quando pastorum Pan maximus arbiter, olim
 Æquo subducet rationes cuique lapillo :
 Alter mercedis quòd tantum acceperit, alter
 Posthabuit proprio domini quòd feria ludo.

D O R Y L A S.

Hæc equidem credo motum livore locutum,
 Nempe tibi deest horum aliquâ de parte voluptas ;
 Ast ego quæ sors cunque ferat, livoris iniqui
 Malo peti morsu, quàm sic miserabilis esse :
 Malo tamen clades, malo miserandus haberi,
 Quàm me riderent toto vicinia pago.
 Nempe solent miserari ægrè reparabile damnum,
 Nos risu dignos facit imprudentia : verùm
 Quid majus saperet pastorum rustica pubes,
 Cùm facilis larga Pan auxerit omnia dextra,
 Munere quàm divùm concessos carpere fructus,
 Securè placidum permensi molliter ævum ?
 Nam vita cassis evanuit alma voluptas
 Cum flatu summò, at multis cum millibus inde
 Illi indormiscunt placidæ sine fine quieti.
 Quod decoxerunt vivi comitatur euntes,
 Æternùm periiit quicquid post fata relinquunt.
 Non bona sunt ubi fructus abest, ubi tollitur usus :
 Non alium Deus ob finem bona commodat ulli.

L Y C I D A S.

Euge voluptatis, Doryla, enervate satelles ;
 Attigerit quicumque picem hac temeratus abibit.
 Verùm pastores (cecinit sic Tityrus olim)
 Non decet ad mores nummosæ vivere plebis ;
 Scilicet hanc par est hæredis cura fatiget,
 Ne posthac vacua decrescat filius arca ;
 Utque etiam parili decurrat vita tenore
 Consuluisse decet, ne deficiente crumena
 Parta apud instabilem vilescat gratia plebem.
 Ast alio vitam decurrat limite pastor,
 Hunc sibi terrenas decet interdicerè curas.
 Quorsum indulgeret proprio de corpore natis,
 Divitiis, ut eos, queis parserat ipse, bearet ?
 Annon ille Deus, qui tanta indulserat illi,
 Et natis etiam simili sua dona tenore

Transfundet,

Transfundet, si trita prement vestigia patris ?
Quòd si transversum rapit ambitus atque libido,
Frustrà divitiæ, patris fiducia frustra
Sustentant, mox cuncta nepos hæc decoquet hæres.
Sæpè in munificos hæc diffidentia divos
Fecit, ut accersant votis sibi damna nocivis ;
Divitiarum undas miserè sine fine cientes
Sese absorpturas : horum deliria tanta
Nil meliùs referet, quàm impensè sedula mater
Simia, in expletum quæ sic indulget amori
In natos (nec causâ apparet amoris) ut illos
Implicitis arctè dum stringit colla lacertis,
Suffocent avidis maternæ amplexibus ulnæ.
Sic quandoque bonum cùm mens concepit amica,
Errans dextra malum infausto producit abortu.

Tempus erat quondam, quod & olim fortè redibit,
(Nam poterit rursùm quicquid fuit antè reverti)
Cùm nusquam patrii reditus, nec census avitus
Pastori cessit, nec junctis prædia campis :
Quicquid at humanos ipso ex grege surgit in usus
(Plusve minusve) fuit pastoris summa peculi.
Fœlices illo pastores jugiter ævo
Perdere nil unquam, quòd nil habuere, timebant.
Nempe illis Pan ipse in sortem cessit, & inde
Contenti parvo peragebant sæcla paratu.
Namque hos munifici Panos sic cura fovebat,
Ut nil deficeret, semper nova massa butyri
Suppeteret, nec mel deesset, nec copia lactis ;
Sufficerentque gregum ad texandas vellera vestes.
Temporis at tractus, diuturna que copia rerum,
Hic vitii sator, illa gravis nutricula fastûs,
Pastorum turbam utramvis sopivit in aurem ;
Inde oblita sui, parere oblita priori,
Lusidos miseranda ambire incepit honores.
Hinc se in amicitiam magnatum immergere sueta,
Turbatrixque status, aucepsque evasit honorum ;
Tum peronatus sustollere cornua pastor,
Frugalem vitam penitus dediscere, plumâ,
Assuetum quondam dio latus abdere cœpit ;
Inde lupus falsâ pastoris imagine tectus

Irrepsit,

Irrepfit, fœtusque dolis, fraudumque peritus ;
Qui non tondet oves, verùm deglubit, & unâ
Deglutit rabidè miserâs, laniatque magistros.
Tantum fons hinc ebullit ille malorum
Pastorum turbæ, nullâ sistendus ab arte,

D O R Y L A S.

Hæc tria sustinuisse æquâ cervice molestum ;
At quartum (mihî crede) ipsa est onerosius Ætna ;
Fœmina inexplèto pruritu accensa juventæ,
Non æstus cedat, si non potiatur amato.
Sic quoties subito bilis scintillat ab irâ
Fervescens ægrè, desit vindicta, residet.
Quis suadebit ei, quem jam fitis aspera torret,
Ut sibi ab ablatis patienter temperet undis ?
Sed nil tam miserum quàm stulti audire loquelam,
Intempestiva glomerantis plurima lingua.
Vix oneris tantum reor incubuisse Giganti,
Stelliferum rigidus qui succollabat Olympum.
Quid maculam tentas niveis affundere ? quorsum
Extruis è fragili tantam fundamine molem ?
Jus æquum nulla motus ratione laceffis,
Reprendisque, ubi nec crimen, nec criminis umbra,
Dic age, quam velles (quoniam tibi displicet ista)
Pastorum vitam ? vis hos tabescere curis ?
Non ita per nobis communia numina Pana :
Nunquam me curæ, seriesve immensa laborum
Torquebunt, proprii mea dum sunt otia juris :
Non opus est absentem accersivisse dolorem,
Excubat ante fores, non invitatus adibit :
Quin igitur læti, dum pax beat aurea terras,
Deliciis fruimur, quas indulgentia cœli
Affudit nobis, fuerint sed nubila postquam
Tempora, sunt diris capita objectanda periclis.
Crede mihi, laudi multùm lis derogat ista
Pastorum, alterius vitam quod quisque reprendit ;
Inque vicem sua dum denudant crimina vulgo,
Alternâ adversæ fiunt ludibria parti.
Nemo igitur posthac quicquam immedicabile carpat,
Sic citò pestiferam dirimet concordia litem.

L Y C I D A S.

LYCIDA S.

Non ego pastori jungam commercia cuiquam,
 A recto flexos qui torquet ad avia gressus :
 Et si quando mihi tali datur optio, malim
 Infestum fieri, certo quàm fœdere junctum,
 Quænam cum tenebris esset concordia lucis ?
 Quæ pax immiti est agnum junctura leoni ?
 Hi vafri ficto mentiti pectora vultu
 Omnibus imponent, ut vulpes luserat hædum.

DORYLAS.

Euge age (mi Lycida) rogo per communia nostri
 Jura sodalitiï, dictum hoc detexere sodali :
 En utriusque gregi sataget puer iste tuendo.

LYCIDA S.

ILLE equidem (memini satis, & memorare juvabit)
 Imprudens nimium fuit, atque improvidus hædus,
 Nam casu quodam (tum fervida canduit æstas)
 Capra hujus mater, paulò sapientior hædo,
 Exivit septis, sylvasque petivit opacas,
 Seu salices libuit tondere, aut ludere in umbra ;
 Et quòd maternas fovit sub pectore curas
 De nato, ingeniumque sagax cavisse tenello,
 Pro genibus posuit petulantis pectora nati ;
 Qui multum vegetus, teneris & amabilis annis,
 Inter lascivos nullus præstantior hædos :
 Lanugo capitis molli juvenescere pelle
 Cæperat, è lætæque erumpere cornua fronte :
 Germina nascentis cæpere libidinis illi
 Subter setosum lætè pubescere mentum.

Nate, inquit, (lachrymæ simul erupère frequentes,
 Nam materna acres urebant pectora curæ)
 Dii faveant orbòque tibi, viduæque parenti,
 Lætitiaque tuam vegetant florente juventam :
 Ah Pater (hoc multo verbum eluctata labore,
 Nam propè ruperunt miseras suspiria fibras)
 Ah Pater, ah Lucem tibi si superesset in istam,
 Corporis ille sui ut sic luxuriantia cerniat
 Germina, ut afficerent lætam hæc spectacula mentem ?
 Gaudia at hæc illi fortuna invidit iniqua,

Intempestivis præcidens cladibus annos,
Insidiatoris quem prodidit artibus hostis.
Nunc ego crudeli vidua usque exesa dolore,
Hæc habeo miseræ solatia sola senectæ,
In patris vidisse locum succedere natum,
Vernantis vegeto pubentem flore juventæ ;
Nempe caput sic erectum pater antè gerebat,
Et procera pari librabat cornua gestu.

Inde notans oculis multùm rorantibus illum,
Ingentes imo gemitus de pectore traxit,
Singultis medias interrumpente querelas ;
Nam rediviva acuit sopitos cura dolores.
Forsan pubenti fætûs in fronte tenelli
Expressè vultûs eluxit imago paterni.
Tandem jamdudum suspensa silentia rumpit,
Et cœpit mulcere olidæ nova germina barbæ.
Hœdule chare, inquit, nosti quàm me anxia semper
Sollicitat vestræ metuentem cura salutis ;
Namque tibi insidias multæ posuere ferarum,
Præque aliis tectas callens vulpecula fraudes
Extremas clades vovet, exitiumque minatur ;
Ergo maternis monitis te trade regendum,
Fucatisque dolis hujus ne crede salutem.
Dumque domi non sum, si fortè advenerit isthuc,
Munitas occlude fores, fraudemque timeto.
Nec de promissis inducat vafra, minisve,
Ostia uti ignoto cuiquam referata pateant.

Lascivum his monitis instruxit sedula natum ;
Qui se facturum spondet mandata parentis.
Tum demum septis egressa est anxia mater,
Primo succiduos offendens limite gressus.
Incussit quendam gressûs offensa stuporem ;
(Scilicet infamis funesto est omine sortis)
Sed terrent licèt attonitam præfagia, pergit.
Protinus inde fores jussi memor obserat hœdus ;
Interea egressam parvo post tempore capram,
Fœta dolis venit ad claufas vulpecula caulas ;
Non vulpem confessa palam, ne nosceret hœdus,
Sed quâ vicatim solitus divendere merces
Emporus : à tergo nugarum sarcina pendet,

Pupæ, tinnitus nolæ, speculique nitores.
Circumfusa caput redimibat fascia, nempe
Æstuat affectum febris fervore cerebrum,
Panno posterior pes circumeunte latebat
Implicitus, tulerat frigus brumale podagram.
Illic farcinulas dejecit ad ostia vulpes,
Decubuitque solo, gemitusque eduxit ab alto.
O Deus! O quotcunque tenetis Numina cœlos,
Respicite huc oro, tandem & miserescite nostri.
Istos incautus questus perceperat hœdus,
Atque audire cupit, quæ tantæ causa querelæ.
Hinc se subducens post ostia clausa latebat,
Et clam per rimam cupidos transmisit ocellos:
Nec sic occultè, quin vulpes vafra videret.

(Vafricies utrinque oculos gerit æmula Jani.)

Ut vidit, clamare inceperat, ô here, Divi
Frontis, quam video, lætos tueantur honores.
Ulceribusque intacta istis tua corpora præstent,
Quæ mihi per tutum manant diffusa cadaver.

Imo hœdus tantos miserans è corde dolores,
Scitatur tantos moveat quæ causa dolores,
Et quisnam fiet, unde satus, quò tenderet inde?
Tandem hæc jam pridem sat respondere parata,
Crebris fallacem lachrymis rorata loquelam;
Eheu! ægra nimis, nimis ægra, ereboque propinqua,
Mox tua subveniat nisi munificentia lapsæ:
En ovis, iste color quamvis obscurior æquo,
Nempe alias peragrantem oras me torruit æstas.
Et, modò sit verum quod dixit avunculus olim,
Sum tibi vicina consanguinitate propinqua:
(Si tua Nobilitas tantis natalibus orta,
Non tam degeneris contagia sanguinis horret)
Affinis miserere tuæ, miserere misellæ,
Auxilioque tuo instantem præverte ruinam.

Sic ait, & speculi fulgentis sustulit orbem.
Hunc improvisò temerarius inspicit hœdus,
Insidiosa nimis novitas quem mercis inescat,
Ut nil, ne salvum carum contrà æstimet aurum.
Inde fores aperit festinus, vafraque vulpes
Ingressa alterno cunctatur poplite grassus,

In morem claudi, caudem sub ventre recondens,
Ne villosa nimis spectanti proderet hædo.

Ingressam ignarus lætâ fronte excipit hospes,
Spe nitidi ductus speculi, quod viderat antè :
Post epulas fallax fabellas Emporus orsus,
Plurima de variis textit mendacia rebus,
Mirandasque crepat nugas, tum evolvere cœpit
Sarcinulas, hædoque suas exponere merces.
Evacuâtque arcam, sed nolam liquit in illa,
Hædus ut inveniat ; quam cùm conspexerat ille,
Sensim demittens se inflexo corpore, captat.
Ut vidit vulpes, citò præcipitavit in arcam,
Occlufitque fera ; mora nulla, haud septa laborat
Claudere, sublata festinat ad antra rapina.

Postea quando domum remeaverat anxia mater,
Aspicit & patulos nudato limine postes,
Alta voce suum stupefacta inclamitat hædum,
Hædum iterat, natumque iterat, vox nulla redibat.
Inde lares intrâ digestas ordine merces
Conspexit, magnô nimum quas emerat ille.
Quid faceret ? periisse suum jam comperit hædum,
Ergo multa gemens questu vicina fatigat.
Hæc hædi clades, quòd non vitaverat artes,
Mentitæ velum quas simplicitatis obumbrat.
Et certè reliquos idem manet exitus omnes,
Qui cum tam vafriis commercia jungere gaudent.

D O R Y L A S.

Jam reor emotam cessisse à cardine mentem,
Nam metam fixisse ratus modò, longius erras.
Nunc me quæso sinas fabellam hanc mutuo sumam,
Noster cras sacra quam detonet æde Joannes,
(Festa ea nempe dies) faciet cum verba popello.
Nam benè cum sentit, vix pauçula dicere novit,
At tot fallendi vulpes si calleat artes,
Pastorum exploret cæcas sollertia technas.

L Y C I D A S.

Plurima de vulpis poteram recitare dolosis
Artibus : at nunc Phœbus equum fumantia solvit
Colla jugo, properat madidis nox roscida pennis.
P naturemus iter, casulasque petamus,

J U N I U S.



J U N I U S.

Ægloga Sexta.

M O P S U S.

EN locus, en cujus positus peramœnus (Alexi)
 Jam reliquos fecit præ se sordescere campos !
 Ecquid dulce usquam quod quis desideret istic ?
 Aer quàm liquidus ! quàm lene affibilat aura !
 Quàm gelida ! ane ullo tam mitis spirat ab axe ?
 Ut ridet vario distinctus gramine campus !
 Ut dumeta virent, avibus domus hospita blandis,
 Labenti modulus quàm quæque accommodat undæ.

A L E X I S.

O fœlix, nate ô fausto sub sydere, Mopse,
 Tu multùm quæsitâ tenes fœlicia Tempe :
 Hic matutinæ, sero hic sub vespere vestræ
 Errabunt pecudes omni à discrimine tutæ,
 Vicinisque tuos sylvis resonabis amores.
 Ast ego, quem semper non exorabile fatum
 Jactat, & irati nimia inclementia cœli,
 Non reperi, infaustum caput in qua sede recondam.

M O P S U S.

Ergo si monitus non aspernabere nostros,
 Illico linque illum, qui te malè fascinat, agrum ;
 Linque illos colles, ubi rarior umbra, coronant
 Quos nulli frutices, nec amicæ vitibus ulmi.
 Te recipe ad valles, ubi mille opulescere cernes
 Pastores, multoque greges succrescere fœtu.
 Nulla hic nycticorax lætis pernoctat in agris,
 Nec torvi lemures, nec ferali omine bubo.



Vidi ego Calliopen turbâ comitante fororum,
 Cùm tua dulcisonos exorsa est fistula cantus,
 Neglectis citharis, & eburni verbere plectri
 Fontêque deserto, modò quem cinxere coronâ,
 Ad tua præcipiti ferri modulamina cursu :
 Tandem progressæ, quâ tu modulatus avenâ
 Artem ostentabas, stupefacta hinc quæque retrorsum
 Reflexit gressus, subito suffusa pudore,
 Pastorem cernens cantu prævertere Musas.

ALEXIS.

Musarum nec gnarus ego, nec notus ab illis :
 Istas nempe ferunt ortas Jove patre sorores ;
 Hinc dedignari graciles pastoris avenas,
 Panâque Phœbæo calamos componere plectro
 Ausum, perpetuam famæ attraxisse lituram.
 Hinc Parnassiaci desperans ardua montis,
 Hîc humiles inter tutâ sub valle myricas
 Ad libitum, tepuam (rudius licèt) inflo cicutam.

Nec morsus unquam stulti, aut præconia vulgi
 Adverto, aut laudem sitio, palmamve canendi
 Ambio sollicitus : blandos captare susurros
 Famæ pastorem nequaquam, Mopse, decebit ;
 Sed pavisse grægem quâ læti pascua campi.
 Asperiora scio, limâ rudiore polita,
 Carmina nostra, at eò magè sorti accommoda nostræ.
 Explicuisse meos furia pectoris æstus
 Sat mihi, lugubrique animum exonerasse querelâ.

Tityrus ille, Deus pastorum, Tityrus ille
 Occidit, edocuit qui pangere primus Alexin
 Quomocunque licet, dum vixit signifer ille
 Pastorum, infans quotquot capiuntur amore.
 Hic casus planxisse suos, moderarier æstum
 Calluit, immitti quem incenderat igne Cupido,
 Fabellis que mihi obrepentem avertere somnum,
 Pinguia dum pecudes carpebant pascua tutæ.

200
Nunc obiit, gelidoque infutus corpora plumbo
Pressit humum (tanta ah rabies cur mortis in illum)
Et cum vate suo periit divina canendi
Ars, cujus totum jam crescit fama per orbem.
Quòd si in me flueret de tanto paucula fonte
Guttula, qui vatis divino ebullit ore:
Illico ego has sylvas nostras lugere docerem
Clades, atque istas lachrymis rorari ulmos.

Tunc & crebra meæ feritate expressa puellæ,
Ingrata infausti querimonia nuncia casûs,
In gremium nostræ, quocunque sit illa sub axe,
Confugeret Dominæ, peccati pectora morsu
Suffodiens: de me sic scilicet illa meretur.
Tu quoque qui variis nostræ (malefide Menalca)
Oppugnans technis ventosum pectus amicæ,
Expositus toti fieres mox fabula mundo.

Verùm cum non sum, qualem mea vota capeffunt,
Vos, ô pastores, mitissima turba, rogamus,
Quotquot ubique jugis pecudes, aut vallibus imis
Pascitis, atrocis testes assistite facti:
Dicite vos Dominæ; cujus flos, nobilis olim,
Mortiferum est (succo jam degenerante) venenum:
Cujus & inculpata fides nunc perfida culpa est;
Dicite, pastoris fidissima fauciat illa
Pectora, quæque illam sitiunt, super omnia chara.

M O P S U S.

Indignas, ô Alexi, tuas deploro ruinas;
Possè tuis lachrymis, duram tabescere credo
In guttas silicem, O infida, ingrataque Phyllis!
Impia tam diri radix fœcunda doloris.
Sed monet elapsum nos hinc abscedere tempus.
Surge igitur, repetasque tuum festinus ovile
Fœlix grex; ne nox tacitis allapsa quadrigis
Anticipet lentum, laterique hærentia matrum
Corpora natorum frigenti rore madescant.

JULIUS.



J U L I U S.

Ægloga Septima.

T H Y R S I S.

AN non fastosus saxo qui sessitat illo
 Caprarum est custos, cujus malè credita curæ
 Delitet hamatis pecus errabunda rubetis ?

M O E R I S.

Heus, heus, huc ad me, pastor lepidissime, montem
 Ascendas, potes hæc mecum considerare rupe.
 Commodior valle est pecori, pecorisque magistro.

T H Y R S I S.

Avertat Deus omen ! ego jam scandere discam ?
 Spectaboque altum ? Vulgi percrebuit ore,
 Affliget gravior scandentes ardua casus.

Imâ valle gradus stabilis, vestigia rarò
 Infida ; impinget siquà properatio cæco
 Inconsulta gradu ; mindus, aut nihil inde pericli.

Nunc etiam ignipides alto temone quadrigas
 Evexit Titan, æquo discrimine certum
 Urget iter, cratera means, interque coronam :

Insequiturque ferum cane tristè latrante Leonem ;
 Cujus pestifero ructatus anhelitus ore
 Languores ciet, & crebro cum funere pestem.

Contra torrentem flammæ sideris æstum
 Quod munimen habes ? En nuda sine arbore saxa
 Phœbæo produnt ora indefensa furori :

Quò si fortè tibi alternæ commercia vocis
Cum pastore placent, descende à vertice montis,
Et nôris, poterit quantillum dicere Thyrsis.

M O E R I S.

Hem pigrum clamant tua verba ! Isthocne laboris
Sit tanti, diverticula ut tibi inania quæras ;
Occæcésque oculos vanâ caligine nostros ?

Abstineas probris, adverso tempore montes
Aggrederis culpæ istos, pia cura bonorum
Stant sacri divis, & sumunt nomen ab illis.

Nam Michaelæi quis nesciit ardua montis,
Ingens qui occiduis munimen prominet oris ?
Sic Brigidæ fœlix umbracula Cantia jactat.

Et nôrunt doctas qui ter tria numina musas,
Montanum dicunt has incoluisse cacumen.
Limpidulum juxta fontem, ut queis cura caprarum.

Nonne frequentavit glaucis juga confita olivis
Magnus Pan ? pavitque gregem (grex ille beatus)
Israëliticum, propriâ quem morte redemit ?

T H Y R S I S.

Felix terque quaterque pecus, ter maxime pastor,
Tam magno mercate gregem, sudore cruento
Infesti qui à fauce lupi tutatus ovile es.

M O E R I S.

Præterea (Sancti retulerunt hæc quóque patres)
Relligione sacer locus est, quâ Phæbus ab undis
Emitat, ut cursus peragat stata pensa diurni.

In cujus summo figuntur vertice stellæ,
Cumque suis stellis innititur arduus æther :
Illic & specus est in quo Latonia proles
Pastoris domuit longævo tempora somno.

Olim hîc pastores læti per gramina campi
Egerunt pecudes, donec deliquerat unus,
Delictoque locum reliquis occluserat illum.

Inde

Inde quòd Elysiis Pan nos excluferit agris
Relligio est montem pede te calcare profano.

Poffem etiam memorare hic Afpro confraga colle
Tesqua piæ Dominæ hic viridi juga confita lauro ;
Avia dein Sinai : fed quid de divite promam
Plura penu, nobis cum mons fuffecerit ifte ?

Hic petulans crebrò ludit per prata recurfu
Faunus, Sylvanique leves, Nymphifque notatus
Medweagus leni perlabitur agmine campos :

Medweagus, qui Cantiacas crispantibus undis
Decurrit valles, dum major frater adoptet,
Excipiens falfas Thamefinis fluctibus undas.

Ecce Melampodium, capris en utilis ægris ;
His injuffa jugis Terebinthus multa virescit ;
Ad rabiem facit hæc, ad gutturis altera morbos.

Præterea mons hic cælo vicinior ipfi
Eminet, hoc etenim (perrarò in valle reperti)
Monte cadunt crebrò rutilantes fulminis ignes.

T H Y R S I S.

Quid, blatero, mihi fabellas obtrudis aniles ?
Ad cælos has rere vias ? Ego ruris alumnus
Ad superas breviora arces compendia novi.

Longius à fuperis sæpe est vicinior aris ;
Hoc verbum vetus, & caput inferuiffe laborans
Astris, offendit titubanti ad ftramina grefsu.

Tam citò ftelliferos paffor conscenderit axes
Valle imâ ducens, quàm celso monte fuperbus
Caprarum custos, nitidis conterminus astris.

Nofta mifella pecus gaudet convallibus imis ;
Non herbis opus huic medicis, viget integra fano
Corpore, convallis paffu contenta falubri.

Quod

Quòd si cum capris communem scandere montem
 Susciperet, subitâ correpta à tabe periret,
 Aut fastidiret muscosi pabula saxi,
 Aut attonderet virosi gramina succi.

Sacrâ ego sanctorum vitâ celebrata virorum
 Suspicio juga, non tam quòd juga, sed quòd in illis
 Sancti degerunt, omni ferrugine puri.

Nunc isti ad fedes nos præcessere beatas,
 Cumque illis probitas, & tantùm exempla supersunt,
 Ad quæ nos nostros par est componere mores.

Flos hic pastorum, pastorum hic optimus ordo,
 Contentus pavisse gregem per vallis opaca :
 Cumque quieverunt placidâ jam pace potiti,
 Quorsum turbamus vano sermone quietem ?

Talis, talis erat (meminit mihi Tityrus olim)
 Pastorum primus, parvi mercede lucelli
 Contentus, primùm qui custodivit ovile.

Mitis erat, si quisquam mitis, nescius omnis
 Fraudis, at instar ovis, pecudique per omnia molli
 Par, geminusque, humilisque pecus, pecudisque magister.

Plurima de plenis exivit victima septis,
 Nunc ove, nunc teneris lactentis carnibus hœdi
 Imbuit hic sanctas Pani gratissimus aras ;

Quem sic assiduis cumulans altaria donis
 Demeruit sacris, ex illo ut tempore nunquam
 Respuerit vilem tenuis pastoris acerram.

Nobilium talem fratrum reor esse cohortem,
 Fratrum, bis seni Cananæ qui ubere glebæ
 Panis oves pavêre Israelitide terrâ.

Nequaquam talis, Phrygia nutritus in Ida,
 Pastor erat ; qui liquit oves, petiitque puellam,
 Illicitos cujus nimio licitatur amores.

Hic

Hic tumidus, (talem pastorem haud convenit esse)
 Affluit ut nemesis, rabidâque libidine captus,
 Dignas neglecti pœnas expendit ovilis,
 (Nostra etenim curis mens est angusta duabus)

Pastor sit mitisque, humilisque, oculatior Argo,
 Undique prospiciens, nullâque libidine tactus,
 Instar habens chalybis non expugnabile pectus.

Talis erat Moses, (retulit sic Tityrus ante)
 Numinis hic summi cernebat comminùs ora ;
 Crystallo longè magè lucida numinis ora ;
 Reddideratque vices sermonis comminùs astans.

Huic & frater erat, primus nempe ordinis hujus,
 (Excidit at nomen) verus, pastorque fidelis,
 Verùm fratre suo minor hic natuque, fideque.

Isti omnes humiles contenti simplice victu
 Gaudebant grege pascendo, nunquamque præesse
 Ambibant, tritâ induti plerumque lacernâ.

Sed nunc (munifico sit debita gratia Pani)
 Emicat in melius ruditas pastorica ; vestis
 Non tam trita illis, nam nunc foret illa rubori.

Purpureo latè jam fulgent murice (largus
 Hæc Deus indulsit) rerum potiuntur habenis
 Pro libitu, & cunctas dominantur ubique per oras.

Fulgidus hos ambit rutilanti balteus auro,
 (Det Deus esse probos pastores) vendidit illis
 Pan suus ipse gregem, oculato à teste renarro.

Namque Idmon nuper (siquid tibi cognitus Idmon)
 Visendi studio ignotas provectus in oras
 Advenit Romam (siquâ tam sæta furoris
 Urbs sit) ubi vidit tales crebrescere ritus.

Nempe pedum hic, quantum reliquis dominatur in oris
Sceptrum ; namque misella pecus præsegmina, panem
Pastor habet, grex reliquias, sed fercula pastor.

Vellera pastoris, pastoris præmia carnes ;
(O miseræ interea pecudes) seret alter, & alter
Hic metet, ad reliquos non est manus apta labores.

Copia plena illis, pecudes per pascua lætæ
Densus amicorum cætus, nec muffitat hostis :
Quorsum hi prospicerent gregibus ? puer hosce tuetur.

Fortunæ aureolis hi luxuriantur in undis,
Inque voluptatum pingui se gurgite opimant.
Upilio macer his, (sed pinguis turba clientum)
Impastas servans pecudes, vix pastus & ipse.

Isti omnes recto deflectunt tramite gressus,
Exacuuntque iram Panis ; sed limite jussu
Decurrunt nostri, nec fastus pectora sufflat.

M O E R I S.

Ut tua dicendi segetem facundia largam
Destituit ! verum quoniam sic obstrepis, audi ;
Alterius rerum satagenti præstò periculum.

Vicinis en ingratum malè sedulus ultrò
Inferis arbitrium, pastoris prospera damnans ;
Pinguescitne ? Et rebus luxuriatur opimia
Plebs ? Ô felicitis signa indubitata salutis !

Verum, Thyrsi, precor, mihi dic quis Tityrus ille,
Tityrus ille, tuo tam multus Tityrus ore ?

T H Y R S I S.

Pastores inter magni meritique, locique,
Jamdudum casulâ abstrusus ; qui tempore quodam
Monti infidebat (sic me considerare velles,
Mœri, jugis ; tantâ doctum quem, Tityre, clade,
Hortaris tutæ semper se credere valli,)

Dumque

Dumque apricatur nudato vertice canus
 Alto monte senex, summis Jovis ales oberrans
 Nubibus, ecce putans canentia tempora cretam,
 Dejecit duram sublimi ex æthere concham,
 Sperans se æquoreæ fracturam tegmina prædæ.

Illisit cerebro senis, ast hic verbere conchæ
 Attonitus, sensim lento mœrore liquefcit.

M O E R I S .

Ah miserande senex, quàm dura es, Tityre, forte?
 Quæ mox forsan erit melior: tu verò valetò,
 Cùm tantùm dubitas montem hunc conscendere, Pastor.



AUGUSTUS.

Ægloga Octava.

D A P H N I S .

DIC mihi, dic, Alcon, quod vis deponere pignus
 Pro quo ausis vestros calamis componere nostris?
 An tua laxatis diffuta est fistula ceris?
 Torpenti an digitos stupefecit frigore spasmus?

A L C O N .

Heu quando ægrescunt præcordia saucia, Daphni,
 Quî, quæso, digiti poterunt, vel canna valere?

D A P H N I S .

Quæ tua corda (malum !) pestis nunc occupat Alcon?
 Qui nuper summis æqualis honore canendi,
 Pastorumque tuis mulcebas versibus aures;
 Et choreis, cannâque alios anteire solebas?

A L C O N .

Ah, alias didici infœlix agitare choreas,
 Et stupefacta novo obmutescit Musica casu.

Z 2.

D A P H -

D A P H N I S.

Dii perdant illum, te semper sospite, casum,
 Quisquis sic miseris invidit gaudia nobis :
 Verùm age, pande, coquit tua quæ præcordia cura ?
 Nunquid amas ? fœtusve tibi periêre tenelli ?

A L C O N.

Perdedit unus Amor pecudem, pecudisque magistrum,
 Curâ ego languesco, tabescit & illa videndo.

D A P H N I S.

Dispereat per Pana pecus, pecudisque magister,
 Fortunatum unquam quis novit amantis ovile ?
 Quòd si fortè libet mecum certare canendo,
 Iniano has fatuas dispellam pectore curas.

A L C O N.

Hoc facerem, licèt & gravior mihi pectoris æstus ;
 Alconem vivum nemo unquam impune lacescit.

D A P H N I S.

En igitur tecum libeat quod ponere pignus,
 Cantharus est, trunco scitè fabricatus acerno ;
 En insculpta vides facili quàm plurima cælo,
 Pugnantesque urfos, tygridesque in tela ruentes :
 Hos labrusca super sinuosis flexibus errat
 Lascivis hederæ passim intertexta corymbis :

Juxta hæc ecce lupi mediis in faucibus agnus :
 Sed viden' ut volucris raptim pede pastor anhelus
 Advolat, infontem media ut de morte reducat ?
 Hic fera fixa pedo jacet, amittitque rapinam.
 Dic mihi num talis visus tibi cantharus unquam ?
 Hoc poterit ferri Galatææ, aut Phillidi donum.

A L C O N.

Huic ego tam mirè maculosum oppigneror agnum,
 Illum ipsum, qualem in toto grege cernere non est,
 Quem mox à partu surreptum à matre fovebam
 In tectis, sed fratre hujus jam gaudet Alexis.
 Hunc mihi præripuit cantus certamine victor ;
 Nam, licèt invitus, cogebar reddere pignus.

D A P H N I S.

Ne dubites, eadem fortuna expectat utrosque ;
 Sed quis erit nobis certaminis arbiter hujus ?

A L C O N.

A L C O N.

Ille erit Upilio certaminis arbiter, ille,
Ad nos qui gressu fertur per pisa citato.

D A P H N I S.

Sed cum Sol summus radiis sic torret anhelos,
Annon præstiterit rapidos vitare calores ?

A L C O N.

Convenit, hoc igitur confidas gramine, pastor,
Nil tale audisti, nisi quod cantavit Alexis.

D A M O N.

Cum libet, incipias lepidos, par nobile, cantus ;
Ultrò certarent tali sub iudice reges.

Alcon. **E**Venit casu quondam mihi luce profestâ :

Dap. Io vix fausta profesta !

Alc. Cùm sancti vivo lustrant se flumine patres,

Dap. Fausto incipit omine carmen.

Alc. Sole sub aprico celsâ dum rupe sedebam,

Dap. Io nimis ardua rupes !

Alc. Dum pecus interea viridantia gramina carpit,

Dap. Pecudis perit ipse magister.

Alc. Auricomam vidi vultu radiante puellam,

Dap. Io radiosa puella !

Alc. Sola tulit gressus per vallis amœna citatos,

Dap. Bello ciet impete gressus.

Alc. Canenti niveos artus circumdata pallâ,

Dap. Io lachrymosus amictus !

Alc. Sic viride obduxit canentia pallia peplum,

Dap. Castæ color ille puellæ.

Alc. Textilis huic formosa umbraverat ora corolla,

Dap. Io gravis umbra corollæ !

Alc. Suavibus hæc violis pulchrè intertexta nitebat,

Dap. Violis ea suavior ipfis.

Alc. En grex assuetum fastidiit illico gramen,

Dap. Io grex ille miscellus !

Alc. Atque instar rabidi vultus defigit in illa,

Dap. Rabidi instar nempe magistri.

Alc. Transit ut pecudes virgo pulcherrima nostras,

Dap. Io pulcherrima virgo !

Alc. Obliquus quàm vafre in me vibratus ocellus

Dap. Crystallo purior ipso.

Alc. Scilicet ut radius rutila de lampade solis,

Dap. Io Phœbeius ignis !

Alc. Emicat, & recto jaculatus limite currit,

Dap. Sic vestrum in pectus amores.

Alc. Densasque ut tonitru rumpit penetrabile nubes ;

Dap. Io cave tela trifulca !

Alc. Queis involvuntur rutilantes fulminis ignes,

Dap. Sic, sic mens vestra fatiscit.

Alc. Ac veluti formosæ argentea lumina Phœbes,

Dap. Io Titanidos ignes !

Alc. Læta laceffitis ludens crispatur in undis,

Dap. Sed lusus amoris amarus.

Alc. Ille meum pectus fixit conjectus ocelli !

Dap. Io conjectus ocelli !

Alc. Trajiciensq; animam penetravit adusq; medullas ;

Dap. Latè hæc citò vulnera serpunt.

Alc. Eruere hinc properans imo de vulnere telum,

Dap. Io insanabilis Alcon !

Alc. Infixum penitùs ferrum sub corde reliqui ;

Dap. Nimum penetrabile ferrum.

Alc. Sic magis, & magis intactos irrepit in artus ;

Dap. Io virosa sagitta !

Alc. Nec morbus medicâ noster superandus ab arte ;

Dap. Amor insuperabile monstrum.

Alc. Has quòque morte meâ quamvis mox emero curas,

Dap. Io cordâ anxia curis !

Alc. Illa meo nunquam labetur pectore virgo,

Dap. Magnò sic emeris aurum.

Alc. Sive dolorifero tabescam exesus Amore,

Dap. Io malè morbus acutus !

Alc. Ditescamve, isthæc mea tempus in omne futura est.

Dap. Sed si tamen annuat illa.

Alc. Quòd si me stygiis mittat dolor improbus undis,

Dap. Io dolor improbus ille !

Alc. Testère occisum radiis illius ocelli ;

Dap. Rabies tua sit tibi testis.

Alc. Quæque hos spectâsti fraudis pecus inscia casus,

Dap. Io pecus inscia fraudis !

Alc. Ut testis facti domini non funeta plangas,

Dap. Crebro exagitanda cachinno.

Alc. Sic, sic illaqueatus Amore ego luce profestâ,

Dap. Io vix fausta profesta!

Alc. Semper adhuc rabidis gero pectora faucibus curis.

Dap. Modulos sic termino nostros.

D A M O N.

Tale meas nunquam pervenit carmen ad aures ;
Pauillum à summis noster prævertitur Alcon,
Nec Daphnis multum concedit honore canendi ;
Tam lepidè socias inter modulatur avenas !

D A P H N I S.

Ah ! vereor nè sis distorto lumine iudex,
Hem cedò iudicium, maneat quem palma canendi ?

D A M O N.

Ambo pares, atambo summi, pol vincitis ambo.
Qui pecus Alconis fuerat, sit Daphnidis, agnus ;
Quodque modò tales modulos contextuit Alcon,
Cantharus Alconi cedat qui Daphnidis antè.

A L C O N.

Alconi arridet sententia iudicis æqua,
Nec potis est illam meritò reprehendere Daphnis.

D A P H N I S.

Non magis æqua Phrygis sententia iudicis olim,
Inter formosas dederat quum Cypridi palmam.

D A M O N.

Dicite pastores, teretes non raderet aures,
Post molles numeros lugubre & flebile carmen,
Phyllida quod queritur (cui non fat cognita Phillis ?)
Nobile Alexis opus, memori quod pectore promam ?

A L C O N.

Dic igitur, Damon, sic semper læta Juventus
Sit tibi, triste aliquid juvat intertexere lætis.

D A P H N I S.

Herclè si nobis carmen recitaveris illud,
Mox lauro cingere, vicemque subibis Alexis.
Nil etenim nostras sic unquam mulserit aures,
Quàm modulùm artificis vox viva, aut carmen Alexis.

D A M O N.

Cedat uterque igitur patulas lugubribus aures
Planctibus, & nostris calamos attemperet odis.

O Vastæ, ô nostro planctu lugubre sonoræ
 Sylvæ, vos nostræ testes estote ruinæ.
 Tu volucrum secura cohors es conscia nostri
 Clamoris, toties querulæ admodulata cicutæ.
 Limpide fons, lachrymis à me stillantibus aucte,
 Somnifero vigiles domuisti murmure curas :
 Accendit rabidos mihi conflua turba dolores,
 Fervescuntque magis populosis urbibus æstus,
 Planctibus & nostris magis est accommoda sylva,
 Sylva repercussas docilis geminare querelas.
 Horreo tectum ipsum, post quam hinc mea vita recessit
A cujus discessu oculis sopor exulat iste,
 Inque locum pulsi succedit lachryma somni.
 Omnia amœna procul sint, quodque augere dolores
 Insanos valet, accedat ; magis hospita grata
 Sylva, resultantes reboet quæ consona planctus,
 Quàm lectus, quamque umbra domûs : hæc irrigo fletu
 Cùm nuda intueor, penitusque prioribus orbo
 Deliciis ; ergo hac habitabo sede remotus,
 Ferali luco abstrusus, dum claudat ocellos
 Summa quies fessos ; sic non augebo mœorum
Aspectu infelix carituros sine dolores.
 Infaustæ volucres, quarum vox stridula cantus
 Feralis mortis funestum creditur omen,
 Ter lugubre præite mihi melos, utque querulæ
 (Quas minimam luctûs nequeuntis promere partem
 Per noctes auditis in ipso tempore somni)
 Crescunt, invisos sic ingeminate ululatus.
 Sic lentos mœore dies, noctesque querelis
 Stat lassare meis, dum salva, illæsaque nobis
 Illa domum redeat, cujus vox aurea lætis
 Mutabit modulis hoc illætabile carmen.
 Hinc nostra alterno certabit fistula flatu
 Carminibus Philomela tuis ; tu fausta volucrum
 Somniferas querulis quæ impendis cantibus horas,
 Tereos ut memorem celebrentur fata per orbem.
 Vosque mali immunes istius, quando seorsim
 Nostros auditis clamores noctis in umbrâ,
 Altus rumpatur sopor, & miserescite nostri.

A L C O N.

Doctifone ô meritò pastorum gaudia Alexi,
 Concinnam ut vestro structuram in carmine miror !
 Tuque puer pueris præ cunctis vivide Damon,
 Lugubri ut tristes animasti voce querelas !

D A M O N.

Quin igitur calamis reditum celebrate canoris,
 Humida nox properat, monet hinc nos hora reverti.



S E P T E M B E R.

Ægloga Nona.

M O P S U S.

E U G E laboriferum jubeo salvere Lycormam :
 An ludunt oculi me, an verus es ipse Lycormas ;

L Y C O R M A S.

Ipse fui, dum nostra dies illuxit ab alto,
 Heu brevis illa ! at nunc infelicissimus erro ;
 Namque improvise misero lux occidit omnis,
 Inque simul gressu nox ingruit atra citato.

M O P S U S.

Dic mihi, dic quis te statuit casusve, Deusve
 Tam miserum ? nunquam extremæ sic sortis egenum
 Te memini. quo grex te olim ductore superbus ?
 Absorptusne lue ? an passim venalis abivit ?

L Y C O R M A S.

Per quicquid summè charum, per quicquid amicum
 Obductum ne, Mopse, precor, refricaveris ulcus.
 Namque hæc scitando rupta est recutita cicatrix,
 Explicat & seriem clades hæc prodita longam.

M O P S U S.

Sed suppuratum tabentis pectoris ulcus
 Æstuat, & cæcâ carpit præcordia flammâ,
 Sarcina fit levior sociâ cervice recepta,
 Luridaque egesto clarescunt nubila rore.
 Nunc etiam ter tres Phœbe recrevit in orbis,
 Ex quo vestra meis facies occurrit ocellis ;

Dum

Dum multum terræ permensus mobilis hospes
 Penè peragraſti totum circumvagus orbem,
 Ut jam de variis sermones texere rebus
 Poſſis : at pecudum fortunam pande tuarum.

L Y C O R M A S.

Diſperiit pecus, ah miſerabilis inde Lycormas,
 Quique gregis lætus modò diceret eſſe magiſter,
 Non lætus, pecoris non ampliùs ipſe magiſter :
 Externis oris pleniffima copia vulgo
 Creditur eſſe : liquet, pleniffima copia cladum.
 Sperabam tenuis mihi ſummam augere peculi,
 Auctio at hæc auxit furiato in corde dolores.
 His oris, quas nuper ego peregrinus adivi,
 Simpliçibus non eſt & apertis commoda ſedes.
 At ſiqui occultâ callent opuleſcere fraude,
 Nulla patet totum felicior ora per orbem.
 Proſtituunt venalem (ô tempora dira!) pudorem,
 Vilis fama probi parvo mercabilis ære.
 Et latrocinia hic exercet mutua paſtor,
 Clam fatagens cæcas vicino neçtere fraudes.
 Aut emet è ſociis paſtor magalibus agnos,
 Aut jugulum incauti ſtriçto mucrone reſolveth.
 Nec tu paſtorem poteris dignoſcere Plebi
 Immiſtum, niſi quòd ſit paulo elatior illis ;
 Utq; boves latratu agitati, torvâ tuetur,
 Et rigidâ ſemper cervice incedere gaudet,
 Ut gallus grefſu terram libante ſupinus.

M O P S U S.

En ego ſic rigeo, ſic torpeo, fide Lycorma,
 Ut glacie ſtupidis vix poſſum inſiſtere plantis,
 Tam rigidum Auſtrali Corus bacchatur ab axe,
 Per tempus ſibi conceſſâ dominatus in æthrâ,
 Flaccida dum folia exuccis deſerberat ulmis.
 Quin age, dumoſo abſtruſi ſub colle ſedemus,
 Fallere lentigradas variis ſermonibus horas
 Poſſumus hic, ventiq; minas ridere furentis.
 Ergo age, ſiquid habes, auſculto, fare Lycorma.

L Y C O R M A S.

Eheu ! Mopſe, illam diris atrocibus horam
 Devoveo, ſtatui quâ primùm hos linguere colles.

Eheu !

Eheu ! quæ mentem implicuit vecordia nostram,
 Pressâ clausa manu qui commoda certa reliqui
 Ignoti demens lucri spe pastus inani ?
 Sic canis amisit carnem, captaret ut umbram.
 Nostra misella pecus, pecus (eheu) nostra misella,
 Quam juxta hæc illacque modò pavisse solebam,
 Læta licèt nuper (nôsti satis ipse) vigebat,
 Deficiente cibo jam concidit omnis ad unam.
 Vix & ego reliquus tantâ de clade superfum,
 Summa paupertate retro dare vela coactus.

M O P S U S.

Ah demens propriis nunc tandem edocte periculis,
 Quàm fert raro ullum sortis mutatio lucrum !
 Contentus quicumque statu vixisse probato
 Non rerum timet ille vices, fortemve minantem :
 Quisquis at ignotum gestit captare lucellum,
 Jacturis conflictatur, victusque fatiscit.

L Y C O R M A S.

Quæ me intemperies, quæve exagitavit Erynnis,
 Cùm spe præsumpsi lucrum, totoque caduco ?
 Sic, sic evenit : stellæ sic aurea lampas
 Apparet, quanto fuerit magè dissita, major.
 Illâ sperabam subitò ditescere terrâ,
 Sed nil (dura nimis docet experientia) tale est :
 Est etenim pastor socors, nimiumque supinus,
 Et pecoris ductum sequitur quocunque vocarit,
 Vel vafer, insano vel amore incensus habendi,
 Illicitasque imo molitur pectore fraudes,
 Omnigenis fætusque dolis, odiique veneno
 Turgescens nunquam generoso gaudet honesto :
 Sed litisque, iræque faces malè sedulus usquam
 Ventilat, & per totum incendia concitat orbem ;
 Quæ rursus quando restinguere nititur (orsi
 Vanus) circumfert fatuè lustralibus undis.
 Quodque etiam ad superos norit compendia cælos
 Ventosus jaëtat, (tamen attestarier ausim,
 Hunc nunquam fixisse illo vestigia clivo,
 Ast errabundum ferri per trita viarum)
 Imperioque suo quod subdita Tartara parent
 Jaëtat, sed quidnam (scitêre) oppignerat illis ?

Scilicet,

Scilicet, id quod Pan tanto sudore paravit,
Liberet ut rabidis immitis faucibus Orci,
Pastorum malefida cohors hoc vendidit ipsum
Jampridem, quæritque aliis commercia culpæ
Jungere, sed finite ut nulli comitabilis erret,
Et quæ miscuerit feralia pocula ficeet.

M O P S U S.

Ne, quæso, ne tam tenebrosa loquare Lycorma,
Abstrusa involvis nimia caligine dicta.

L Y C O R M A S.

Ergo, sublato ut dicam quod sentio velo,
Illic quisque malus pastor, vel qui optimus audit;
Nam quòd se malè quisque gerit sat præbuit ansæ
Plerisque, infamem ut vitam monitusque reprecant;
Exclamant omnes in pejus serpere cuncta,
Pastore in pecudem jam degenerante supinam;
Affirmant alii, sed non hoc assero verum,
Quod cæpit puduisse pedi, tritæque lacernæ.
Hic dixisse audet (pereat radicibus illa
Lingua precor) mala pastores grassarier inter,
Quòd nimium vili torquent sua pectora curâ,
Cultior ut sit sponsa æquo, locupletior hæres.
Hinc est ut raros (si fortè accesseris illuc)
Spirantes videas fumo exiliente caminos;
Bosque faginatus stabulo requiescere suetus,
Æternùm fixus loculo stabulatur herili.
Garrit sic de illis inter se futile vulgus,
Futile tercentum capitum fera bellua vulgus.
Inque scopum meliùs qui collimaverat hujus
Eripuisse bolos alium de faucibus, inquit;
Namque faginato circumstant agmine tauri
Immanes, cornuque petunt graviore potentes,
Et pedibus pressos ingenti mole minores
Elidunt, frustra que mali medicina petetur;
Nempe magis promptis plus extorquere querenti
Quàm quicquam raptæ rursus dimittere prædæ.
Stagnat limicolâ ut cænosa vorago sub ulvâ,
Cujus fortè luto si illifus calceus hæret
Implicitus, quanto magis explicuisse laboras,
Tanto pressa magis sorbet vestigia gurges.

**Ergo cum parvo fatius desistere damno,
Quàm nimis obnixè luctando perdere totum.**

M O P S U S.

**Perspicuè nimiùm, nimiùm reprehendis apertè ;
Dextrè diffimulasse reor consultius, arte
Obvolvisse malum, quod non medicabile ab arte.
Æquâ mente ferâs, quicquid te ferre necesse est.
At sodes, ut habet talis se cura magistri ?**

L Y C O R M A S.

**Qualis ei pastor, totus grex talis ad unguem ?
Pastoris vocem docili non percipit aure ;
Cùm sibi collibitum non sit, si fortè vocârit,
Liber ad arbitrium manet hîc, hîc liber oberrat,
Pro libituque suo repetit securus ovile.
At sibi consuleret meliùs, si ad iussa magistræ
Vocis se regeret : nunc summa pericula præceps
Incurrit, rabiemque lupi, pastoris amicas
Quòd voces surdâ præfractas respuit aure,**

M O P S U S.

**Ocyùs hinc tecum & mendacia vana faceffant ;
Post sceptrum Edgari, fat fama innotuit orbi,
Nullum ululâsse lupum, quâ diyes Cantia vernat,
Nec quâ Christicolûm floret gens læta piorum.
Sed (verum ut dicam) nostris quo rarior oris
Vis rabiosa lupi, vulpina frequentior est fraus.**

L Y C O R M A S.

**Estque etiam lupo his, quamvis sit tectior, oris,
Vellereque agnino passim tunicatus oberrat ;
Non jam luce palam, sic mos increbuit olim ;
Grassatur metuenda illi venatica turba :
Sed clandestino nocturnus obambulat agros
Gressu, ne luci fallax persona notescat.**

M O P S U S.

**Quòd si larvatus, nudusque appareat usquam,
Sunt nobis acres lanient qui terga molossi.**

L Y C O R M A S.

**Pæmenis ille tuus canis est animosus, & audax,
Lataque qui foderet villosa vulnera tergo.
Sed non tantum opus est raucùm latrante molosso,
Quàm cauto pastore, ut dignoscatur ab illo,**

Mentito nam tota latet fallacia vultu ;
Vultu inquam torvâ sic majestate verendo.
Sed me visne tibi (facti sum conscius ipse)
Differere, evenit nostro quid nuper Iolæ.

M O P S U S.

Pergas, ne dubites, quodcumque fit, ede Lycorma,
Nil in eum sorti credo licuisse sinistrae,
Sic sapiens est, sic mitis, sic usque benignus,
Largaque veridicæ conspirat dextera linguæ.
Ejus & upilio fertur facundus Alexis,
(Deliciæ ah dudum nostræ facundus Alexis)
Complures pecorum dederit Pan (oro) magistros,
Qui tali vigiles tueantur ovilia curâ.

L Y C O R M A S.

Huic fidus canis est (aures adverte, docebo)
Ille lupis morsu metuendus, & ille latratu,
Tam vigilax custos nulli è pastoribus usquam,
Nam vibrata levi si frons tremat obvia vento,
Excussus strepitum levisomnus janitor audit.
Crudivorus nuper lupus huc accedere suetus,
Ingluviem multo tumidam saturaverat agno ;
Hic caulas primo sub limine noctis adibat,
Occiduo dubium dum fulget lumine cælum,
Exuvias indutus ovis, velamine falso
Tectus, dum senior modico dat lumina somno.
Tunc importunus multâ sub nocte latraret
(Namque usû nôrat vocem simulare caninam)
Tamquam sollicitum lupus oppugnaret ovile :
Hinc experrectus, (somnum rumpente latratu)
Hylæum emittit (sic nempe vocatur) Iolas,
Rauco vicinos ut gutture personet agros,
At cum Hylæus erat longo provectus in agros
Excurso, prædam fera dissimulata petebat,
Agnum, molliculumve hædum, vitulumve tenellum ;
Arreptâque citò repetit nemora avia gressu.
Sæpius hâc pastorem eluserat arte frementem,
Nec retulisse vices elusus nôrat Iolas.
Tandem fallaces paulò vigilantior artes
Deprendit (namque est oculatus ut Argus, Iolas)
Cumque intra tutum pecudes cogebat ovile

Sedulus opposito firmat magalia veste,
Inventumque lupum falso velamine cinctum
Educat, missoque feræ per guttura ferro
Haustum emittebat proprii gregis inde cruorem.

M O P S U S.

Ecquis enim terror prohiberet, quò minùs ultrò
Res proprias ubicunque sient sibi vindice dextrâ
Afferat? huic etenim si paulo latior esset
Rictus, jamdudum totum exhausisset ovile.

L Y C O R M A S.

Viscera corvus edax, dirus trahat ilia vultur,
Nec meritum æquasset fors, si graviora dedisset.
Nempe hæc cunctarum teterrima sola ferarum;
Nam pastoralis (fraus dira!) imitamina vocis
Absonus edidicit, tum crebro nocte silenti
Accedens caulas tam raucescente vocabat
Voce canem, vocem ut jurares esse senilem;
Hylæusque etiam jussum credebat herile:
Sed dubitabundus tamen ostia cardine movit,
Exiliensque foras solito pro more ruebat.
Ut primum exierat, nil suspicionis habentis
Villoso dentes in tergore bellua fixit;
Et si non motus strepitu accurrisset Iolas,
Hylæo vitæ nox hæc suprema fuisset.

M O P S U S.

Ah vetet, oro, Deus res sic malè cedere cuiquam,
Sedulus officium qui, sed malè cautus, obivit.
Sed si tanta lupi vis, si versutia tanta,
Quomodo ab his tutum præstemus ovile, Lycorma?

L Y C O R M A S.

Cauta, sagax, solers vigilantia nostra latentes
Discingat ratione dolos, prævertat & artes:
Pastorem vano sua prodigere otia lusu
Non decet, aut somno (mos ut plerisque) diurno.
Invigilet pernox, & perdius excubet usque,
Improvisa suis nequà vis ingruat agnis.

M O P S U S.

Ah rigida est nimium lex hæc, nimiumque severa;
Totos (quàm longi sunt) evigilare Decembres.
Carnea massa sumus, quâ cætera turba creati;

A a a.

Cur

Cur tali nobis vivendum forte misellis?
 Laxari alternæ vicibus quodcunque quietis
 Non solet, in primo marcescat flore necesse est.

LYCORMAS.

Ah mi Mopse, nihil tam longi fabula fili
 Attenuat curam, quæ jam mea pectora rodit.
 Quid faciam? miser infestam quo tramite tandem?
 Quo reparem mea damna modo, rursusque resurgam?
 Ah bone Mopse, licet precibus contendere tecum,
 Sive ope, consiliove meam fulcire ruinam?

MOPBUS.

Per vitamque, oculosque meos deploro, Lycorma,
 Infaustos tua qui merferunt carbasa fluctus:
 Scis tamen ut vicina humili lego littora velo,
 Contrahit hoc etiam semper fortuna novercans.
 Quòd si respicerent placido me numina vultu,
 Præsens curarum, damnique levamen haberes.
 Si verò nostris libeat succedere tectis,
 Solabor, tenuis quantum fert nostra facultas:
 Illic stramineo poteris requiescere lecto,
 Candida dum facili tibi fors arriserit ore.

LYCORMAS.

Ah tibi placati precor hæc dii, Mopse, rependant!
 Invenit rarò tam pectora fida Lycormas.



O C T O B E R.

Ægloga Decima.

FAUSTUS.

LASSO demissum collo caput erige Daphni,
 Et meditare quibus ducamus lusibus horas,
 Quove joco lentæ fallamus tædia lucis,
 Prævius ipse modo pastoribus ire solebas,
 Ducebasque chorum doctè involvendo latentes
 Cryphos, & rhythmis, & cursu præpete: sed jam
 Illa sepulta in te, dum tu torpore sepultus.

DAPHN-

DAPHNIS.

Usque miser miserum cannâ stridente labellum
 Attrivi, dum canna labris mollita fatiscat,
 Exhaustique penu paupercola musa, nec ullo
 Aucta est proventu, tenuique beata lucello.
 Deliciæ hæc pigram faciunt languere cicadam,
 Quando cassâ penu brumali vapulat irâ.

Quæ festiva modo procudo carmina mentes
 Ut juvenum nobisque examina conflua pascam,
 Multùm titillant animos, quid ego auctior inde ?
 Sunt his deliciæ, sed merces nulla poetæ.
 Exagito nemus ipse, in eorum concita casses
 Præda volat, quidnam inde boni jam Daphnidi surgit ?

FAUSTUS.

Laus tua, Daphni, omni melior mercede, vigetque
 Duratura, brevi potior tibi gloria lucro.
 O quis honoris apex, monitu hortatuque salubri
 Effrænùm rabidas juvenum compefcere mentes !
 Accensisque tuæ mirâ mulcedine venæ
 Possessum quocunq; libet deducere pectus !
 Quam primum aggredieris lepidos compingere rhythmos,
 Ut tibi ruricolæ latus applicuere juvenci !
 Illorum sensus mihi consopire videris ;
 Ut pastor, dominam stygiâ qui è sede peremptam
 Ad superas auras facili Plutone reduxit,
 Cujus custodem domuit lyra blanda trifaucem.

DAPHNIS.

Sic, sic infantes picti spectacula pavi
 Mirantur, laudantque oculata flabella rotantem ;
 Sed quis laudatam dignatus munere caudam,
 Aut picti grano ventrem quis juverit uno ?
 Laus talis liquido diffusus in aere fumus,
 Aura levis, verba hæc, oculique evanida nictu.

FAUSTUS.

Mitte igitur Coridonem, & rustica nomina, Mopsos,
 Rura tace, surgasque è pulvere romaige pennâ :
 Tu Martem, tu bella sones, simulachraque belli,
 Doctaque sceptrigeros celebret tua buccina Reges,
 Inviçtosque Duces, queis nullis pervia telis
 Arma jacent, squallet scabrâ rubigine cassis.

Hic tua musa potest plausas extendere pennas,
 Et passis utrosque axes amplectier alis,
 Laudis Elisææ seu tu præconia panges,
 Seu flatu majore tuas animabis avenas,
 Ore premens illum, divinæ charus Elisæ,
 Affixum palo primus qui annexuit ursum.

Et cum strenuiore sonori pectinis ictu
 Cœperunt rigidæ sensim mollescere chordæ,
 Deducito lepidos versu moduleris amores,
 Argutumque sonos: choreas tum prævius ipse
 Ducas, ipsa licet pars adsit Elisa choreæ;
 Sic poterit cunctas Daphnis volitare per oras.

DAPHNIS.

Certè Romanus (sic fama est) Tityrus olim,
 Mæcenate suam mandante abjecit avenam,
 Quâ docuit pecudes fœcundas carpere valles,
 Et tempestivis arvum canescere aristis;
 Illico & intonuit Mavortia celsius acta,
 Ut tremulum audito nutaret carmine cælum.

Sed jam Mæcenæ fulvâ tumultatur arenâ,
 Nec non Augustum terræ sinus invidus haufit,
 Magnanimique Duces insuti corpora plumbo
 Putrescunt, doctis quondam seges ampla poetis.
 Scilicet egregiis quo quisque illustrior ausis,
 Hoc magis altiloquos amplectitur usque poetas.

At postquam senit penè intermortua virtus,
 Ingentesque ætas laxavit in otia mentes;
 Nil vati occurrit sublimi carmine dignum,
 Quod sæclis ausus sit commendare futuris.
 Illico destituit solitos Heliconia fluxus
 Vena, honor angusto detrusus carcere marcet.

Et veteri è trunco stirps siqua poeseos usquam
 Emicat in florem, certâ spe nobile germen:
 Præsentis opus est ævi simulare furores,
 Scalpentisque uri obscœna prurigine versus;
 Aut velut exortum est, sic deflorere necessum:
 Tibicen streperâ magè nos capit arte Tigellus.

FAUSTUS.

Quis locus ergo tibi? quæ sedes, dîa poësis?
Si non Aula lares, palatia summa penates
Dent (tamen Aula tibi certè est aptissima sedes)
Infima nec plebes ulnis te stringit amicis.
Alitis ingenii tollat te Dædala penna,
Et cœlum propero pete, cœlitus orta, volatu.

DAPHNIS.

Ah! non sunt nobis tales, mi Faustule, vires,
Ardua queis tranem sublimi sydera cursu.
Tantum cœratis non ausim credere pennis:
Istud Alexis opus tales tentare volatus;
Hic, nisi quod rabido sic illaqueatur amore,
Cygnæum æquaret surgens ad sydera carmen.

FAUSTUS.

Ah miserum! edocuit sic hunc scandisse Cupido,
Erectumque imæ plebis de fæce levavit:
Forma immortalis, quam pascitur ille tuendo,
Erigeret vegetam super aurea sydera mentem;
Degener & pectus sibi quid promittere magnum
Cogeret: ipsa humiles odit sufflata Dione.

DAPHNIS.

Omnino naturam aliam fortita poësis;
Imperiosus amor, truculentus ubique tyrannus,
Quaque regit, vires alias exterminat inde;
Grandisonum at carmen vacuum sibi vendicat aulam,
Nec cum sollicitis socios fixere penates
Pierides curis: incitè texere credis,
Uno qui binas orditur tempore telas.

Quicumque egregios animum prælibrat in ausus,
Verbaque ventoso meditatur turgida flatu,
Fœcundos siccet calices, sed fercula tantùm
Parca famem sedent, gaudet nam Phœbus Iaccho;
Et cum sudârit Baccho spumante cerebrum,
Carmina sponte fluunt, ut fons ebullit in altum.

Nescis, ut sacro lymphata furore poësis
Bacchatur; mihi si generoso tincta falerno
Tempora ferwerent, tremulis incincta corymbis,
Quantus, io! poteram spirantem prælia musam
Erigere in scenam sublimi ut nixa cothurno
Ardua Bellonam furiosis passibus æquet!

At vix intepuit, mens & restringitur ardor;
 Quin igitur contenti ista requiescimus umbrâ,
 Quâ nunquam nosmet tempestas talis adorta est:
 Possumus hîc tuti tenues inflare cicutas.

FAUSTUS.

Et cùm ventris onus fœtæ posuêre capellæ,
 Daphnidi lactantem dabimus pro cantibus hœdum,



N O V E M B E R.

Ægloga Undecima.

THYRSIS.

ECquando pro more tuo (mi dulcis Alexi)
 Festivum lepidâ modulabere carmen avenâ?
 Ah nimis indulget tacito tua musa dolori,
 Musa cupidinæ jactu sopita sagittæ.
 Nunc aliquid canta quod postera prædicet ætas,
 Æternumque hilaris memoret pastoria pubes.
 Seu tibi dilectam placeat celebrare puellam,
 Seu majore sono Panos stet pangere laudes.

ALEXIS.

Non hæc tempestas ludo est accommodo, Thyrsi,
 Panave concelebrare hymnis, rhythmisve puellam.
 Vendicat herbicomus soli hæc sibi gaudia Mæius,
 Aut patulam ad fagum, ficci aut sub mergite fœni:
 At nunc tristis hyems arctatas contrahit horas,
 Et fessus longæque viæ, nimiique laboris,
 Phœbus equos imo tandem stabulatus Olympo,
 Ultima fiscellam sibi diversoria fecit.
 Mœstum igitur magis hoc, magis illætabile tempus
 Exigit, atque jocos paulo morosius odit.
 Nec jam lugubri arrident sua gaudia Musæ,
 Æstate ut pridem, vernæque in flore juventæ,
 Quod si molliculos sitiant tua pectora versus,
 Lascivosque cupis Cythereæ incendia rythmos,
 Quis tibi, Thyrsi, parem tulit hoc certamine palmam?
 Quia repares calamos longo torpore solutos,

THYRSIS.

T H Y R S I S.

Silvestris regina chori celebratur Aedon;
 Coram hac argutas compescat hirundo querelas:
 Indignusque ego me doctæ ingessisse catervæ,
 Stultitiæ facerem testem malè sanus Alexin?
 Absit, quin potius doceat me doctior ille,
 Et quem Musarum largo fons irrigat haustu.
 Nam qui procerâ fœcundus ab arbore stillat
 Ros, subnascentes vegetat sub stipite plantas.
 Quòd si brumalis rigor, atque immitior aura
 Lascivæ numeris vix sint sat congrua musæ,
 Flebiliore potes singultu rumpere cannam,
 Funeraque irriguâ gravè suspirare querelâ.
 Nam periit Dido, ah! jam mortua, jamque sepulta;
 Dido pastoris magni nitidissima proles,
 Una puellares inter pulcherrima cœtus,
 Illa, nec æqualem liquit defuncta puellam.
 Si verò mihi lugubres tua canna dolores
 Planxerit, ille tibi cedit modò corniger agnus.
 Quòd si tam lugubre tibi, tam flebile carmen,
 Quàm quod de ingratâ fudisti Phyllide nuper,
 Multò major Alexi manet tua carmina merces,
 Quàm quæ promisi, vitulusve, agnusve tenellus.
 Ergo age, surge modo, flos ô pastorie, surge;
 Nec tumidè me rejicias tam parva petentem.

A L E X I S.

Ultero quod statui suades mihi, Thyrsi, volenti:
 Novi at quàm tenui currunt mihi carmina venâ;
 Quàm incompti nobis rhythmici sint, inque politi;
 Ars mea quid poterit, faciam tamen ipse periculum.

INter ter trinas mœstissima surge sorores
 Melpomene, nunquam tanti tibi causa doloris;
 Huc torvi Lemures, ades huc lachrymabile carmen,
 Nil lepidum tractabis, nil lætabile posthæc;
 Nam defuncta, jocos tibi quæ suffecerat olim,
 Ah, concidit dilecta Dido,
 Concidit, & tumulata dudum est.

O nimum lugubria justa!
 Fœcundo lachrymæ rorantes flumine stillent.
 O nimum lachrymabile carmen!



Vos qui Cantiacas per valles ducitis agnos
 Pastores, diram naturæ flete ruinam:
 Deploremus eam, modò quâ præfente superbi;
 Deploremus eam, qua nunc absente dolemus.
 Totius mundi Sol obtenebrescit opacus,
 Sueta caret jam luce tellus,
 Nosque graves habitamus umbras.
 O nimiùm lugubria iusta!
 Cassitis stridore pares frangamus avenas.
 O nimiùm lachrymabile carmen!

Cur vita (heu) superest? ah, cur huc viximus usque,
 Queis ævi potior pars luctu sordida tabet?
 En ferti flores inter pulcherrimus omnes
 Marcuit, & simul in cineres dilapsus abivit.
 Post hæc ruricolæ nunquam cantate puellæ,
 Queis hanc Alexis laudat odas,
 Sed lachrymis moduli obruantur.
 O nimiùm lugubria iusta!
 Hora mori nunc est, ah pridem ea transiit hora.
 O nimiùm lachrymabile carmen!

Unde est, herbicomi expiret quòd flosculus horti,
 Et dum sævit hyems, torpet tellure sepultus;
 At cum ver varium pandit genitabile peplum,
 Nunquam ut casurus redivivo flore superbit?
 Quando aliud fluido multo magè nobile flore,
 (Virtutis ut stirps, flosque formæ)
 Non iterum revirescit unquam.
 O nimiùm lugubria iusta!
 Mortua si stirps sit, florem marcere necessum.
 O nimiùm lachrymabile carmen!

Illa (ah!) dum fuit, illa (fuit, quàm flebile verbum!)
 Non habuit formave parem, morumve lepore.
 Sic nempe excepit pastores comiter almi
 Deliciis ruris, prunis, libisque, favisque;
 Nec fastidivit pannosos ruris alumnos,
 Ast his domum crebrò vocatis
 Mel, pyra, lacque daret coactum;

O nimiùm lugubria justa!
Nec peronatum dedignaretur Alexim.
O nimiùm lachrymabile carmen!

Nunc has delicias casus vitiauit amarus,
Exulat illa recenti expulsa dolore voluptas:
Nam quacunq; choros agit mors, musica dormit,
Pastorum pereunt solatia grata, colorque
In canum viridis mutatur, cærulus atrum;
Pictæ coronæ umbrant sepulchrum,
Languidaque herba legit cadaver.

O nimiùm lugubria justa!
Nunc, ô nunc plangas lachrymarum prodiga musa.
O nimiùm lachrymabile carmen!

Maxime pastorum Theron, quis te æstus adurit?
Florum ubi fasciculi, pro te quos legerat olim?
Multicoloris ubi viridantia texta corollæ?
Annulus & creber nodato junceus orbe?
Nil (charum licèt) invidit tibi prodiga Dido.
Hæc cuncta nunc evanuerunt,
Omnia dispulit unus Auster,

O nimiùm lugubria justa!
Horum nil superest, nisi quod sub pectore grato.
O nimiùm lachrymabile carmen!

Hei mihi, quod mortis sic est penetrabile telum,
Naturæ leges ut vulnere ruperit uno.
Marcentes quercus crines exucca refundit,
Flumen agit rimas, fons primo deficit alveo,
Inque loco lachrymæ decurrunt fluminis instar.
Vestita & herbis prata morerent,
Et nitor emoriens hebescit.

O nimiùm lugubria justa!
In fletum assiduum liquefacta resolvitur æthra.
O nimiùm lachrymabile carmen!

En infirma pecus jam pabula nota refugit,
Dimittens caput, humani tanquam æmula fletus;
Quæque fera in sylvis luget correpta furore,
Ni lupus, erranti fortè insidiatus ovili;
Namque ea desperiit, quæ tutum præstitit illud.

Turturque nudis æsculetis
Vulnera lethifera usque plangit.
O nimum lugubria justa!
Fletiferasque rigat lachrymis Philomela querelas.
O nimum lachrymabile carmen!

Communes suetæ cantus injisse, chorosque
Nymphæ, è Palladia gestantes fronde coronam
Funeræ tendunt vimen ferale cupressi:
Musæ olim viridis cristatæ germine lauri,
Arida sambuci ramalia flebile quassant.
Et pœnitet duras sorores
Tam citò destituisse suos.

O nimum lugubria justa!
Nunc, ah! nunc plangat mea musa absorpta dolore:
O nimum lachrymabile carmen!

Occiduis status infidus, spes lubrica rebus,
Mortalis frustra in sudans quibus usque laborat,
Et longè à meta modo quam sibi destinat, errat!
Nunc didici (ah documenta nimis constantia magno!)
Quod non terrenis datùr unquam fidere rebus.

De sæce terrena ecquid usquam
Quod faciem radiantem adæquet?
O nimum lugubria justa!
Hanc tamen impositam mæsto vidi ipse feretro,
O nimum lachrymabile carmen!

Sed morte invita, parcarum lege soluta,
Refragante Erebo, furiisque furentibus, illa,
Illa, inquam, æternæ d' stupit vincula noctis;
Mens mole exonerata volat compage refracta.
Ergo quid indulget Theron sine fine dolori?
Dispendium ne plange Theron,
Non periit, sed in astra fugit,
O nimum fœlicia justa!
Siste ergo, mea musa, tuos, age, siste dolores.
O multum lætabile carmen!

Cur ideo flemus? questuque laceessimus astra,
Tanquam adversi aliquid fœlici obvenerat illi?

Nunc *fœlix* regnat *sancta* inter numina numen,
 (Quæ solis fuerat numen pastoribus antè)
 Et *divûm* cœlis *inscripta* refertur in album;
 Ecce ô *beatum* numen; ecce
Elysiis ut oberrat agris!

O merito *fœlicia* *justa*!

O si *conveniam* te! ô *utinam* per fata *liceret*.
 O merito *lætabile* *carmen*!

Quam *miserè*, proprio dum res examine pensat,
 Cæcus homo est, sceleris dum mortem *præmia* credit;
 Quod si nôrimus quo nos abducit *adaçtos*,
Affidue moreremur ut experiamur eandem.
 Illic à tergo *discrimina* nulla *timentur*;
Campi nitentes, *umbra* *suavis*,
Herba *virens*, *rediviva* *prata*.

O merito *fœlicia* *justa*!

Huc, huc *pastores*, huc, huc *properate* *reverti*.
 O merito *lætabile* *carmen*!

En *præiit* *Dido* (*cuinam* *fors* *proxima* *cedet*?)
 Illic *diis* *focium* *ter* *fœlix* *transigit* *ævum*;
Diluta *ambrosiâ* *nam* *pocula* *nectaris* *haurit*,
Gaudia *præcerpens* *nostræ* *non* *cognita* *vitæ*.
 Nunc *cœli* *decus*, *atque* *Dei* *stat* *gloria* *summi*,
Quondam *decus* *pastorculorum*,
 Dum *fuit* *hic*, *coluitque* *terras*.

O merito *fœlicia* *justa*!

Jam *cessate* *modi* *cura* *attenuata* *resedit*;
 O merito *lætabile* *carmen*!

T H Y R S I S.

Dulciflue ô *pastor*, quàm *bellè* *carmen* *amarum*
Fletifera *dulcedine* *diluis*? *Hæsito* *mente*
Anxius *incerta*, *gaudere* *an* *flere* *deceret*.
 En *tuus* *est*, *meruit* *tua* *nænia* *flebilis*, *agnus*.
Surge *igitur*, *fatis*, ô *fatis* *es* *lachrymatus* *Alexi*,
Retro *præcipitemus* *iter*, *sensim* *ingruit* *imber*.



D E C E M B E R.

Ægloga Duodecima.

ALEXIS.

Sedit humi pastor muscosam fontis ad oram,
 Quem sylvescentis dumeti umbracula opacant :
 Nomen Alexis erat, cannæ, cantusque peritus ;
 Illi nempe suam tradebat Tityrus artem ;
 Usque ibi secreta jacuit prostratus in umbra,
 Hoc questu miseros miser execratur amores.

Pastorum ô numen, nobis sine fine colende
 Pan, ô qui teneros tuto mihi protegis agnos,
 Cumque ultro malè cauta pecus discrimen adiret,
 Arces vicinum palanti sponte periculum :
 Nec minor in miseros pecudis tua cura magistros,
 Quam gregis ipsius, quem nocte, dieque tueris.

Te precor (attentas modo tu dignaberis aures
 Præbere incomptis modulis pastoris avenæ ;
 Vel si tam liquida cecini modulamine voce,
 Ut possent vestros aliquantùm pascere sensus)
 Paulum de viridi mox auscultare cubili,
 Flebilibus numeris cura tabentis Alexis.

Olim vernantis læto sub flore juventæ,
 Huc, illucque vagabar, uti Pandionis ales ;
 Sic instigavit male cautum insana cupido,
 Ut nunquam impendens possem timuisse periculum ;
 Sponte peragrabam sylvas, saltusque profundos,
 Nec diri formido lupi revocabat euntem.

Nunc labyrinthæis miserum caput implico dumis,
 Dum nudo corylos in saturnalia lætos :
 Nunc tremit in casses me urgente cuniculus actus,
 Et timido lepori donec mansueverit inсто.

Quæ me venturi tenuit tum cura Decembris ?
 Æternùm vernos speravi improvidus annos.

Ah quoties juvit nodosam scandere quercum,
Cornici ut profugos demoliar inde penates?
Lassavi quoties juglandem verberare fœtam
Impiger, interea dum cœtera turba coibat
In pugnam, alternam dum captat quisque rapinam?
Unica nempe mihi libertas, vita, voluptas.

Quodque etiam fueram tum liberiore sub ævo,
(Seu Musa à teneris me sic affixerat annis,
Credulus æquævæ an gaudebam fidere turbæ)
Pronior in molles cantus, cannæque sororem,
Longævus pastor, cui nomen Tityrus, artem
Edocuit, fecitque aliqua de parte peritum.

Hinc tenues ausus calamos componere cuivis
Pastorum, pecudes quicumque eduxit in arva;
Sique etiam non falsa fuit sententia Mopsi,
Non calamos blando submittere debeo Pani.
Nam si Nympharum stipabant Pana catervæ,
Musæ doctiloquum circumglomerantur Alexin.

Sed tandem ah! Nemesis fastum malè vindicat istum,
Pastorum Deus ille (sed herclè non Deus ille)
Innocuas has delicias invidit Alexi,
Libertate jubens rapta me plangere vitam.
Inscia plebs vocat hunc, qui sic me afflixit, Amorem;
Ast Odii nomen magè moribus assonat istis!

Inde valedicit genialis gratia veris,
Et nimiùm festiva faces eventilat æstas;
(Nempe Amor æstiferi tenuit tunc antra leonis)
Quas radio nimiùm torrente accendere sueta est.
Immites flammæ exciverat ante protervæ,
Regnans in Veneris (sic fertur) sede, Cometæ.

Ducebar, gressus solito non more movebam,
Cum passim errabam quo pes, animusque ferebant,
Sed quâ fors, effrænati vel Amoris habena
Egerat, ut pascant vigilantia somnia mentem.
Lectus erant frutices, surgens umbracula dumus,
Altaque testantur tacitæ suspiria sylvæ.

Artificem mellis modò quà quæfisse solebam,
 Texta cavernosis fingentem quadrua ceris ;
 Illic ferali surgentes pumice fungos
 Vidi, bufonesque etiam dominarier illic :
 Quaque invitabant aviaria garrula somnos,
 Illic ominibus pernoctat bubo finiftris.

Inde ut ver geniale premente æstate refugit,
 Et dedit æstivos tellus jam prodiga flores ;
 Nostra etiam tranfit florem festiva juvenus,
 Et ratione incocta fimul maturuit ætas.
 Materia hinc levioze mihi magalia feci,
 Quæ probra arcerent pecori, pecorisque magistro.

Dædala cura fuit Philomelæ fingere claustra,
 Et lento fragilem fiscellam texere junco.
 Quis labyrinthæa pisces involvere nassa
 Doctior, aut agitare feras solertior usquam ?
 Astrorumque vias didici discernere, certos
 Lunæ defectus, & certos Cypridis ortus.

Et docuit majora usu maturior ætas,
 Undarum subitos æstu turgente tumores ;
 Garritus volucrum, plaudentis & omina pennæ ;
 Herbarum vires, quæ noxia, quæve falubris ;
 Quem caulem mitis pecus insaniret edendo,
 Et quisnam eterna damnaret lumina nocte.

Ah vero imprudens, excors, ignarus Alexis !
 Radicum vires scrutare, artemque medendi ;
 At nullam nôsti quæ faucia pectora curet,
 Quorum suppurata etiam nunc ulcera manant.
 Quorsum vivis adhuc læthali vulnere fixus ?
 Cur semper moriari, superstes semper, Alexi ?

Sic, sic præproperè fugitiva evanuit æstas,
 Sic & præmatura seges lactavit inanem.
 Pulchrè prægnantes æstu torrentur aristæ,
 Vanaque speratum hauserunt dispendia lucrum.
 Et de totius cassa semente juventæ
 Nil superest, præter silicesque rubosque, metendum.

Gemmaſ prolifico & radiantia germina flore.
Maturum fructus mihi promittentia fœnus,
Flore exuta ſuo tandem ſterileſcere vidi ;
Spemque adblanditus jam concidit arbore fructus,
Nec dum mitescens feſtina tabe putreſcit ;
Sic meſſe exuſta nobis ſpes occidit omnis.

Suaveolens noſtro qui flos adoleverat horto,
Ut carptus jampridem a ſtirpe exaruit ima ;
Deficiente etiam radix emortua rore,
Roranti humectam crebro tamen irrigo fletu.
Ah noſtram quis tanto affecit Phyllida damno ?
Quis florem obtrivit, qui ſpes fuit una corollæ ?

Atque ego qui nuper ſtridentem inflare ſolebam
Ad rigidi motum alternum peronis avenam,
Excuffi hæc nimis ut maturos ludicra fructus,
Ejecique foràs ingrati ut putrida odoris.
Lascivis nulla eſt mihi cura placere puellis ;
Uni ſi placeam ſatis eſt, nil demoror ultra.

Sic vanus voti fero nil de meſſe laborum,
Curarum pleni niſi quod cecidere manipuli ;
Dein granum tumidis tentanti extundere ſpicis
Frumentum paleas, atque hordea lolia mittunt ;
Cumque Euri arbitrio paleas ſecernere conor,
Evertit turbo tremulis ludibria ventis.

Sic meus ad metam declivis volvitur annus,
Jam ver defecit, mihi jam deferbuit æſtas,
Sedenſque Autumnus brumales ſuſcitat iras,
Inſanoque rigore jubet ſua jura tueri.
Jamque omni tumidis bacchatur ab axe procellis,
Jamque omnes oras furioſo flamine verrit.

En ſquarroſa cutis mordaci frigore fiſſa ;
En ſenium ſulcis peraravit anilibus ora ;
En candent canæ nive tempora ſparſa ſenectæ ;
Juxta oculos corvini unguis veſtigia cernas.
Arguti ſiluere joci, fugitque voluptas,
Nullus ſol lucet, nebulis obtexitur æther.

Linque igitur lepidos pubes pastorā Iulus,
 Raucescit mea musa, jocos fastidit & istos :
 Hac suspensa mihi requiescat fistula fago ;
 Fistula qua nusquam melior garribat arundo.

Nempe advenit hiems flatu metuenda minaci,
 Postque hyemem sequitur passu mors dira citato.

Huc, huc agglomera, simul huc grex parve cōito ;
 Parvule grex, ô qui super omnia charus Alexi :
 Ah finite, ah finite occlusis in ovilibus abdam,
 Dum nondum immitis brumæ vos frigus adurat :
 Ecce immitis adest funesto flamine bruma,
 Et brumæ adventum mors tempestitiva sequetur.

Lulus amice vale, quo consopitus Alexis ;
 Tu quoque cujus amor magno constabat Alexi ;
 Vosque valetate, agnique, & oves, grex charus Alexi ;
 Et tu sylvæ vale, toties quæ testis Alexi.
 Mopse vale, misero tam fidum pectus Alexi ;
 Phyllidi dic, valeas, jam Phyllidi dicit Alexis.



Peroratio Operis.

EN opus exegi, cunctos quod duret in annos,
 Temporis intactum morsu, diuturnius ære ;
 Et, si spectantem non fallant astra, manebit,
 Donec totius solvatur fabrica mundi :
 Pastorem ut doceat tutum quî pascat ovile,
 Quomodo ab insidiis clausos custodiat agnos :
 Ito libelle, tibi patet exitus, ito ; sed (audi)
 Plebeios humili semper comitabere gressu.
 Tu ne pastorem stipula fridente laceffe,
 Andinum, aut Siculo calamos compone poetæ :
 Sed longè sequere, & vestigia pronus adora,
 Sperne malos, placeasque bonis ; nil ampliùs opto.

F I N I S.

L E T.



LETTERS

BETWEEN

Mr. SPENSER,

AND

Mr. *GABRIEL HARVEY.*





LETTERS between Mr. *Spenser*
and Mr. *Gabriel Harvey*.

*To the Worshipful, his very singular good
Friend Mr. GABRIEL HARVEY,
Fellow of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge.*

Good Mr. GABRIEL HARVEY,

LPerceive, by your most courteous and friendly Letters, your Good-will to be no less indeed than I always esteemed; in recompence whereof, think, I beseech you, that I will spare neither Speech nor Writing, nor ought else, whensoever and wheresoever Occasion shall be offer'd me: yea, I will not stay till it be offer'd, but will seek it in all that possibly I may; and that you may perceive how much in all things your Counsel prevaileth with me, and how altogether I am ruled and over-ruled thereby, I am now determined to alter my own former Purpose, and subscribe to your Advisement; being

ing notwithstanding resolv'd still to abide your former Resolution. My principal Doubts were these: First, I was minded for a while to have intermitted the uttering of my Writings, lest by over-much cloying their noble Ears, I should gather a Contempt of my self, or else seem rather for Gain and Commodity to do it, for some Sweetness that I have already tasted. Then also me seemeth the Work too base for his excellent *Lordship*, being made in honour of a private Personage unknown; which by some Ill-willers might be upbraided, not to be so worthy as you know *She* is, or the Matter not so weighty, that it should be offer'd to so great a Person, or the like. The self former Title liketh me well enough, and your fine Addition no less: If these and the like Doubts may be of Importance in your seeming to frustrate any part of your Advice, I beseech you, without the least Self-Love, of your own purpose counsel me for the best; and the rather do it faithfully and carefully, for that in all things I attribute so much to your Judgment, that I am evermore content to annihilate my own Determinations in respect thereof; and indeed for your self too, it sitteth with you now to call your Wits and Senses together (which are always at call) when Occasion is so fairly offer'd of Estimation and Preferment. Your Desire to hear of my late being with her *Majesty*, must die of it self: as for the two worthy Gentlemen, Mr. *Sidney* and Mr. *Dyer*, they have me, I thank them, in some Use and Familiarity, of whom and to whom, what Speech passeth to your Credit and Estimation, I leave your self to conceive; having always so well conceiv'd of my unfeigned Affection and Zeal towards you. And now they have proclaim'd in their ἀγεῖωπαδύω a general surceasing and silence of bald *Rymers*, and also of the very best too; instead whereof, they have, by Authority of their whole *Senate*, prescrib'd certain Rules and Laws of Quantities of *English* Syllables for *English* Verse; having had thereof already great Practice, and almost drawn me into their Faction. New Books I hear of none, but only of one, that writing a certain Book, call'd *The School of Abuse*, and dedicating it to Mr. *Sidney*, was for his labour scorned (if at least it be in the Goodness of that Nature to scorn
such

such Folly.) Is it not to regard before-hand the Inclination and Quality of him to whom we dedicate our Books? such might I happily incur, entitling my *Slumber*, and the other Pamphlets to his *Honour*; I meant them rather to Mr. *Dyer*, but I am more in love with *English versifying* than with *ryming*, which I should have done long since, if I would then have follow'd your Counsel. Master *E. K.* heartily desireth to be commended to your Worship; of whom what account he maketh, yourself shall hereafter perceive by his painful and dutiful Verses of your self. Thus much was written at *Westminster* yesternight, but coming this morning, being the sixteenth of *October*, to Mrs. *Kerke's*, to have it deliver'd to the Carrier, I receiv'd your Letter sent me the last Week, whereby I perceive you continue your old Exercise of versifying in *English*; which Glory I had now thought should have been ours at *London* and the *Court*.



*Ad Ornatissimum Virum, multis jamdiu
nominibus Clarissimum G. H. Imme-
rito sui, mox in Gallias Navigaturi,
'ΕΥΤΥΧΕΪΝ.*

SIC malus Egregium, sic non inimicus amicum,
Sicq; novus veterem jubet ipse Poeta Poetam
Salvere; ac cælo, post sæcula multa, secundo
Jam reducem, cælo magè quàm nunc ipse secundo,
Utier; Ecce Deus (modo fit Deus ille, renixum
Qui vocet in scelus, & juratos perdat amores)
Ecce Deus mihi clara dedit modo signa Marinus,
Et sua veligero lenis parat æquora Ligno,
Mox sulcanda, suas etiam pater *Æolus* iras
Ponit, & ingentes animos Aquilonis——
Cuncta Viis sic apta meis; ego solus ineptus.
Nam mihi nescio quo mens faucia vulnere, dudum

Fluctuat ancipiti pelago, dum Navita proram
 Invalidam validus rapit, huc Amor & rapit illuc ;
 Conciliis Ratio melioribus usa, decusq;
 Immortale levi diffusa Cupidinis Arcu,
 Angimur hoc dubio, & portu vexamur in ipso.
 Magne Pharetrati nunc tu contemptor Amoris
 (Id tibi Dii nomen precor haud impune remittant)
 Hos nodos exsolve, & eris mihi magnus *Apollo* :
 Spiritus ad summos, scio te generosus honores
 Extimulat, majusq; docet spirare Poetam.
 Quam levis est Amor, & tamen haud levis est amor omnis!
 Ergo nihil laudi reputas æquale perenni,
 Præq; sacro-sanctâ splendoris imagine, tanti
 Cætera quæ vecors uti Numina vulgus adorat ;
 Prædia, Amicitias, Urbana peculia, Nummos,
 Quæq; placent oculis Formas, Spectacula, Amores,
 Conculcare soles ut humum, & ludibria sensûs ;
 Digna meo certe *Harveyo*, sententia digna
 Oratore amplo, & generoso pectore, quam non
Stoica formidet veterum sapientia, vinculis
 Sancire æternis ; sapor haud tamen omnibus idem.
 Dicitur effæti proles facunda *Laertæ*,
 Quamlibet ignoti jactata per æquora cæli,
 Inq; procelloso longum exul gurgite, ponto
 Præ tamen amplexu lachrymosæ conjugis, Ortus
 Cælestes, Divumq; thoros sprevisse beatos :
 Tantùm Amor, & *Mulier*, vel amore potentior, illum ;
 Tu tamen illudis (tua magnificentia tanta est)
 Præq; subumbrata splendoris imagine, tanti
 Præq; illo, meritis famosis, nomine parto ;
 Cætera quæ vecors uti Numina vulgus adorat,
 Prædia, Amicitias, Armenta, Peculia, Nummos,
 Quæq; placent oculis, Formas, Spectacula, Amores,
 Quæq; placent ori, quæq; auribus, omnia temnis ;
 Næ tu grande sapis (*sapor at sapientia non est*)
 Omnis & in parvis bene qui scit desipuisse,
 Sæpe superciliis palmam sapientibus aufert ;
 Ludit *Aristippum* modo tetrica turba sororum ;
 Mitia purpureo moderantem verba tyranno,
 Ludit *Aristippum*, dictamina vana Sophorum,

Quos levis emensi male torquet culicis umbra,
 Et quisquis placuisse studet *heroibus* actis
 Desipuisse studet, sic gratia crescit ineptis.
 Deniq; laurigeris quisquis sua tempora vittis
 Insignire volet, populoq; placere faventi,
 Desipere insanus discit, turpemq; pudendæ
 Stultitiæ laudem quærit Pater *Ennius* unus
 Dictus, innumeris sapiens; laudatur at ipse
 Carmina vesano fudisse loquentia vino:
 Nec tu (pace tuâ) nostri *Cato* maxime secli,
 Nomen honorati sacrum mereare *Poetæ*,
 Quantumvis illustre canas, & nobile carmen,
 Ni stultire velis, sic *stultorum omnia plena!*
 Tuta sed in medio superest via gurgite, nam Qui
 Nec reliquis nimium vult desipuisse videri,
 Nec sapuisse nimis, sapientem dixeris; unum
 Hinc te merferit unda, illinc combusserit ignis;
 Nec tu delicias nimis aspernare fluentes,
 Nec serò *Dominam* venientem in vota, nec aurum,
 Si sapis, oblatum: *Curiis* ea *Fabritiisq;*
 Linque, viris miseris miserenda, sophismata, quondam
 Grande sui decus ii, nostri sed dedecus ævi;
 Nec sectare nimis; res utraq; crimine plena.
 Hoc bene qui callet (si quis tamen hoc bene callet)
 Scribe vel invito sapientem hunc *Socrate*, solum.
 Vis facit una pios; justos facit altera, & alt'ra
 Egregie cordata, ac fortia pectora; verum
Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.
 Dii mihi dulce diu dederant, verùm utile nunquam;
 Utile nunc etiam, ô utinam quoq; dulce dedissent!
 Dii mihi, quippe Diis æqualia maxima parvis,
 Ni nimis inuideant mortalibus esse beatis.
 Dulce simul tribuisse queant, simul utile; tanta
 Sed *Fôrtuna* tua est, pariter quæq; utile quæq;
 Dulce dat ad placitum: sævo nos sydere nati
 Quæsitum imus eam per inhospita *Caucasa* longe,
 Perq; *Pyreneos* montes, *Babylonaq;* turpem;
 Quod si quæsitum nec ibi invenerimus, ingens
 Æquor inexhaustis permensi erroribus ultra
 Fluctibus in mediis socii quæremus *Ulyssis*:



Passibus inde Deam fessis comitabimur ægram,
 Nobile cui furtum quærenti defuit orbis :
 Namq; sinu pudet in Patrio, tenebrisq; pudendis
 Non nimis ingenio Juvenem infœlice virentos
 Officiis frustra deperdere vilibus annos ;
 Frugibus & vacuas speratis cernere spicas ;
 Ibimus ergò statim ; (quis eunti fausta precetur ?)
 Et pede clivosas fesso calcabimus *Alpes*.
 Quis dabit intereà conditas rore *Britanno*,
 Quis tibi Literulas, quis carmen amore petulcum !
 Musa sub *Oebalii* deserta cacumine montis,
 Flebit inexhausto tam longa silentia planctu,
 Lugebitq; sacrum lacrymis *Helicon* tacentem :
Harveiusq; bonos (charus licet omnibus idem)
 Idq; suo merito prope suavior omnibus, unus
 Angelus & *Gabriel* quamvis comitatus amicis
 Innumeris, Geniùmq; choro stipatus amœno,
Immerito tamen unum absentem sæpè requireret ;
 Optabitq; Utinam meus his *Edmundus* adesset,
 Qui nova scripsisset, nec amores conticuisset
 Ipse suos, & sæpe animo verbisq; benignis
 Fausta precaretur, Deus illum aliquando reducat !

P O S T S C R I P T.

I Was minded with these to have sent you also some *Eng-
 lish* Verses for a farewel ; but by my troth I have no
 spare time in the World. I beseech you, by all your Cour-
 tesies and Graces, let me be answer'd e'er I go ; which
 will be (I hope, I fear, I think) the next Week, if I can
 be dispatched of my *Lord*: I go thither as sent by him,
 and maintain'd (most what) of him ; and there am to em-
 ploy my Time, my Body, my Mind, in his *Honour's* Ser-
 vice. Thus, with many super-hearty Commendations and
 Recommendations to your self, and all my Friends with
 you, I end my last Farewel, not thinking any more to
 write to you before I go ; and withal, committing to your
 faithful Credence, the eternal Memory of our everlasting
 Friendship, the inviolable Memory of our unspotted Friend-
 ship,

ship, the sacred Memory of our vowed Friendship; which I beseech you continue with usual Writing, as you may; and, of all things, let me hear some News from you. As gentle Mr. *Sidney* (I thank his good Worship) hath desir'd of me; you may always send them safely to me by Mrs. *Kirke*, and by none other: So once again, and yet once more, farewell most heartily, mine own good Mr. *Harvey*; and love me, as I love you; and think upon poor *Immerito*, as he thinketh on you.

Leicester-House this 5th of *October*, 1579.



To my long-approved and singular good Friend,
Mr. GABRIEL HARVEY.

Good Mr. *Harvey*,

I Doubt not but you have some great important Matter in hand, which at this time restraineth your Pen, and wanted Readiness, in provoking me unto that, wherein your self are now faulty. If there be any such thing in hatching, I pray you heartily let us know before the World see it; but if happily you dwell altogether in *Justinian's* Court, and give your self to be devour'd of secret Studies, as of all likelihood you do, yet at least impart some of your old or new *Latin* or *English* eloquent and gallant Poesies to us. Little News is here stirred, but that old great Matter still depending. His Honour never better. I think the Earthquake was also there with you (which I would gladly learn) as it was here with us, overthrowing divers old Buildings and Pieces of Churches: sure very strange to be heard of in these Countries, and yet I hear some say (I know not how truly) that they have known the like before in these Days. I like your *English* Hexameters so well, that I also ensure my Pen sometimes in that kind, which I find indeed, as I have heard you often defend in word, neither so hard, nor so harsh, but that it will easily and fairly yield

it self to our Mother Tongue : for the only and chiefest Hardness which seemeth, is in the Accent ; which sometime gapeth, and as it were yawneth ill-favourdly, coming short of that it should, and sometimes exceeding the Measure of the Number ; as in *Carpenter*, the middle Syllable being used short in Speech, when it should be read long in Verse, seemeth like a lame Gosling that draweth one Leg after her. And *Heaven* being us'd short as one Syllable, when it is in Verse stretched with a *Diastole*, is like a lame Dog that holdeth up one Leg : but it is to be won with Custom, and rough Words must be subdu'd with Use, for why (a God's Name) may not we, as the *Greeks*, have the Kingdom of our own Language, and measure our Accents by the Sound, reserving the Quantity to the Verse ? I would heartily wish you would either send me the Rules or Principles of Art which you observe in Quantities, or else follow those which Mr. *Sidney* gave me, being the very same which Mr. *Drant* devis'd, but enlarg'd with Mr. *Sidney's* own Judgment, and augmented with my Observations : that we might both agree and accord in one, lest we overthrow one another, and be overthrown of the rest. To tell you the Truth, I mind shortly to set forth a Book in this kind, which I entitle *Epithalamion Thamesis* ; which Book, I dare undertake, will be profitable for the Knowledge, and new for the Invention and Manner of handling. For in setting forth the Marriage of the *Thames*, I shew his Beginning and Offspring, and all the Country he passeth through, and describe all the Rivers throughout *England* which came to his Wedding. Now my *Dreams* and *Dying Pellicane* being fully finish'd, and presently to be printed, I will in hand forthwith with my *Fairy Queen*, which I pray you heartily send me with all Expedition, and your friendly Letters and long-expected Judgment withal, which let not be short, but in all Points such as you ordinarily use, and I extraordinarily desire. *Multum Vale.*

Quarto Nonas Aprilis, 1580.

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I Take best my *Dreams* should come forth alone, being grown, by means of the *Gloss*, full as great as my *Kalendar*: therein be many things excellently, and many things wittily discours'd of *E. K.* and the Pictures so set forth, as if *M. Angelo* were there, he could not mend the best, nor reprehend the worst. Of my *Stemmata Dudleyana*, and especially of the sundry *Apostrophes* therein, address'd you know to whom, must more Advisement be had, than so lightly to send them abroad. Now but trust me, though I never do well, yet in my own Fancy I never did better.



To my Loving Friend Mr. IMMERITO.

Signior Immerito,


AFTER as many gentle Good-morrows as your self and your sweet Heart listeth, may it please you to dispense with a poor Orator of yours for breaking one principal Rule of those we count inviolable in Rhetorique, in shewing himself somewhat too pleasantly dispos'd in a sad Matter (of purpose to meet with a couple of new-marry'd Gentlewomen, that were more inquisitive than capable of Nature's Works) occasion'd by the *Earthquake* you have heard of; whereof I have undertaken, at the Request of a grave Gentleman, to give the Causes. Tho truly I suppose he had need be an excellent Philosopher, a reasonable good Historian; a learned Divine, a wise Man; such a one as *Dr. Still*, or *Dr. Bing*, that should shew himself in this Argument: I find nothing to the contrary, but that I may subscribe to the Judgment of *Picus Mirandula* in the sixth Chapter of his Book against *Astrologers*,

logers, and prefer it before all the frivolous conjectural Allegations and Surmises that our counterfeit *Orphei* oppose to the contrary. But (*Jesu!*) what is all this to Mr. *Immerito*? Forsooth I know not by what chance these three-half-penny-Fellows came into my Mind! Commend me to thine own good self, and tell thy *Dying Pelicane* and thy *Dreams* from me, I will no longer think of them till with these Eyes I see them forth indeed; and I fear your *Magnificenza* will hold us in suspence as long for your *Nine English Comedies*, and your *Stemmata Dudleyana*: which two shall go for my Money, especially if you would bestow one Sennight's polishing of either, which I pray thee heartily do for my pleasure, if not for thine own sake, and thine own profit. I beseech you all this while, what News at *Cambridge*? *Tully* and *Demosthenes* nothing so much study'd as they were wont: *Livy* and *Salust* perhaps more, rather than less: *Lucian* never so much: *Aristotle* much named, but little read: *Xenophon* and *Plato* reckoned amongst Discourfers, and conceited superficial Fellows; much verbal and sophistical Jangling; little subtle and effectual Disputing. *Matchiavel* a great Man: *Castilio* of no small Repute: *Petrarch* and *Boccace* in every Man's Mouth: *Galateo* and *Guazzo* never so happy; but some acquainted with *Unico Aretino*: The *French* and *Italian* highly regarded; the *Latin* and *Greek* but lightly: The *Queen Mother* at the beginning or end of every Conference: All inquisitive after News; new Books, new Fashions, new Laws, new Officers, and some after new Elements, some after new Heavens and Hells too: *Turkish* Affairs familiarly known: Castles built in the Air: Much ado, and little help: In no Age so little so much made of; every one highly in his own Favour. Something made of nothing, in spite of Nature: Numbers made of Cyphers, in spite of Art. Oxen and Asses, notwithstanding the Absurdity it seem'd to *Plautus*, drawing in the same Yoak: The Gospel taught, not learnt; Charity cold; nothing good, but by Imputation; the Ceremonial Law in Word abrogated, the Judicial in effect disannull'd, the Moral abandon'd; *the Light, the Light*, in every Man's Lips, but mark their Eyes, and you will say they are rather like Owls than Eagles.

Eagles. As of old Books, so of antient Vertue, Honesty, Fidelity, Equity, new Abridgments; every day spawns new Opinions: Heresy in Divinity, in Philosophy, in Humanity, in Manners, grounded upon hearsay; Doctors contemn'd; the *Devil* not so hated as the *Pope*; many Invectives, but no Amendment. No more ado about Caps and Surplices; Mr. *Cartwright* quite forgotten; the Man you wot of comfortable with a square Cap on his round Head. A number of our Preachers *Sybbe* to *French* Soldiers, at the first more than Men, in the end less than Women. Some of our pregnantest Wits of *Hermogenes* Metal. Old Men and Counsellors amongst Children; Children amongst Counsellors and Old Men. Every Younger speaks as politick as *Bishop Gardner*, or *Dr. Wutton*; as if every Man now-a-days having the framing of his own *Horoscope*, were born in *Decimo Cæli domicilio*, and had all the Wit, Wisdom, and Worship at command. *Sed heus tu in aurem, Meministin', quod ait Varro, omnes videmus nobis esse belli, festivi, Saperdæ, cum sumus Canopi.* *David*, *Ulysses*, and *Solon*, feign'd themselves Fools and Madmen; our Fools and Madmen feign themselves *Davids*, *Ulysses's*, and *Solons*. It is pity fair Weather should do any hurt; but I know what Peace and Quietness hath done with some melancholy Pickstraws. And will you needs have my Testimonial of your old Controller's new Behaviour? A busy and dizzy Head, a brazen Forehead, a leaden Brain, a wooden Wit, a copper Face, a stony Breast, a factious and elvish Heart, a Founder of Novelties, a Confounder of his own, and his Friends good Gifts; a Morning Book-worm, an Afternoon Malt-worm, a right Jugler; as full of Sleights, Wiles, Fetches, Casts of Legerdemain, Toys to mock Apes with, odd Shifts and knavish Practises, as his Skin can hold. But,

*Vivendum est recte, tum propter plurima, tum his
Præcipue Causis, ut linguas Mancipiorum
Contemnas*

Another



Another Letter of Mr. *Harvey's*.

To my very Friend Mr. IMMERITO.

Signior Immerito,

TO pass over your needless Complaints, with the Residue of your Preamble for the *Earthquake*, I suppose you have e'er this receiv'd my goodly Discourse; and withal to let my late *English* Hexameters go as lightly as they came; I cannot chuse but thank and honour the *good Angel* that put so good a Motion into the Heads of those two excellent Gentlemen, Mr. *Sidney* and Mr. *Dyer*, the two very Diamonds of *her Majesty's* Court, as to help forward our new Enterprise for the changing of bald Rhythms for artificial Verses: something I have attempted in that kind, and would commit to Mrs *Immerito's* Censure, whom with those two miraculous *Gemini*, I recount in the Catalogue of our principal *Aristarchi*. But ever and ever methinks your great *Cato's*, and our little ones, make such a buzzing in my Head, that I have little Joy to animate you to go forward, unless you might make some certain Account for your Day's Work. As for my self, however I have trifled heretofore, I am now taught to employ my Time wholly on those Studies that carry (as they say) *Meat in their Mouths*, having more their eye upon the Tide *de pane lucrando*, and their hand upon their half-penny. But Mr. *Colin Clout* is not every body, but perhaps may live by his *Dying Pelicane*. *Extra Focum*, I like your *Dreams* passing well, and the rather, because they savour of that extraordinary Vein and Invention, which I ever fancy'd most, and in a manner admir'd only in *Lucian*, *Petrarch*, *Arctine*, *Pasquil*, and all the most delicate conceited *Grecians* and *Italians* (for the *Romans* are but Cyphers in this kind)

kind) whose chiefeft Endeavour was to have nothing vulgar, but in some respect or other, and especially in lively hyperbolical Amplifications, rare and odd, and above the reach of common Capacities. I have heard a *Divine* prefer St. *John's Revelation* before all the veriest Metaphysical Visions, and jolliest conceited Dreams, that ever were devis'd by one or other, how admirable or super-excellent otherwise they seem'd to the World. And truly I am so confirm'd in this Opinion, that when I bethink me of the most notable and wonderful, prophetical or poetical *Vision* that ever I read or heard, me seemeth the Proportion is so unequal, that there hardly appeareth any Semblance of Comparison, no more, in a manner (specially for *Poets*) than doth between the incomprehensible Wisdom of *God* and the sensible Wit of Man. But what needeth this Digression between you and me? I dare say you will hold your self reasonably satisfy'd, if your Dreams be but as well esteem'd of in *England*, as *Petrarch's Visions* be in *Italy*; which I assure you is the very worst I wish you. I am void of all Judgment, if your *Nine Comedies*, whereunto, in Imitation of *Herodotus*, you give the Names of the *Nine Muses*, come not as near *Ariosto's Comedies*, either for the Fineness of plausible Elocution, or the Rareness of Poetical, as the *Fairy Queen* doth to his *Orlando*. Besides that you know, it hath been the usual Practice of the most exquisite and odd Wits, in all Nations, and specially in *Italy*, rather to shew and advance themselves that way than any other; as namely those three notorious discourfing Heads, *Bibienna*, *Matchiavel*, and *Aretine* did, to let *Bembo* and *Ariosto* pass with the great Admiration of the whole Country: being indeed matchable in all Points both for Concept of Wit and elequent Decyphering, with *Aristophanes* and *Menander* in *Greek*, or with *Plautus* and *Terence* in *Latin*, or with any other in any other Tongue.

God help us, you and I are wisely employ'd, when our Pen and Ink, and Time and Wit, and all runneth away in this goodly Vein, as if the World had nothing else for us

to do. Cujusmodi tu nugis & neniis nisi una mecum (q
solenni jurejurando atq; voto obstringor, relicto isto amor
poculo, juris poculum primo quoq; tempore exhaurire) jam ta
dem valedicas, quod tamen unum tibi credo τὸν ἀδύνατον
videbitur. Vale. E meo municipio.

F I N I S.





