



The Irish Sections of  
**FYNES MORYSON'S**  
Unpublished *Itinerary*

◆  
GRAHAM KEW











Fynes Moryson (1567-1616) was Chief Secretary to Charles Blount, Lord Macclesfield from 1600 until the latter's death in 1616. Moryson was employed by Blount in Ireland who defined (High Sheriff, Earl of Tyrone, and ruled the New Year 1604-1613. The war is better known rather than in any other way. Moryson had visited Moscow, a Cambridge graduate, historian and foreign member in which his account of the war and their own country was published in 1617. The present edition of 1929 is a new revised edition.

The above edition was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1929. It is a new edition of the original text, with many additions and corrections. The text is in English and is a new edition of the original text, with many additions and corrections. The text is in English and is a new edition of the original text, with many additions and corrections.

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FYNES MORYSON (1566–1630) was Chief Secretary to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy from 1600 until the latter's death in 1606. Mountjoy was Elizabeth I's General in Ireland who defeated Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and ended the Nine Years War, 1594–1603. This was a brutal struggle rather than an easy victory. Mountjoy had asked Moryson, a Cambridge graduate, humanist and European traveller to record his descriptions of the war and these were published in 1617. The present unpublished section of 1625 is a more considered version.

The abuses which had originally caused trouble were still unreformed. Ireland was at peace but not truly pacified. The uprising in Ulster of 1641 was to prove how right Moryson was.

GRAHAM KEW graduated from Birmingham University in English and History in 1975. After some time in business, he completed his Doctorate in 1995 at the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon. It was an edition of Fynes Moryson's unpublished *Itinerary*. The Irish section published here represents just over a tenth of the complete document.

FRONT COVER: a contemporary engraving of Lord Mountjoy

BACK COVER: a section of the unpublished *Itinerary*  
in Fynes Moryson's secretary hand, 1625.





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*The Manuscript.*

Fynes Moryson's four-part *Itinerary* is an account of journeys across Europe undertaken between 1591 and 1595, and to the Holy Land between 1595 and 1597, and his observations thereon. Part Two describes the Nine Years War in Ireland until the surrender of the Earl of Tyrone in 1603. When unemployed, Moryson began to research and write up these journeys between 1606 and 1609 with an abstract of the histories of the countries through which he passed. He seems to have destroyed most of the abstract about 1609, stating that he did not wish to make his "gate bigger than his city". He subsequently wrote the first version of the *Itinerary* itself, in Latin. Only a part has survived in two manuscripts in the British Library, Harleian MSS, 5133, and Harleian Additional MSS, 36706, the account of the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion. In 1617 a printed version of the first three parts was published in English translated from the Latin. Unusually for this era, copyright was vested in Moryson by Royal Privilege, rather than in John Beale the Stationer who printed and published it, and who had tried to gain copyright by entry of the title in the Stationer's Register. Part II dealing with Ireland in this published version was reprinted in 1735 in Dublin;<sup>1</sup> the whole publication was reprinted by Glasgow University in 1907 - 1908. I have nominated this version as *Itinerary A*. Nothing of the English manuscript on which this publication is based has survived.

A fourth part of the *Itinerary*, itself in English and in manuscript, received its *Imprimatur* in 1626, but was not published at that time. This may have been due to the vindictiveness of John Beale, or it may be due to the fact that the folio of 1617 had not been a critical success. I have nominated this manuscript *Itinerary B* in cases of possible confusion. The first reference to this fourth part of the *Itinerary* is in the compilation of Edward Bernard,



*Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, (Oxford, 1697). The description reads, "The fourth part of *Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*. Licens'd by Tho. Wilson, June 14. 1626. Fol." It is given as number 1561 within England, and 94 within the collection of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and these figures were put on the first page. It is bound in a handsome folio, which probably helped to ensure its survival. It has remained at Corpus Christi ever since. In 1903, Charles Hughes transcribed and published about 40% of this fourth part under the title *Shakespeare's Europe*. (Jerzy Limon refers to a six-volume reprint of Hughes's published transcription between 1907 and 1936<sup>2</sup>; in 1967 the whole of Hughes's transcript was reproduced in New York by the publisher Benjamin Blom.) My transcription of the fourth part is the first in its entirety.<sup>3</sup>

### *The Edition of Charles Hughes.*

Editing a manuscript involves choice. The trouble with any edited work is that it buries what is not included. Charles Hughes included more about Ireland than many other countries that Moryson describes. In 1903 this may have been because between the failure of Gladstone's Irish policy and Sir Edward Carson, Ireland and 'Home Rule' was extremely topical, in a way that France (considered an enemy after the Fashoda crisis of 1898 and before the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904), Bohemia and Denmark were not. The latter three were all virtually edited out by Hughes. He excluded parts where Moryson acknowledges that he is borrowing from William Camden's work, but included parts where Moryson borrows from Camden unacknowledged. What he included of Ireland is as follows:

Book Two, Chapter Five. Fol. 244 line 25 - fol.300 line 25.

Fol. 250 line 6 - fol. 300 line 25. c.90% included.

Book Three, Chapter Six. Fol. 451 line 1 - fol. 460 line 38.

Fol. 453 line 38 - fol. 456 line 42. c.30% included.

Book Five, Chapter Five. Fol. 653 line 3 - fol. 664 line 39.

Fol. 653 line 3 - fol. 656 line 10.

Fol. 657 line 3 - line 55. c.17% included.

There were three or possibly four hands at work on the Irish sections which I nominated One, Two, Four and Five, purely in terms of their first appearance in the whole manuscript. Hand Three only appears elsewhere. By comparison with his signatures in various letters at the British and Folger Libraries, I can state with certainty that One is Fynes Moryson himself. The hand is beautifully legible as one might expect of a Chief Secretary, and it swaps between italic and secretary with fluidity, and

presented few problems in transcription. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of Hand Two who seems to have been an apprentice who worked at speed and without thorough checking. He rarely uses italic, although Hand Five may in fact be Hand Two attempting to differentiate Latin from the surrounding English, which is why I leave a question mark after it. Hand Four seems to have been a professional scribe whose distinctive hand includes heavy abbreviation. The break-down is as follows:

Book Two, Chapter Five.

- Hand One. Beginning - fol. 245 line 12.
- Hand Two. Fol. 245 lines 12 - 49.
- Hand One. Fol. 245 line 50 - fol. 248 line 24.
- Hand Two. Fol. 248 line 25 - fol. 249 line 11.
- Hand One. Fol. 249 line 11 - fol. 251 line 25.
- Hand Two. Fol. 251 line 25 - fol. 254 line 58.
- Hand One. Fol. 255 lines 1 - 47.
- Hand Two. Fol. 255 line 48 - fol. 256 line 30.
- Hand One. Fol. 256 line 30 - fol. 261 line 7.
- Hand Two. Fol. 261 lines 7 - 24.
- Hand One. Fol. 261 line 24 - fol. 265 line 15.
- Hand Four. Fol. 265 lines 15 - 56.
- Hand One. Fol. 266 - fol. 267 line 28.
- Hand Two. Fol. 267 line 28 - fol. 271 line 13.
- Hand One. Fol. 271 line 13 - fol. 276 line 17.
- Hand Two. Fol. 276 line 17 - fol. 281 line 6.
- Hand One. Fol. 281 line 6 - fol. 284 line 2.
- Hand Two. Fol. 284 lines 2 - 55.
- Hand One. Fol. 285 - fol. 292 line 2.
- Hand Two. Fol. 292 line 2 - fol. 294 line 56.
- Hand One. Fol. 294 line 56 - fol. 298 line 36.
- Hand Four. Fol. 298 lines 36 - 54.
- Hand One. Fol. 299 - fol. 300 line 13.
- Hand Two. Fol. 300 lines 13 - 25.

Book Three, Chapter Six.

- Hand Two. Beginning - fol. 451 line 24.
- Hand Four. Fol. 451 lines 24 - 51.
- Hand Two. Fol. 452 - end.

Book Five Chapter Five

- Hand Two. Beginning - fol. 655 line 48.
- Hand Five ? Fol. 655 line 49.
- Hand Two. Fol. 655 line 50 - end.



*Fynes Moryson: The Man and His Preconceptions.*

1. *His life.*

Fynes Moryson was born into a prosperous Lincolnshire family in 1566, the third of five surviving sons of Elizabeth and Thomas. He was the first of the brothers to go to university, at Peterhouse Cambridge in 1580, although Henry and Richard, his younger brothers, followed him there. He attained his BA in 1584, his MA two years later and was granted a Fellowship. A further Fellowship to study Civil Law at European Universities was granted in 1590, and in 1591 he left on his travels. Study was the ostensible aim, and as a committed Protestant he studied at Wittenberg and Leiden. An admirer of Venetian institutions, and their freedom of conscience, he also studied at Padua (which had been conquered by the Venetians in the early fifteenth century.) However, it was the travels through European cities that fired his imagination, and which he recorded in his commonplace book in considerable detail. He acquired a good knowledge of Italian, German and French and where these failed there was always the *lingua franca* Latin that he had acquired from an early age and perfected at Cambridge. Even common Poles and Danes could summon a few ungrammatical Latin phrases. He returned at the expiry of his Fellowship in 1595, only to set off again with his brother Henry once it had been renewed for a further five years. Their aim was the Holy Land, which was under Ottoman domination. On the return journey Henry died of dysentery, and Fynes called that day "...the first of my old age."<sup>4</sup> His health seems to have suffered, so that in February 1600 when he was suddenly called for service in Ireland as one of the secretaries of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy and new Lord Deputy, he was recovering with one of his sisters in Lincolnshire. He eventually followed in late September, having resigned his Fellowship. Mountjoy proposed to make him a semi-official recorder of the events of his Deputyship. He reached Dundalk in October where his brother Sir Richard was Governor. Richard with his connections to the Essex faction at the English court had probably been instrumental in recommending him to Mountjoy initially. As so often in war, promotion comes quickly. George Cranmer, Mountjoy's Principal Secretary, was killed on 13 November 1600 at Carlingford on the winter retreat of the English army from Ulster and Fynes filled the vacancy from the next day until Mountjoy's death in April 1606. Thereafter Moryson seems to have shared his master's dangers, both political, after the collapse of the Essex faction following the ill-judged revolt of February 1601, and military – Fynes was hit by a spent bullet in the thigh in Westmeath, and



at Kinsale his tent was raked with shot. His linguistic abilities were needed to translate the terms of the Composition of Kinsale, which allowed the Spanish expeditionary force to depart. It was Moryson who tricked Tyrone by fooling him that the Queen was still alive, for her commission to Mountjoy as Deputy expired with her. So Tyrone made his submission to a dead Queen on 30 March 1603, and a further one to King James thereafter. Since some port towns, their trade devastated by the devaluation of the Irish coinage, had attempted to suspend their loyalty whilst dynastic events worked themselves out, this was a shrewd move on Moryson's part. He returned to London with his master in May 1603, and was probably present at the Coronation in the train of Mountjoy, now newly ennobled as the Earl of Devonshire. Failing to get any official post unlike his brother Richard, Moryson was put out of work once his master died in 1606. Despite petitioning in the servile rhetoric usual at the time, and an adherence to the circle of William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke (described as the great patron or Maecenas of the age) he was never to work again. For three years he set to work on histories of the lands through which he had travelled, and after what he had considered a false start in 1609 destroyed what he had written. In 1613 he visited Ireland once again, perhaps because funds were getting short, for he seems to have had some ill-defined economic interests there. He also went to see his brother Richard, then Vice-President of Munster, and his nephews and nieces. From 1609 he dusted down his daybooks and worked on the *Itinerary* until 1625.<sup>5</sup> It was dedicated to Pembroke.<sup>6</sup> Three parts or books were published in 1617, (which I have nominated *Itinerary A*) and the fourth part (which I have nominated *Itinerary B*) was licensed in 1626. As discussed above, it was not printed until 1903, and then only in an incomplete form. In a somewhat bitter envoi to his readers, Moryson writes of giving up writing and concentrating on theology in preparation for the greatest journey of all. He died in 1630.<sup>7</sup>

It is possible, taking these bare facts in conjunction with what Moryson wrote, to construct some hypotheses as to the prejudices that Moryson brought to the Irish situation.

## 2. *Moryson in Context: 1. His Protestantism and Connections.*

The dominating influence of Moryson's life was a sincerely held Protestantism. The most intensely and closely argued sections of the whole *Itinerary* "Of the Popes Power in generall, How it grewe." fols. 86 - 117, and the Italian or Roman religion fols. 368 - 444, are those dealing with

the historical growth of Papal usurpation from the earliest times, and the means by which that usurpation was sustained into modern times. For Moryson the Pope was antichrist, so that when Moryson writes of those Irishmen apostatizing "...that should fall from the knowne truth of the Reformed Religion to the Roman"<sup>8</sup> the full theological force of that word is intended.

The decade of the 1580s when Protestantism seemed to be under constant Catholic attack was the period when Moryson came to political maturity. Years later when he was writing up his *Itinerary*, these perceptions and prejudices remained. They explain the attraction of the Earl of Pembroke's faction to him. Pembroke was a strong Protestant and the most hawk-like of James I's Privy Councillors, and the most reluctant to endorse the Spanish Match (the project of allying the Stuarts with the Catholic Spanish Hapsburgs by the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta).

The image of the Catholic Church militant and triumphant haunted Moryson, and many of his generation. The seizure of Ferrara by Clement VIII in 1598 was the latest example in a long line that he cites in the sections on the Italian States, and there seemed to be no more fertile soil than Ireland for Papal plotting. Ireland was "...made the Cloke of ambition, and that by Popish Combinations two great Rebellions were raised."<sup>9</sup> Moryson's extensive education had made him a humanist and a civilized man, certainly more so than his brother Richard who in his military career in Ireland (culminating in the vice-presidency of Munster) would have been responsible for the imposition of martial law and all the barbarities that entailed. Nevertheless, Moryson specifically writes, "I am farr from the opinion that Reformation should be wrought by fyre and sword, but only in cases of extremity..."<sup>10</sup> Yet the fact that he could commend Lord Deputy Grey and Sir Richard Bingham as heroes (both of whom delighted in the fire and the sword) is a mark of the frustration that he felt at the undermining of the Protestant reforming effort in the face of the intractable reality of the Irish situation, which was that personal interest almost always superseded the perceived public good.<sup>11</sup> At least these men achieved something by resolute action. However, since such methods would now be inappropriate, for the war had been won, he continues to recommend "both myld and safe meanes of Reformation" whilst past mistakes must be taken into account.<sup>12</sup> Moryson claims to be interpreting the political testament of his old master Mountjoy.<sup>13</sup> Nobody can argue with success, and this would give his work the enhanced authority of Mountjoy's name.



*His Relationship with Mountjoy.*

Being a younger son, Moryson thoroughly resented primogeniture attributing it to the "ignorant pride of fathers" which forced the younger children to shift for themselves.<sup>14</sup> The disadvantage of being born female or a younger son could sometimes be mitigated by using their kinship and factional networks. Fynes's youngest brother Richard was most helpful in this regard. Fynes's initial introduction to Mountjoy must have come through their being members of the Earl of Essex's faction. Richard Moryson and Mountjoy had seen active service together on the Islands Voyage of 1597, and Richard had already effected some kind of introduction to the Danvers brothers, Henry and Charles, other prominent members of the Essex faction, who had lent Fynes money in Paris after he had been robbed in May 1595.

"...his Lordship purposed to imploy me in the writing of the History or Journall of Irish affaires."<sup>15</sup> So Moryson introduces his relationship with Mountjoy. There may be some retrospection in this, for if Mountjoy had proven to be a failure as Essex had been, presumably he would not have wanted to be recorded. In addition to their allegiance to the same faction, Fynes Moryson and Mountjoy also shared a bookishness and a love of theology. Mountjoy may have also considered that his experience gained during travel was a useful addition for a military posting. Any extra knowledge of terrain or armies in an era of inaccurate or non-existent information could potentially be crucial.<sup>16</sup> As Mountjoy's secretary, there was a real trust growing between the two when on 22 February 1601, the news of the failure of Essex's rising reached Mountjoy. He then shut up his cabinet and kept his papers and views to himself thereafter, much to Moryson's profound regret. Nevertheless Moryson still received much crucial correspondence from the Privy Council and ministers, and drafted Mountjoy's replies in what Cyril Falls calls his distinctive "copyplate".<sup>17</sup> I can agree with Hiram Morgan that access to these papers and what he noted made him give "...far greater credence to the complaints of the Irish against English maladministration, especially under Sir William Fitzwilliam. Of course all this served to put the government of his late master in the best possible light."<sup>18</sup> Many years after Mountjoy's death, Moryson still refers to him "...*pia semper memoria mihi colendum*."<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, Moryson was not prepared to whitewash his reputation. Like his model Plutarch, Moryson attempts those characteristic anecdotes and weaknesses that show the nature of the man more than the grand sweep of his life.<sup>20</sup> In trying to rebuild the fortunes of his decayed house, Mountjoy

is accused by Moryson of meanness to his followers on the one hand and "greedy gathering" on the other,<sup>21</sup> all of which came to nought once litigants were unleashed on Mountjoy's estate. Perhaps because Moryson never pursued his own interests singlemindedly, he deprecated it in others.<sup>22</sup> An interesting contrast can be made between Moryson's Protestantism and that of Richard Boyle, subsequently first Earl of Cork. For Boyle worldly success (often by dubious means) was a confirmation of his virtue. By a happy circularity his virtues were providentially rewarded.<sup>23</sup>

If Moryson was largely uninterested in money for its own sake, his constant insistence that he was a gentleman suggests that he was almost certainly disappointed that he never got the honour of a knighthood, as his brother Richard had done from Essex in August 1599, and as Michael Hickes the secretary of the Cecils had done, and as Moryson had taken upon himself to promise Henry Davers the bearer of the news of Queen Elizabeth's death as the price of his immediate silence.<sup>24</sup> From Mountjoy's point of view, Essex had had to answer for his excessive number of creations in June 1600, and he may have decided in his circumspection that he would not let his detractors in the Cecil faction attack him on this front. So if Moryson were to be distinguished in the eyes of the world it had to be by his academic achievement.

## *2. Moryson in Context: 2. His Academic Background and the Classical Legacy.*

Moryson undoubtedly regarded himself as a scholar and a gentleman. Usually only gentlemen would have been able to afford the leisure to study the classics, hence his surprise when a barefooted follower of a Gaelic lord spoke Latin well.<sup>25</sup> This gentlemanly fastidiousness marks his writing in general and on Ireland in particular.<sup>26</sup> In his travels classical erudition enabled him to call on bibliophiles and famous men and to expect to be received with courtesy. Ireland on the other hand tended to attract the rougher element, those out to make a fast profit.<sup>27</sup> There was probably more prestige but far less profit in fighting for one's faith on the continent.

Moryson's time at the universities of Cambridge, Wittenberg, Leiden and Padua imbued him with the predominant Aristotelianism then current in logic, metaphysics, natural philosophy and above all politics which featured on their curricula. In the sixteenth century there were about 1,400 editions and 3,000 printed commentaries on Aristotle's work<sup>28</sup>. Unsurprisingly Moryson's analysis of the Ottoman and Venetian



constitutions is in the Aristotelian terms of tyranny regarding the former, and elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy regarding the latter. Aristotle also had another legacy. In his *Politics*, Aristotle held that a complete household consisted of slaves and freedmen, and slaves were possessions and living working tools. Slaves were inherently inferior as barbarians and as such could be enslaved for their own good. These ideas gave respectability to the economic self-interest of exploiters and settlers absolving them "...from all normal ethical restraints".<sup>29</sup> As in classical times, colonies were expected to make a profit, which partly explains the exasperation of the English Elizabethan establishment that Ireland never failed to cost money. The Aristotelian Scot John Major was quoted by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in his deservedly famous mid-century encounter with Bartolomé de las Casas in Spain on the justification or otherwise of the conquest of the American Indians. The future Lord Deputy Sidney had travelled on embassy to Spain on behalf of Queen Mary from 1553 to 1556, and had also acquired there ideas from Peter Martyr's *De Orbo Novo* which were to influence his thinking about his programme for Ireland. Both in the New World and in Ireland indigenous populations were seen as culturally inferior and lacking civility.<sup>30</sup> Later in the century, John Case in his coursebook for students *Sphæra Civitatis* of 1588 wrote that all wars were unjust unless territory were inhabited by barbarians. The intellectual atmosphere surrounding Moryson was certainly conducive to regarding the Gaelic Irish as barbarous and ready for conquest and subsequent exploitation.

Moryson's gentlemanly scholarship almost certainly ensured that his book would not be a publishing success. Disdainful of the Germans who indulged in vanity publishing, Moryson writes

...yea very graue men and Docters of the liberall Professions, are so forward to rush into these Olimpick games, for gayning the prise from others, as they seeme rather to affect the writing of many and great, then iudicious and succinct bookes, so as their riper yeares and second Counsell (all wayes best) hardly to suffice to correct the errors therof...For it may well be sayd of bookes corrected after Printing, that was sayd of the Roman Sensures of manners: The note may be blotted out, but the spott cannot... Fol. 471.

Moryson claimed to be writing for humanists, educated men. He ruefully admits that he had pleased few in his own "Crittick Age".<sup>31</sup> He had waited so long for his riper years and second counsels that many of Mountjoy's suggested reforms such as the reduction of urban charters and their fiscal privileges had been actually carried out by Mountjoy's appointee as Irish Solicitor-General (and subsequently Attorney-General) Sir John Davies.<sup>32</sup>

In marked contrast to Moryson, Barnaby Rich's copious writings on Ireland were at least timed with a specific potential readership in view. He published his *A Short Survey of Ireland truly discovering who hath armed that people with disobedience* (London, 1609), [STC 20999] in 1609 after the suppression of O'Doherty's revolt the previous year to remind his readers of the ubiquity of the agents of antichrist, the Pope, whilst his *A New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610), [STC 20992], was timed to exploit the interest that the planting of Londonderry was causing.

However, I think it would be wrong to suggest that Moryson was happy to be out of date. His usual method of composition was to consult a wide variety of sources, and to add his own experience. Conversations with his brother Richard who returned from Ireland in 1615 would have kept him informed, for Richard, promoted to Master of Ordnance in 1616, would have had access to current information. What I suspect Moryson was doing was criticizing Elizabethan mistakes replicated in Jacobean Ireland. Criticism of the past was an oblique commentary on the present. Conscious of the crackdown on seditious publishing during the furore over the Spanish match, Moryson praised King James's government whilst attempting to mitigate its abuses. If any had accused him of so doing he could merely say that he was writing up his history of Ireland until the time of Tyrone's capitulation.



*Conventions and Abbreviations Adopted in the Transcription.**Conventions.*

This extract is a diplomatic one, being a transcription of everything that is on the pages of the manuscript. This includes erasures where legible. They are included within these brackets: []. If the word “many” were deleted, it would appear so: [many]. Where deleted letters are illegible, dots are supplied for each missing letter: [....]. If “may” were written, and the word “many” intended, and the ‘n’ had been added with a caret underneath, it would appear thus: ma↑n↑y. In the few cases where corrections are added below the normal writing line, it would appear thus: ma↓n↓y.

For common abbreviations such as “wch” or “wth” or words with contracted letters, usually the ‘m’ or ‘n’, I have merely expanded the contraction and underlined the letters that I have supplied thus: which, with, common. Hand Two has a favourite contraction or mistake of “the” for “they”, which I have not always corrected by a footnote as the context will supply the meaning. “Their” and “there” are used indiscriminately.

Where I am unsure of my reading, I use these brackets: <>. If I were unsure whether the word were “mary”, or “many”, and decided that the latter seemed to be the more likely, it would appear so: ma<n>y, and possibly I would include a note explaining my choice. These brackets are used for headings and catchwords, {}, material that is in but not an integral part of the text. I have italicized where the writer italicizes, or departs from his normal secretary hand.

There are five exceptions to my rule of including everything. I do not include the caret mark. Catchwords are only included where anomalous. I needed the slash mark, /, to set off number lines and ends of pages, so I do not include it. Often Moryson is indicating space to be left, or the end of a paragraph or section, in which case there is space left or a paragraph break. Running titles that head each page are not repeated. Finally, where annotations on the side of the work are not contemporary, but relatively modern, by which I mean nineteenth century onwards, I have ignored them.

I have used the “modern” edition of Moryson’s Printed *Itinerary* published in 1907 - 1908, as opposed to the original of 1617. Both are rare. Even the modern edition print run was limited to one thousand copies.<sup>33</sup> However,

the modern edition is probably still the more accessible even in the age of microfilms. I have referred to it as *Itinerary A*, and used its pagination.

This manuscript, I refer to as *Itinerary B*, but only in cases of possible confusion. As formerly stated, *Itinerary B* follows on from *Itinerary A*, and is meant to complete the work. In this sense, it is a false distinction, even though it dates from the decision to publish Moryson's partly completed work. In *Itinerary B* Moryson uses the word folio, or the abbreviation fol. in the sense of just one side of a page, either recto or verso, but never both. I have followed his practice, since it would be unnecessarily pedantic to do otherwise. Thus fol. 272 is followed by fol. 273. This also has the advantage that when I refer to fol. followed by a number, it can only be from *Itinerary B*, and so is a useful shorthand.

In those sections of Charles Hughes's transcription of *Itinerary B* of 1903, where he changes the text from what is there, I have only noted it where the change is substantive. Thus, if he gets a little too free with his "e"s at the end of words, it is not noted. If, however, he makes meaning out of nonsense, and I am convinced that what he substitutes, is, by my experience of that hand, what was very likely to have been intended by the writer, it is noted with the formula "Hughes amends to ..." or "Hughes corrects to ...". If I am not absolutely convinced, I will use some other formula such as "Hughes changes to ..." "Hughes has ..." or "Hughes substitutes ...". This does not necessarily mean that I am in violent disagreement, but that I cannot think of anything else. If I can think of something else but am unsure whether my reading is preferable, I will put it in a note. In those sections not transcribed before, provided that the spelling is intelligible, I have not annotated it, however far it departs from modern usage.

Where dates are given beside the name of ordinary mortals, it will be the dates of birth and death. In the case of all rulers, it will refer their to regnal years. All dates are old style unless followed by NS, which indicates the new style Gregorian calendar introduced in Catholic states from 1582.

I have capitalized the double "f", thus "ffrench" become "French". There are obscurities enough without complicating matters further by deliberate antiquarianisms.

I have attempted to keep annotations to a minimum. I have assumed a reader with a reasonable knowledge of Jacobean English, for a general



reader is unlikely to stumble across Moryson. I have glossed, words that I have found difficult, Hughes's substantive emendations and mistakes, possible sources and influences, and corrected dates or information where I have found it incorrect from my reading. For quotations from the Bible, I have used a Geneva edition of 1594 [STC 2166].

In my introduction and annotations I have quoted from Moryson's complete *Itinerary*. Both parts were intended to make a completed whole, and although for preference I have tried to quote from this document, when a quotation from *Itinerary A* is appropriate, I have not hesitated to use it.

I am using the third edition of the *MHRA Style Book*.

*Abbreviations of Frequently Cited Individuals and Works.*

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| CE          | <i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i> , edited by Charles B. Hebermann, Edward A. Pace, Conde B. Pullen and others, 15 vols (London, 1907 - 1912),   |
| CSP         | <i>Calendar of State Papers</i> followed by topic to which they relate usually Ireland,   |
| Camden      | <i>Camden's Britannia 1695</i> , with an Introduction by Stuart Piggott, and Bibliographical Note by Gwyn Walters, David and Charles Reprints (Newton Abbot, 1971),   |
| Discovery   | Sir John Davies <i>A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued</i> , (London, 1612), [STC 6348]. It was reprinted in <i>Ireland Under Elizabeth and James I</i> , edited by Henry Morley (London, 1890), pp. 213 - 342, |
| DNB         | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, 22 vols (London, 1885 - 1900),   |
| EB          | <i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i> , eleventh edition, 29 vols (Cambridge, 1910 - 1911),  |
| FB          | Frank Beetham, Department of Classical Studies, University of Birmingham, England,  |
| Fol.        | A page number from <i>Itinerary B</i> ,   |
| Harvey      | Sir Paul Harvey, <i>The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature</i> , (Oxford, 1937),  |
| Itinerary A | Fynes Moryson, <i>An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeares Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland,</i>   |



- Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, & Ireland*, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1907 - 1908), the first three books of his work originally published in 1617,
- Itinerary B* Fynes Moryson, *The fourth Part of an Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson gent*: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 94, referred to as *Itinerary B* only in cases of possible confusion with *Itinerary A*,
- L & S Lewis, Charlton T., and Short, Charles, *A Latin Dictionary* (reprinted Oxford, 1960),
- m.n. Marginal note in Moryson's text followed by line number,
- NC Private communication from Professor Nicholas Canny, University College Galway, Ireland,
- NS Following a date indicates the New Style dating system of the Gregorian calendar, instituted into Catholic Europe in 1582,
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary (Second Edition) On Compact Disk* (Oxford, 1992),
- Quinn D. B. Quinn. *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, New York, 1966),
- Shakespeare *The Complete Works*, edited by Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett and others (Oxford, 1988),
- STC A. W. Pollard, and Redgrave, G. R., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475 - 1640*, second edition, revised and enlarged, 3 vols (Oxford, 1986),
- Sugden Edward H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester, 1925),
- Tilley Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of The Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950),
- View Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, edited by W. L. Renwick (Oxford, 1970).

## Endnotes.

- 1 The full detail read "Printed by S. Powell, / For GEORGE EWING, at the *Angel and Bible* / in *Dame-street*, Bookseller. MDCCXXXV." The full title was given as *A History of Ireland from 1599 to 1603. With a short narration of the state of the kingdom from the year 1169. To which is added a description of Ireland*, "By FYNES MORYSON, Gent. Secretary to Lord Mountjoy, then Lord Deputy." This was a reprint of the Irish parts of *Itinerary A*, comprising of the complete Part II, and Part III, Book III, Chapter 5.
- 2 I have been unable to track these volumes down. See Jerzy Limon, *Gentlemen of a Company* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 154.
- 3 See Graham David Kew, *Shakespeare's Europe Revisited: The Unpublished Itinerary of Fynes Moryson* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1995), referred to hereafter as Kew.
- 4 *Itinerary A*, II, 68.
- 5 Hughes says that it was finished by 1620 "at the latest", p. xli, but he fails to pick up the internal political references. Even in this Irish section there is a reference to the "late reverent" Bishop of London, Doctor John King, who died on 30 March 1621. For a full discussion see Kew pp. xxvii - xxxvi.
- 6 He was also the dedicatee of Shakespeare's First Folio in 1623.
- 7 Sources for this chronology include Moryson's own details about himself in the complete *Itinerary*, the article about him by Sir Sidney Lee in the *DNB*, Charles Hughes's introduction to *Shakespeare's Europe* (London, 1903), pp. i - xlv, Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London, 1950), p. 311, and BL, Harleian MS, 5133, f. 4r.
- 8 Fol. 458.
- 9 Fol. 249.
- 10 Fol. 457.
- 11 Fol. 299. If one believes that the Pope is antichrist, it means that his followers are antichristian. It is an easy step to stigmatize Irish opposition as devilish and attempt to destroy it. Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught and his predecessor Nicholas Malby justified their actions in this way. Quoted in Professor Nicholas Canny's forthcoming book *Ireland in the English Colonial System 1580s - 1650s* (Oxford), Chapter Two. Barnaby Riche's *A Short Survey of Ireland truly discovering who hath armed that people with disobedience* (London, 1609), [STC 20999], published during a period of spasmodic persecution of Catholics in Ireland and after the suppression of O'Doherty's revolt puts all the blame on antichrist, the Pope, and those who follow him, which meant the native Irish and many of the Old English.
- 12 Fol. 457.
- 13 Fols. 291 - 295.
- 14 *Itinerary A*, I. 425. Nevertheless, this did not recommend the native Irish system of tanistry to him "whence flowes a plentiful spring of murders Parracides and Conspiracies against the kings and their lawes." Fol. 256.

- 15 *Itinerary A*, II, 343.
- 16 It is worth quoting the full title of Albertus Meierus's work instructing travellers of the things to record, *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, marriners, &c Employed in seruices abroad or anie way occasioned to conuerse in the Kingdomes, and governments of forren Princes*, translated by Philip Jones (London, 1589) [STC 17784]. Military personnel are specifically mentioned here as being able to gain through travel. Since Moryson seems to have set his mind against the ministry, the usual destination of those with higher degrees, his travel could be seen as vocational training. Moryson's predecessor as Chief Secretary to Mountjoy, George Cranmer had also travelled. On his travels, Moryson took an interest in armies and the revenues "the sinews of war" that paid for them, and also in castles and fortification. Security was usually lax by modern standards, and a silver coin could gain entrance to most palaces and castles. He notes details of the Venetian fort of Palmanova built to the latest standards as well as the more usual tourist attraction of the *Arsenale* or Arsenal. Having dressed as a merchant, he was able with the company of an English shipwright to visit the Danish navy riding at anchor in the harbour of Copenhagen. Fols. 120 and 242 - 243.
- 17 Cyril Falls, *Mountjoy: Elizabethan General* (London, 1955), p. 151, referred to hereafter as Falls, *Mountjoy*.
- 18 See fol. 273 and Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 3 - 4.
- 19 "Always to be remembered by me with dutiful devotion", British Library, Harleian MSS, 5133, f. 3v. This is part of a letter to William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke. For a discussion of the obsequious language used in petitioning heads of factions see Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston, Mass, 1990), passim.
- 20 Moryson's character sketch is in *Itinerary A*, II. 260 - 272.
- 21 *Itinerary A*, II. 264.
- 22 Unusually for this litigious age, Moryson did not sue through the courts for return of his money that he had "set out" or gambled at the rate of three to one should he return safely from his journeys, which of course he did, unlike his brother, Henry. He felt the practice of this gambling to be morally dubious as in his comments on the "Carowayes" fol. 260, so this may have prevented him.
- 23 See Nicholas Canny, *The Upstart Earl: A Study of the Society and Mental World of Richard Boyle first Earl of Cork, 1566 - 1643* (Cambridge, 1982), passim.
- 24 He is constantly referring to himself as a "Fynes Moryson, Gentleman" the younger son of armigerous family. The title seems to have become more important to him after his sustained lack of worldly success. See also Alan G. R. Smith, *Servant of the Cecils: The Life of Sir Michael Hikes*, (London, 1977), passim.
- 25 Fol. 284.
- 26 D. B. Quinn has also recognized this aspect of Moryson's writing in *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, New York), p. 68.
- 27 See Professor Nicholas Canny's forthcoming book *Ireland in the English Colonial System 1580s - 1650s* (Oxford), Chapter Two. The soldier-settlers appear to have been a particularly rough crew.
- 28 Moryson has extended sections on universities, and details the professors and curricula of Leiden



fol. 521 - 523, and Padua fol. 603 - 606. See also Sergio Mazzei, *Aspects of Hierarchy and Order in John Case's Sphera Civitatis (1588)*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1996), p. 18. I am particularly indebted to the introduction and second chapter entitled 'Natural Slaves and Self-Serving Philosophers', pp. 145-254 in this section.

- 29 Nicholas P. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565 - 76* (Hassocks, 1976), p. 122, referred to hereafter as Canny, *Conquest*.
- 30 Canny, *Conquest*, pp. 133 - 134.
- 31 Fol. 1.
- 32 Fol. 292, and Hans Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 103 - 141.
- 33 See the advertisement by the publishers, James Maclehose and Sons in the special advertising insertion at the back of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (Glasgow 1905 - 1907), XX (1907), 22.



## MORYSON'S TEXT, BOOK II CHAPTER V



## Chap: V.

*Of the common wealth of Ireland* according to all the particular Subjects mentioned in the Title of the first Chapter and first Booke of this Part.<sup>1</sup>

{ m.n. 30. *The Historicall Introduction.* }

*Camden* our woorthy Antiquary relates that *Ireland* /30/ was of old called *Scotland*, and that the *Irish Scotts* first brought that name into our *Iland of Britany*.<sup>2</sup> And these *Irish Scotts* he affirmes to haue bene *Scythians*, and from thence to haue come to inhabitt *Spaine*, and iudgeth them to haue bene a people mingled of diuerse Nations as *Germans* and *Goathes* (whome *Pliny* writes to haue seated themselues in *Spayne*) or like barbarous people<sup>3</sup> (whome the Emperor *Constantine* the great droue out of *Spayne*, before whose tyme he affirmes, that the name of *Scotts* is not found in any old writer. And he adds that these *Irish* /40/ *Scotts* in the declining of the *Roman Empire*, about the tyme of the Emperor *Honorius* passed into *Britany* to ayde the *Picts* against the *Britaines*.<sup>4</sup> About which tyme also, *St Patrick* a *Britaine* called the Apostle of *Ireland*, first came into *Ireland*, namely in the yeare of our lord 441.<sup>5</sup> When *Lagerius* raigned in *Ireland* being the sonne of that *Nellus* or *Neale*, of whome *Giraldus* thus writeth.<sup>6</sup> *Nellus* the great being Monarch of *Ireland*, six sonnes of *Muredus* king of *Vlster*<sup>7</sup> did passe into the Northern part of *Britany* //

fol. 245.

with their followers, of whome is the Nation of *Scotts*, to this day inhabiting a Corner of *Britany*.<sup>8</sup>

The *Irish* Historians write that *Ireland* was first inhabited by wandring *Scythians* towards the North, and by *Spaniards* towards the west (which I take to be the foresaid mixed Nations, being partly *Scithyans* also) and by the *Gaules* towards the South, and by the *Britaines* towards the East.<sup>9</sup> For truth whereof they appeale to old Historyes, and to the Customes of those Nations still retayned in the said parts of *Ireland*. Also they acknowledge that the power /10/ of the *Britaines* ouer the *Irish* ↑ hath bene of antiquity and that of old the kings of *Britany* had their rights ouer the *Irish*. ↑, namely that *Gurguntius* king of *Britany* (↑ whome ↑ we call *Gurgustus*) did about the yeare of our lord 375 graunt leaue, to a people sayling out of *Spayne* into *Ireland*, to setle themselues in that Iland, As also that the kings of *Ireland* payd tribute to the Britten Arthur Sonne to Vther Pendragon, whome they write to haue raigned about the yeare of our lord 516, and to haue beene of great f[.]ame.<sup>10</sup>

Shortly after the Saxons invaded Britanny, and gaue the name of England to great part thereof. And Camden writes /20/ that Igfridus king of Northumberland (one of the six Saxon kings) did in the yeare 644 invade and Cruelly wast Ireland, though being in great Amity with the English,<sup>11</sup> and that the Norw<e>gians (whome he thinckes to haue beene Normans) did for 30 yeares foulely wast Ireland, till theire Captaine being killed by treason, the rest were also destroyed scarce one man being left of them.<sup>12</sup> And that about the same tyme Eadgarus the most powerfull king in England, did subdue great part of Ireland, with the Citty Dublin.<sup>13</sup> And that after these warrs, a dissention /30/ betweene the kings of Ireland, opened the way to the English fully to conquer that Iland, about the yeare 1169 Henry the second then Reigning in England. For Dermott king of Lemster<sup>14</sup> sonne of Murchard (vulgarly mac Morrog) tooke by force the wife of the king of Meath,<sup>15</sup> for which and his generall tyranny being driuen out of his kingdome, he craued ayde of Henry the second king of England, to be restored into his kingdome, & defended against the king of Meath. At which tyme king Henry being ingaged in agreat warr with Fraunce, and troubled /40/ with Ciuill warr at home, yet by his letters Pattens gaue leaue to Richard Earle of Pembroke (called Strangbowe, of the Family of the Clares) to ayde the sayd Dermott, he hauing first couenanted to giue the [the] Earle for wife, his daughter Eue heyre of his kingdome.<sup>16</sup> So the Earle, assisted by the Geraldines and other noble Famillyes of England, restored Dermott to his kingdome, and in fewe yeares Conquered so great part of that Iland, as his power was suspected by Henry king of *England* who by Proclamation called him home, so as /50/ the Earle resigned to the king all his right as well by his wife in the succession to the kingdome of *Lemster* as in that he had conquered by his sword taking back from the king in Fee as his vassall the Countyes of *Wexford* of *Osserie* of *Carlogh* and of *Kildare*.<sup>17</sup> This done king *Henry* in the yeare 1172 sayling into *Ireland* landed at *Waterford*, //

{ m.n. whereof }

fol:246.

where[of] of six *Irish* kings then rainging, First *Dermott*, *Mac. Morrog* king of *Lemster*, then *Dermott Mac Cartye* king of *Corke* and the South part of *Munster* (of whose race some haue large possessions in those parts to th[is]ese dayes) then *Doniell O Bryan* king of *Lymrick* and the North parts of *Mounster* (from whome discends the Earle of *Thomond* now living) and many inferior lordes, resigned all their power and right to the king.<sup>18</sup> Then king *Henry* passed through *Osserey* to *Dublin*, where he kept a Royall Christmas, and the *Orork* king of *Meathe*, (of whome /10/ discends *Ororke* at this tyme being a barbarous Lord of a large, Fenny, wooddy, and



mountanous Country in those parts) submitted to the king. Touching the king of *Connaght*,<sup>19</sup> *Turlogh*, *Omore*, *Oconor*, late king thereof, had divided the same betweene his sonnes, *Cabele* and *Brian*, but at this tyme *Rotherick* of that race was king thereof, and by speciall prerogatiue styled th[is]e *Monarch* of all *Ireland*,<sup>20</sup> who without drawing his sword yeilded his State to king *Henry* who was stiled lord of *Ireland* (the title of king being long after assumed).<sup>21</sup> Thus the king of /20/ *Vlster* only remayned to be subdued, when the king sayled back into *England*, leaving the gouernment of *Ireland* to the said Earle called *Strangbowe*, with whome (after suspected) he ioyned others in *Commis*sion. The king to strengthen his title by the Pope, (who in these tymes vsurped authoritye in all great affayres of Christian kings) had the graunt of Pope *Adrian* the fourth an Englishman to be lord of all *Ireland*, and shortly after *Viuianus* the Popes Legat came to *Dublin* where he excommunicated all the *Irish* that would not obey the king.<sup>22</sup> After the kings retorne /30/ into *England*, *Rotherick* late king of *Connaght*, rebelled, whome *Milo Cogan* first of the English in vayne attempted to subdue, but after *William* sonne of *Aldelin de Burgo* (whose race are called *Bourkes* by the *Irish*) and *Robert de Clare*, Earle of *Glocester*, and *william de Bermingham* all of the English Nobility, subdued *Connaght* to the king. In the tyme of king *Henry* the second, *Sir. Iohn de Courcye* with fower hundreth voluntary Soldiers, did in five battells subdue *Vlster*, and stretched the English Pale as farr as *Dunluce* the most remote part of the North,<sup>23</sup> /40/ whome the king made the first Earle of *Vlster*. About the yeare 1204, *Iohn Courcye* Earle of *Vlster*, either rebelled, or for his vertue was so envyed in the Court of *England*, as king *Iohn* banished him, and made *Hugh de Lacye* (of the English Nobility Earle of *Vlster* in his place. And the same *Lacyes* rebelling about the yeare 1210, king *Iohn* subdued them, and after that he had stayed some three monethes in *Ireland*, retorned into *England* where the *Lacyes* found freinds to be restored to the Earldome of *Vlster*. This *Iohn* king of *England* more fully subdued /50/ *Ireland*, and brought the English lawes into that land, and caused mony to be coyned there, and the Popes fauorers write, that about the yeare 1213, he made *Ireland* feodatorye and Tributary to the Popes, binding his Successors to pay three hundreth markes yearlye tribute to them.<sup>24</sup> // fol.247.

<B>ut Sir *Thomas Moore* an English knight who was famous for his knowledge, and dyed for the defence of the Popes supremacy writes this to be false, and that the *Romans* can shew no such graunt, nor euer exacted this mony, and that the kings of *England* neuer acknowledged this graunt or euer paid any such mony, and that king *Iohn* or any other king cannot so giue away of himselfe his owne right, or that of his Successors.<sup>25</sup> About



this tyme *Ireland* was diuided into fowre Prouinces, of *Lemster*, of *Mounster*, of of *Connaght*, and of *Vlster*. About the yeare i[6]29i /10/ *O Hanlon* and some lordes of *Vlster*, rebelling were subdued by the *English* Colonyes.<sup>26</sup> From the yeare 1315 to [...] 1318, the *Scotts* made great Combustions in *Ireland*, and many *Irish* Familyes ioyned with them, but the *English* Colonyes subdued both.<sup>27</sup> In the yeare 1339 generall warr was betweene the *English* Colonyes, and the meere *Irish*,<sup>28</sup> of whome great numbers perished therein. Hitherto *Ireland* was gouerned by a lord [cheife] Iustice who held the place sometymes for fewe, sometymes for many yeares, at the pleasure of the kings of *England*. /20/ In the yeare i340; *Iohn Darcy* an *English* man, was made lord Iustice for his life, and the next yeare did gouerne *Ireland* by his owne deputy, which I neuer finde before, nor after graunted, but to some fewe of the Royall bloud of *England*. About the yeare 1341, the *English* Colonyes (or *English Irish*) degenerated first began to be Enemyes to the *English*, and themselues calling a Parliament, wrote to the king of *England* that they would no longer indure the insolencyes of his Ministers, yet most of the Lords Iustices thitherto were of /30/ the *English Irish* (that is *English borne in Ireland*).<sup>29</sup> Of old *Walter Bourke* Earle of *Connaght* maryed the daughter and heyre of *Hugh de Lacye*, and by her right was Earle of *Vlster* also, and now *Lionell Duke of Clarence* (and sonne to *Edward* the third, king of *England*, maryed the daughter and heyre of *Richard Bourke*, in whose right he became Earle of *Connaght* and Earle of *Vlster*, and about the yeare 136i, being made lord Leiutenant of *Ireland*, came ouer with an Army of some i500 by Pole,<sup>30</sup> and quieted the borders of /40/ the *English* Pale, in lowe *Lemster*. He reformed the *English Irish* growne barbarous by imbracing the Tyrannicall lawes of the *Irish*, most profitable to them, which caused them likewise to take *Irish* names, and to vse their language and apparrell. Against which abuses, he made good lawes in Parliament, and great reformation followed, aswell therein as in the power of the *English*, till the *fatall* Ciuill warrs of *England*. He was lord leiutenant seauen yeares, and sometymes left his owne deputy to gouerne *Ireland*.<sup>31</sup> About the yeare /50/ 1400 *Richard* the second king of *England*, came into *Ireland* with an Army of 4000 men at Armes, And Thirty thousand Archers fully to subdue the *Irish*, but pacified with their fayned submissions did no Act of moment.<sup>32</sup> After to reuenge the death of the Earle of *March* his leiutenant, he came ouer with an other Army, but was recalled by troubles in // fol:248.

*England* where he lost his kingdome.<sup>33</sup> By the daughter of *Leonell Duke of Clarence* the Earldomes of *Connaght* and *Vlster* fell to the *English* Family of the *Mortuomars*,<sup>34</sup> and after to *Richard Duke of Yorke* who maryed their

daughter and heyre whose Sonne *Edward* the fourth, king of *England* ioyned them to the Royall *Domaine*, in whose tyme and his Fathers the bloody ciuill warr began betweene the houses of *Yorke*, and *Lancaster* in *England*. During the Raigne of *Richard* the second, *Ireland* was gouerned by his Lords Leiufutenants sent from *England*, and in the /10/ Raignes of *Henry* the fourth and *Henry* the fifth, by Iustices for the most part chosen of the *English Irish*, only the Lord *Scrope* for Eight yeares was deputy to *Thomas* the second sonne to *Henry* the fourth, who was lord leiufetenant of *Ireland*.<sup>35</sup> And now all *England* was in Armes by the said Ciuill warr. This I write out of the *Annales* of *Ireland* printed by *Camden*, in which from the Conquest to the said Ciuill warrs, I finde no mention of *Oneales* greatnes among the *Irish* lords (for that one aboue written from *Giraldus* was before the /20/ Conquest).<sup>36</sup> And I finde small or no mention of seditions in *Vlster*, especially from the meere *Irish*, so as that Prouince till then seemes to haue bene most peaceable and subiect to the English. Neither finde I any great forces or summes of mony sent out of England, excepting the expeditions of king Iohn and king Richard the second abo<sup>u</sup> written, but rather<sup>↑</sup> that<sup>↑</sup> for the most part all seditions, aswell<sup>↑</sup> amonge<sup>↑</sup> the English *Irish* and meere *Irish*, as betweene the English *Irish* themselues, were pacified by the forces and expences of the same kingdome. But in /30/ the sayd Ciuill warrs, for the Crowne of England, most of the noble Familyes were wasted, if not destroyed, wherevpon the English *Irish*, who till that tyme had valiantly mantayned their Conquest in *Ireland*, did dayly repayre into England, partly to beare out the factions,<sup>37</sup> partly to inherite the lands of their kinsmen fallen to them.<sup>38</sup> And so the *Oneales* boldly rushed into the possessions the English had left voyde in *Vlster*, and not only the true *Oneales*, but euery bastard, warranted by his mother to call himselfe *Oneale*, if he were more /40/ bold and bloody then the rest, did from that tyme beare themselues for lords of *Vlster*. In like sorte the English *Mortuomares*, and after the Dukes of *Yorke*, neglecting their Earldom of *Connaght* in *Ireland*, the English *Irish* *Bourkes* their kinsmen, and their Tennants of those landes, imboldned by their lords obs[...]ence<sup>↑</sup> and the troubled State of England, and making frendship and mariages with the meere *Irish*, possessed that Prouince as their owne inheritance, and dayly more degenerating from the English, applyed themselues to the Cu/50/stomes, manners, language, and apparrell of the meere *Irish*.<sup>39</sup> And the like was donne in other partes of *Ireland*, aswell by the meere *Irish*, as the English *Irish*.<sup>40</sup> About the yeare 1485. *Henry* the 7th king of England, of the family of *lancaster*, marrying the daughter and heyre of King *Edward* the fourth of the family of *Yorke*, vnited these Familyes and so //



fol:249.

ended the sayd long and bloody Ciuill warr, but henceforth seditions and murders grewe daly more frequent in Ireland, vnder English lords Iustices and leiftenants, and the Authority of the English kings grewe lesse esteemed of the Irish, and the English Pale had sometymes larger sometymes straighter limittes, according to the diuers successes of the Irish affayres in diuers tymes. Yet in the foresayd Annales I only fynde some 1000 men in the tyme of king Henry the seuenth sent ouer to supresse Perkin Warbeck, an English Rebell lurking /10/ in Ireland, and some 300. men sent ouer to ↑by king↑ [.....] *Henry the Eight*, where with He easily suppressed the English, *Irish Geraldines* rebelling against him,<sup>41</sup> though *Conbaccho Oneale* were allyed to them, and ayded them all he could, and made the said *Con* ↑glad↑ [*glad*] to resigne his lands and take them againe as the kings vassall, and to renounce the Tytle[.] of *Oneale*,<sup>42</sup> then made a Capitall offence by Act of Parliament, In which Parliament also the said king in the yeare 1541, laid downe his Progenitors title lord of *Ireland*, as lesse reuerenced /20/ by that barbarous people, and had the power to make the States declare him king of Ireland.<sup>43</sup> And howsoever *Shane Oneale* in Queene *Elizabeths* tyme began to rebell, he presently submitted himselfe. So as I finde no rebellion of moment whereby much *English* blood was spilt, or Treasure exhausted till the 19th yeare of the happy Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth* being the yeare of our lord 1577. In that part of this worke which handleth the Rebellion of *Hugh Earle of Tyrone*, I haue shewed that after this tyme Religion first began in /30/ *Ireland* to be made the Cloke of ambition, and that by Popish Combinations two great Rebellions were raised.<sup>44</sup> That of *Desmond* I breifely passed ouer, as soone, and happily appeased. But that of *Tyrone* (as most dangerous of all that euer were raised) I haue handled at large, and shewed his Crafty beginnings and pretended causes, with our negligence at the first, and factions at home, which caused our cheife Commaunders to be sent thither rather to breake their backs then with any purpose to inable them to suppress the Rebellion. I haue shewed the lamen/40/table effusion of blood therein on both sydes, and the huge masse of *English* Treasure exhausted in that Rebellion, and the causes and meanes by which the Rebells grew so strong, as at first the *English* Pale was straigned to *Dundalke* (beyond which Towne there was no passing Northwards without an Army, besides that in all other parts the meere *Irish* were in open Rebellion), and after in short tyme, by Combination with most of the *English Irish*, and by the support of *Spaine*, all *Ireland* was in Combustion, the Rebells were growne proude, by /50/ many victories, the English could not stirr out of their Garrisons, but they were beaten back by the Rebells who mightily gaue Alaruns<sup>45</sup> to



the very Subvrbs of *Dublin*, when the lord *Mountioy* came ouer lord *Deputy*. And I haue at large shewed, how this woorthy lord appeased this dangerous //

*fol:250.*

Rebellion, and brought *Ireland* (from the vttermost parts to the Navell thereof,<sup>46</sup>) into greater subiection to the English then euer they had it from the first Conquest, leaving it as a cleane paire of Tables wherein our State might write what lawes best pleased the same.<sup>47</sup>

{ m.n. 6, 7. *The lord Deputy and Counsell.* }

Now breifely I will write of the *Irish common wealth* wherein it shall suffice with a finger to point at the fountaynes of past mischeifes.

It is gouerned by a lord Deputy and Counsell of State resident at *Dublin*, and the Counsellors are made by /10/ the kings letters, and continue in that place during their life, yet at the kings pleasure to recall, or remoue them, whereof notwithstanding we haue few or none examples, and at the end of the Warr, they were not many, only consisting of the lord *Chancelor* the lord high Treas<or>er, the master of the *Rolls*, the Marshall of *Ireland*, the master of the Ordinance, the Treasurer at warrs, the Bishopp of *Meath*, the *Secretary* and some fewe Cheife Colonells of the Army, but since that tyme there haue bene two Secretaries of State, and the num/20/ber hath bene much increased by the lord Cheife Baron and many other gentlemen both of the Army & otherwise. Besides that the lords Presidents of Prouinces are alwayes vnderstood to be of this Counsell when they come to *Dublin* or any place where the lord *Deputy* resides. As for the lord *Deputy* he is made by the kings letters Pattents during pleasure, and commonly hath continued some three yeares, but sometymes fewer, or many more yeares at the kings pleasure. Sometymes he hath the title of Lord Leifetenant for greater honor, as the Earle of *Essex* lately had, and /30/ sometymes for diminution is stiled Lord *Iustice*, ↑as more spetially↑ when vppon the death of the ↑lord↑ *Deputy* one or more lordes *Iustices* are Chosen to gouerne till a new lord *Deputy* be appointed. Yet of old when our kings were stiled lords of *Ireland*, this cheife Gouvernor vnder them, was comonly styled lord Iustice. But howsoeuer the titles differ, the power is all one. Sometymes of old, kings brothers, and sonnes (as *Iohn* sonne to *Henry* the second and *Leonell Duke of Clarence*<sup>48</sup> brother to *Edward* the fourth) [had] ↑haue↑ gouerned this kingdome with title of lord leiuftenant, and with power to leaue /40/ their owne *Deputy* to gouerne it, when at any tyme them selues retorned into *England*, which *Deputy* gaue them at the Court an Accompt of the *Irish* affayres, where they gaue the

like accompt thereof to the king and his Counsell of State. In our tyme *Charles Blount* lord *Mountioy* for his great deserts in subduing *Tyrones* Rebellion ↑was↑ by our Soueraigne king *Iames* created Earle of *Deuonshire*, and besides rich rewards of Inheritance in *England* was made lord leiuftenant [i]of *Ireland*,<sup>49</sup> with two parts of the lord *Deputies* intertainment, who /50/ had the other third part with his owne *Commaunds* in the Army and kingdome, and gaue like accompt of the *Irish* affayres to this noble Earle living at *Court*, only he was not the Earles, but the kings *Deputy*. And this Earle during his life, not only swayed all *Irish* suits at the Court, but all other cheife affayres in *Ireland*, his letters of direction being as *Commaunds* to the *Deputy*. But after his death //  
 { c.w. the intertainment }

*fol.25i.*

the intertainment, and full power retorned to the lord *Deputy*, the *Commaund* of lord leiuftenant ceasing from that tyme to this day, which dignity indeed seemes more fitt for the sonnes or brothers of kings then for any Subiect. It is enacted by Statute of Parliamēt in the 33th yeare of king *Henry* the Eight, that vppon the death of the lord *Deputy* or like vacancy of that gouernment the lord *Chancelor* and Counsell there may chuse one or two to supply the place of lord Iustice, till the king may be advertised of that vacancy, and appoint an other gouernment Provided /10/ that they chuse no Churchman, nor any but an *English* man. The foresaid lord leiuftenant deputy or Iustice, (be they one or more) haue ample power litle differing from Regall, yet alwayes limited according to the kings letters Pattents, which doe very rarely inlarge or restrayne the same to one more then an<sup>50</sup> other, and that power also is countermaunded many tymes by Instructions from the State, and by letters from the kings of *England*. The lord *Deputy* by his letters Pattents vnder the great Seale of *Ireland*, may graunt Pardon of life, lands and /20/ goods, to any guilty or condemned men, euen to Traitors, only [e]spetiall treasons against the kings person are commonly excepted, as likewise wilfull murthers, which the kings themselues professe not to pardon. And to these men he may likewise giue the kings Protection for a tyme, when they liue in the woodes as outlawes or Rebels. And in like sorte he may giue the landes and goods of Fellons and Trayters Convicted, to any of his servants or frends, or to whome he will ether<sup>51</sup> *English* or *Irish*. The king Commonly /30/ reserues to his owne giift some Eight cheefe places, as of the lords Presidents the lord high Treasurer, the lord Chancelor, the master of the Rowlles, the Secretary, the Cheefe Iustice, and cheefe Barron, and likewise some cheefe places of the Army, as of the Marshall, the master of the Ordinance, and the master Treasurer at warrs. For all other places, the lord Deputy graunts



them vnder the great Seale of Ireland (as the former also when he is warrented by letters out of England) and these he disposeth, not only /40/ for his owne tyme, but for the life of the posessors. The king reserues to himselfe the choyse of Bishoppes, but all other Church liuings are in the lord Deputies guift. The king reserues to himselfe the Puples<sup>52</sup> of Earles and Barrons, but the rest are in the lord Deputies guift, who likewise disposeth to his servants frendes and followers all intrusians, Allinations, Fynes, and like thinges of great moment.<sup>53</sup> And howsoeuer by inferiour Commissions some of the Counsell are ioyned to assist the Deputy in disposall of these thinges, yet /50/ that was wont to be only for forme, these Counselors very rarely apposing themselues to his pleasure. Yea the guifts, of the higher places in the State and Army, //  
fol:252.

of Bishopricks, of Earles and Barrons Pup↑i↑lls, tho reserued to the king, were wont seldome to be granted in England but vpon the lord Deputies letters of recommendation sent out of [England] ↑Ireland↑ Fynally the lord Deputy may leuie<sup>54</sup> Forces, and doe all thinges of Regall authority, saue Coyning of mony; which was allwayes Coyned at london, and sent into Ireland: True it is, that in those thinges which are putt in his meere power by his letters Pattens, he hath allwayes subiected himselfe to instructions and letters sent out /10/ of England, which notwithstanding seldome haue crossed his Free disposall of all thinges in his power, since he vsed to graunt them presently, before any can passe into England and retorne hauing obtayned them there, notwithstanding in thinges putt in his meere power, the most wise and moderate Deputyes, foreseeing the shorte tyme of their gouernment, and knowing that the Counselors of State haue their places for life, & obseruing that most Deputyes returned into England laden with Complayntes, aswell of Counselors as many priuate /20/ men, so as after good seruice they haue beene glad to receave the Padon of their errors for their deserued rewarde,<sup>55</sup> for these causes haue beene so warye, as in many thinges of their absolute power they vsed to referr the Consideration of them to one or two of the Counsell, by that art drawing their Consent, and yet still hauing their owne intentians, seldome or neuer apposed by those Counselors, who founde those referments gracefull and profitable to them, and so willingly seconded the lords Deputyes pleasure. /30/

In my opinion nothinge is so contrary to the affections of the Irish to which the kings personall presence might not easily leade or drawe them, more then his sworde in his Deputyes hand can force them,<sup>56</sup> but the dangerous passages of the Sea and the generall affayres of State giuing



↑the↑ Irish small hope of their kings frequent presence, no doubt in his absence they more reverence a lord Deputy that is by degree a Duke Earle or Barron, then any knight though he be of any like great Family, and such a Deputy shall by the Authority /40/ of his degree, more easily suppress their rebellious spirittes against the State, and tyranny towards their tenants, then any Deputy of inferiour degree can doe, by greater valour and wisdom.<sup>57</sup> And since the Irish are most prone to tumults and Commotions, their nature in generall rather requires a valiant, Active Deputy, then one that is wise and politicke if withall he be slowe and faynt harted.

But it may well be doubted whether the shorte government Commonly allotted to the Deputies be profitable /50/ to our State or no: For Magistrates often changed like hungry flies sucke more blood, and as the Deuill rageth more because his tyme is shorte, so these Magistrates fearing soone to be recalled, are not so much bent to reforme the Commonwealth, the fruite whereof should be reaped by the successor,<sup>58</sup> as they are vigilant //

*fol:253.*

to enrich themselves and their Followers. Nether indeede can that Crafty and subtile a nation be well knowne to any governnor by fewe yeares experience, so as the [Ish]Irish, hoping the Magistrate shalbe recalled before he be skillfull of their affaires, and that another far more vnskillfull shalbe sent ouer in his place, vse nothinge more then delatorie temporising in their obedience to the kings Commaundes or lawes, hoping that newe magistrates will giue newe lawes, and so if they can putt offe any buisnesse for the present if it be but for a day, thincking with Crafty Dauus /10/ that in the meane tyme some chance may happen to their advantage, dayly gapeing for such changes and inquiring after nothinge more.<sup>59</sup> Yea many tymes they are not deceaved in this hope, but flocking to the newe Deputy at his first arriuall, with their causes formerly determined though not to their mynde and likeing, they many tymes extorte from these Deputies wanting experience newe determinations disagreeable and perhapps contrary to the former, with great hurt to the Commonwealth, and disgrace to the government. It may be objected that it may proue dangerous to giue a great /20/ man the absolute Commaunde of a kingdome for many yeares. No doubt, as barbarous nations, not knowing God whome they see not, worship his Creatures by which immediately he conferrs ill or good vpon them, so the Irish in the first place obey their landlords; as nearest benefactors or oppressors, and in the next place the lord Deputy, whose person they see and whose power they feelee, yet so, as keeping Fayth promised to the present Deputy, they thincke themselves

Free from keeping the same to his successour,<sup>60</sup> and for the king, he as vnknowne and farthest from revenge, hath euer beene /30/ lesse feared by them. But the State may allwayes be confident of a lord Deputy, whose faythfullnes and endes free from ambition, are well knowne to them. And lett him be neuer so fitt to imbrace newe and dangerous Counsell, yet if he haue agood estate of landes in England there is no danger of his attempts<sup>61</sup> For a wise man would not change that Certayne estate for any hopes of Ireland, which will allwayes be most vncertayne, as well because the kingdome cann[t]ot subsist without the support of some powerfull king, as because the myndes of the Irish are instable, and /40/ as the Common people euery where, so they in a Farr greater measure haue most <(>inconstant[ly] affections. Besydes that such ambitious designes cannot by any man be resolued in Counsell, much lesse putt in execution, before the State of England may haue meanes to knowe and prevent them.<sup>62</sup> Their obiection is of greater force who thincke it fitt these governments be often changed that many of the English may knowe the affayres of that kingdome, which otherwise wilbe knowne to fewe. But what if th[e]ree years will not suffice to vnderstand howe to governe that /50/ crafty nation, suerly at least after these yeares of Contemplation, methinckes some tyme should be giuen to the gouernor to bring[s] his Counsell and experience into actuall reformation. For as heretofore they haue beene often changed, so the Deputies haue labored more to compose tumults and disorders for the tyme, then to take away the causes, and to make the peace permanent, lest their successor should enter vpon their ha<r>uest imputing the troubles to them, and arrogating the appeasing th<ere>of to  
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<f>ol:254.

himselfe. wherevpon sharpe emulation or rather bitter malice hath Commonly beene betweene the Deputyes nearest foregoing and succeeding.<sup>63</sup> So as the newe Deputy affecting priuate fame rather then publike good, hath seldome or neuer troden the steps of his predicesor, but rather insisted vpon his owne maximes of government, espetially caring that his actions be not obscured by those of his predicesor, And this Babilonian confusion of distracted & contrary motians in the Cheefe governors hath made the Irish, like wilde Coltes hauing vnskillfull Riders, to learne /10/ all their Iadish trickes,<sup>64</sup> whereas if the gouernment were continued till the magistrate might knowe the nature of the people, with the secreets<sup>65</sup> of that State, and apply the remedies proper therevnto: If after their government, (according to the Custome of the State of Venice) each Deputy should giue in writing to the State in England a full relation



of his gouernment and the State of that kingdome, so as his successour might weaue the same webbe he had begunn, and not make a newe frame of his owne: If in regard the kings presence /20/ in Ireland may rather be wished then hoped, some spetiall Commssioners, sworne to Faithfull relation, were chosen in England once in two or three yeares, and sent ouer to visitt the affayres of that kingdome, and to make like relation thereof at theire returne, No doubt that [the] kingdome might in shorte tyme be reformed, and the kings Reuennues might be so increased, as Ireland might not only mantayne it selfe in peace, but restore parte of the Treasure it hath formerly exhausted in England, and lay vp meanes to supply /30/ future necessities of that State,<sup>66</sup> Since the sayde Deputies and commissionors would euery one be ashamed not to add somethinge to the Publike good of theire owne, and much more to doe that was allready done, or rather to destroy it, by theire imployment. And the Irish would thereby be putt from theire shifting hopes gapeing for newe vnskillfull and diuersely affected Magistrates, which haue allwayes annimated them to delatorye obedience and Rebellious Courses.

By the Complaynt of former ages rather then experience /40/ in our tyme, I haue obserued, that the Lord Deputyes athority<sup>67</sup> in Ireland hath beene much weakened, by the graunting of suites and rewardes in England to many of the Irish, without hauing any recommendations from theire Deputy, and much more because the Iudiciall causes of the Irish haue beene determined in England without the lord Deputyes priuity,<sup>68</sup> or hauing beene formerly determined in Ireland, were sent backe to be agayne examined and determined, according to letters of fauour obtayned by the Plantiues in England, which /50/ made the subiect prowde, and to triu[m]pe<sup>69</sup> vpon the ouerruled Magistrate, who no doubt is ether vnfit to governe a kingdome, or ought best to knowe [.and] ↑who deserue punishment, who rewarde, and ↑the most fitt wayes to determine iudiciall causes. wherein I dare boldly say the contrary proceedinges of our tyme, giuing that magistrate his due honor, hath much aduansed the publike good.<sup>70</sup>

Some doe not approue the residence of the lord Deputy //  
fol.255.

at *Dublin*, and would haue it rather at *Athlone* vppon the edge of *Connaght* and *Vlster*, where he should haue those seditious Prouinces before him, and might easily fall with his forces into *Mounster*, and so should be nearer hand to preuent Tumults with his presence and compose them with his power, and likewise should haue at his backe the Pale (contayning five



shires, and so called: because they euer were most quiett and subiect to the English) and so might stopp all Rebells from disturbing the Pale which would not only yeild supplyes of necessities to his Trayne and Soldiers, but also giue safe passage for /10/ transporting munition and victualls to *Athlone* from the Stoare houses at *Dublin*.<sup>71</sup> And this Counsell was so much vrged to Queene *Elizabeth* as these reasons together with the saving of the Charge to mantayne a Gouvernor in *Connaght* with Counsellors to assist him, and the like charge then intended for *Vlster* moued her to reffer the determination thereof to the *lord Mountioy* then *Deputy* and the Counsell of State, who altered nothing because that course would haue ruined or decayed the Cittie of *Dublin*, and espetially because the Rebellion was soone after appeased, and our /20/ State hath commonly vsed, like Marriners to be secure in faire weather, and neuer fly to the tacklings<sup>72</sup> till a storme come.

{ m.n. 24, 25. The meere Irish. }

Touching the meere *Irish* before I speake of them, giue me leaue to remember fowre verses expressing fowre mischeifes afflicting them, as fruites of their idlenes, slouenlynnes, and superstition.

*Quatuor hybernos vexant animalia, turpes  
Corpora vermiculi, sorices per tecta rapaces,  
Carniuori vastantque lupi crudeliter agros, /30/  
Haec tria nequitia superas Romane sacerdos.*

For foure vile beasts *Ireland* hath no fence,  
their bodyes lice, their houses Ratts possesse.  
Most wicked Preists gouerne their conscience,  
and rauening woolues do wast their feilds no lesse.

That may well be said of the *Irish* which *Cesar* in his Commentaries writes of the old *Germans*; like beasts they doe all things by force and Armes, after a slauish manner.<sup>73</sup> The Magistrate doth nothing publicly or priuately without Armes. They reuenge iniuries seldome by lawe, but /40/ rather by the sword and rapine, neither are they ashamed of stealth or taking prayes or spoyles. Formerly I haue shewed that the Englishmen who subdued *Ireland*, and long mantayned the Conquest thereof, did flock into *England* vppon the Ciuill warrs betweene the houses of *Yorke*, and *Lancaster* aswell to beare vpp the factions as to inheritt their kinsmens lands in England and so left wast their possessions in Ireland. At that tyme the meere Irish rushed into those vacan<sup>74</sup> possessions, and the better to keepe them, from that tyme were ever proune<sup>75</sup> to /50/ rebelions, that the course of lawe might cease while //

*fol. 256.*

they were in Armes, and from that tyme resumed olde barbarous lawes and Customes which had beene long abolished, and by w<sup>th</sup> drawing themselues from obedience to our lawes, became powerfull tyrants in all Countryes. From that tyme they did euer putt forth and secreetely mantayne vpon all fitt occations some outlawes to disturbe peace (like our Roben Hud and litle Iohn in the tymes of Richard the First and Iohn kings of England) growing to that Impudency, as these out lawes [of England] are not by them termed Rebles, but men in Action, /10/ liuing in the woodes and Boggy places. Among them (and many of the English Irish by their example) those that became lords of Countryes were euer as many heades so many monstrous tyrants. These haue not their landes deuided in many Countryes, [and] <sup>as</sup> <sup>our</sup> noblemen in England (whereby they are lesse powerfull to disturbe peace) but possesse whole Countryes together, whereof notwithstanding great partes lye wast, only for want of Tennants. And because they haue an ill Custome, that Tennants are reputed proper to those /20/ lands on which they dwell, w<sup>th</sup>out liberty to remoue their dwelling vnder an other landlord,<sup>76</sup> they still desyre more land, rather to haue the Tennants then the land, whereas if they could furnish their old landes with Tennants (as perhapps they haue in some sorte donne since the last Rebellion, of which and former tymes I wryte) they would much exceede our greatest lords in yearly Reuenues.

It is a great Mischeefe, that among them, all of one name or Sept<sup>77</sup> and kindred, dwell not (as in *England*) dispersed /30/ in many shyres, but all liue together in one village, lordshipp, and County ready and apt to conspire together in any mischeife. And by an olde lawe, which they call of *themistry*, vulgarly called *Tanistry*<sup>78</sup> by many of our lawes abolished, yet still in force among them selues, euery *Sept* chuseth their cheife head or Captaine, not the eldest sonne of the eldest Family but the oldest or rather most daring man, (whereby they alwayes vnderstand the most licentious sword man) as most fitt to defend them.<sup>79</sup> And this Cheefe they not only chuse among themselues, but of Corrupt Custome impu/40/dently challenged to be confirmed by the lord *Deputyes* producing many like graunts of that dignity made of old by the lord *Deputyes* vnder their hands and seales, then which nothing can be more fitt to mantayne Factions & tumults and to hinder the Course of the kings lawes. By the same lawe often abolished by vs but still retayned[.] in vse among them, they will needs haue the choise of him that shall inheritt the land of the last Cheefe of any *Sept*, or name, not respecting therein the eldest sonne, according to our lawes but him that most pleaseth their turbulent humors, /50/ whence flowes a plentiful spring of murders Parricides and Conspiracyes against



the kings and their lawes. For first hereby they professed to liue after their owne lawes, and openly denyed obedience to the kings lawes, and againe, to giue an instance of one mischeife, passing ouer many other of no lesse moment, when any of these Cheefes or lords //

{ c.w. of Countries }

*fol:257*

of Countryes vppon submission to the States hath surrendred his lands to the king, and taken a new graunt of them by the kings letters Pattents with Conditions fitt for publique good, they boldly say that he held his lands by the tenure of *Thanistrye* only for his life, and so will not be tyed to any of his Acts. And it is no matter what they professe, why should we heare their words, when wee see their deeds. I doe not thinck but know that they will neuer be reformed in Religion, manners, and constant obedience, to our lawes, but by the awe of the sword, and by a strong /10/ hand at least for a tyme bridling them.

By these and like corrupt Customes, neglecting our lawes, they become Disturbers of the peace, and after a barbarous manner, for terror or in pride, add to their names *O* (noting<sup>80</sup> the cheife or head) and *Mac* (noting the sonne of such a one), and thus they are called *Oneales*, *O Donnell*s, *mac Mahownes*<sup>81</sup> with a rable of like names, some rather seeming the names of *De[a]uowring Giants* then *Christian* Subiects, yea some of old English Families degenerating into this *Barbarisme*, haue changed their names after the *Irish* /20/ tongue, as the *Vrslyes* are called *Mahownes* taking the notation from the name of a *Beare*,<sup>82</sup> yea some of the most licentious take to themselues *Nicknames* suitable to their wicked dispositions, as one of the *O Donnell*s was called *Garue*<sup>83</sup> that is a *Cholerick* strong (or lusty) Gallant, (and such [as] he was indeede.<sup>84</sup> And some as if they were knights of *Amadis* of *Gaule*, and had the valor of those errant knights, were called the knight of the valley, the *white* knight, and the like.<sup>85</sup> And withall they despise our titles of Earles and lords, which so weakens the great mens estimation among /30/ them, as they must cast them away, and assume their old barbarous names whensoeuer they will haue the power to lead the people, to any rebellious action. For in those barbarous names, and nick names, the *Irish* are proude to haue the rebellious acts of their forefathers sung by their *Bards* or *Poetts*, at their Feasts and publique meetings. Againe they haue a corrupt Custome to increase their power by fostering their Children, with the most valiant, rich and powerfull neighbors, since that people beares such straunge reuerence to this bond and pledge of loue, /40/ as they commonly loue their Foster Children more then their owne. The events of which Custome forced our Progenitors to make seuer lawes



against the same, which notwithstanding, howsoever restrained for the tyme, grew againe to be of force among them in our age.

They haue likewise a ridiculous Custome, that maryed women giue Fathers to their Children when they are at the point of death. Insomuch as they haue a pleasant tale, that a yonger sonne hearing his mother giue base Fathers to some of his [Children] bretheren, besought her with teares to giue /50/ him a good father. But commonly they giue them fathers of the *Oneales*, *O Donnells* or such great men, or at lest<sup>86</sup> those // fol:258.

that are most famous for licentious boldnes. And these bastard Children euer after follow these fathers, and thincking themselues to descend of them, wilbe called swordmen, and scorning husbandrye, and manuall Arts liue only of rapine and spoyle.

These foresaid meere *Irish* Lords of Countreyes gouerne the people vnder them with such tyranny, as they know no king in respect of them, who challenge all their goods and Cattell to be theirs saying, that their Progenitors did not only giue them lands to till, but also [lawes] ↑Cowe↑ and other goods to possesse /10/ at the lords will and disposall. Neither take they any rent of them for their lands, but at pleasure impose mony vpon them, vpon all occasions of spending, as Iourneyes to *Dublin*, or into *England*, paying their debts, intertayning of the lord *Deputy*, or Iudges, and like occasions, sometymes true, sometymes fayned, taking a great or small portion of their goods, according to the quality of the Cause, and these exactions they doe well call Cuttings, wherewith they doe not only cutt [downe], but deuoure the people. And it litle auayleth these poore Tenants, though some of them can proue by /20/ Indentures that they are Freeholders, and not Tenants at will, for of old to the end of the last warr (of which tyme I write and desyre to be vnderstood) the lords by tyrannicall Custome still ouerswayed the peoples right in these Courses. And this Custome was the fountayne of many evils, more specially of one mischeife, that if the Tenant by any Cryme forfeited [the] ↑his↑ goods, the lord denyed him to haue any prop↑ri↑erty<sup>87</sup> therein and yet if the same goods were seized by the Sheriffe for any Fynes for the king, or debts of the lord, to priuate men, the tenants forthwith exclaymed of iniustice to punish them for /30/ the lords offences With this (as it were) *Dilemma* still deluding the execution of Iustice. Yea these lords challenged right of Inheritance in their Tenants persons, as if by old Couenants they were borne slaues to till their ground, and doe them all like seruices, and howsoever they were oppressed might not leaue their land to dwell vnder

any other landlord. And these suites betweene the lords for right in Tenants, were then most frequent. Thus I remember the sonne of *Henry Oge* to be killed in the Country of *Mac Mahowne*<sup>88</sup> while he went thither to bring back by force a fugitiue Tenant (as they terme them). like /40/ suits for Tenants were frequent at this tyme betweene the new created Earle of *Tirconnell*, and *Sir Neale Garue*, and at first the magistrate commaunded the Earle to restore to *Sir Neale* his old Tenants, but when peace was more settled, the *Itinerant* Iudges going into *Vlster*, added a generall Caution in this Case, that the Tenants should not be forced to retorne, except they were willing, professing at publique meetings with great applause of the people, that it was most vniust the kings Subiects borne in a free Common wealth should be vsed like slaues. Againe these lordes challenging all their Tenants /50/ goods thinck scorne to haue any Cowes or Herdes of Cattell of their owne, tho sometymes they permitt their wiues to haue some like propriety. They distribute their lands among their //

*fol.259.*

Tenants to be tilled only for one, two, or three yeares,, and so the people build no houses but like *Nomades* living in Cabins, remoue from one place to an other with their Cowes, but comonly retyre them within thick woods not to be entred without a guide delighting in this Rogish life, as more free from the hand of Iustice, and more fitt to committ rapines. Thus the Country people living vnder the lordes absolute power as slaues, and howsoever they haue plenty of Corne, milke, and Cattell, yet having no propriety in any thing, obey their lordes in right and wrong, and being all of the *Roman church*, and being taught that<sup>89</sup> is no sinn to breake faith with vs, and so /10/ litle regarding an oath taken before our Magistrates, the king was often defrauded of his right by the falsehood of *Iuries*, in his Inheritance, Wardes Attaindors, Escheates intrusions, Alienations, and all Pleas of the Crowne.<sup>90</sup> At the end of the warr among infinite examples, this was well seene in the Case of *Meade* the Recorder of *Corke*, who having committed open treason, was quitted by an *Irish Iurye*, himselfe craftily hastning his tryall for feare he should be tryed in *England*.<sup>91</sup> The Court of the *Starr chamber*, shortly after established, seuerely punished *Iuries* for abuses of this last kinde, but /20/ with what effect, is besydes my purpose to write. These *Irish* lordes in the last warr, had a cunning trick, that howsoever the father possessing the land, bore himselfe outwardly as a Subiect, yet his sonnes having no lands in possession, should liue with the Rebels, and keepe him in good tearmes with them, and his goods from present spoyling. The lordes of *Ireland*, at this tyme whereof I write, nourished theeuers, as we doe Hawkes,<sup>92</sup> openly boasting among themselues, who had the best theeuers. Neighbors intertayning these men



into their Families, /30/ for mutuall preiudices, was a secrett fewell of the Ciuill warr, they being prone to rebellion, and in peace not forbearing to steale at home, and to spoyle all passengers neere their abode.

The wilde or meere *Irish* haue a generation of Poets, or rather Rymers vulgarly called *Bardes*, who in their songs vsed to extoll the most bloudy licentious men, and no others, and to allure the hearers, not to the loue of religion and Ciuill manners, but to outrages Robberies living as outlawes, and Contempt of the Magistrates and the /40/ kings lawes. Alas how vnlike vnto *Orpheus*, who with his sweete harpe and [holy] ↑wholeso<mest>↑ precepts of Poetry laboured to reduce the rude and barbarous people from liuing in woods, to dwell Ciuilly in Townes and Cittyes, and from wilde ryott to morall Conuersation.<sup>93</sup> All goodmen wished these knaues to be strictly curbed, and seuerely punished. For the meere *Irish*, howsoeuer they vnderstood not what was truely honorable, yet out of barbarous ignorance are so affected to vayne glory, as they nothing so much feared the lord *Deputyes* anger, as the least song or Balladd these /50/ Rascalls might make against them, the singing whereof to //

*fol:260.*

their reproch, would more haue daunted them, then if a Iudge had doomed them to the Gallowes.<sup>94</sup>

They had also an other [manner] ↑Rabble↑ of Ieasters which vsed to frequent the Tables of lordes and Gentlemen continuall tellers of newes which comonly they reduced to the preiudice of the publike good.

Againe the *Irish* in generall more specially the meere *Irish*, being sloathfull and giuen to nothing more then base Idlenes, they nourished a third generation of vipers vulgarly called Carowayes,<sup>95</sup> professing (forsooth) the noble /10/ science of playing at Cards and dice, which so infected the publique meetings of the people, and the priuate houses of the lordes, as no adventure was too hard in shifting for meanes to mantayne these sports. And indeed the wilde *Irish* doe madly affect them, so as they will not ↑oly↑ play and leese their mony and mouable goods, but also [..t.gate] ↑ingage↑ their lands, yea their owne persons to be ledd as Prisoners by the winner, till he be paid the mony, for which they are ingaged. It is a shame to speake, but I heard by credible relation, that some were found so impudent, as they had /20/ suffered themselues so to be ledd as Captiues tyed by the parts of their body which I will not name, till they had mony to redeeme themselues.<sup>96</sup> Could a Prouost Marshall be better employed then in hanging vpp such Raskalls and like vagabond persons. For howsoeuer none



could better doe it then the Sheriffes; yet because the Irish frequently and in part iustly complayned of their extortions (as I shall after shewe), I [doe] ↑dare↑ not say that marshall lawe might well be committed to them.

The *Irish* thus giuen to Idlenes, naturally abhorr from /30/ manuall Artes, and Ciuill trades to gaine their owne bread, and the basest of them wilbe reputed gentlemen and sword men, for so they are termed who professe to liue by their swordes, and haue bene alwayes apt to raise Ciuill warrs, and euer most hardly drawne to lay downe Armes, by which they had liberty to liue in riott. Many examples might be giuen in the highest kinde of mischeife produced by this idlenes, but that the vice is most naturall to the *Irish*; I will only giue one example which myselfe obserued of Fishermen in the Cittyes of *Mounster*, who /40/ being no swordmen, yet were generally so sloathfull, as in the Calmest weather, and the greatest Concourse of noble men, when they had no feare of daunger, and great hope of gayne; though the Seas abound with excellent fish and the Prouince with frequent Ports, and bayes most fitt for fishing; yet so long as they had bread to eate, would not putt to sea, no not commaunded by the lord *Deputy*, till they were beaten by force out of their houses. And in my opinion this idlenes hath bene nourished by nothing more (as I haue formerly shewed vppon other occasions) then by the plenty /50/ of the land, and great housekeeping, drawing the people from trades, while they can be fedd by others without labour. This experience hath shewed of old, aswell in *England*, where the greatest Robberies were comonly done, by idle seruing men swarming in great houses, as in the more northern parts, and in //

*fol:26i.*

*Ireland*, where the multitude of loose Followers hath of old bene prone to fight their lords quarrells, yea to rebell with them.<sup>97</sup> Whereas no doubt the exercise of trades, and the Custome of industrie to liue euery man of his owne, are a strong establishment of any Comon wealth. The mere *Irish* giuen to sloath are also most luxurious.<sup>98</sup> And not to speake of the abundance of all meates, they are excessiue giuen to drunckennes. For howsoever, whyle they liued in woodes and in Cabbines with their Catle, they could be content with water and milke, yet when they came to Townes nothing /10/ was more frequent then to tie their Cowes at the doores, and neuer parte from the taverns till they had druncke them out in Sacke and strong water, which they call vsquebagh,<sup>99</sup> and this did not only the lords, but the Common people, tho halfe naked for want of Cloath↑es↑ to couer them. No man may iustly maruell, if among such people dissolute hacksters apt to rayse seditons and liue like outlawes, be

frequently founde.<sup>100</sup> Therefore at the end of the last warr, it was wished and expected, that this luxury should be suppressed at least from generall excesse, that all vagabond persons should be seuerely punished, that /20/ the people should be allured and drawne to loue manuall arts and trades, more spetially husbandry of tillage. For whereas all, yea the most [parte] strong and able bodyes, and men giuen to spoyles and Robberyes in all tymes gladly imployed themselues in feeding of Cowes, that Course of life was imbraced by them as suitable to ↑theire↑ innated slothe, and as most fitt to elude or protract all execution of Iustice against them, while they commonly liued in thick woods abounding with grasse. But no doubt it were much better if *Ireland* should be reduced to lesse grasing and more tillage by the /30/ distribution of lands among Tenants in such sort, as euer after it, should (as in *England*) be vnlawfull to chaunge any tillage into Pasture.

{ m.n. 34 - 36. *The English Irish*. }

Touching the *English Irish* namely such as discend of the first *English* conquering that Country, or since in diuerse ages, and tymes to this day transplanted out of *England*, into *Ireland*. It is wonderfull yet most true, that for some later ages they haue beene (some in high some in lesse measure,) infected with the barbarous Customes of the meere *Irish* and with the *Roman* Religion so as they gre↑w↑[.Je not only /40/ as aduerse to the Reformation of Ciuill pollicye and religion, as the meere *Irish* but euen combyned with them, and shewed such malice to the *English* nation, as if they were ashamed to haue any Community with it, of Country, bloud, religion, language apparrell, or any such generall bond of amity. And for this alienation, they did not shame in the last Ciuill warr to alledge reasons, to iustify their so doing, namely that they whose Progenitors had conquered that kingdome, and were at first thought most woorthy to gouerne the same vnder our kings, were /50/ by a new lawe excluded from being Deputyes, and had other wise small or no power in the State. Againe that after they were broken, and worne out in the Ciuill warr of *England*, betweene the houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, they were not strenghtned with newe Colonyes out of *England*, and so being weaker then the meere *Irish*, were forced to apply themselues to the stronger, by contracting affinity //

fol:262.

with them, and vsing their language and apparrell. These and like reasons they pretended, which I will first answer and then shewe the true causes thereof. It cannot be denyed but the *English Irish* After the first Conquest



were by our kings made cheefe Gouvernors of that kingdome, yea and many ages after were sometymes lord Deputyes, and were alwayes Capable of that place, till the tyme of king *Henry* the Eight, but neuer without detriment of the *Common* wealth and danger from them that possessed it. To the first *English Irish* borne of noble Familyes in *England*, our kings gaue /10/ large patrimonyes and great priuiledges making them sometymes Gouvernors of the State but in processe of tyme, some of them forgetting their Country, bloud and all pledges of loue towards the *English*, not only became Rebels but by degrees grewe like the meere *Irish* in all things euen in hating the *English*, and becoming cheefe leaders to all seditions growing at last to such pride in the last Ciuill warr, as if they had not rewards when they deserued punishments; or could not obtayne pentions to serue the State, they were more ready to rebell, then /20/ the meere *Irish* themselues. Among these some in hatred to the *English* changed their *English* names into *Irish*, yet retayning the old notation, as the *Vrselyes* called them selues *Mac Mahownes*, some in *Vlster* of the Family of *Veres*, called themselues *Macrones*, others of the Family of great *Mortimer*, called themselues *Macmarrs*.<sup>101</sup> These and some others, as *Breningham* discended of old *English Barons*, and the lord *Curc[e]y* whose Progenitors of the *English* Nobility were among the Cheife, and first Conquerors of the kingdome, grewe so degenerate, as in the last rebellion, they could /30/ not be distinguished from the meere *Irish*.<sup>102</sup> The rest retayning their old names, and in good measure the *English* manners, as *Tyrrell*, *Lacey*, and many of the *Bourkes*, and *Geraldines*, and some of the *Nugents*, yet became cheefe leaders in the late rebellion. These men no man will iudge capable of the cheife gouernments in that kingdome. But lett them passe, and lett vs consider, if the *English Irish* that in the Rebellion remayned Subiects, and will not be stayned with the name of Rebels, haue any iust cause to complayne that they are excluded from the gouernment, because the lawe forbidds them /40/ to be Deputyes. They are in *England* free *Denizens*, having equall right with the *English* to inheritt lands, and beare offices, and obtayne any dignity whereof their meritt, or the kings fauour may make them Capable. Lett them remember that the Earle of *Stranghowe* being the leader of the *English*, that first conquered *Ireland*, when the king would haue committed to him the gouernment thereof, did modestly refuse the same, except the king would ioyne some assistants with him, not ignorant what daunger that magistracye would bring to him more then to any other. Lett them re/50/member, that among other noble Familyes of the *Englishe* Conquerors, first *Lacey*, then *Curc[e]y*, had the cheife gouernment of that kingdome, but the first was recalled into *England* to giue accompt of his gouernment, not without danger, of leeing his head,



the other was long cast into prison. lett them remember that the lord *Deputyes* place did weaken and almost destroy the Family of the *Geraldines*, after which tyme king *Henry* the Eight by Act of Parliament first excluded the //

*fol:263.*

*English Irish* from being cheife *Gouernors* of that kingdome, as *Common* experience made all men finde, that gouernment not only dangerous to themselues aduanced to it, but also more displeasing to the people, who least like the *Commaund* of their owne Country men [being Counsellors at State] and were most ready to loade them with Complaynts in *England*, as also their owne Countrymen being Counsellors of State, whose oppressions they most felt, and greiued at. yet many *English Irish* continued Counsellors of <St>ate all the tyme of [the] *Queene Elizabeth* and the last Rebellion /10/ whereof I write. For my part if the *English Irish* had *English* affections, I would thinck no difference should be made betweene them and the *English*. But in the last Rebellion nothing was more euident then that our secrett Counsellors were continually made knowne to *Tyrone* and other[s] Rebels, and lett men iudge vnpartially, who could more iustly be suspected of this falshood, then the Counsellors of State, borne in that kingdome.<sup>103</sup> Many Counsellors were propounded for <re>forming the State, for banishing *Iesuites* and other troublers of the State, /20/ and lett themselues vnpartially speake, who did more frustrate those designes, then the Counsellors of that tyme borne in that kingdome. Were not the cheife *Iustice* and the Cheife *Baron* of that tyme both borne and bredd in *Ireland*. lett them say truely for what good seruice of theirs, *Queene Elizabeth* appointed ouerseers to looke into their actions and make them knowne to her deputy. No doubt that wise *Queene* either thought the Counsellors of Sir *Robert Dillon* knight, and the cheife *Iustice* of *Ireland* contrary to the publike good, or vpon better aduise, she /30/ would neuer haue remoued him from that place, which her gracious fauour had first conferred vpon him.<sup>104</sup> What neede we vse circumstances, the generall opinion of that tyme was, that the *English Irish* made Counsellors of State, and Iudges of Courts did euidently hurt the publike good, and that their false harted helpe, did more hinder reformation, then the open Acts of the Rebels. Generally before this tyme they were Papists, and if some of them, vpon hypocriticall dispensation went to Church *Commonly* their Parents, children kinsmen and seruants, /40/ were open and obstinate Papists in profession. Tell me any one of them who did according to the duty of their place, publicly commend or *Commaund* to the people the vse of the *Common* prayer booke, or the frequenting of our Churches. Why doe they glory of their gouerning the *Common*

wealth, if they cannot shewe one good act of Reformation perswaded, and perfected by them.

In the Raigne of king *Edward* the third, when the king found the Pope obstinate for vsurping the hereditary right of him and his Subiects, in bestowing Church livings /50/ vnder their Patronage, and valiantly opposed himselfe to this and other oppressions of the Pope, obseruing that his Counsellors were no way more crossed, then by *Italians* and *french* men whome the Pope, had Cunningly preferred to //

*fol:264.*

Bishoppricks and Benefices, yea to be of the kings Councell of State, whereby they had meanes to betray the secretts of the State, he wisely made an Act of Parliament in the 25 yeare of his Raigne, whereby he prouided remedy against these vnfaithfull Counsellors and Churchmen.<sup>105</sup> That which king *Edward* might doe in this Case, may not his Successors doe the same in *Ireland* vppon like danger, sequestering any suspected persons from places in Counsell and Iudgment. When magistrates themselues vse only Conniuencye<sup>106</sup> in punishing disobedience to the /10/ lawes, and Sects in Religion, doth not their example confirme the people in disobedience to their king. But you shall know the lyon by his Pawe (as the Prouerb saith)<sup>107</sup> lett vs further see, how the *English Irish* in those tymes caryed themselues in military Commaunds committed to them. Queene *Elizabeth* finding that the lord *Deputies* from the first beginning of the last Rebellion, had made a great error, in leuying Companies of the *English Irish*, to suppress the meere *Irish*, so having trayned them vpp, as the very horseboyes of them following our Armye /20/ were proued good shott, was at last forced to intertaine of them many Companies of Foote, and Troopes of horse in her pay, lest they should fall to the Rebells party. Of these some woorthy Commaunders did good seruice, and all in generall, so long as they were employed in our Army, serued brauely, so as the lord *Deputy* was often bold to take the feilde when halfe his forces consisted of them. But when they were left in Garrison, especially in their owne Countreyes, it was obserued that generally they did no seruice, but lying still, wasted the Queenes Treasure, /30/ and lest they should leese their pay, which they esteemed a Reuenewe, or religion should be reformed, in tyme of peace, (which they most feared), they did make our Counsellors knowne to the Rebells, did vnderhand releiue them, and vsed all meanes to nourish and strengthen the Rebellion. It is straunge but most true, that aswell to merritt the Rebells fauour, as to haue the goods of their Countrey safe from spoyling, the very Subiects gaue large Contributions to the Rebells, insomuch as one Country (whereby an Estimate of the rest may be made,)



did pay the Rebells /40/ three hundreth pounds yearely, vsing this art to auoide the danger of the lawe, that when they made a cutting vppon Cowes for this purpose, they pretended ↑to make↑ this exaction for the lordes vse, vnder hand sending the Rebells word thereof that they might by force surprise those Cowes which indeede were leuyed for them. And besides all or most of them had Children, brothers or kinsmen ioyned with the Rebells, as hostages of their loue, and pledges of reconcilment vppon all events. Againe I said formerly that the *Septs* or men of one name and blood, liued together in one /50/ Towne and Country, each *Sept* having a Captaine or cheife of that name. Now this point is a great mistery, that they could giue no more certaine pledge of faith to vs, then to drawe blood of any of these *Septs*. But the lord //

{ c.w. *deputye* }

*fol.*265.

*Deputy* making it a cheife proiect to make them drawe blood in this kinde vppon their neighbors, founde it a most hard thing to effect with any of the *English Irish*, yea with those that were in the Queenes pay; yet the *English Irish* being in the *States* pay, lest they should be held altogether vnprofitable, and to purchase reward of seruice, would sometymes kill a poore Rebelle, or bring him aliuie to the State, whose reuenge they feared not, yea perhapps a Rebelle of note, to whome the cheife neighbor Rebells bore malice, and so cast him into their hands. And this done they vsed to triumphe as though /10/ they had done a master [shipp] ↑peece↑ of seruice, and could hardly haue the patience to expect a Shipp to carry them into *England* that in Court they might importune extraordinary reward besides their ordinary pay. To be breife, the Queenes letters shall beare me witnesse that the English Irish placed in Garrisons at their owne home lyved idlie without doinge any seruice exhausted the publique Treasure and by all meanes nourished the Rebellionn especiaillie by plottes laid at priuate parlyes and at publique meetings vppon hills (Called Rathes) where many treacherous Conspiraces weare made.<sup>108</sup> Would /20/ any equall man blame a Prince for puttinge such Souldgers out of pay for prohibitinge such perleys,<sup>109</sup> and for Carefall wacchinge over such meetings? Great priuiledges weare worthely graunted at first to the great Lordes of English race for their [great] Conquest, and ↑great↑ power over the people, was wisely given them at first both for Reward and for power to keepe the meere Irish in Subieccion: But if theise Lordes vse their priuiledges and power to Contrary endes, spoilinge the [Countrey] ↑subiectes↑ and wasting the Countrey by their sword menn, when the Cause Ceased, shall not the effect cease ? /30/ when their vertue is Cha[.]↑n↑ged and their endes Corrupted, may not a wise Prince abridge their priuiledges

and power? The same is the reason of the law forbidding any ↑ of the ↑ English Irish to be Lord Deputy: The famous Queene *Elizabeth* findinge the ill Event of theise ill Causes became Iealous of the English Irish Counsellors of State and Iudges and vsed the aforesaid Remedyes against a Cheeffe Iustice & a Cheffe Barronn of that tyme.<sup>110</sup> Formerly I acknowledge that the English Irish serued brauely in our Army, while they weare vnder the Lord Deputyes eie, and some worthie Commaunders /40/ [serued faithfully] of them shewed great faithfullnes, and did speciall seruices, yet this most wise Queene found their defectes, & that the strength of hir affaires Consisted in breedinge English Souldgers, soe as shee commaunded the other Companies to be no more supplied, but to be Cast by degrees, as they grew defectiue and in the meane tyme to be ymployed out of their owne Countreyes, where they might not feare to draw blood of the borderinge Septes. The Earle of *Clanricard* serued the said Queene soe well, as he cannot be to much Commended for the same, and was also highly /50/ in hir Fauor, yet when the Earle of Essex had left him Gouvernor of his owne Countrey, howsoever shee would not openly displace him, yet shee Ceased not till by hir direccions hee was induced to a voluntary Resignacion therof into hir handes:<sup>111</sup> For indeed the English Irish and meere Irish of that tyme weare generally soe humorous,<sup>112</sup> // fol.266.

as their fathers or brothers that dyed having any gouernment of the Country or commaund in the Army, they esteemed the same as due to them by Inheritance, or at least if they were not conferred on them, grew discontented and prone to any mischeiuous Course. To conclude, the *English Irish* of that tyme (few or none excepted) were obstinate and most superstitious Papists, and what our State might haue hoped from such men in high places of gouernment, lett wise men iudge.

The second excuse of the *English Irish* for applying themselves /10/ to the meere *Irish* in manners lawes and Customes, and so growing strangers (if not Enemyes) to the *English*, hath some Coulour of truth, but can neuer iustify this action. Namely that the Colonies of the first *English* conquering *Ireland*, being broken and wasted it ↑ in ↑ the Ciuill warr of *England* betweene the houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* were neuer supplied, but left so weake as they were forced to apply themselves to the meere *Irish* as the stronger. Since the noble Familyes of *England* were much wasted in the same warr, no maruell if [i..] at the end thereof, our /20/ kings first intended the restoring of *England* to the former vigor, before they could cast their eyes vppon *Ireland*, and in this meane tyme the meere *Irish* had taken such roote, and so ouertopped the *English Irish*, as the sending of



*English* Colonyes thether so long as the meere *Irish* remayned good Subjects, would rather haue disturbed then established peace. The first fayre occasion of planting newe *English* Colonyes there, was giuen in the Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth* by two Rebellions, the first of the *English Irish Geraldines*, who had the Earle of *Desmond* for their head, the /30/ second of the meere *Irish*, and many *English Irish*, having the Earle of *Tyrone* for their head. Touching the first, when the Earle of *Desmond* was subdued, and that Rebellion appeased, the said Queene (of happy memory) intended great Reformation by planting new *English* Familyes vppon the forfeited lands of the Earle of *Desmond* in *Mounster*. But this good intention was made voyde by a great error of that tyme, in that those lands were graunted, partly to obstinate Papists, partly to Courtiers, who sold their shares to like obstinate Papists, as men that would giue most for them. /40/ Whereof two great mischeifes grewe. First that these Papists being more obstinate then others, and thervppon choosing to leaue their dwelling in *England*, where the seuerity of the lawes bridled ↑them↑, and to remoue into *Ireland*, where they might be more remote, and so haue greater liberty, shewed the old prouerbe to be true,

*Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*  
*Passing the sea with a swift wynde, doth change the aire*  
*but not the mynde*<sup>13</sup>

For they not only remayned Papists, but grew more and more /50/ obstinate with liberty, and by their example confirmed both the *English Irish* and meere *Irish* in that superstition. Secondly these new planted *English* (comonly called vndertakers) being thus ill affected, did not performe the Couenants imposed in // fol:267.

their graunts, for establishing peace in that Prouince; For they [...] ↑ne the<r>↑ built Castles, to strengthen them against tymes of Rebellion, neither did they plant their lands with well affected Tenants out of *England*, giuing them Freeholds, Coppy holds & leases, and tying them to serue on Foote, or horseback vppon all occasions of tumult or warr, which would much haue strenghtned the *English* against the meere *Irish* and all Invasions. But they tooke a Contrary Course, not only planting their lands with meere *Irish* Tenants, (to whome they gaue no such tenor of Freehold Copyhold or lease, and who serued /10/ them vppon base abiect Conditions, whereby they made great profitt for the present) but also intertayning them for seruants in their Familyes, for the same reason of present profitt. And this made their great profitt of small continuance, and their dwellings of lesse strength and safety. For in the first troubles of the next Rebellion of *Tyrone*, themselues and the State founde by wofull

experience, that they had no way strenghtned the Prouince; but only dispeopled and wasted other lands to bring Tenants vppon their owne, so as the kings other Rents were thereby as much diminished as increa/20/sed by their Rents, [as] ↑and↑ the number of horse or foote to defend the Prouince, were nothing increased by them; neither had they made any greater number of *English* to passe in Iuries betweene the king and the Subiects, so as the lord President had not power to suppress the first Rebels, and the Iudges in all tryalls were forced to vse the *Irish*, who made no conscience of doing wrong to the king, and the *English* Subiects.

Againe theire Irish Tennants ether rann away, or turning Rebels spoyled them, and the Irish in theire houses were ready to be tray them, and /30/ [vpon] ↑open↑ theire dores to the Rebels. So as some of those vndertakers were in the first tumult killed, some taken prisoners were Cruelly handled, and had theire wiues and daughters shamefully abused, great part rann out of the kingdome, and yet shamed not to clayme & proffesse in the ende of the Rebellion these landes, the defence whereof they had so basely forsaken. Some fewe kept theire old Reuenued Castles, but with great charg to the State in mantayning warders to defend them, which warders were so many, as they greatly deminished the force of our Army in the /40/ field. Thus were the good purposes of that first plantation made frustrate by ill disposed vndertakers. Touching the other Rebellion of Tyrone, the appeasing thereof concurred at one instant with the death of our sayd Queene, beyond which tyme my purpose is not to write, and therefore it should be impertinent for me, worthily to magnifye the Plantation in the North, established by king Iames our gracious Souerayne. Only I will say for want of former Colonies planting, whereof the English Irish complayne, that as the Plantation after /50/ Desmonds Rebellion was made frustrate by ill disposed vndertakers, so from the foresayd Ciuill warrs betweene the houses of Yorke and lancaster to the end of Tyrones Rebellion, all the English in generall that voluntarily left England to plant themselues in Ireland, ether vnder the sayd //

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vndertakers of Mounster, or vpon the landes of any other English Irish throughout Ireland, or to liue in Citytes and townes, were generally obserued to haue beene ether Papists, men of disordered life, banckrots, or very poore (not speaking of those of the Army remayning there after the Rebellion, who are of another tyme succeeding that whereof I write, and well knowne to be of good condition) By which course Ireland as the heele of the body was made the sincke of England, the stench whereof had almost annoyed very Cheapside the hart of the body in /10/ Tyrons



pestilent Rebellion.<sup>114</sup> To conclude, I deny not but the excuse of weaknes in the English Irish Colonies, forcing them to apply to the meere Irish as stronger, hath in part a true ground, though it cannot lustifye the act. And if I should perswade the planting of Ireland with newe Colonies, I should now speake [of] out of tyme, when that profitabelle and necessary action is in great measure performed by the prouidence of our dread Souraigne.<sup>115</sup> If I should commend and extoll the Act, I feare I should therein be reputed as foolish as the Sophister, who in a publike /20/ assembly made along oration in prayse of *Hercules*, whome no man at that tyme or formerly euer disprayed<sup>116</sup> But I will passe from their alledged excuses to the true causes of their Alienation from vs and application to the meere Irish. The grand cause is their firme consent with them in the Roman Religion, whereof I shall speake at larg in the next Booke of this part. The second cause al[l]so prædominant, though in a lower degree, is the profit they haue long tyme found in the barbarous lawes and Customes of the Irish, by tyrannicall /30/ oppression of the poore people vnder them, of which point I haue formerly spoken in this Chapter. The third cause is their Contracting affinity with them by mariage, and Amitye by mutuall fostering of Children. The fourth is community of apparell. The fifth Community of language. Of which three last causes I will now speake breifly.

The power of these three last causes to corrupt the manners and Fayth of any nation, being well knowne, the Progenitors of our kings with consent of the States /40/ of that kingdome in Parlament, did of old make many Actes against them, which some tymes wrought reformation, but without any during effect,

For contrary to these lawes,<sup>117</sup> the English Irish haue for many ages, almost from the first conquest, contracted mariages with the meere Irish, whose children ↑of↑ mingled race could not but degenerate from their English Parents, and also mutually fostered each others Children, which bond of loue the Irish generally so much esteeme, as they will giue their Foster Children a /50/ parte of their goods with their owne Children, and the very Children fostered together loue one another as naturall brothers and sisters, yea their Foster brothers or sisters better then their owne. Only I must say for the English Irish Cittisens, espetically those of Corck, that they  
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haue euer so much avoyded these mariages with the meere Irish, as for

want of others commonly marying among themselues, all the men and wemen of the Cittie had for many ages beene of kindred in neere degree one with the other.

Agayne contrary to the sayd lawes, the English Irish for the most part haue for many ages had the same attyre and apparrell with the meere Irish, namely the nourishing of long hare (vugarly called glibs<sup>118</sup>) which hanges downe to the shoulders, hidinge the face, so as a Malefactor may /10/ easily escape with his face covered theire with, or by collering his hayre, and much ↑more↑ by cutting it off, may so alter his Countenance as those of his acquaintance shall not knowe him, and this hayre being exceeding long, they haue no vse of Capp or hatt. Also they weare strayte Breeches, called Trowses,<sup>119</sup> very close to the body and loose Coates like large waskotes, and mantells in steede of Clokes, which mantells are as a Cabinn for an out lawe in the woods, a bed for a Rebelle, and a Cloke for a theefe,<sup>120</sup> and being worne over the head and eares, and hanging /20/ downe to the heeles, a notorious villane lapt in them may passe any towne or Company without being knowne. Yet I must likewise confesse that the best part of the Cittizens did not then vse this Irish apparrell.<sup>121</sup>

Agayne Contrary to the sayd lawes, the Irish English altogether vsed the Irish tounge, forgetting or neuer learning the English. And this communion or difference of language, hath allwayes beene obserued, a spetiall motiue to vnite or allienate the myndes of all nations, so as the wise Romans as they enlarged their Conquests, /30/ so they did spreade their language, with their lawes, and the diuine seruice all in the lattene tounge, and by rewardes and preferments inuited men to speake it, As also the Normans in England brought in the vse of the French tounge, in our Common lawe, and all wordes of art in hawking, hunting and like pastymes. And in generall all nations haue thought nothing more powerfull to vnite myndes then the Community of language.<sup>122</sup> But the lawe to spreade the English tounge in Ireland, was euer interrupted by Rebellions, and much more by /40/ ill affected subiectes, so as at this tyme whereof I write, the meere Irish disdayned to learne or speake the English tounge, yea the English Irish and the very Cittizens (excepting those of Dublin where the lord Deputy resides) though they could speake English as well as wee, yet Commonly speake Irish among themselues, and were hardly induced by our familiar Conversation to speake English with vs, yea Common experience shewed, and my selfe and others often obserued, the Cittizens of Watterford and Corcke hauing wyues that could speake English as well as wee, /50/ bitterly to chide them when they speake



English with vs. ↑Insomuch as after the Rebellion ended, when the Itinerant Iudges went theire Circutes through the kingdome each alfe yeare to keepe assises, fewe of the people no not the very Iurymen could speake English, and at like Sessions in Vlster, all the gentlemen and common people (excepting only the Iudges trayne) and the very Iurimen putt vpon life and death and all tryalls in lawe, commonly spake Irish, many Spanish, and fewe or none could or would speake English. ↑ These outward signes being tuchstones of the inward affection, manifestly shewed that the English Irish helde it a reproch among themselues, to apply themselues any /60/ way to the English, or not to followe the Irish in all thinges. //

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In somuch as I haue heard twenty absurd thinges practised by them, only because they would be contrary to vs, wherof I will only name some fewe for instances. Our wemen riding on horse backe behynde men, sett with theire faces towardes the left Arme of the man, but the Irish weomen sett on the Contrary syde, with theire faces to the right Arme. Our horses drawe Cartes and like thinges with traces of Ropes or leather, or with Iron Chaynes, but they fasten them by a wyth[.] to the tayles of theire horses, and to the Rompts when the tayles be puld off,<sup>123</sup> which had ↑beene↑ forbidden /10/ by lawes yet could neuer be altered. wee liue in Clenly houses, they in Cabinns or smoaky Cottages. Our cheefe husbandry is in Tillage, they dispise the Plough, and where they are forced to vse it for necessity, doe all thinges about it cleane contrary to vs. To conclude they abhorr from all thinges that agree with English Ciuility. Would any man Iudge these to be borne of English Parents: or will any man blame vs for not esteeming or imploying them as English, who scorne to be so reputed. The penall lawes against abuses had often /20/ bene putt in execution, but as the Popes by theire booke taxing all sinnes with a penaltie, did rather sett sinne at a price, then abolish it, so they who had letters Pattens to execute these penall lawes did not somuch seeke reformation, as by a moderate agreement for the penalltyes to rayse a yearely Rent to themselues, and so making the fault more Common, did eate the sinnes of the people.

{ m.n. 28. The Citties. }

The fayre Cittyes of Ireland require somethinge to be sayd of them. They were at first all peopled with English men, and had large priuiledges, but in tyme became won/30/derfully degenerate, and peruerted all these priuiledges to pernicious vses, As they were degenerated from the English to the Irish manners, Customes, Dyett, apparrell (in some measure) language and generally all affections, so besydes the vniversall inclination

of Marchants, no swordmen more norished the last Rebellion, then they did by all meanes in their power. First they did so for feare lest vpon peace established they might be inquired into for their Religion, being all obstinate Papists, abhorring from entring a Church, as the beasts tremble to enter the Lyons denne, /40/ and where they were forced to goe to church (as the Maior and Aldermen of Dublin to attend the lord Deputy) there vsing to stopp their eares with woll or some like matter, so as they could not heare a worde the Preacher spake (a strange obstinacy since fayth comes by heareing, to resolute not to heare the Charmer charme he neuer so wisely) Secondly for Covetousnes, since during the Rebellion great treasure was yearly sent out of England, whereof no small part came to their hands from the [from the] Army for vittles, apparrell, and the like necessaryes. /50/ Yea not content with this no small enriching of their estate, to nourish the warr and thereby continue this enriching, as also ↑for↑ priuate gayne from the Rebels, they furnished them continually with all necessities, neuer wanting crafty euasions from the Capitall daunger of the lawe in //

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such cases. For among other subtilities, were obserued some of them to lade a great[er] quantity of English wollen cloth and like necessities vpon Cartes and horses, as if they would send them to some of our neighbor garrisons, but wee founde manifest probabilities yea certaynes proofes, that in the meane tyme they ad↑r↑vrtised<sup>124</sup> some Rebels of this transportaton, who meeting the goods intercepted the same as it were by force, and their seruants returned home with a great outcry of this surprisall, but nether wounded nor somuch as sadd in Countenance, /10/ as their masters proued neuer the poorer, for no doubt those Rebels payd them largely for those goods, who without warme clothes should haue suffered a hard life in the woods. Nay more, they furnished them euen with swords with gunnes and with Gunpowder and all our armes, by which abhominable act they made excessiue profitt, the Rebels being sometymes in such want of munition, as they <w>ould giue whole herdes of Cowes for a small quantity of munition, for they could easily recouer Cowes againe by rapine, but most hardly gott supplies of Armes /20/ and munition. And these Armes the Citizens vsed to buy of our Cast Captaines,<sup>125</sup> as powder from our soldiers having a surplusage of that which was allowed them for exercise of their peeces, and also vnderhand of trayterous vnderministers in our office of the Ordinance residing in their Cittyes. And in like sort they furnished the Rebels with our best victualls. For the ministers of our victualers vnder pretence of leaue to sell victualls to the Citizens if they feared it would grow musty, did often sell



our best biskett and victualls to the Citizens /30/ who secretly sold it to the Rebels. These their abhominable practises were well seene and greatly detested, but could not easily be remedied, the delinquents euer having coulorable <ev>asions, and especially because there was no forbidding the emption<sup>126</sup> of munition to marchants vppon payne of death (which was thought most necessarye), except our stores of munition had then beene, and had had sure hope to be fully supplied, in regard that the wyndes are there so vncertaine, as the publique stores not being continually furnished, an Army might runn great /40/ hazard before new supplyes came, if the marchants could no way releiue it. And this necessity of supplying our stores, we found apparently at *Kinsale*, where assoone as our Shippes with men and munition were arriued, the wynde turned, and still continued contrary till we tooke the Towne by Composition, being more then six weekes. Againe for the great priuiledges graunted to the first *English* Ancestors of these Cittyes, more specially in ↑all↑ this discourse meaning *Waterford*,<sup>127</sup> *Corck* and *Lymbrick*,<sup>127</sup> For *Dublin* was in part ouer awed by the lord *Deputies* /50/ residencie, and *Galloway* gaue some good testimonyes of fidelity in those dangerous tymes) I will shew by one or two instances, how the degenerate Citizens of that tyme peruerterd // fol:272.

the same to pernicious vses. *Waterford* had a Priuiledge by *Charter* from king *Iohn* that they should not at any tyme be forced to receiue any of the kings forces into the City. And when vppon their manifest rebellion at the very end of the last Rebellion,<sup>128</sup> the lord *Mountioy* then lord *Deputy* bringing to their City the forces of our Soueraigne king *Iames*, therewith to conforme them to his *Maiesties* lawes, they alledging this *Charter*, refused to receiue any of the said forces into their City, his lordshipp vowed to cutt king *Iohns charter* (as not grauntable to such preiudice of his /10/ Successors) with king *Iames* his sword, and to sowe salt vppon the soyle of their destroyed City, if they obeyed him not, and with much disputation and power hardly drewe them from the ridiculous Plea of the said *Charter*.<sup>129</sup> Secondly all Fynes for violating penall Statutes of the Admiralty and all others were by an old *Charter* graunted to the Citizens,<sup>130</sup> And in these dayes whereof I write, the Citizens degenerated from *English* to *Irish* (or rather to *Spanish*) if our Magistrates imposed any Fynes vppon delinquents, especially in Cases for /20/ reformation of religion, and the like, would priuately remitt those mulcts falling to the treasure of the City, which impunity made them offend the lawe without feare, as this and like immunities, made them without danger of the lawe, to transport prohibited wares, to parlye with Rebels, to export and import traiterous *Iesuites* in their Shippes, and to doe manifold insolencies, while it

was in the hand of the *Maior* and his brethren freely to remitt all penalties imposed on delinquents. These and like priuiledges were in those dayes iudged too great for /30/ any Marchants, and most vnfitt for marchants of suspected fidelity, (to say no woorse). To conclude, these Citizens were for the most part in those dayes no lesse alienated from the *English*, then the very meere *Irish*, vppon the same forealledged causes, as in [no]↑one↑ particular Case of their Community of language with the *Irish* I haue shewed, and could many wayes illustrate, if I tooke any pleasure to insist vppon that subiect.

{ m.n. 39, 40. *Errors imputed to the State by the English Irish.* }

The *English Irish* thus affected did generally in these tymes impute some errors to the State. First that /40/ when any dissolute [seruant] swordman, for want, or for meanes to support his luxury, began to robb, & spoyle and so to liue in the woods for safety from the lawe, and there neuer wanted some like affected persons, ready vppon the first rumor thereof, to flye vnto the woods, and liue like outlawes with him,<sup>131</sup> which small number the State might easily haue prosecuted to death, for example and terror to others, yet when these men had spoyled the Country, and all Passengers, experience taught that the State, for feare of a small expence in prosecuting them, /50/ vsed vppon their first submission to graunt them protections to come in, and then not only to pardon them, but to free them from restitution of that they had robbed, so as good and quiett Subiects might see their goods possessed by them, and yet could not recouer them. Yea, nothing was //

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more frequent ↑then↑ for the State[s] to giue rewards and yearely pentiones to like seditious knaues, in policy (forsooth) lest they should trouble the peace, and putt the State to charge in prosecuting them. So as quiett and good Subiects being daily wronged without redresse, and seditious knaues being rewarded for not doing ill, and as it were hyred to liue as Subiects, they said it was no maruell that so many dissolute persons swarmed in all parts of that kingdome. *Galba* the *Roman* Emperor in his oration to his Soldiers expecting and murmuring /10/ for a largesse or free guift at his election, said brauely that he did inroll, and not hire his Subiects to serue in the warr, but this ↑free↑ speech to a dissolute Army, cost him his life and Empire;<sup>132</sup> And such was then the miserable State of *Ireland*, as these Corruptions could not altogether be avoyded, though they sauoured rather of a *precarium Imperium*, that is, a ruling by intreaty and by rewards, then absolute commaund ouer Subiects.



But they further vrged, that these abuses grew from the Corruption of the cheefe magistrates, for as he said well, /20/ that no Citty was impregnable, that would open their gates to giue entrance to an Enemys Asse laden with gold;<sup>133</sup> so *Ireland* could not haue firme peace, while no man was so wicked, who for a bribe of Cowes (such and no other are the bribes of the *Irish*) found not the lord *Deputies* followers, and seruants, yea Counsellors of State, and (I shame to speake it,) the very wiues and children of the lord *Deputy* ready to begg his Pardon, who seldome or neuer missed to obtayne it.<sup>134</sup>

They further vrged, that not only armed Rebells were /30/ in this kinde pardoned, but also that those taken, and putt in our prisons, were comonly by like Corruption freely pardoned, or suffered vnder hand to breake Prison, and then pardoned vnder pretence of the publike good to saue charges in prosecuting them, whereof they gaue instances of *ODonnell* breaking prison in the beginning, and *Cormoc mac Barons* eldest sonne in the end of the Rebellion, and of many like Rebells of note.<sup>135</sup> So as nothing was more vulgarly said among the Rebells themselues, then that they could haue pardon whensoever they listed, according to the *Poett.* /40/ *Crede mihi res est ingeniosa, dare.*

*Beeleue, Tis' a most witty course, to giue & bribe with open purse.*<sup>136</sup>

And touching the Prisons, they said, that the Iailors of Prouinciall and other Prisons, seldome brought their Prisoners to be tryed before Iudges, but some were executed by Marshall lawe, contrary to the dignity of Ciuill Iustice, Others they would affirme to be dead, vppon their bare word without testimony of the Crouner,<sup>137</sup> or any like proceeding necessary in that Case. Others they would affirme to haue bene freed by the commaund of the Prouinciall Gouver/50/nors auailable rather by Custome then lawe.<sup>138</sup> Yea they would not shame to confesse some to haue escaped by breaking prison, as if they were not to be punished for so grosse negligence, admitting no excuse.

Touching the sacred power of Pardons and Protections they confessed that it was fitt to giue power of Protection to military Gouvernors, that they might bring Rebells in to the state, but they alledged many corrupt abuses committed in that Case, whereby not only Armed Rebells, but //  
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many taken Prisoners, having once their Protection, had meanes with safety of their persons to importune the State for obtayning their Pardon, in which kinde *mac Carthen* notorious for many murthers, and many like notable villanyes, had lately beene freed from the hand of Iustice.<sup>139</sup>

Againe, they confessed of that the generall giving of Protections and Pardons by the lord *Deputy*, was necessary after the Rebellion was growne strong, and generall, when it behoued the State (as a mother) with open <Arm>es to receiue her disobedient Children to /10/ mercy, lest they should be driuen to desperate Courses especially since the punishment of all was vnpossible in such a strong Combination, of the cheife was difficult for their strong factions, and of particuler and inferior offenders was somewhat vnequall, if not vniust. But they freely sayd that our State had greatly erred in not making strong and sharpe opposition<sup>140</sup> to the first eruption of that Rebellion before they were vnited, yea rather dallying with them till by mutuall Combinations they were growne to a strong body, and that for saving ↑of↑ Charges, /20/ without which it was hoped they might by fayre treatyes be reclaymed, which foolish frugality in the end caused an huge exhausting of the publique Treasure, and which vayne hope had no probable ground, since the *Irish* attributed our moderate Courses in reducing, rather then conquering them, to our feare, rather then our wisdom, waxing proude when they ↑were↑ [ ... lbe] fairely handled and gently perswaded to their duties, as no nation yeildes more abiect obedience when they are curbed with a churlish and seuer hand. How much better (said they) had our State /30/ done ↑to haue giuen no protection or pardon in the beginning, but↑ to haue seuerely putt to death all that fell into our hands (which examples of terror were as necessary in Ireland, as they euer had bene rare) or if pittie and mercy had bene iudged fitt to be extended to any, surely not to those, who after malicious and bloody Acts of hostilitie were at last broken, and vnable longer to subsist much lesse without some pecuniary Mulct or Fyne towards the publique charge, or with freedom from making restitution to priuate men, and least of all with rewards and pensions bestowed on them for a vaine /40/ hope of future seruice. In all which kindes they gaue many instances, that our State had often erred.

To conclude they said that sharpe, and speedy prosecution in the beginning had bene most easy (scattered troopes being soone suppressed with small forces) and no lesse advantagious and profitable to the State (aswell by the confiscation of their lands and goods, as by long and firme peace likely to follow such terrifying examples of Iustice).

Againe they bitterly imputed this error to our State, proued /50/ by ↑many↑ notable instances. that *Irish* and *English Irish*, who had forsaken their lordes in Rebellion, to serue in our Army, after when their lordes were receiued to mercy, with free pardon, and restoring of honor and lands, had



beene quitted and left by vs to liue againe vnder the same lords highly offended with them, and so neuer ceasing till they had // fol:275.

brought them to beggery, if not to the gallowes, which proceeding of ours in their opinion argued, that so wee could keepe the great lords in good termes, we cared not to forsake the weaker, and leaue them to the tyranny of the other. Yea that to these great lordes that of Rebells were become Subiects, our State granted warrants to execute marshall lawe against vagabond and seditious persons, who vppon the same pretences had often executed these men retorning to them from the seruice of the State, and more specially those who had faithfully /10/ serued vs in the warr for spyes, and for guides to conduct our forces through the boggs and woods and fortified places, or if they had not dared so to execute those men, yet by violent oppressions had brought them to beggery, and sometymes by secrett plotts had caused them to be killed. In this case ↑if↑ I may boldly speake my opinion, I should thinck it were impossible so to protect inferior persons of best desert in tyme of peace, from the tyranny of great lordes, as they should no way oppress or hurt them, either by their power, which is transcendent /20/ or by their Craft wherein no people may compare with them. And as formerly I haue spoken at large of oppressions done by their power; so I will giue one notable instance of their Tyranny by Craft. The famous Traytor *Hugh* late Earle of *Tyrone* vsed in his Cupps to bragg, that by one Trick he had destroyed many faithfull seruants to the State, namely by causing them vnderhand to be brought in question for their life, and then earnestly intreating the lord Deputy, and the Iudges to pardon them, who neuer fayled to execute them whose pardon he craued. /30/ But why we should subiect the seruants of the State to the oppression of great lords that had bene Rebells, or why the State should vppon any pretence graunt them Marshall lawe (the examples of both which I confesse were frequent and pregnant<sup>141</sup>), I thinck no coulorable reason can be giuen.<sup>142</sup>

To be short among many other errors, they did much insist vppon this. That our State contrary to our lawe of *England*, yearly made such men Sheriffs of the Count↑ies, as had not one foote of land in the Countyes, ↑[ties], and that they b[r]ought those places of the lord *Deputies* /40/ seruants on whome he vsed yearly to bestow them, which made great Corruption, since they who buy, must sell,. Yea that these Sheriffs were commonly litigious men of the County, who having many suits in lawe, bought those places to haue power in protracting or peruerting the Iustice of their owne (as also their freinds) causes, especially by making Iuries serue their turne. And most of all that these Sheriffs, as having ill

conscience of their owne oppressions, vsed yearely after the expiring of their offices, to sue out and obtayne the kings generall Pardon, vnder /50/ the great Seale of [*Eng*]/*Ireland*, the bare seeking whereof implied guiltines, so as the Ministers of the State about all other men should be excluded from being capable to haue these Pardons who ought to be free of all dangerous Crimes. //

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Hereof my selfe can only say, that in *England* these Pardons are not obtained without great difficulty: and that the *Irish* lordes in and before the last rebellion, complained of nothing more then the extortions and oppressions of these Sheriffs, and their numerous traynes and dependants, yea pretended the same for a cheife Cause of their taking Armes.

{ m.n. 9, 10. *The generall Iustice.* }

Touching the generall Iustice of *Ireland* howsoever it was in the last Rebellion tyed hand and foote, yet of the former establishment thereof and the hopefull begin/10/ning to flourish at the end of the Rebellion, something must be said, And first in generall the *English* haue alwayes gouerned *Ireland*, not as a conquered people by the sword and the Conquerors lawe, but as a Prouince vnited vpon mariage or like peaceable transactions, and by lawes established in their Parliaments with consent of the three estates. The supream magistrate is the lord Deputy (of whose power I haue[.] spoken) with the Counsell of State named and appoynted in England, and these haue their residence /20/ at Dublin. The next is the lord President of Mounster, with Counselors or Prouinciall assistants, named and apoynted by the lord Deputy, with a cheefe Iustice and the kings attorney<sup>143</sup> for the Prouince, not hauing any Courtes of Iustice, but only assisting the lord President at the Counsell table, where, and likewise at Dublin, causes are Iudged by the lord Deputy and lord President, as at the Counsell table in England, according to [the] æquitie with respect to the right of the lawe. /30/ The Province of Connaght ↑was↑ in like sort governed by a governor (after stiled lord President) with Counsellors to assist him, and among them a cheefe Iustice and the kings attornny, as in mounster, both governing in cheefe aswell for millitary as Ciuill matters, according to their instructions out of England, and the directions and commandes from the lord Deputy. The State purposed in like sort to establish the Province of Vlster, but at the ende of the Rebellion the Earle of Tyrone /40/ labored earnestly not to be subiect to any athrowity but that ↑of↑ the lord Deputy, so as there only some governors of Fortes and Count[.]yes (as in other partes of Ireland) had authority to compose differences betweene inferiour Subiectes. The Cittyes and townes had their



subordinate magistrates, as Maiore and Souraues,<sup>144</sup> to governe them. But the Courtes for the Common lawe for all Ireland were only at Dublin, as the kings Bench, the Common pleas, and the Exchecquer, as likewise, the Chancery for equity. And there the kings Records /50/ were kept by a master of the Roulls. And all causes in these seuerall Courtes were pleaded in the English tounge, and after the manner of the Courtes in london, saue that Ireland of old tymes had made such frequent relapses to the sworde, as the practise of the lawe was often discontinued, and the Customes of the Courtes by //

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Intermission were many tymes forgotten, and the places being then of small profit were often supplied by vnlearned and vnpractised men. And there also at the ende of the warr was erected the Court of the Starr Chamber. And there resi<ded[d]> the cheefe Iudges of the whole kingdome, as the lord chauncelor, master Cheefe Iustice, the cheefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, and the cheefe Barron of the Exchecquer, who had not formerly the style of lords nor scarlett habitts, both which were graunted them after the /10/ Rebellion ended, to giue more dignity to the lawe. All the Count[.]yes had shreiffes for execution of Iustice, yearly appoynted by the lord Deputy, only Vlster was not then deuided into Count[r]yes, as now it is, and hath the same officers.

{ m.n. 15. The lawes. }

Touching the lawes. The meere Irish from old to the very ende of the warr, had certayne Iudges among themselues, who determened their causes by an vnwritten lawe, only retayned by tradition, which in some things had a smacke of right and equity, and /20/ in some other was contrary to all diuine and humane lawes. These Iudges were called Brehownes, all together vnlearned, and great swillers of Spanish sacke (which the Irish merily called the king of Spaynes Daughter). Before these Iudges no [.] probable or certayne Arguments were avayleable to condemne the accused, but only manifest apprehensions in the fact. A murder being committed, these Iudges tooke vpon them to be intercessours to reconcyle the murtherer with the frendes of the murthered, by a /30/ guift vulgarly called Iuriesh.<sup>145</sup> They did extorte vnreasonable rewardes for their Iudgment, as the eleuenth part of euery particular thinge b↑r↑ought in question before them. For the case of Incontinencie, they exacted a certayne number of Cowes (which are the Irish rewardes and bribes) from the maryed and vnmaryed, tho they liued chastely (which indeede was rare among them), yet more for the maryed & vnchast then from others. my selfe spake with

a gentleman then liuing, who affirmed that he had payde seauen /40/ Cowes to these Iudges, because he could not bring wittnesses of his maryage, when he had beene maryed fyfty yeares. Among other theire barbarous lawes, or rather Customes and traditions, I haue formerly spoken of theire tennure of land, vulgarly called Themistry, or Tanistry, whereby not the eldest sonne but the elder vncle, or the most valliant (by which they vnderstand the most dissolute swordman) of the Family, succeeded the disceased by the election of the people, whereof came many murthers & parricides /50/ and Rebelions, besydes great wronges done to the State, as in this perticular case. If the predecessor of free will or constrayned by armes had surrendred his inheritance to the king, and had taken it backe from the kings graunt by letters Pattents, vpon Rent and other conditions for the publike good, they at his death made this act voyde, because he had no right //

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but for life. By these Iudges and by these and like lawes were the meere Irish Iudged to the end of the last Rebellion, tho the English lawes had long before beene Receaued in Ireland by consent of the three States in Parlament.

For in the tenth yeare of king Henry the seuenth, by the consent of the three States in Parlament, the barbarous Brehowne Iudges and lawes, and this perticular lawe of Themistrey by name, were all abrogated, and the Common lawe and Statutes of Parlament /10/ made to that day in England, were all established in Ireland.<sup>146</sup> And from the first Conquest to that tyme and long after, the States of Ireland were called to the Parlament by the kings writts and the lawes there made were sent into England, and there allowed or deaded in silence by the king, and so the approued were sent backe to the lord Deputy, who accordingly confirmed them for acts of that Parlament, & reiected [the other] the[.] other by the kings authority, by which also the lord Deputy, according to his instructions from the king, /20/ proroged or dissolued the Parlements, But if the worthy Progenitors of our late kings should reuiue, and see the face of these Parlements changed, and the very English Irish backward to make lawes of Reformation, they would no doubt repent their wonted lenity in making them lawgiuers to themselues, and freeing them from constraynt in that kynde. Att first this government was fatherly to subiectes being as Children, but if they were now degenerated, should not the Course of government be made suitable to /30/ theire changed affections. No doubt if the king of Spayne (whome then they adored as preseruer of their liberty, and whose yoake then they seemed glad to vndergoe) had once had the



power to make them his subiects, they haue learned by woefull experience, that he would by the same power haue imposed such lawes on them as he thought fitt, without expecting any consent of theires in Parliament, and would quickly haue taught them what difference euer was betweene the Spanish and English yoke. But if /40/ this course might in vs seeme tyrannicall, the Statesmen of that tyme iudged it easy by a fayrer meanes to bring them to conformity in a Parliament. Namely a newe plantation of English well affected in Religion, (who after the warr might be sent in great numbers, and fynde great quantities of land to inhabite) out of which men the lord Deputy by the Sheriffes and other assistance, might easily cause the greatest parte of the knights of the shire and Burgesses to be chosen for the swaying of the lower house.<sup>147</sup> As /50/ likewise by sending over wise and graue Iudges and Bishops, and if neede were by creating or citing newe Barons by writts (in imitation of king Edward the third) being men well affected to Religion and the State, so to sway the vpper house.

The generall peace after the Rebellion (when Ireland //  
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was left as a p[.]ayre of cleane tables, wherein the State might write lawes at pleasure) gaue all men great hope, that the lawe should receaue newe life & vigor. Hetherto the barbarous lords at hand, had beene more feared and obeyed then the king a farr of, and though they had large teritoryes, yet nether themselues had answerable<sup>148</sup> profitt (at least by way of Rent) nor the kings Cofers had euer swelled with the fattnes of peace. But the end of the warr was the tyme (if euer) to stretch the kings power to the vttermost North, to bring /10/ the lordes to Ciuill obedience, to inrich them by orderly Rents, and to fill the kings Cofers out of their aboundance. And indeede the Courtes of Iustice at Dublin, began to be much frequented before our Comming from thence, and shortly after each halfe yeare Itenerat Iudges<sup>149</sup> began to ryde their Circuites through all the partes of Ireland, and those who had passed through all Vlster to keepe assisses there, made hopefull relation of their proceeding to the Earle of Deuonshyre lord leftenant of Ireland residing in the English Courte, advertising him, that in those /20/ sessions they had perswaded the lords to graunt their Tennants their land, by freehoulds, Coppihoulds, and leases, that they might builde houses, and cleare the paces<sup>150</sup> of their woods, to make free passage from towne to towne, and likewise to giue the king a yearly Composition of Rents and seruices, and themselues abolishing the old tyrannicall exactions called Cuttings, to establish their yearly Reuennues by certayne Rents, which would be more profitable to them. That the lords seemed gladly to yealde to these perswasions, and to

establish /30/ certayne Rents to themselues, so they might be permitted after the old mannor to make only one Cutting vpon their tennants for the payment of their debts. That they the Iudges had taught the inferiour gentlemen and all the Common people, that they were not slaues but free men, owing only Rents to their lords, without other subiection, since their lordes as themselues were subiect to a lust and powerfull king, whose sacred Maiestie at his great charg mantayned them his Iudges to giue equall Iustice to them both, with equall respect /40/ to the lordes and to them for matters of right. That a great lord of Vlster named O Cane, hauing imprisoned a tennant without legall course, they had not only rebuked him for vsurping that power ouer the kings subiectes, but howsoeuer he confessed is<sup>151</sup> error publicly, and desyred pardon for it, yet for example they had also imposed a fyne vpon him for the same. And that the inferiour gentlemen and all the Common people, gladly imbraced this liberty from the yoke of ↑the↑ great lords, and much applauded this act of Iustice vpon O Cane, /50/ promising with ioyfull acclamations a large Composition of Rents and seruices to the king, so this Iustice might be mantayned to them, and they be freed from the tyranny of their lords.<sup>152</sup> So as it seemed to the Iudges there remayned nothinge to content the people, but a constant administration of this Iustice, with some patience vsed towards the people at first, in beareing with their humors, amonge which they more specially noted these. //

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That they not only expected easie accesse to the lord Deputy, the Iudges, and the inferior magistrates, but were generally so litigious and so tedious in Complayntes, as they could not be contented without singular patience. And that from the lordes to the inferior sorte, they had a ridiculous fashion, neuer to be content with out the magistrates hand vnder their Petitions, and therewith to be content were it neuer so delatorye yea flatt contrary to their request, which hand they vsed to signe tho they knewe the ill and Crafty vses the Irish made of it, /10/ who comming home would shewe this hand to their Tennants and aduersaries, without reading the wordes to which it was sett, and so pretending the magistrates Consent to their request, many tymes obtayned from ignorant people their owne vniust endes. Yet had not the lawe as yet that generall and full course in Ireland, which after it had, by continuance of peace, and by that dignity which the kings Maiestie gaue to the lawe, in graunting the title of lords to the cheefe Iudges, and scarlett Robes to them all. /20/

It remaynes to say somethinge of the handes whereby the lawe was to be putt in practise, namely the lawyers. They were ether English, sent or



willingly comming out of England more spetially at the ende of the Rebellion, of whose concurring in the reformation of Ireland I make no doubt,<sup>153</sup> or English Irish, who of old and nowe after the Rebellion in greater numbers pleaded most of the causes in the Courtes of Iustice. These English Irish lawyers were allwayes wont to study the Common lawes of England in the Inns of Court at london, and being all /30/ of the Roman Religion (as the rest in Ireland), did so lurke in those Inns of Courte, as they neuer came to our Churches, nor any of them had beene obserued to be taught the points of our Religion there, but hauing gott a smacke of the grownds of our lawe, and retayning theire old superstition in Religion, they returned to practise the lawe in Ireland, where they indeuored nothinge more, then to giue the subiectes Counsell howe they might defraude the king of his rightes, and fynd euasians from penalties of the lawe, /40/ more spetially in matters of Religion, the reformation whereof they no lesse feared then the rest, and therefore Contrary to theire profession norished all barbarous Customes and lawes, being the seedes of rebellion, and sought out all evasions to frustrate our Statutes abrogating them, and tending to the reformation of Ciuill pollicye and Religion. For preuention of which mischeefe, many thought in those tymes it were fitt to exclude them from practise at the barrs of Iustice, but since experience hath taught vs how weake this remedy /50/ is, while the Priests swarme there, Combining the people, according to the rule of St Paule not to goe to lawe vnder heathen magistrates, for such or no better they esteeme↑d↑ ours, and so reducing all suites of lawe, and the profitte thereby arisinge, to the hands of the same lawyers in priuate determinations, whome the State excluded from publike pleading at our barrs.

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So as there is no way better to remedye this mischeefe, then during theire education at our Innes of Courte in England, to bring them to church, and teach them our Religion, and after to punish some particular men, that are of greatest practise and most refractary, by which examples and the strict eye and hand of our magistrates seene to hang ouer them, this mischeefe might in tyme either be taken away, or be made lesse generall. These lawyers taught the proude and barbarous lordes of *Ireland*, how they might keepe the people of their Countreyes in absolute subiection /10/ and make them not o<n>ly obey for feare of their power daily ho<verrin>gg ouer their heads, but also to thinck that their lords by right of lawe or equivalent Custome, had absolute Commaund of their goods and bodyes. By which and like meanes they not only gaue strength to rebellious affections, but also made open resistance to all intended reformations to their vttermost power seeking to roote out the wise foundations to that end carefully layd

by former ages, or at least to shake them and still keepe them from any firme establishment. In this tyme I will only giue one instance. When *Rory Odonnell* /20/ at the end of the Rebellion, was come ouer into *England* with the lord *Mountioly* (after created Earle of *Deuonshire*), there to obtayne the Confirmation from the kings *Maiestie*, of that Pardon and graunt of his brothers land (the second ArchRebell<sup>154</sup>) which the said lord had promised him at his submission, while he was yet in *England*, and all that depended formerly on his brother, houered betweene hope and feare, how they and that Country should be established, one of these lawyers employed there by the said *Rory*, perswaded *Mac Swyne*, and *O Boyle*, and other gentlemen of old Freeholders in *Tirconnell* vnder /30/ the *ODonnells*, that they had no other right in their lands, but only the meere pleasure and will of *Odonnell*.<sup>155</sup> This the said gentle men, though rude, and in truth barbarous, and altogether ignorant in our lawes, [but] ↑that↑<sup>156</sup> only denied, but offered to produce old writings to proue the Contrary. When that *Fox* perceiued their Confidence, and after heard that the said *Rory* had his Pardon, and lands confirmed in *England*, and was moreouer created Earle of *Tirconnell*, he assayed these gentlemen an other way, telling them, that the king having graunted pardon, and all his brothers land to this new Earle of *Tirconnell* /40/ they having yet no pardon, had lost all their old right in their lands, were it Freehold or at the lordes pleasure, or what other right soeuer, and so could haue no dependendancye but on the Earles fauour.<sup>157</sup> Herein he told a triple lye, First that he denied their right of Freehold, which was held to be most certaine, though it had bene abolished by long tyranny of the cheife lord, and perhapps at first ought<sup>158</sup> him some limited seruices, as *Tirlogh mac Henry* for the *Fewes*, and *Henry Oge* for his Country, did both owe to the Earle of *Tyrone*, and all vnder lordes in *England* owe to the lord /50/ *Paramount*.<sup>159</sup> Secondly that he affirmed the whole Prouince to be giuen to the Earle by the king, whereas it was graunted //

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in these expresse words, to hold of his *Maiesties* spetiall grace in as ample manner as his brother held it before the Rebellion, (in which he was as far ingaged as his brother) which graunt tooke [tooke] not away the firmer right of Freehold or other that any Subiect might pretend. Thirdly that he restrayned the kings gracious Pardon as if it extended only to the Earle, when it was generall to all the Inhabitants of *Tirconnell*, restoring them all to their former rights. Yet by this shamefull lye, he obtayned the vniust end he sought, to the great preiudice of the kings /10/ *Maiesties* seruice, and of his Subiects in *Tirconnell*. For these gentlemen and the rest of the[.] people in that Prouince being ignorant of the lawe, and afrajd of euery



rumor, vppon a guilty conscience of deserued punishment in their Rebellion, and the new chaunge of the State in *England*<sup>160</sup> were easily induced to renounce all their rights to the sayd Earle, (tho with great preiudice to themselues and ignominy to the Iustice of the State) and to receiue their lands by new graunts from the Earle, as of his meere grace and fauour. And howsoever the *Itinerant* Iudges did /20/ after make knowne their error to them, and gaue them hope this act would be reuersed vppon their Complaint, yet they chose rather to enioy their estates in this seruile kinde with the said Earles fauour, then to recouer their rights and freedoms by course of lawe with his displeasure. Againe these lawyers in all parts of *Ireland*, taught the people artificiall practises to defraude the king of his rights, in seruices due to the lorde[s] of their Fees, in his Court[.] of Wardes, and liuries, Intrusions Alienations, yea in very Confiscations of goods and lands, the preseruatiō whereof /30/ to the heyres, will alwayes make the possessor more prone to treasons and all wickednes. For the truth whereof I appeale to all freinds and seruants of former lords *Deputyes*, who haue obtayned any such guifts of wardes, Intrusions Alienations and Confiscations, for they well know, what tædious suites, crafty Circumventions, and small profit they haue found thereby. And I appeale to the manifold Conveyances of landes by Feoffyes of trust, and all Crafty deuises, no where so much vsed as in *Ireland*.<sup>161</sup> Insomuch as nothing was more frequent, then for *Irishmen*, in the tyme /40/ of our warr with *Spayne*, to liue in *Spayne*, in *Rome*, and in their very Seminaries, and yet by these and like Crafty Conveyances to preserue to them and their heyres, their goods, and landes in *Ireland*, yea very spirituall livings ↑for life, not rarely graunted to children for their ↑maintenance in that superstitious education, most dangerous to the State.<sup>162</sup>

{ m.n. 47, 48. *Ciuill and capitall Iudgments, and lawes of Inheritance.* }

I formerly shewed that king *Henry* the seuenth established the *English* lawes in *Ireland*, yet the Common law having his due course in the tyme of the Rebellion, most ciuill Causes were iudged according to equity, at the Counsell tables, /50/ aswell at *Dublin*, as in the Prouinces of *Mounster & Connaght* and ↑by milit<ar>y Gouernors in seuerall Count[.]yes ↑And for these lawes of *England*, the most remarkable of them //

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shalbe explained in the discourse before promised of the Common wealth of *England*.<sup>163</sup>

In like sort these lawes of *England* were for Capitall matters established in *Ireland*, but during the Rebellion, and at the end thereof the Marshall lawe

was generally vsed, hanging vpp Malefactores by withs<sup>164</sup> in steed of Ropes vppon their first apprehention. In cases of Treason, the great lordes of the kingdome were of old iudged by the Assembly [the kingdome] of the three States in Parliament, but since *Henry* the seauenth's tyme, they are tryed as in *England*, the lords being beheaded, and others hanged, drawne and /10/ quartered. As in *England* so there, not only Treasons but wilfull murders and Felonies are punished, by death and Confiscation of lands and goods.

By the lawe in *England*, so in *Ireland* the Accessary cannot be tryed before the principall [to] be apprehended and brought to his tryall, so as the principall escaping, the Receiuers cannot be iudged.<sup>165</sup> And so for other Capitall lawes of *England*, which shalbe at large sett downe in the foresaid Treatise.

The *English* lawes of Inheritance are likewise of force /20/ in *Ireland*, the Elder brother having right to the lands of discent, and the fathers ↑last↑ w<i>ll disposing purchased lands, and goods, among his wife and Children, and the wife being widow, besides her part that may be giuen her by her husbands last will, having the Ioycture<sup>166</sup> giuen her before marriage, and if none such were giuen her, then having right to the third part of his lands for life.

{ m.n. 28, 29. *The degrees in the common wealth.* }

Touching the degrees in the Common wealth; not to speake of the offices of the lord *Chancelor*, and the lord high Tresorer giuing place aboue all degrees of Nobility, the highest degree /30/ is that of Earles. And the Earle of *Ormond* in this tyme whereof I write, was lord high Tresorer of *Ireland*, and knight of the noble order of the *Garter* in *England*.

The next degree is that of *Barons*. And in generall, as the degrees of the *Irish* Nobility in *England* giue place to all the *English* of the same degree, so doe the *English* to the *Irish* in *Ireland*. But howsoeuer the *Irish* lordes to make their power greater in peace, are content to haue the titles of Earles and Barons, yet they most esteeme the titles of *O*, and *Mac*, sett before their Sirnames, after their barbarous manner /40/ (importing<sup>167</sup> the cheife of that Sept or name), as *Oneale O Donnell*, *mac Carthy*, and the like. And these names they vsed to resume when they would leade the people into Rebellion.<sup>168</sup> The title of knights Barronets, was not then knowne in *Ireland*. They haue no order of knighthood like that of the order of the *Garter* in *England*, and the like in other kingdomes, but only as in *England*,



such knights as are made by the sword of the king, or of the lord *Deputy* there, who alwayes had the power by his Commission from the king to make any man knight, whome he iudgeth worthy of that dignity. /50/ The poorest of any great Sept, or name, repute themselues //

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gentlemen, and so wilbe sword men despising all Arts and trades to mantayne them, yet such is the oppression of the great lordes towards the inferior sorte, the gentlemen and freeholders, as I haue seene the cheefe of a Sept ryde, with a gentleman of his owne name (and so learned as he spake good lattin) running bare footed by his stirrop.<sup>169</sup> The husbandmen were then as slaues, and most exercised grasing, as the most idle life, vsing tyllage only for necessitye.

{ m.n. 10, 11. The degrees in the Family. }

Touching the degrees in the Family. The Cittisens of /10/ munster, as in waterford, limricke, and more spetially in Corke, and they of Galloway in Connaght, vpon the lawe forbidding mariage with the meere Irish, and espetially to keepe the wealth of the Citytes within the walles thereof, haue of old Custome vsed to marye with their owne Cittisens, whereby most of the Familyes and priuate branches of them, were in neere degree of consanguinity one with another, frequently marying within the degrees forbidden by the lawe of God.<sup>170</sup> And the maryed women of Ireland still retayne their owne /20/ sirnames, whereas the English leeing then vtterly, doe all take the sirnames of their husbandes. The men hold it disgracefull to walke with their owne wiues abroade, or to ryde with their wiues behinde them. The meere Irish diuorced wiues and with their consent tooke them agayne frequently, and for small yea ridiculous causes, allwayes paying a bribe of Cowes to the Brehowne Iudges, and sending the wife away with some fewe Cowes more then shee brought, And I could name agreat lord among them, who was credibly reported to haue /30/ putt away his wife of a good Family and beautill<sup>171</sup> only for a fault as light as wynde (which the Irish in generall abhorre) but I dare not name it, lest I offend the perfumed sences, of some whose censure I haue incurred in that kynde.<sup>172</sup> The more Ciuill sorte were not ashamed, and the meere Irish much lesse, to owne their bastards, and to giue them legacies by that name. Insomuch as they haue pleasant fables, of a mother who vpon her death bedd (according to their aboue mentioned Custome) giuing true Fathers to her children, and fynding her husband offended therewith, bad him hold /40/ his peace, or ells shee would giue away all his Children. As also of a boy, who seeing his mother giue base Fathers to some of his bretheren, prayed her with teares to giue him a good father. The Children of the English

Irish, and much more of the meere Irish, are brought vp with small or no austerity, rather with great liberty yea licentiousnes.<sup>173</sup> And when you reade of the fore sayde frequent diuorces, and generally of the wemens immoderate drincking, you may well iudge that incontineny is not rare among them, yet euen in that licentiousnes they hold the /50/ generall ill affection to the English, sooner yealding those ill fruites of loue to an Irish horsboy, then to any Eenglish of better condition,<sup>174</sup> but howe their Priests triumph in this luxurious field, lett them tell who haue seene their practise. //

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{ m.n. 1 - 3. *Of their military affaires.* }

It remaynes to speake something of their military affayres. Their horsemen are all gentlemen, I mean of great *Septs* or names, how base soeuer otherwise, and generally the *Irish* abhorre from vsing mares for their Sadle, and indeed they vse no saddles, but either long narrow pillions bumbasted, or bare boardes of that fashion.<sup>175</sup> So as they may easily be cast of from their horses, yet being very nimble doe as easily mount them againe, leaping vpp without any helpe of stirroppe, which they neither vse nor haue, as like wise they vse no bootes nor spurs. They carry waightye /10/ speares not with points vpward resting them on their sides or thighes, but holding them in their hands with the poynts downe wards, and striking with them as with darts, which darts they also vse to carry, and to cast them after their enemyes when they wheele about,. These speares they vse to shake ouer their heads, and by their sydes carry long swords, and haue no defensiuie Armor, but only a Morion on their heads.<sup>176</sup> They are more fitt to make a brauado,<sup>177</sup> and to offer light skirmishes then for a sound incounter. Neither did I euer see them performe any thing with bold /20/ resolution. They assaile not in a ioynt body but scattered, and are cruell Executioners vppon flying enemyes, but otherwise, howsoeuer, they make a good noyse, and Clamor, ↑ in the assa<u>lt, yet when they come neere ↑ they sodenly and ridiculously wheele about, neuer daring to abide the shock.<sup>178</sup> So as howsoeuer the troopes of *English* horse by their strong second giue Courage and strength to their Foote Companies, yet these *Irish* horse men basely withdrawing themselues from daunger, are of small or no vse, and all the strength of the *Irish* consists of their Foote, since they dare not stand in a playne feilde, /30/ but alwayes fight vppon boggs, and paces or skirts of woods, where the Foote being very nimble, come of and on at pleasure, and if the Enemyes be fearefull vppon the deformity and strength of their bodyes, or barbarous Cryes they make in the assault, or vppon any ill accident shew feare and begin to flye, the *Irish* Foote without any helpe of horse [and] ↑ are ↑ exceeding swift and terrible Executioners,



in which Case only of flying or fearing, they haue at any tyme preuailed against the *English*. And how vnprofitable their horse are, and of what small moment to helpe their foote, /40/ that one battell at *Kinsall* did abundantly shewe, where the *Irish* horse and Foote being encouraged by the *Spaniards* to stand in the Playne feild, the horse were so farr from giving the Foote any courage or second, as for feare they brake first through their owne bodyes of Foote, and after withdrawing themselues to a hill distant from the Foote, as if they intended rather to behold the battell then to fight themselues, by this forsaking of their Foote, they might iustly be said to be the cheife Cause of their ouerthrowe. Their horses are of a small stature, excellent Amblers, but of litle or no boldnes, /50/ and small strength either for battell or long marches, fitt and vsed only for short excursions in fighting, and short Iourneyes and being fedd vppon boggs, and soft ground, are tender houed and soone grow lame, vsed vppon hard ground.

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So as our *English* horsemen having deepe warr sadles and vsing pistolls<sup>179</sup> aswell as Speares and swords, and many of them having Corsletts,<sup>180</sup> and like defensiuie Armes, and being bold and strong for incounters and long marches, and of greater stature then the *Irish*, our Troopes must needs haue great advantages ouer theirs.

Touching their Foote, he that had seene them in the beginning of the Rebellion so rude, [and] ↑ as being to shoote off a muskett, one had it laid on his shoulders, an other aymed it at the marke, and a third gaue fyer, and ↑ that ↑ not without feare and trembling, /10/ would haue wondered in short tyme after to see them most bold and ready in the vse of their peeces, and would haue sayd that the *Spartaynes*, had great reason who made a lawe, neuer to make long warr with any of their neighbors, but after they had giuen them one or two foyles<sup>181</sup> for strengthning of their subiection, to giue them peace, and lead their forces against some other, so keeping their men well trayned, and their neighbors rude in the Feates of warr. But when the Earl of *Tyrone* first intended to rebell, he vsed two Crafty practises. The first to pretend a purpose of building a fayre house, /20/ (which we hold a sure argument of faithfull hartes to the State) and to couer it with leade, whereby he gott license to transport a great quantity of leade out of *England*, which after he converted to make bullets.<sup>182</sup> The second to pretend to ioine his forces in Ayde of the *Englishe* against the first Rebels, which himselfe had putt forth, whereby he gott our Captaines with license of the State to trayne his men, who were after called *Butter* Captaines, because they and their men liued vppon Sesse in his Country,

having only victualls for their reward.<sup>183</sup> And surely howsoever some of /30/ the English State, lightly regarded the frequent Rebellions of the *Irish*, thincking them rather profitable to exercise the *English* in Armes, then dangerous to disturbe the State; yet wofull experience taught vs that the last Rebellion wanted very litle of loosing that kingdome. The *Irish* foote in generall are such, as ↑↑ thinck men of more actiue bodyes, more able to suffer Cold, heat hunger, and thirst, and whose myndes are more voyde of feare, can hardly be founde. It is true that they rather know not then despise the rules of honor, obserued by other nations, That they are desyrous of /40/ wayne glory, and fearefull of infamy, appeares by their estimation of these *Bards* or Poetts, whome they gladly heare sing of their prayse, as they feare nothing more then Rymes made in their reproche. Yet because they are onely trayned to skirmish vppon Boggs, and difficult paces or passages of woods, and not to stand and fight in a firme body vppon the playnes, they thinck it no shame to flye, or runn off from fighting, as they finde advantage, (and indeed at *Kinsale*, when they were drawne by the *Spaniards* to stand in firme bodyes, vppon the playne, they were easily defeated). And because /50/ they are not trayned to keepe or take strong places, they are easily beaten out of any Forts or Trenches, and a weake house or Forte may easily be defended with a few shott against their rude multitude. diuerse kyndes of Foote, vse diuerse kyndes of Armes. First the *Galliglasses* are armed with Moryons, and Halberts,<sup>184</sup> Secondly the *Kerne*, and some of their Footemen, are armed with waighty Iron males, and Iacks,<sup>185</sup> and assayle horsemen aloofe<sup>186</sup> with casting darts and at //

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hand with the sword.<sup>187</sup> Thirdly their shott, which I said to be so rude in the beginning of the Rebellion, as three men were vsed to shoote off one peece not without feare, became in fewe yeares most actiue, bold, and expert in the vse of their peeces. All these Foote assayle the Enemy with rude barbarous Cryes, and hope to make them afrayd therewith, as also with their nakednes, and barbarous lookes, in which case they insist violently, being terrible Executioners by their swiftnes of Foote vppon flying Enemyes, neuer sparing any that yeild to mercy, yea being most bloody and cruell towards their /10/ Captiues vppon ↑cold blood, contrary to the practise of all noble↑ enemyes, and not only mangling the bodyes of their dead Enemyes, but neuer beleeuing them to be fully dead till they haue cutt of their heads.<sup>188</sup> But after the *English* had learned to abide their first assault firmly, and without feare, notwithstanding their boldnes, and actiuity, they found them faintly to assayle, and easily to giue



ground, when they were assayled, yet neuer could doe any great execution, on them vppon the Boggs and ↑ in ↑ woods where they were nimble to flye, and skilfull in all passages, especially our horse there not being able to serue vppon them.<sup>189</sup> To conclude, as they /20/ beginn to fight with barbarous Cryes, so it is ridiculous and most true, that when they beginn to retyre from the skirmish, some runn out to braule and scowlde like women with the next Enemyes, which signe of their skirmish ending and their retyring into the thick woods neuer fayled vs.

{ m.n. 26 - 28. *Of their shipping.* }

Touching the Shippes in *Ireland*, they had then no men of warr, nor marchants Shippes armed, only some three or fower trading for *Spaine*, and *Fraunce*, carryed a fewe Iron peeces for defence against Pyratts in our Channell, that might assaile them in boates, and they were all vnder /30/ one hundreth Tonnes burthen. The rest of their Shippes were all of much lesse burthen seruing only to transport passengers to and fro, and horses and marchandize out of *England* litle, or nothing being carryed out of *Ireland* in tyme of the Rebellion. And these were not many in numbrell,<sup>190</sup> the *English* shippes, most commonly seruing for those purposes. So as litle can be said of their Marriners for Navigation, only by the generall nature of the people, I suppose, that they being witty, bold and slouggish, if they had liberty to build great Shippes for trade, they were like to proue /40/ skilfull and bold in nauigation, but neuer industrious in traffique. It is true, that the Arch Traytor *Tyrone* vppon his good successes grewe at last so proude, as in a Treaty of peace he propounded an Article, that it might be lawfull for the *Irish* to builde great armed Shippes for trade, and men of warr for the defence of the Coast, but it was with skorne reiected by the Queenes Commisioners. Lastly I thinck I may boldly say, that no *Iland* in the world hath more large and Commodious Hauens for the greatest shippes and whole Fleetes of them, then *Ireland* hath on all sydes, /50/ excepting St *Georges* Channell, which hath many Flatts, and they<sup>191</sup> hauens there be fewe, small and barred or vnsafe to enter; For otherwise in one third part of *Ireland* from *Galloway* to *Calebeg* in the North, it hath 14 large Hauens, whereof some may receiue 200th, some 300th, some 400th great Shippes, and only two or three, are barred and shallowe, besides diuerse large and Commodious Hauens in *Mounster*. //

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{ m.n. 1, 2. *In generall of the Irish warrs.* }

Having spoken particularly of their horse and Foote and shipping, I will add some thing in generall of the *Irish* warrs. It hath beene obserued that

euery Rebellion in *Ireland*, hath growne more dangerous then the former, and though Maryners are industrious, & vigilant in a Tempest; yet the *English* haue euer bene slowe in resisting the beginnings of sedition, but as Maryners sleepe securely in Calmes, so the *English* having appeased any Rebellion, euer became secure without taking any constant Course to preuent future dangers in that kinde. In this last Rebellion, I am afrayd to remember how litle that kingdome wanted of being lost, and rent from the *English* gouernment /10/ for it was not a small disturbance of peace or a light trouble to the State, but the very foundations of the *English* power in that kingdome, were shaken and fearefully tottered, and were preserued from ruine more by the prouidence of God out of his great mercye, (as may appeare by the particular affayres at the seige of *Kinsale*)<sup>192</sup> then by our Counsellis and Remidyes (which were in the beginning full of negligence in the Progresse distracted with strong factions, and to the end, slowe and sparing in all Supplyes), so as if the *Irish* Soldiers which were at first vnskilfull (and ought to haue bene so kept in true policie of State) as in short tyme they /20/ grew skilfull and ready in the vse of the peece, the sword and other Armes, and very actiue and valiant in light skirmishes, had likewise attained the discipline of warr to marche orderly, and fight vppon the playne to assault and keepe Fortes, and to manage great Ordinance, (which they neither had nor knew to vse). If the barbarous lordes, as they were full of pride, some vaunting themselues to bee descended from the old kings of *Ireland* so had not nourished factions among themselues, but had consented to chuse a king ouer them, after their many good successes, more specially after the [good] defeate of *Blackwater*, (when it was truely said to the Earle of *Tyrone*, that /30/ the *Romans* said of *Hanniball* after the defeate of *Cannas*, thou knowest to ouercome, but knowest not to make vse of thy victory).<sup>193</sup> Not to speake of the prouidence of God euen miraculously protecting our Religion against the Papists. No doubt in humane wisdom, that Rebellion would haue had an other end then by the grace of God it had. And it was iustly feared, that if constant serious remedies were not vsed to preuent future eruptions, the next Rebellion might proue fatall to the *English* State.<sup>194</sup>

Now that I may not seeme forward to reprove others, but negligent in obseruing our owne errors, giue me leaue to say boldly, and to /40/ shewe particularly, that the following and no other causes brought vppon vs all the mischeifes to which the last rebellion, made vs subiect. When any Rebell troubled the State, our Custome was, for saving of Charges, not to suppress him with our owne Armes, but to rayse vpp some of his Neighbors against him, supporting him with meanes to annoy him, and



promoting him to greater dignities and possessions of land, and if he were of his owne blood, then making him cheefe of the name, (which dignity wee should constantly haue extinguished, since nothing could more disturbe peace then to haue all Septs combyned vnder one head). And these /50/ Neighbor lordes thus rayseed neuer fayled to proue more pernicious Rebels, then th<sup>e</sup>y against whome they were supported by vs. One instance shall serue for prooffe of the Earl of *Tyrone* rayseed by our State from the lowest degree, against his kinsman *Tirlogh Linnaghe*, whome the Queene too long supported, euen till his men were expert in Armes, and too highly exalted, euen till he had all his opposites power in his hand, which he vsed farr woorse then the other, or any of the *Oneales* ↑before him↑.<sup>195</sup> In our State *parcatur sumptui; lett cost be spared*, were euer two most fatall wordes to our gouernment in *Ireland*, as by this and that which followes, shall playnely appeare.<sup>196</sup> /60/ //

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When the Rebellion first began we to saue charges not only vsed the *Irish* one against the other, but long forbore to levye *English* Soldiers vaynely thincking to reduce them by Treatyes,. When the Rebellion was increased, wee to saue charge in transporting *English* Soldiers, rayseed whole Companies of the *English Irish*, and as our Captaynes had trayned *Tyrone*s men while he pretended seruice to the State, so ↑now↑ we trayned in our Army all the *English Irish* giuing them free vse of Armes, which should be kept only in the hands of faithfull Subiects. This raysing of whole Companies of Foote and Troopes of horse among them, was a great error, /10/ For they once having gotten the vse of Armes, wee durst not Cast them, lest they should fall to the Rebels party. Perhapps their sociall Armes might haue bene vsefull, if wee had mixed them in our Companies, and that in small limited numbers, but wee not only rayseed whole bands of them, and all of one Sept, or name, (easily conspiring in mischeife,) and vsed their seruice at home, (where they would not drawe blood vppon any Neighbor Sept, and liued idly vppon their own prouisions, putting all the Queenes pay into their purses, which might haue bene preuented by employing them in remote places), but sometymes trusted them with /20/ keeping of Forts, for which seruice they are most vnfit, though we doubted not of their faithfulness, iustly then suspected, yea further weakned all our owne bands and troopes by intertayning them. For an *English* Troope of horse sent out of *England* commonly in a yeares space, was turned halfe into *Irish* (having woorse horses and Armes and no saddles, besides the losse of the *English* horsemen) only because the *Irish* would serue with their owne horses, and could make better shift with lesse pay.

And in like sort our *English* bands of Foote were in short tyme filled with *English Irish*, because they could make better shift for Clothes and meate, with lesse pay /30/ from their Captaynes.

In all the warr we only vsed the *English Irish* for horseboyes, who were slothfull in our seruice, and litle loued vs, but having learned our vse of Armes, and growing of ripe yeares often proued stout Rebels. To conclude these errors, I confesse that the *English Irish* serued valiantly and honestly in our Army, whereof many tymes a third part consisted of them, but many particular events taught vs, that these our Counsell were dangerous, and made vs wish they had beene preuented at first, though in the end for necessity we made the best vse we could of the /40/ woorst.

Other great abuses though lesse concerning the *Irish* in particular, were committed in our Army, The munition in great part was of sale wares, as namely the tooles for Pyoners, & Musketts slightly made to gayne by the emption which our Officers might haue shamed to see compared with those of the *Spaniards* brought to *Kinsale*.<sup>197</sup> Our Powder and all munitions were daily sold to the Rebels by diuerse practises. For sometymes the vnder officers of the Ordinance there would sell some proportions of diuerse kindes of munition to Citizens or ill affected Subiects, and /50/ sometymes the Cast Captaynes commonly vsing to appropriate to themselues the Armes of their Cast Soldiers, did sell them to the Citizens, and sometymes the Common soldier, having proportion of Powder allowed him for exercise of his peece, sold to the Citizens whatsoever he could spare thereof, or the powder left him after skirmishes, and all these munitions sold to the Citizens, were by them vnderhand conveyed to the Rebels, who would giue more for them then they were woorth. In like sort the Contractors seruing the Army with victualls, having obtayned from the Counsell in *England* liberty to sell to the Citizens and poore Subiects such /60/ //

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victualls as were like to grow mowldye, their seruants in *Ireland* many tymes, whiles they serued the Army with mouldye biskett, and cheese,<sup>198</sup> did vnderhand sell the best to such Citizens and Subiects by whome it was conveyed to the Rebels. For reforming of which abuses, Commaund was giuen out of *England*, that some offenders should be detected, and seuerely punished for example, and that the Citizens should be forbidden vpon great penalty to buy any munition vpon pretence to sell it to Subiects, who should rather be serued out of the publike Stores, and that the victualers should be restrayned from selling any victualls, or because that



could /10/ not be without great losse to the publike State in allowing great wast, that faithfull ouerseers at least might be appointed to veiwe what was mouldye, and to whome it was sold. But these abuses were not detected till towards the end of the Rebellion, so as the Remidyes too late prescribed, were neuer putt in execution.

Againe one great mischeife did great preiudice to vs, that our stores were not alwayes furnished aforehand, so as the mouing of our Army was often stayed till the munition and victualls ariued which is most dangerous especially in *Ireland*, where wyndes out of *England*, are /20/ very rare, and sometymes blowe contrary halfe a yeaere together, whereof we had experience at *Kinsale*, where assoone as our soldiers, munition and victualls, were happily ariued, the wynde turned presently to the west, and blew <n>o more out of *England* till the *Spaniards* had yeilded vpon Composition.<sup>199</sup>

Agayne our Prouant masters<sup>200</sup> for apparrelling the soldier, dealt as corruptly as the rest, not sending halfe the proportion of Apparrell due to the Soldier, but compounding for great part thereof with the Captaines in ready mony, they having many *Irish* soldiers, who were content to serue without any Clothes, besides that the apparrell /30/ prouided by them was nothing neere<sup>201</sup> so good, as the allowed price required. The Prouant Masters thus compounding with the Captaynes, they contented the Soldiers, with a litle drincking mony which the *Irish* desyred rather then Clothes, not caring to goe halfe naked, by whose example, some of the *English* were drawne to like barbarous basenes. So as in a hard winter seige, as at *Kinsale* (and likewise at other tymes) they dyed for colde in great numbers, to the greife of all beholders.

Agayne wee had no hospitalls to releiue the sick and hurt soldiers, so as they dyed vpon a small Colde taken, or a prick of the finger, for want of Convenient releife for fewe dayes till they might /40/ recouer.

Thus howsoever they wanted not excellent Chirurgeons<sup>202</sup> & carefull of them, yet particularly at the seige of *Kinsale*, they dyed by dozens on an heape, for want of litle cherishing with hott meat, and warme lodging, Notwithstanding the lord *Deputyes* care, who had imposed on his Chapleine the Taske to be as it were the sick Soldiers Steward to dispence a good proportion of victualls ready dressed for comfort of the sick, and hurt soldiers, at the Charitable Almes of the Captaines about the Soldiers pay. Where a king fights in the head of [the] ↑his↑ Army, such braue

Soldiers as ours were could not haue suffered want, /50/ but deputies and Generalls though honourable and Charitable persons, cannot goe much beyond their tedder.<sup>203</sup> To conclude, nothing hath more preserued the Army of the vnited *Netherlanders*, then such publike houses, where great numbers haue bene recouered, that without them must needs haue perished.

Lastly *Guicciardine* writes that the Popes are more abused in their musters of Soldiers then any other Prince; which may be true compared with the frugall *Venetians*, and States of the lowe Countryes, and with Armyes where the Prince is in person.<sup>204</sup> But I //

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will boldly say that Queene *Elizabeth* of happy memory, fighting by her Generalls, was incredibly abused in the musters of her Army, both in the low Countryes and *Fraunce*, and especially in *Ireland*, where the strongest bands of one hundreth Fiftye by *list*, neuer exceeded 120 by Pole at the taking of the Feilde, vppon pretence of tenn dead payes<sup>205</sup> allowed the Captayne for his seruants wayting on him, and for extraordinary payes, he might giue some gentlemen of his Company, as also for sick soldiers left in his Garrison, besydes that many tymes the strongest bands were much weaker, by wanting of supplyes of *English* men to fill them.<sup>206</sup> But they were farr /10/ more weake at the Coming out of the Feilde and retyring to Garrisons vppon pretence of men dead in the sommer seruice.<sup>207</sup> yet were the Checks nothing answerable to the deficient numbers, wherein the Queene was much wronged, paying more then she had, and her Generall serued with great disadvantages, being reputed to fight with great[er] numbers in list, when he had not two thirds parts of them by Pole, yea scarce halfe of them, considering the men taken out of the Army, for Warders in Castles, and Fortes. It is pittie the Popes should not be much more abused in their musters, who should haue nothing to doe with Armes; but /20/ temporall Princes, to whome the mistery of Armes properly belongeth, ought carefully to preuent this mischeife, to pay men in list, who are not to be found by Pole when they should fight.<sup>208</sup> And more specially in Fortes, where the Couetous Captaines abating their numbers, and passing their false musters by bribery, lye open to the Enemyes surprisall, as besides many other examples, we founde by the destruction of our Garrison at the *Derry in Odogherties* Rebellion, where the Captaine wanted many of his number, and of those he had many were *English Irish*, seruing for small paye, to whome the keeping of Fortes should not be committed.<sup>209</sup> The Queene /30/ to preuent this mischeife, increased the number of Commissaryes, but that was found only to



increase the Captaynes bribes, not the number of his men. Therefore some thought the best reformation would be, if the pay formerly made to the Captayne for his whole band, were paid by a sworne Comm<sup>missary</sup> to the soldiers by Pole, and those Comm<sup>missaryes</sup> exemplarily punished vpon any deceite, whose punishment the Soldier would not only well indure, but ioyfully applaude.<sup>210</sup> Others thought the Pay should still be made to the Captaynes as honourable persons, so their deceit were punished by note of infamy, and Cashing out of imployment, in /40/ which Case their honor being deare to them, they would either not offend, or few examples of punishment would reduce all to good order in short tyme.

{ m.n. 44 - 46. *Reformation intended at the end of the last Rebellion.* }

Having largely written of all mischeifes growne in the gouernment of *Ireland*, I will add something of the Reformation intended at the end of the last Rebellion. The worthy lord *Mountioy* (as I haue mentioned in the end of the second part of this woorke) having reduced *Ireland* from the most desperate estate, in which it had euer beene since the Conquest, to the most absolute subiection, being made as a fayre payre of Tables wherein /50/ our State might write, what lawes best fitted it; yet knowing that He left that great woorke vnperfect, and subiect to relapse, except his Successors should finish the building, whereof he had layd the foundation, and should polish the stones, which he had only rough hewed. And fynding euery Rebellion in *Ireland* to haue //  
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beene more dangerous then the former, and the last to haue wanted litle of Casting the *English* out of that kingdome, was most carefull to preuent all future mischeefes. To which end (howsoever his disignes were diuerted) I dare boldly say, both from his discourse with nearest frendes, and from the papers he left, that he projected many good poynts of Reformation, wherof these fewe that followe are worthy to be remembred.

First to establish the maintenance of some necessary Forts planted within land remote from Seas & Riuers, /10/ the warders whereof might cleare all paces (or passages of Boages<sup>211</sup> and woodes) and might not only keepe the Irish in awe, but be to the State as it were spyes to advertise all mutinous and seditious inclinations. Also to plant like Garrysons vpon such hauens, as be easy and commodious for the discent of forrayne enemyes. And because the Cittyes (espetyally of mounster) hauing large priuiledges graunted to the first English inhabitants (as namely the Profitt of Fynes and penall Statutes) had many wayes abused them in /20/ the last Rebellion to the preiudice of the Commonwealth (as namely in remitting

to the delinquents all Fynes and penalties imposed on them, for transporting & importing Iesuites and Priests and prohibited wares) and also because these Cittyes in the Rebellion had nourished the same by secrete practises, and in the ende thereof, had by open sedition in the cause of Religion forfeited theire Charteres, his lordship purposed to procure the Cutting off many exorbitant priuiledges in the renewing of theire Charters, and likewise the establishing of Forts /30/ with strong garrysons vpon those Cittyes which has shewed themselues most false harted and Mutinus, more spetially Corke and Watterford, who had denyed entrance to the kings Forces, and were only reduced by a strong hand from theire obstinate sedition, without which Fortes he thought the Cittyes would nether be kept in obedience for the safetie of the Army, nor be brought to any due reformation in Religion. But howsoever Dublin was no lesse ill affected in the cause of Religion then the rest, yet he thought /40/ it sufficiently restrayned by the residency of the lord Deputy in the Castle, and great numbers of English that lodged in the Citty attending vpon the State. For the Fortes within land, he hoped they would in shorte tyme become townes well inhabited, as was founde by experience in the old Fortes of Lease and Ophalia,<sup>212</sup> and in some newe Fortes in Vlster, and that they would much strengthen the State, so great Caution were had that only English soldyers shoulde keepe them, and that by faythfull Musters<sup>213</sup> they were kept strong, /50/ so as the Covetousnes of Captaynes might not lay them open to surprisall, ether by taking Irish soldyers seruing for lesse ↑pay↑, or by wanting theire full number of warders, and that, as the garrysons were to haue land allotted and many priuiledges graunted to them so constant care were taken to keepe them from //

*fol. 293.*

spoyling the Countrey by seuer discipline. Agayne for the Fortes, because he feared the soldyers could not be kept from making affinity by maryage with the neighboring Irish, and for that the Captaynes and officers were likely to intertayne the Irish for Soldyers and seruants as Content with small or no wages, whereby the Fortes could not but be subiect to betraying, as likewise for that the Captaynes were likely in tyme by letters Pattens from the State to apropiate to themselues the land allotted to each Forte for the pub/10/like vse of the garrysons, and for diuers like reasons, more spetially for that the Continuall sound of Drommes and Trumpitts was dissonant from a Commonwealth peaceably governed: His lordship thought these Fortes were not like to yeald such strength to the State as the planting of Faythfull Colonies. And so his lordship in the second place purposed to perswade the Reformation of the old Colonies, and the leading of newe into that kingdome, both to be planted vpon the Sea



Coasts, and vpon Riuers and Nauigable lakes lying vpon the Sea, /20/ Forsing the Irish to inhabitt the Countreyes within land, whereby these Colonies might be free or more safe from their assaults, and not only be easely releued out of England, but growe rich with forrayne traffique, And to this purpose to exchange inland possessions pertayning to the old Colonies or belonging to the king, with such Irish as then had their lands vpon the Sea Coasts, Riuers, and lakes, giuing them greater proportions of ground, to make them better content with this exchange. Some aduised in this exchange, to giue /30/ the Irish also those spirituall liuings which the<sup>214</sup> helde by Custody as vacant at that tyme, but this course was thought to ouerthrowe the foundation of all good reformation, that must beginn with Religion, which could not be established without settling a learned and honest Cleargy, nor they be mantayned without these liuings.<sup>215</sup> But because the Irish and English Irish were obstinate in Popish superstition, great care was thought fitt to be taken, that these newe Colonies should consist of such men, as were most vnlike to fall to the barbarous /40/ Customes of the Irish, or the Popish superstition of Irish and English Irish so as no lesse Cautions were to be obserued for vniting them and keeping them from mixing with the other, then if these newe Colonies were to be ledd to inhabitt among the barbarous Indians.<sup>216</sup> In which respect caution was thought fitt to be had, that these newe Colonies, should not Consist of obstinate Papists, nor Criminall fugitiues, Cuttpurses, and infamous weomen, or persons rather drawne out to Clense England of ill members, then to reduce Ireland to /50/ Ciuility and true Religion, but of honest gentlemen and husbandmen to inhabitt the Country, and honest Cittisens and marchants to inhabitt the Cittyes, with weomen of good fame, and espetially learned and honest Preachers and ministers for them both. That the Cittisens consisting of noble and Plebean Families, should builde and fortifye //

*fol.294.*

Cittyes, vpon the riuers and lakes, to be thoroughfayres for the whole kingdome, all other by passages through woodes and desert places being shutt vp, so as theeues and malefactors might more easily be apprehended, and all Catle, being not otherwise to be solde or bough then in publike marketts of Cittyes, All theftes and Rapines might easily betected,<sup>217</sup> and the barbarous people seeing the Cittisens to liue plentifully vnder good gouernment, and to growe rich by trades and traffique, might in tyme be allured to imbrace their Ciuill manners and profitable industrie. /10/ That the gentlemen inhabiting the adioyning Countreyes, should dwell in Castles of stone, and not keepe there husbandmen vnder absolute Commaun[d]d as Tennants at will, but graunt them freeholds,

Copieholdes, and leases, with obligation to mantayne horse and Foote, and to rise vp with them for defence of the [Army] ↑Country↑, from theftes and incursions. And in case England was not able to supply these Colonyes, or the English (as lesse industrious) were not thought so fitt for this purpose, without others ioyned with them, then his lordship Iudged the Netherlanders most /20/ fitt to be drawne to this worke, as a people most industrious, peaceable, and subiect to iust commaund, and abounding with inhabitants, but streaightend by not hauing large teritories.<sup>218</sup> Many other cautions were projected for the quality of these Colonies, as that they should not dwell together in great numbers of one Sept or name, nor should Consist of bordering people, (vsed to liue like outlawes vpon spoyle, and one Sept to haue deadly quarrells and hatred (as it were by inheritance) with an other) That they should be a Free people /30/ like ↑the↑ Flemings, and vsed to liue of themselues like them and the Italians, not vsed to the absolute Commandes of lords after the seruile manner of Ireland, which dependancye makes them apt to followe their lords into Rebellion and priuate quarells. That they should be such, as were not vsed to liue in smoaky Cotages and Cabines, or to goe naked and in ragged apparrell, but in Commodious houses and decently attyred, that so they might not be apt to fall to the Irish manners, but rather to bring them to Ciuility. That they should be planted in remote /40/ places [...] ↑in↑ their natiue home, lest in seditions they might easily drawe their neighboring frendes and Countrymen to take part with them. Finally & espetially, that they should be soundly affected to the Reformed Religion.

Thirdly because his lordship knewe all endeouours would be in vayne, if Ciuill magistrates should thincke by fayre meanes without the sworde to reduce the Irish to due obedience (they hauing beene Conquered by the sword, and that Maxime being infallible, that /50/ all kingdomes must be preserued by the meanes by which they were first gayned, and the Irish espetially being by their nature plyable to a harde hand, and Iadish when vpon the least pricking of prouender the bridle is lett loose vnto them<sup>219</sup>) Therefore it was thought fitt that the Irish should not only beare no armes in the pay of the State (which should euer be committed to the hands of most faithfull Subiects) but should also haue all priuate Armes taken from them, till by Parliament it might be agreed, what vse of swordes or Peeces  
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*fol.*295.

were fitt to be graunted some men by priuiledge for grace & ornament, or for necessary vse, as for fowling and like vses.<sup>220</sup> And howsoever this disarming of the *Irish* could not well be done during the Rebellion, when



the Counsell of *England* commaunded it, because the submitted *Irish* should thereby [be] ↑ haue beene ↑ left a pray to the spoyling of those that were still in Rebellion, yet nothing seemed more fitt and easy to be done when the Rebellion was fully appeased, and our Conquering Army houered like Falcons ouer the heads of any that should dare to resist,. And likewise that lawes of Reformation should be enacted by Parliament, if either the *Irish* would consent /10/ or could be ouertopped by the voyces of the new Colonyes and Bishopps, or otherwise should be imposed by absolute power, as no doubt the king of *Spaine* would doe vppon any his Subiects in like case, to whose subiection the *Irish* seemed then strongly affected. Fourthly for the last alledged reason, his lordshipp purposed to procure that the *English* Army should be continued in some strength, till [Rebellion] ↑ Religion ↑ were reformed, whereof I shall treate in the last Chapter of the next Booke, and till the kings Reuenues Customes and Tributes were established, whereof some thing must here be added.

Of old the Customes of exported or imported marchandize, were /20/ very small, the people having fewe Commodities to export, and desyring not to haue more imported then wyne and such things for necessity, vppon which things the ancient kings imposed small or no Customes, in regard the Conquered *Irish* were basely poore, and content with any apparrell, yea<sup>221</sup> with nakednes, and with milke and butter for foode, and for that it was fitt the *English Irish*, should haue immunity from such burthens, thereby to drawe more Inhabitants into that kingdome. For which reason also the Tolles within land, and the Rents of the kings lands of Inheritance were of small value, and both they and the Customes, yea the very /30/ Fynes of penall Statutes, were for rewardes of seruice giuen or lett vppon a small Rent to the *English Irish* Cittyes, and lordes of Countreyes. In the last Rebellion the whole Reuenues of the kingdome amounting to some thirty thousand pounds yearly, were so farr from defraying the Charge of the Army, as it cost the State of *England* one yeare with an other, all Reckonings cast vpp betweene 200 and 300th thousand pounds yearly aboue the Reuenue. And the Rebellion being appeased, when the Army was reduced to i200 Foote, and some 400 horse, yet the Charge of these small forces, and the Stipends of Magistrates and Iudges, /40/ exceeded the Reuenues some 45 thousand pounds yearly.

But due Courses being taken in this tyme of peace, it was thought the Reuenues might be much increased, then which nothing was more necessary. The *Irish* Cowes are so stubborne, as many tymes they will not be milked but by some one woman, when, how, and by whome they list.<sup>222</sup>

If their Calves be taken from them, or they otherwise grewe stubborne, the skinnes of the Calues stuffed with strawe must be sett by them to smell on, and many fooleries done to please them, or els they will yeilde no milke. And the Inhabitants of that tyme were no lesse froward<sup>223</sup> in their /50/ obedience to the State, then their beasts were to them. But I would gladly know from them by what right they challenge more priuiledge then *England* hath, why they should not beare the same tributes and Subsidyes that *England* beareth, and why so rich a kingdome should be so great a burthen to the State of *England* and not rather yeild profit about the Charge thereof. One lord //

{ c.w. of the County }

fol:296.

Countye of *Carberie* being in Rebellion mantayned one thousand Rebels against the State, who after becoming a Subiect, was hardly drawne to serue the State with thirty foote, at the invasion of the *Spaniards*, and yet thought he deserued thanks and reward for that ↑poore↑ Supply.<sup>224</sup> I cannot wonder inough, how the lordes of *Ireland* can be so blinde in their owne affections as having mantayned some 15000 men in Rebellion, they should thinck much in tyme of peace to pay the Stipends of Magistrates and Iudges, and to mantayne the small Remnant of the *English* Army being some 1200 Foote, and vnder 500 horse. Of old after the first Conquest, /10/ when *Vlster* was obedient to the State, that Prouince alone paid 30000 markes yearly into the Exchequer, and besides, (as many Relations witnes) mantayned some thousands of Foote for the States seruice, yeilding also Tymber to build the kings Shipps, and other helpes of great importance to the State. No doubt *Ireland* after the Rebellion appeased, was in short tyme ↑like to be↑ more rich, and happy in all aboundance, then euer it had bene, if the Subiects would delight in the Arts of peace, and the fertility of *Ireland* yeildeth not to *England*, if it had as many, and as industrious Inhabitants. In Sommer it hath lesse heat then *England*, which proceeding /20/ from the reflection of the sunne vppon the earth, is abated by the frequent Boggs and lakes, (which together with rawe or litle rosted meates, cause the Country diseases, of Fluxes and Agues fatall to the *English*) but this defect might be helped by the in<d>ustry of Husbandmen drayning the grounds, and may hinder the ripening of some fruites, but no way hurtes the Corne, though perhapps it may cause a later Haruest then *England* hath.<sup>225</sup> Againe in winter by the hu<mi>ditye of Sea and land, *Ireland* is lesse subiect to Colde then *England*, so as the Pastures are greene, and the Gardens full of Rosemary, laurell and sweete hearbes, which the Colde of *England* /30/ often destroyeth.<sup>226</sup> It passeth *England* in Riuers, and frequent lakes abounding with fish, whereof one lake called the *Bande*



yeildeth 500 libri yearely Rent by Fishing.<sup>227</sup> The Hauens from *Galloway* to *Calebeg*<sup>228</sup> a third part of the kingdome, are fowerteene in number, whereof some will receiue 200th, some 300th, some 400th great shippes, and only two or three of them are barred, and shallowe, and all these with the other Harbors, Creekes, and Seas, on all sydes of *Ireland*, abound with plenty of excellent fish, if the Inhabitants were industrious to gett them for foode and traffique.

For the increasing of the kings Customes ↑ in tyme ↑ by vnsensible degrees, /40/ it was thought the *Irish* were not likely to repyne much thereat, since that burthen greiueth none that are content with natiue Commodities, and affect not forayne luxuries, but they haue bene litle vsed to taxes and Tributes vppon their land, and haue euer kicked at the least burthen in that kinde for the seruice of the State, only bearing it chearefully for their owne ends, as to support the Popish Religion, and to mantayne Agents in *England*, to pleade for that, and other Clamo<ro>us greiuances. Howsoeuer the question is not how willingly they will yeilde profit to the king, but how it may be most commodiously raysed. /50/ To which purpose in regard the wealth of *Ireland* consists especially in Cattell and victualls, and wanted nothing more then mony, the best Relations of the *Irish* estate in those tymes of the Rebellion appeased, thought not so fitt to rayse it by new Compositions of all Countrys, and increasing the old, as by making *Ireland* only to beare the Charge of the magistrates, and Iudges Stipends, and moreouer, to be (as it were) a nursery for some Competent  
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*fol:297.*

*English* forces, extracting old Soldiers from thence vppon occasion of seruice, and sending new men to be trayned vpp in their place. This done whereas forayne Enemyes heretofore thought *Ireland* the weakest place wherein *England* might be annoyed, henceforward, they would rather dare to invade *England*, then *Ireland* thus armed. And the Rents by Compositions would be a trifle in respect of this profit of Sessing soldiers. By sessing I meane, the allotting of Certayne numbers to each Citty and shire to be mantayned by them, who would be as so many Spyes to obserue their Parleyes and Conspiracies, and as Garisons in /10/ Townes to keepe them in awe, whether they might be sent in greater or lesse numbers as the publike seruice required. Prouided alwayes, that this Sessing should be to the kings profit only, not (as it was in the last Rebellion for the Captaynes profit, who tooke all the profit thereof without taking a penny lesse pay from the State, or making any satisfaction to the Subiects, though they had

their hands to charge them. As this Sessing was thought to be most profitable to the State, (easing it of the Armyes charge, esppecially for victualls, whereof the publike stores could neuer be replenished but with farr greater expence then any Compositions were like /20/ to yeilde), so was this kinde of Charge most easy for the *Irish* abounding in victualls. Prouided that the Soldiers were restrayned from extorting by violence more then should be due to them, and the due prouision were [...] gathered by orderly course. For preuention whereof, and for the Soldiers safety, they should not lye scattered in the Country, but together in Garisons, yet not leaving it in the power of the *Irish* to starue them, but they fetching in victualls aforehand, if according to order it were not brought to them. Prouided also, that the Soldiers traueilling for any seruice, should in like sort be restrayned from extortions. When the Rebellion was ended, and the *English* /30/ Army in strength, this course was thought easy to be settled, and if at any tyme after, the State should thinck fitter to receiue yearly <R>ents, it was ↑not↑ doubted but this Course for a tyme would after make the people glad to raise their Compositions, so as the Sessing might be taken away. And by this practise we see that *Fraunce* hath of late rayased great Tributes, increasing them vppon new burthens of warr, and so making the most seditious to abhorr troubles, and loue peace.<sup>229</sup>

Then it was projected that Commissioners should be sent ouer out of *England*. To veiwe such lands, for which small or no rent had long /40/ bene payd to the king, vppon false pretence that they lay waste. To rayse the Rents of those vndertakers in *Mounster*, to whome the Queene having graunted to some 3000, to some more Acres of good land for small Rent, or they having bought it at second hand at so easy a price, as some of them rayased as much profit in one yeare as payd the Purchase, [and that by breaking] ↑and they hauing broken↑ all their Couenants with the Queene, not peopling the land with *English* Tenants, nor having *English* seruants, but vsing the *Irish* for both, as seruing vppon base Conditions, and not building their Castles, but suffering the old Castles to goe to ruine, and so in the Rebellion being betrayde /50/ by their owne *Irish* men, and having no *English* to serue the State, or keepe their owne possessions, were forced vppon the first tumults to quitt their lands, or charge the Queene with warders to keepe their Castles, for which causes, if their estates were not taken from them vppon breach of Couenants, yet at least they deserued to be charged with greater rents,. To tye them strictly to the obseruing hereafter of all Couenants for the publike good, vppon payne to forfeite their graunts,. To dispose for the kings best profit [of] all concealed lands giuen to superstitious vses, which were thought of great value. //



fol:298.

To dispose of spirituall lands and livings by custody to the kings profit, for a tyme till <sup>↑</sup>a<sup>↑</sup> learned Clergie might be settled. To rate the Sessing of Soldiers in *Vlster* where it was thought the people would willingly beare any reasonable burthen, so they might be freed from the great lords Tyranny. To doe the like in other parts of the kingdome, at least for a tyme, since if after yearely Rents were thought more commodious the people would more willingly rayse the Compositions to be freed from this Sessing, and mantayning of Garisons. Lastly to rayse the Customes by degrees, and to consider /10/ what priuiledges of Cittyes, or of priuate men, for that present deseruing litle of the State, were fitt to be cutt of, or restrayned.

By these meanes it was thought no difficult thing in fewe yeares, highly to rayse the kings Reuenues, and to reforme in some good measure the Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall policy. Prouided that these Comm<sup>u</sup>ssioners being of the best sort, for Nobility, and experience, were after the first Reformation continued still in that imployment, and sent ouer once in fīue yeares, or like space of tyme, to visitt that kingdome /20/ especially for the administration of Iustice, yet by the way ([by which] with Arts of peace, and by degrees) for setling and increasing the kings Reuenues, which wee see daily and wisely to haue beene done in *England*.<sup>230</sup> Thus the *Irish* bearing Common and equall burthen with the *English*, should haue no iust cause to complayne and finding Rebellions to increase their burthens, would be taught to loue peace, the *English* should be eased from bearing the wonted burthen of their seditions; the king should haue meanes in *Ireland* to reward his magistrates, and seruants in that kingdome. And it was hoped such treasure might in tyme be drawne out of *Ireland*, /30/ as might in some measure repay the great expences, *England* hath heretofore disbursed to keepe *Ireland* in peace, without raying any least profit from a Conquered kingdome.

{ m.n. 34. *The conclusion.* }

To conclude as I haue taken the boldnes playnely and truely to giue some light of the doubtfull State of *Ireland* about the tyme of the last Rebellioun, soe me thinkes noe *Irish* or English Irish of theise tymes should take offence at any thinge I haue written if they be Cleere from yll affecons wherewith those tymes weare polluted (. I meane in generall, since I haue not Concealed that some of them deserued well in those worst tymes), And for all /40/ other men I trust that in their loue to truth and for the vse may be made of this plaine narracion in future tymes they will perdon any rudenes of stile or Errors of Iudgment which I may haue incurred: God is

my witnes that I envye not to the English Irish any wealth liberty or prerogative they may iustly Challenge, nor yet ↑to↑ the meere Irish a gentle and moderatt gouernment, soe the English Irish had the noble and faithfull hartes of their progenitors towards the Kinges of England, or that lenitye wold make the Irish more obedient, which heretofore hath rather puffed them with pride and wanton /50/ frowardnes: But as they weare both in those tymes very dissobedient (if not malicious) to the State of England I haue byn bould to say that thinges soe standinge England ought to vse power where reason availeth not, nothinge is soe //

{ c.w. proper as to rule }

fol:299.

proper as to rule by force, whome force hath subiected. To keepe the *Irish* in obedience by o<ath>es<sup>231</sup> who were first conquered by Armes, and to vse the like br<id>le towards the *English Irish* who de↑ge↑nerating became Partners in their Rebellions. To impose lawes on them by authority for the publike good, whome reason cannot perswade, to make them by consent for their owne good. To reforme the old Colonyes deformed by their owne faults, and to establish them by planting newe. And to take the sword out of madd mens hands, for such are they that vse Armes against those that armed them. All Subiects /10/ must be kept in duty by loue or feare; loue were better towards both, and especially the *English Irish*, but the meere *Irish* are more plyable, to feare, and such of the other as by habitt haue gotten their barbarous affections, must be manacled in the same Chayne with them. Reformation is necessary; neither of them admitts any. Wee must reforme, and that will gall them, and their pride in those tymes was likely to make them kick,<sup>232</sup> It remayned that by Constant Counsell and all honest meanes, we should take from such Subiects all power to wreake their malice. For to vse remedies sufficient to prouoke them to /20/ anger, and to with hold those that might suppress their furye, were great folly. In a word nothing is more dangerous then midle Counsells, which *England* of old too much practised in *Ireland*. To what purpose are good lawes made, if the people cannot be ledd, or forced to obedience. A man in those dayes might more easily leade Beares and lyons, then the *Irish*. If *Orpheus* himselfe could not make those stones and trees daunce after his Harpe, then *Hercules* and *Theseus* must make them follow their Clubbs.<sup>233</sup> The marshalls must make them feelee punishment, whome Philosophers, and lawgiuers finde without all feeling of their publike /30/ good. Lett any man who hath beene serued with *Irish* Footemen in sober sadnes tell me the truth, if he haue not alwayes founde them most obedient (by generall experience) vnder a hard hand, but stubborne and froward towards their Masters, as soone as they are well cloathed, and sett on horseback, for they are



all in their opinion, and they all wilbe gentlemen, which pouerty made them forgett.<sup>234</sup> This properly belongs to the meere *Irish*, but such of the *English Irish* as are become of that nature, must be content to be ioyned with them, till they retorne to *English* manners and affections. Some of our old Gouvernors /40/ wisely obserued this nature of the *Irish*, and practised the right Course to bridle it, proclayming their Comaunde[r]s at the point of the sword. Such was the lord *Gray* in the late Queenes Raigne lord *Deputy* of *Ireland*, who knew best of all his Predecessors to bridle this feirce and Clamorous Nation. Such was Sir *Richard Bingham*, though only a subordinate Gouvernor of the Prouince of *Connaght*, who with a handfull ↑of↑ Soldiers, and a heauy hand of Iustice, taught vs what Reformation might be wrought this way if it were constantly and sincerely followed.<sup>235</sup> But I know not vppon what grounds of policie the Counsellors /50/ of our State in those dayes, did not approue their actions. For the Complaynts of the subdued *Irish* (which no nation can more skilfully frame to gayne, or at least tye their Iudges, they being alwayes Clamorous, but in aduersity as abiect Suppliants, as proude enemyes in prosperity) I say their Complaynts founde such pittye in the Royall (may I with leaue say womanly) breast of the late famous Queene, and such fauour with the lordes of her Counsell, (/)

{ c.w. perhapps }

fol:300.

(perhapps desyring the present, rather then durable peace of that kingdome) as these late Rebels were sent back comforted for their losses with fayre promises, and the Magistrates recalled into *England*, reaped heauy reproofe for their merited reward. So as their Successors either terrifyed by that ill successe, or ambitious to gayne the hartes of the *Irish*, (at which the Counsell [themselues] of the next lord *Deputy* seemed to ayme<sup>236</sup>) or vppon vayne hope to reduce that nation to obedience by lenity, did in all iudiciall causes so much respect the *Irish*, as to that end they spared not to lay vnequall burthens some/10/tymes on the *English*. Thus new Magistrates bringing newe lawes and Counsell wrought that Confusion which they sought to avoyde. For one Deputy was sharp and seuer, an other affable and gentle, whereas in all good governments howsoever the magistrates are changed, the face of Iustice should constantly remayne one and the same. And what preiudice to the Commonwealth this Course hath of old wrought in *Ireland* particularly, experience hath made mainifest. God graunt that hereafter wee may at least (according to the lattin Proverb) growe wise /20/ with the wounded fisherman, and as in the last rebellion wee were good Epimethei, to discerne (by the sence of ill accidentes) the true Causes thereof ↑so↑ heerafter we may become prouident Promethei, in diuerting fore knowne dangers, before they fall heauily vpon vs.<sup>237</sup>

## PART OF BOOK III CHAPTER VI



Booke III. of [England] and [Scotland] ↑Ireland.↑ touching Religion Chap. VI fol. 451.

{ m.n. 2. Ireland. }

Touching Ireland, for the tymes whereof I write, namely the raigne of the late famous Queene Elizabeth, I may say in generall, that the state of Religion was the bane of the publike State, Causing Alienation of myndes in the Irish from the English, from whence came seditions and Rebelions, as appeares by the second part of this worke, for how should they liue in peace vnder the government of the English, from whome they differed extremely in language, Apparrell, manners, and espetially in Religion, whereof I must nowe write, as I haue /10/ formerly of the rest, in the former Chapter of the Irish Commonwealth. And this point ↑↑ will handle as breefly as I can. The Roman Church, out of Rufinus, would proue that they first in Asia Converted the Irish to Christianity.<sup>238</sup> But the worthy Antiquary Camden wittneth the Contrary, saying that Pope Cælestine, abut the yeare of our lord 431. sent the Bishop Palladius into Ireland, whome Nennius writeth to haue dyed in Britany, and to haue performed nothing in the Conversion of the Irish for which he was sent.<sup>239</sup> He addeth that /20/ Patricke a monke of Britany (which nation was Converted to Christianity in the first age of the Church) passed ouer into Ireland, [and.] and converted that nation, about the yeare 44i. And so deserued to be called the Appostle of th[at]e [nationn] Irish, And that the Monckes of Brittany, Scotland and Ireland weare in those daies most holy and learned men soe as they weare worthie Authors of spreadinge that professionn through all Europe. But withall he expresly saith t~~h~~at the Monckes of those tymes, much differed from those of fo<llowin>g adges and much more from t~~h~~ose of our last adges. For those Monckes of ould desired /30/ to be such as they seemed and weare reputed hauinge noe hipocrisy in them, soe as if they erred in any[thine]↑thinge↑ it was of symplicity not of mallice, much lesse of obstinacy.<sup>240</sup> They soe Contemned ricches and thinges of this world, as they not only Coveted not them, but also refused them, beinge offred for the present, or for inheritance (as hee also saith the Bishoppes of those tymes to haue bynn soe poore, and such Contemnners of Ricches, as they had noe propriety in the wealth of this world<sup>241</sup>) hee addes that those holy Monckes, especially of the Irish nation, attended only the seruice of God in the ancient English or /40/ Brittish monastery of Glastenbury, where they weare mainteyned by Stipendes from the Kinges, and instructed younge schollers in godlines and the liberall sciences:<sup>242</sup> vntill at last Dunstan a bould and Crafty ↑man↑ insynuatinge himself by ill artes in↑to↑ the fauor of Princes, did cast those holy men out of that Monastery abowte the yeare 950, and

settled in their place a great multitude of Benedictyne Monckes of a latter institution, makinge himself Abbott over them, which Monckes from that tyme gott very ricch inheritance, and ruled over all the adioyninge pertes.<sup>243</sup> For at that tyme the English Saxon kinges soe much esteemed Monckish life, as with incredible expence they not only built very many Monasteries //

fol.452.

in England, but many of them became monkes, preferring that life to their Scepters. Touching the State of monkes ingenerall through Christendome, the old writers affirme, that one Paulus, about the yeare. 256, first tooke vpon him to liue a solitary life,<sup>244</sup> after which, some Companies liuing together, only attending prayers, fastings, and the Studies of learning, drewe that life into generall estimation, and the persecutions of those tymes invited many to that course of life, which at first was simple, and free, not bound by any Vowes, or to /10/ any fastings or like rules of life, but euery man had power to leaue that Course, and retorne to his former State of life at his pleasure Basill the great made Bishop of Cæsarea about the yeare 365, being offended with the Corruptions and dissolute disaplyne of the Church, retyred to solitary life, and is sayd first to haue bound his Monkes, that if after one yeare they would still liue in a Monastery, then they should vowe to liue chastely, to possesse nothing, and to obserue his written rules, for which he is reputed the Authour of /20/ monkish life. Nazianzen sonne to the Bishop of that name, and borne, about the yeare. 370, did likewise imbrace solitarines, and write Rules of this solitary life, from whence his Father recalled him, and made him Priest, but he returned agayne to the Monastery, from whence he was after chosen Bishop.<sup>245</sup> To the foresayd tyme of Dunston, Cathedrall Churches, the seates of Bishopes, were at first possessed by Priests and Canons, into which Monkes [the.] then began first to intrude, as more holy, for the Vowe of Chastity, /30/ then the Priests which were then maryed, and so to be preffered, which after bea<sup>d</sup><sup>246</sup> no smale Contentio<sup>n</sup> [tion] betweene them. To Conclude this point it appears that the first Monkes, howsoever they liued asolitary life, yet were laymen and forbidden by the Councell of Calcedon to medle with Ecclesiasticall matters, and were not bound to any rules of Dyett, Apparell, or like things, nether was maryage forbidden to them, though some did freely chuse to liue vnmaryed, so as wee reade many of them to haue had wiues and Childe<sup>n</sup>, As Camden wittneseth, /40/ and Athanasius, who in his Epistle to Dracontius sayth, he had seene many Monkes and Bishops maryed, and hauing Child<sup>r</sup><sup>en</sup>.<sup>247</sup> But I will retorne to the State of Religion in Ireland, from a litle before the last Rebellion of Tyron to the end thereof.<sup>248</sup> The



Clergy ingenerall, but espetiall among the meere Irish, was infected with Symony, Covetousnes, Incontinency, Idlenes, and all the Vices of a Corrupt Church. The Irish ingenerall, aswell the meere Irish, as the old English ↑Irish↑, and espetially the newe English Irish, planted in Mounster after the Rebellion of [the] Desmound, were all /50/ obstinate Papists, and fewe came to Church, saue the //

fol 453.

English governors, gentlemen, and Soldyers, newly come ouer into that kingdome. And this generall Corruption was by the wiser sorte not somuch imputed to the inhabitants, who for the most part seemed tractable by good meanes, as to want of Care in the cheefe English gouernors, who to that tyme had taken litle or no ca.↑r↑e to haue them instructed in Religion, and reduced to Ciuill manners without which no subiectes vse to be long Contayned in due obedience. For the wilde Irish, they were of the Romish Religion which they had sucked from their nurses, and so must needes be, except the would be /10/ Atheists, hauing neuer beene taught the Reformed Religion. Yet in the end of the warr, the Itinerant Iudges sent about the kingdome, founde them so affected, as they thought them tractable, if care were taken to instruct them. The newe English Irish planted after the Rebellion of Desmound in Mounster, were found to be of all other the most obstinate Papists. For those Signoryes being giuen to English Courtyers and gentlemen, they went not ouer to inhabitt them (according to the purpose of the State) but many solde or lett them to farme, to such Papists and ill affected men in Religion, as /20/ for obstinacy being dayly questioned in England, were like to giue most for habitations in that place of liberty, where they not only remayned obstinate, but confirmed others in the Romish Religion, and fauored vnderhand the Rebells more then the English forces. For the old English Irish planted in all the Cittyes and many Countreyes of that kingdome, they were generally Papists, for litle care had beene taken to teach them, and lesse to bring them to Church to be taught, so as in the cheefe City of Dublin, where the lord Deputy, by his guard, the Castle, and Mutlitudes of English daily /30/ reparing thether, out of England and from all parts of that kingdome, had allway power to command the towne, yet the Cittisens being English Irish, were generally Papists, and fewe or none came to Church, yea the very Maior and some fewe of his bretheren, which were tyed by old Ceremony of State, to attend the lord Deputy at Church, had [in] their eares stopped with woll, least they should heare the seruice & Sermons, Notwithstanding it is most Certayne, that generally all the Papists in Ireland (as also in England) came ordinarily to the Church seruice of the Protestants, till about the yeare /40/ 1572. For about that

tyme the Pope first resolved to sett the marke of the Beast vpon the foreheades of his followers, forbidding them to come to our Churches, to ioyne with vs in priuate prayer, <or> somuch as to say Amen to our graces at table.<sup>249</sup> From which tyme, though most of them knewe our Church seruice, and I haue heard many of them freely confesse that they could [not] except against nothinge therein, the same being all taken out of the old Roman lythurgy, only omitting prayers to Saynts, and like superstitions, //  
fol.454.

which they that listed might performe at home, yet it was more easy, for the foresayd reasons, to bring a Beare to the stake, then any one of them to our Churches. I haue heard some of the most learned among them alledge other reasons of this generall obstinacy, namely that after the foresayd tyme, the high Commissionors calle[d]↑ing↑ many into question, releas<sup>250</sup>ed them after for mony, and after fewe monthes questioned them agayne, and in like sort released them, vsing that power rather to impouerish then to reforme them, which first wrought in their heartes an /10/ hatred of the gouernment, and in tyme adetestation of our Religion, which they called Vendible. But wee by experience found many other true reasons of this obstinacy. As first vicious shamefastnes whereby many that could not deny the truth of our Religion, yet shamed to leaue the Roman, which all their frends and kinsmen professed, who would [n]ever after hate there persons, and avoyde their Company. Agayne the respect of profitt, and meanes to to liue Comfortably, since tradesmen becomming of the Reformed Church, lost the Custome of all Papists, who /20/ would neuer after buye any thinge of them, and man of other Conditions were not only depriued of any meanes or releefe they might expect from their frendes, but were most hated and Molested by them. Yea the Papists generally were so malitious against their Counntry men turning Protestants, as they not only in life Maligned them, but vpon their death bedds and in the hower of death, denyed them releefe or rest, keeping meate and all thinges they desyred from them, and the wemen and Children continually pinching and disquieting them when they would take rest, that they /30/ might thereby force them to turne Papists agayne. So as I haue knowne a Governor forced to appointe men to keepe a sicke Protestant, from these tormentors, and Priests, and to see all necessaryes ministred to him. To which I may add, that the Irish could alledge many examples, of men of good Condition and estate, who hauing turned Protestants, were not cherished and incorraged by our cheefe Gouernors, but rather left by them to perish by the former & like meanes. Besydes these thinges swaying the myndes of perticular men from vs, many generall



abuses corrupted the generall /40/ State of the Church in those tymes. First the meere Irish lords kept most of the Eccles[t]iasticall Benefices in their handes, leauing nothing to mantayne any Protestant Incumbent sent thither by the State, but rather mantayning with them their owne Popish ignorant and base Priests. For such were both sortes liuing vnder them, whome they, out of a wicked Custome or tyrannicall rule of their barbarous Brehowne lawe,<sup>251</sup> and Contrary to the receaved lawe of England, continually [opp] oppressed, no lesse then their laye vassalls, with Impositions at their pleasure (vulgarly called Cuttings) & like extortions, /50/ thincking it no fault but rather a meritorious act to // fo 455.

[defende] defraude and allso oppresse the Protestant ministers sent among them. Indeede the lawes of England, had in those dayes so litle swaye in their Countryes, as our Ministers could not safely liue there, where a valiant English Captayne with his Armed Company of Foote could not safely liue without some temporising and applying himselfe to their humors. So as it was no [maruall] maruayle they oppressed the clergy vnder them by Cuttings and extortions no lesse then their lay vassalls, and kept spirituall liuings in their handes without /10/ mantayning any minister, or doing any Religious duty, as Almes, hospitallity and the like. Yea the Court of [Fal] Faculties in those dayes vsed to dispence with lay persons tho vnqualified, to possesse Benefices for the vse of Childrens education, who notwithstanding were trayned vp in Spayne and Flaunders, not in our schooles or vniversities, nether in those dayes was there any Booke of Rates for benefices to the great preiudice of the State and subiectes. Many gentlemen of the English Irish held by inheritance Impropriations not indowed with any /20/ vicarages. Many held Benefices graunted to them vnder the great Seale for life or Tearme of yeares (wherof I haue knowne one man to haue sixteene in one graunt by letters Pattents) Others by right of Patronage to bestowe spirituall liuings, held them in their owne handes. And none of these had any the least care to prouide Preachers or Readers for these benefices, nether were they bounde by their graunts and tenors so to doe.<sup>252</sup> Yea in the latter tymes wherof I write, some founde a newe tytle (as newe vices gett newe names) whereby to hold spirituall /30/ liuings, vsing them no better then the former, manely by Custodium or keeping dureing pleasure.<sup>253</sup> It is incredible, but most true, that the Clergy of those tymes was not wanting to sett forward the generall corruption of the Irish Church. ministers were hardly founde, so as many great congregations euen among the English wanted Pastors, and the Bishoppes were forced for the most part to tolerate ignorante persons, men of scandalous life, yea very Popish readers, rather then Parishes should want

not only diuine seruice but the vse of baptisme Buiriall, mariage and the lords Super. /40/ which the Papists did often cast in our teeth, saying it was better to haue the Roman Masse, then no seruice at all, as in many of our Churches. Many who came ouer out of England, if they taught well in pulpitt, gaue ill example in life. The ministers which Ireland had, were blamed for not caring how many benefices they had, nor how remote they were one from the other. Yea the Bishops were no lesse worthy of blame in this kynde. For my selfe knewe one not very learned. Nor much approved for his life, who hauing beene a Fryer, and turning Protestant had three /50/ Bishopricks, besydes many benefices of the best.<sup>254</sup> Both ministers and Bishops non resident sent to their remote liuings only Proctors<sup>255</sup> to gather their tythes and profitts. // fol.456.

And as the Bishops abused their Iurisdiction, accounting it a yearely Rent, so their Proctors, espetially in the remote partes of the North, abused it much more, not shaming to imitate the Priests of the barbarous Irish, who vsed to take a Cowe of maryed people, and two Cowes of the vnmaryed yearely, as a penalty of incontynency though no such fault could be proued against them, and [now] ↑more↑, (according to their pleasure), of those who were indeede guilty, and that without Citation or Conviction by course of lawe. It is stramg<sup>256</sup> but most true, that our Bishoppes, in places where themselues /10/ were residend, did followe the meere Irish lords in extorting vpon the Clergy vnder them. To which purpose my selfe did heare a Bishop say, that he desyred not to haue learned ministers or men of quality in his diocesse because he he Could not make so much profit of them, as he might of thers.<sup>257</sup> Both Bishops and ministers did lett long leases of their landes and benefices (wherin they were not then restrayned by any lawe) and so all spirituall liuings were made vncompentent to mantayne worthy Incumbents. The Churches throughout the kingdome, did threaten ruine, /20/ yea in most places not only the Common but those of fayrest building were fallen to the ground. The very Church of Armach famous in old tymes for the seate of that Archbishopp, Primate of that kingdome, was in those tymes ruined, and lay more like a stable then a Church. To which filthynes also all Churches ingenerall were subiect, except some fewe kept in cheefe Cittyes for the vse of the English. The Iesuities and Roman Priests swarmed in all places,<sup>258</sup> filling the houses of lordes, gentlemen, and espetilly Cittisens [C.↑i↑sans], and dominering in them, as they might well doe, /30/ for howsoeuer the men grewe weary of them, they had the wemen on their sydes. And these men were the bane ↑not↑[...] only of the Commonwealth (as I haue formerly shewed) but more spetially of the



Church, obdurating<sup>259</sup> all the subiects in disobedience to the English Magistrates, confirming them in superstition and blynde obedience to the Pope, reducing those that were ready to fall from them, perverting those that were wavering, and Cementing the disvnited affections of Rebels. The Children of lords gentlemen and cheefe Cittisens were for the most part brought vp in Spayne or Flaunders, for nether /40/ Ireland had Scholemasters of the Reformed Religion, nor would the Irish then haue sent theire Children to any such. The Monkes which had long beene rooted out of England, yet liued still in some parts of Ireland, wearing theire habitt and hauing their Crownes shaued, as at Donnegall in the North, and in Kerry and those parts of the South. The Monasteries of Ireland (as of England) in the tyme of king *Henry* the eight were invested in the Crowne, yet ↑in Ireland↑ they were never seased for the king, nor putt in charge among the kings Reuenues, but some were giuen in Custodium /50/ (or keeping during pleasure) to great Irish lords, who being Papists, still permitted those Idle l[a]↑u↑bbers<sup>260</sup> to liue in theire old nests, some other were passed in bookes //

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for inheritance of priuate men, and at such lowe rates, vnder pretence of wast, as the kings Reuennue was litle or nothinge increased by the [ref ... .d]↑reserued↑ Rents therof.

Touching Reformation, giue me leaue first to Remember the generall Iudgment for like cases, of the late reverent Bishop of london Doctor king, in his seuenth lecture vpon Ionah, Fayth Commeth (sayth he) rather by perswasion then by Compulsion.<sup>261</sup> Therefore first sp↑e↑ake to the Conscience by good Counsell, but if the eare of the Conscience be stopped with [x] wax, shake the whole house about [ther]her, and rayse her vp, speake to /10/ the eares, of the body, inheritance, liberty, lett the bodie tell the Conscience, I am afflicted, the inheritance, I am diminished, liberty I am restrained, for thy sake. But you will say that some men are ↑not↑ bettered hereby. Shall wee therefore, sayth Augustine, reiect the Phisicke, because the sicknes of some is incurable. And for the better [m.....] managing of the whole cause, he addeth his Iudgment. If they were terrified, and not taught, It would seeme tyranny: Agayne if taught and not terrified, it would harden them in an inveterate Custome, and make them more sluggish to receave theire salvation. As for that /20/ obiection of liberty of Conscience, he Answerth it in an other place, It is in vayne that thou sayest, leaue mee to my free will, for why proclaymest thou not liberty in homicides, and whoredomes aswell. God hath giuen indeede free

will vnto man (free from Coaction<sup>262</sup>) but it was not his will, meane tyme, that either the good will of man should be without fruite, or his euill without punishment. Turtullian is of the same mynd with Augustine, &c. He that hath a phrensie, must be bound, and he that hath a Lethurgy, must be prickt vp. If I were worthy to giue aduise, I would haue a writer goe with /30/ his inkhorne from man to man, and marke them in the foreheades that mourne for the wellfare of our Realme, and as bond men to their brethren, they should hewe wood and drawe water to the house of Israel, as Ios[.]<sup>↑</sup>u<sup>↑</sup>ah vsed the Gibeonites for their guile.<sup>263</sup> Wee nurse vp Lyons whelpes for our owne ouerthrowe. Wee play too boldly at the holes of Asspes;<sup>264</sup> Wee embolden the faces, encourage the heartes, strengthen the handes of our enemyes. The cause is the lordes, lett vs Vindicate his dishonour. These are the wordes of that Reverent Father. For my part, I am farr from the /40/ opinion that Reformation should be wrought by [f.ee] fyre and sword, but only in cases of extremity, and I thincke the fore sayd abuises will teach vs both myld and safe meanes of Reformation. The generall Corruption of the Clergy in that tyme, the obstinacy of the meere Irish and English Irish in not comming to Church, and the imputation thereof espetically layd on the former governors and magistrates, might remember those that succeeded, carefully to send ouer godly and learned Bishops and ministers, and to send them more in Number and better in quality, /50/ because the deluge of the Roman Church was so strong and so vniversall, the rather to vindicate their owne honour from the Iust Censure of posterity. Agayne the tractablenes // fol.458.

of the wyld Irish,, and the raining of Popery in the cheefe Citty of that kingdome, vnder the lord Deputies eyes and eares to knowe it, and vnder the power of his handes to reforme it, might Remember those that succeeded, to teach the first, to Curbe the second, and in like occasions of planting Colonies, to send ouer men better affected, and for the third to be ashamed to suffer it any longer. Agayne the generall Conformity of the Papists in comming to our Churches till the Contrary was Commaunded by the Pope, and the Popes setting the marke of the Beast vpon the /10/ foreheades of his followers by this Commaunde, might remember those that succeeded to knowe that this Comming to Church was not with them a case of Conscience in Religion, but rather a question of outward Allegiance and obedience, Wherein the Iust power of the magistrate at home, was strongly to be opposed, against the Popes forayne and vsurped powe,<sup>265</sup> and therefore to marke them with a blacke Coale of suspected subiectes. Who should be obstinate in yealding this obedience to the Popes



Commaund.<sup>266</sup> Agayne the disgracefull and poore estate of Converted Protestants /20/ in those tymes, and the Papists malicious impoverishing and persecuting them, might remember those that succeeded, to obserue two pointes of wise policy. First to cherish those that turned Protestants, in preferring them to offices and dignities in the Commonwealth and Church, and giuing them them fauor and priuiledges in all courses of honor and profit, or at least preserving them (for examples sake if not for Conscience) from perishing or comming to extreme misery, esppecially by the practises of those that should magligne them only for the Cause of Religion. Secondly to keepe a /30/ straight hand ouer obstinate and Ringleading Papists,, by keeping from them all offices, dignities, and esppecially places of Magistracy, in the Commonwealth or Church, (as wee reade the Emperor Charle the great to haue done among the Rebellious Lumbards<sup>267</sup>) by laying on them the burthen of poenall lawes, as Fynnes imposed for not Comming to Church, by taking from them all priuiledges of trafficke, by forbidding them the professions of lawe and Phisicke, by takeing from them the vse of Armes, the weareing of swordes, and the hauing or vsing of Peeces somuch as for exercise and game, at least /40/ till they should giue outward obedience to the kings lawe in comming to Church, then daly enlarging to them all priuiledges of honor and pro<fi>tt, as they should growe more and more Conformable. But spetially to curbe and punish those, that should fall from the knowne truth of the Reformed Religion to the Roman,<sup>268</sup> as likewise those, that by secrett practises and perswasions should peruert and seduce the ignorant from the Reformed profession. All these are mylde and gentle remedies, but the wiser sorte of that tyme, thought one thing necessary in this point of Reformation (wh<i>ch may /50/ seeme more harsh, as all great examples haue [th] somethinge ↑in↑[to] them, that seemes not to sauour of equity) namely, as many States, in doubtfull cases of State, haue often imprisoned some dangerous and suspected persons, though //

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no Cryme could for the present be proued against them, so they thought that it was then easy to name six or seuen Cittisens, and three or foure lords, ringleaders in the obstinacy of Religion, who being called into England, and restrayned of liberty in the Tower, they supposed all the rest would be founde tractable in this reformation, if the former, the following, and like good meanes were vsed. Agayne the Irish lordes possessing Benifices of the Church, and oppressing the Clergy by exactions: the giuing of Benifices for the vse of Childrens education, who were trayned vp in Spayne and Flaunders: the want of schooles /10/ and good

schoolemasters in Ireland with the fl[.]r↑o↑wardnes of Parents, most averse  
 from suffering theire Children to be brought vp by such men, the English  
 Irish posessing of Benefices by inheritance, not indowed with Vicariges,  
 and others by leases, and others by Patrionage, and all sortes by  
 Custodium, and all without fynding any preacher or reader: the scarcity of  
 ministers, forcing the tolleration of Vile yea very Popish readers, the  
 scandalous life of many such ministers,: the generall non Residency: the  
 abuse of Bishops Iurisdiction: the Bishoppes Imitating of the Irish lordes in  
 extorting vpon the Clergy, the long /20/ leases of lands belonging to  
 Bishops, and of benefices, lett out by the Incumbents for very small Rents,  
 and the ruine and filthines of the Churches in those tymes, might  
 remember those that succeeded. To reduce by all lawfull Meanes all  
 spirituall liuings to the vse of the Clergy. To preserue the same from any  
 the least oppression of the layety. To make laymen lawfully possessing  
 Benefices, to fynd a sufficient Preacher or Vicar, and to fynd meanes  
 wherby these Benefices might be redeemed out of theire handes and  
 retourne to the vse of the Clergy, and be so distributed among them, as  
 some should not haue all, and others litle /30/ or nothing, but the liuings  
 of the Church might suffice to mantayne a sufficient number of godly and  
 learned ministers, shining in example of life and purity of doctryne. To  
 apoint Bishops and ministers so quallified, hating ↑non↑ Residency, and  
 Bishoppes vsing Iurisdiction for edification not for distruction, and  
 shaming to tyranise ouer the Clargy by barbarous extortions. To haue  
 spetiall care to fynde out meanes, whereby the Churches might be  
 reedified and decently kept. To restrayne by Act of Parlament the whole  
 Clergy from letting lands or Benefices otherwise the↑n↑ for convenient  
 number of yeares and /40/ vpon conuenient yearely Rents (all which, most  
 of the other Remedies and far greater, I knowe to haue beene most wisely  
 and religiously prouided by our gracious Soueraigne king Iames, were not  
 these worthy Acts of a later tyme then that wherof I professe to write) And  
 lastly. To forbidd by Act of Parlament vpon great penalties the education  
 of Children in forayne partes without spetiall license from the lord  
 Deputy,<sup>269</sup> and because Nothings is so important to the good of the  
 Commonwealth and the Church, as the education of Children, to renewe  
 the old Statute of that kingdome, wherby /50/ the Clergy men are bounde  
 to teach Schollers, and also carefully to provide aswell honest  
 Schoolemasters of the Reformed Religion, to ↑be↑ mantaynde in townes  
 and Cittyes, as also that the Children be brought to those schooles, and  
 not trayned vp and corrupted abroad or at home by Roman //  
 { c.w. teachers. Espetially }



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teachers, espetially to haue care to further the prosperity of the hopefull Colleg planted at Dublin, which God graunt may growe to a famous vniversity, of many Colleges richly founded with Schollerships and Fellowships, euen till it may iustly be envied by the famous vniuersities of England.<sup>270</sup> For no doubt the natiue workemen, hauing the Irish language, will proue farr more profitable then any others, in the vinyard of the Church and Commonwealth. This founding of Scholles and Colleges is a large and glorious [theater] ↑Theater↑ of magnificence and Charity,<sup>271</sup> in which God graunt the magistrates /10/ and rich men, may carefully and bountiffully imploy theire labour and wealth. Agayne the permission of Monkes to liue in Ireland in the Monasteryes giuen in those dayes to Irish lordes by graunts dureing pleasure, and the graunts of other monasteryes by lease or by feefarme at such lowe rates as very small Rents were reserued to the king, might Remember those that succeeded, to resume the first out of the handes of the Irish lordes, and so to order the second, by lawfull meanes (as the questioning of graunts wherin the king is <...> deceaued and the ↑[...]↑ renewing of expired leases) /20/ that the kings Rents for those (and all other) lands might be much improued.<sup>272</sup> To Conclude with the some of all (without which indeede all hopes of reformation would proue wayne and fruitlesse) the swarming of Iesuites and Priests in those dayes, and the perverting of all Familyes, and the disturbing of the Commonwealth and Church, by theire seditious practises and false doctryne, might remember those that succeeded, first to transport these Roman locusts out of that kingdome, and then Carefully to preuent theire retorne, by seuer execution of the Act of [par] /30/ Parlament, whereby theire retorne is made Capitall to themselues, and to those that harbor them, and of like lawes and prouisions to be after made to that purpose. Some then wished the Bible to be translated into Irish, because many of the people vnderstoode not English, but others thought better by education to make the English tounge vulgarly practised, because the vnity of language is of great power to breede vnity of affections.<sup>273</sup>

## BOOK V CHAPTER 5



## Chapt. V.

Of Ireland, touching nature, and mamers, Bodyes and witts, Manuall Artes Sciences, vniversities, Language, Ceremonyes, particularly in maryages, Childbearinges, Christninges, and Funeralls, as also of diuers Customes, of Pastymes, Exercises, particularly of their *Hunting* /10/ *Hawking*, *Birding* *Fowling* and *Fishing*.

{ m.n. 12 - 15. Nature manners Bodies and witts. }

In this Chapter I will [only] speake of the meere Irish. Only I will say for the English Irish that they may be knowne by the discription of our English at home: But as horses Cowes and sheepe transported out of England into Ireland, doe each race and breeding declýne worse and worse, till in fewe yeares they nothing differ from the races and breeds of the Irish horses and Cattle. So the posterities of the English planted in Ireland, doe each discent growe more and more Irish, in nature manners /20/ and customes, so as wee founde in the last Rebellion diuers of the most ancient English Familyes planted of old in Ireland, to be turned as rude and barbarous as any of the meere Irish lords. Partly because the manners and Customes of the meere Irish giue great liberty to all mens liues, and absolute power to great men ouer the inferiors, both which men naturally affect. Partly because the meere Irish of old overtopped the English Irish in number and nothing is more naturall yea necessary, then for the lesse number to accommodate it selfe to the greater. And /30/ espetically because the English are naturally inclyned to apply themselues to the manners and Customes of any forrayne nations with whome they liue and Converse, whereas the meere Irish by nature haue singular ↑and↑ obstinate pertinacity in retayning their old manners and Customes, so as they could neuer be drawne, by the lawes, gentile government, and free conversation of the English, to any Ciuility in manners, or reformation in Religion.<sup>274</sup>

Now to retorne to the meere Irish. The lords or rather cheefes of Countreyes (for most of them are not lords from /40/ any gramts<sup>275</sup> of our kings, which English titles indeede they dispipe), prefix O or Mac before their names, in token of greatnes, being absolut Tyrants ouer their people, themselues eating vpon them and making them feede their kerne or footemen, and their horsemen.<sup>276</sup> Also they, and gentlemen vnder them, before their names putt nicknames, giuen them from the Colour of their haire, from lamenes, stuttering, diseases, or villanous inclinations, which they disdayne not, being otherwise most impatient of Reproch,<sup>277</sup> though

indeede they take it rather for a grace to be /50/ reputed actiue in any Villany, espetially Cruelty and //  
fol 654.

theft. But it is strange howe Contrary they are to themselues, for in apparrell, meate, Fashions, and Customes, they are most base and abiect, yet are they by nature proude and disaynefull<sup>278</sup> of reproch. In fighting they will runne away and turne agayne to fight, because they thincke it no shame to runne away, and to make vse of the advantage they haue in swift running, yet haue they great Corage infighting, and I haue seene many of them suffer death with as constant resolution as euer Romans did. To conclude this point they knowe not truely /10/ what honor is, [aff] but according to their knowledge no men more desyre it. affecting extreamely to be Celebrated by their Poetts or rather Rimers, and fearing more then death to haue a Ryme made in their disgrace & infamy. So as these Rymers, pestilent members in that commonwealth, by animating all sortes by their Rymes, to licentious liuing, to lawlesse and rebellious actions are somuch regarded by them, as they grow very rich, the very wemen, when they are young and new Married or brought to bed, for feare of Rymes, giuing them the best Apparrell and ornaments /20/ the haue.<sup>279</sup>

The Irish are by nature very factious, all of a Sept or name liuing together, and cleeuing close [to] one to another in all quarrells and actions whatsoeuer, in which kynde they willingly suffer great men to eate vpon them, and take whatsoeuer they haue, proverbyally saying defende mee and spende Me, but this defence must be in all cawses, Iust or vniust, for they are not content to be protected from wronge, except the may be borne out to doe wronge.<sup>280</sup> /30/

They are by nature extreamely giuen to Idlenes. The Sea Coasts and harbors abounde with fish, but the fishermen must be beaten out, before they will goe to their Boates. Theft is not infamous but rather commendable among them so as the greatest men affect to haue the best theeues to attend vpon them, and if any man reprove them, they Answer that they doe as their fathers did, and it is infamy for gentlemen and swordmen to liue by labour and manuell trades. yea they will not be perswaded that theft displeaseth God, because he giues the pray into their handes,<sup>281</sup> and if /40/ he be displeased, they say yet ↑he↑ is mercyfull and will pardon them for vsing meanes to liue. This Idlenes makes them also slouely and sluttish in their howses and apparrell, so as vpon euery hill they lye lousing themselues, as forferly<sup>282</sup> in the discourse of the Commonwealth. I haue remembred foure verses, of foure beasts that



plague Ireland namely, lyse vpon their bodyes, Ratts in their howses, Wollues in their fieldes and swarmes of Romish Prists tyrانىsing ouer their Consciences.<sup>283</sup> This Idlenes, also makes them to loue liberty a boue all thinges, and /50/ likewise naturally to delight in musick, so as the Irish Harpers are excelent, and their solemne musicke is much liked of strangers, and the wemen of some partes of mounster, as they weare Turkish heades and are thought to haue come first out of those partes, so the haue //

fol 655.  
pleasant tunes of Moresco Danses.<sup>284</sup>

They are by nature very Clamorous, vpon euery small occasion raysing the hobou (that is adolefull outcrye) which they take one from anothers mouthe till they putt the whole towne in tumult.<sup>285</sup> And their complaynts to magistrates are commonly strayned to the highest points of Calamity, sometymes in hyperbolicall tearmes, as many vpon small violences offered them, haue Petioned<sup>286</sup> to the lord Deputy for Iustice against men for murthuring them, while they stooode before him sounde and not so /10/ much as wounded.

In the late Rebellion wee founde the Munster men to betray the Earle of Desmond their cheefe leader into our handes, for their owne Pardons and rewardes of mony. But howesoeuer the State by publike Proclamation did sett a great reward vpon the head of Tyrone, to any should bring his head, and agreater to any should bring him aliue, yet the morthern<sup>287</sup> men cold not be induced by any rewardes of mony or pardons for their owne estates and liues, to betray him, no not when themselues were /20/ driuen to greatest misery, and he forced to hyde his head in the woodes without any forces, and only was Followed by some fewe of his most tr. ↑u↑sty vassalls. In like sort by experience we reputed the Northern men of better nature and disposition to peace, to Ciuill gouernment, and Reformation of Religion, then the Mounster men at that tyme Rebels. For howsoeuer the Northern men followed their lordes with all their hartes and powers in rebellions<sup>288</sup> and vnlawfull actions, yet they did it because they liued by them, and had feeling of their power ready /30/ at hand to doe them good or hurt, and had forferly no knowledge of the kings power and Iustice but farr off and not ready to supporte and protect them in their obedience, whereas the Mounster men had long liued happily vnder the Protection of the State and English lawes, yea when the warrs were ended, and the English Iudges went their Circuites through all Ireland, the Northerne people more obediently and more Ioyfully then any other receaved the English lawes, and government to protect them from the oppression of

great /40/ lords and their swordmen. And howsoever the Notherne men were generally Papists, Yet wee considered that they must be so or of no Religion, hauing not formerly beene taught any other, whereas the Rebells of other partes, by long conversation with the English, and liuing amonge them, had formerly had great opportunity to be well instructed in Religion and Ciuill manners.

It is an old saying,

*Rustica gens optima flens, pessima ridens.*

The Country Clownes<sup>289</sup> are best when they doe weepe, /50/  
and [most] worst when in plenty laugh and sleepe.

And this saying may more truely be spoken of the Irish, //  
fo[6]l 656.

then any other nation. For nothing more brings them to obedience then poverty, and heretofore they neuer had plenty but presently they rushed into Rebellion. For particularly experience, lett them wittnes who haue kepte Irish footemen, if euer they could bring any of them on foote agayne, whome once the had sett on horsbacke, and if they haue not had better seruice from them whom the kepte most bare in apparrell or mony, and most subiect to correction, then from those the kept most bountifully and vsed most freely and gently. /10/

They are by nature superstitious and giuen to vse witchcrafts. The approued Author by Master Camden Cited in his owne wordes, sayth they salute the newe Moone with bended knee, saying to it. leaue vs as sounde as thou fyndest vs. He adds incantations they vse against wolues. Their opinions, that some one shall dye if they fynde a blacke spott vpon a bared Mutton bone: and their horses shall liue long if they giue no fyer out of the howse, and that some ill lucke will fall to their horses if the ryder hauing eaten eges doe not wash his handes after them, or be not /20/ carefull to chuse the eggs of equall bignes. That they are much offended if a man commend their Cattle, except withall he say God saue them, or ells spitt vpon them. That some mens eyes bewitch their horses, and if they proue lame or ill, old women are sought for to say short prayers and vse many incantations to recover them. That if a man fall on the grounde, he vseth to turne thrise about towards his right hand, and to digg vp a sodd of earth with his sword or knife, to prevent ill lucke. That they vse many like incantations when they goe to fyght. /30/ That women divorced bewitch the men putting them away, with disability of generation and many diseases, against which men vse the helpe of witches. That when Children be sicke, the Nurses fly to old women to helpe them with prayer



and incantations. But I will omitt many other superstitions and witchcrafts, which he there relateth.<sup>290</sup>

The wemen generally are not much commended for ↑Chastity↑ Chastty, but the Common voyce was that generally, as kissing goes by fauor, so they would rather offende with an Irish /40/ horseboy then with the English of better rancke. And the foresayd author sayth that Ireland abounded with Prists bastards, knowne by their names as Mac Decan, mac phersan, that is the sonne of the Deene, or of the Church, and like names to that purpose, and that [se] these men were ↑the↑ most notorious theeues & Rebells of Ireland.<sup>291</sup>

The same author Relates that the Irish were great swearers and forswearers, presuming vpon Gods mercy, and that to make them keepe Fayth there was no other meanes, but to haue them sweare before the Alter, vpon a booke /50/ opened and layd vpon their head, and to sweare by some Saynt, or with kissing of a bell, or to sweare by the head of the lord of their Country, which they most feared, //  
fol.657.

because these lords vsed to extort Cowes from them for periuries as hauing theirin abused their Names.<sup>292</sup>

The bodyes of men and wemen are large for bignes and stature, because they are brought vp in liberty and with loose apparrell, b[ut] generally the very men are obserued to haue litle and ladylike hands and feete,<sup>293</sup> and the greatest part of the wemen are nasty with fowle lynnenn, and haue very great Dugges some so bigg as they giue their Children sucke ouer their shoulders. For<sup>294</sup> the wemen generally are not straight laced, /10/ perhapps for feare to hurt the sweetenes of breath, and the greatest part are not laced at all.<sup>295</sup> Also the Irish are generally obserued to be fruitfull in generation, as at Dublin in the tyme of the last warr, it was generally knowne for truth, that one of the Segers, while she lodged in the house of Mistres Argilas, bare fyue Children at one birth,<sup>296</sup> and we all knowe an Alldermans wife that bare three at a birth, with many like examples.

For the witts of the Irish, they themselues bragg that Ireland yealdes not a naturall foole, which bragg I haue /20/ hard diuers men confirme, neuer any to contridict. My honored lord the late Earle of Deuonshyre, till his dying day kept an Irishman in fooles Apparrell, and Commonly called his lordships foole, but wee found him to haue craft of humoring euery man to attayne his owne endes, and to haue nothing of a naturall foole.<sup>297</sup> But

for the Irish generally they are subtile temporisers, and because they haue beene vsed to frequent change of Governors, if they cannot atayne their owne endes, they labour by all shifting deuises to delay their aduersaries /30/ prevailling against them, till a newe governor be sent as crafty Dauus in the Comedy, thincking he had donne well to putt off his young Masters maryage but for one day, hoping that some newe impediments might therein arise, They are Crafty to obserue their governors humors; and to present to them at their first comming causes of Iustice formerly determined against them, from whome if they can gett (while they are yet vnpractised in the affayres) any new decree contrary or differing from the old, they will not cease to make new trouble to their aduersaries. /40/ Yea many getting the governors hand to their Petitions, though nothing to their fauour, yet haue made such vse of it with their aduersaries at home, as if it had beene an absolute graunt of their requests. If they can fasten vpon their gouernors any brybe (which is allwayes Cowes), they hold them as slaues for euer. And if they will not be corrupted, but execute Iustice against them, then are they most Clamorows in Complaynts to the supream magistrate, or to the State in England, and when the inferior governors are called to Dublin, or the Lord /50/ Deputy recalled into England, they fly after them with open throtes to lode them with false C<sup>a</sup>lumnies, espetially if these governors happen to be in any disgrace with the State, or haue any greate enemies at home glad to backe their Complayntes. //

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{ m.n. 1 - 3. Arts Sciences vniversities Language. }

Touching manuell Arts, I haue shewed that the Irish are most slothfull, the swordmen holding it infamy to labour, but none to steale, which may suffice for that point. Wee reade that in the very Primitiue Church Ireland yealded ma<sup>↑</sup>n<sup>↑</sup>y and learned men, called Monkes but farr differing from those of the Roman Church at this day. Yet I shoulde thinck that they were rather esteemed for holynes then for learning in Sciences. For howsoeuer the Irish are naturally giuen to Religion (which was holynes in them, and grewe to superstition in their successors), and are also naturally /10/ giuen to a Monkish life of ease. Yet what learning they had then was gotten among the Brittans and Scotts, for I reade not of any vniversityes or publike schooles the Irish [h.] had of their owne, and their naturall disposition to this day makes me thincke they were not laborious in the studdy of Sciences. In succeeding ages they grewe more and more superstitious and ignorant, their Priests Monkes and Bishops growing generally illiterate except some fewe in latter tymes bredd in the vniversityes of the Roman Religion, wherof very fewe or none were of



profounde /20/ Learning. And the Common [layers] lawyers likewise were bred in the Inns of Court in london. But at the end of Tyrones Rebellion, the late famous Queene Elizabeth hauing founded a College or Vniversity neere Dublin, for education of the Irish, many of them haue therein attayned to good reputation of learning, and some fewe haue beene reputed in the Profession of Diuinity (for which the sayde College was cheefly founded) equall to the best and most learned Doctors in England, as no doubt they want not witt to attayne learning, when they wilbe industrious. And /30/ since that tyme (besydes the frutes and hopes of this vniversity) the kingdome hath out of England beene fully furnished with many learned and graue Bishops, and aswell Iudges as inferior Pleaders of the Common lawes.

Touching the Irish language: It is a peculiar language not deriued from any other Radicall tounge<sup>298</sup> (that euer I coulde heare, for my selfe nether haue nor euer sought to haue any skill therein) but as the land (as I haue shewed) hath beene peopled by diuers nations besydes the first inhabitants, so hath the tounge receaued many newe wordes from them, espetially /40/ spanish wordes from the people comming thence to inhabitt the west parts.<sup>299</sup> But all I haue sayd hereof might well be spared, as if no such tounge were in the world, I thincke it would neuer be missed ether for pleasure or necessity.<sup>300</sup>

{ m.n. 46 - 51. Ceremonyes particularly marryage Childbearing Christinings Funeralls diuers Customes }

Touching Ceremonyes of State or of Ciuill Actions, the meere Irish being barbarous and louing so to continue, can not be acquainted with them, which they affect not.

For maryage, I will only say of the English Irish, that they keepe it orderly as in England, saue that, inrespect of the lawe forbidding them to marrye with the meere Irish, /50/ the Cittizens taking wiues within there owne walls, were growne to be all of kindred one with another, and so vsed to mary those of neere kindred. The fore sayde author printed in his owne wordes by master Camden,<sup>301</sup> affirmeth, that among meere Irish dwelling in the fieldes, maryage was rare, and when they were maryed diuorces were most frequent, and because they were giuen to Incest // fol.659.

many diuorces were made vpon pretence of Conscience. In our experience, till the ende of the last Rebellion, these diuorces Continued frequent among them, nothinge being more ordinary then to take a wife with a Certayne number of Cowes (their Common Portion<sup>302</sup>) and to send her

backe to her frendes at the yeares end with some small increase of them, which Diuorces the Brehounes or barbarous Iudges among them esily admitted, vpon a brybe of Cowes, and that vpon trifeling causes. And it was likewise a common Custome for a woman lying at the /10/ point of death, to name the true Father of each of her Children, and for the Children to leaue their Father reputed by the lawe, and with the stayne of Basterdy (which they regaurd not) to Followe the Father named by the dying mother, and this Custome caused many tymes disorders, for if the man childe had a lord or gentleman named to be his Father, he would presently be a swordman, liuing by rapyne or Rebelion, holding nothinge more infamous then to liue by his labour. For Ceremonyes of Ring and the like, it will not be expected I shoulde write any /20/ thinge, the people being conditioned,<sup>303</sup> as the sayde credible Author reports.

Touching Chyldebearing, wemen within two howres after they are deliuered many tymes leave their beds to gossop and drinke with wemen comming to visite them, and in our experience a Soldyers wife deliuered in the Campe, did the same day and within fewe howres after her deliuey march six myles on Foote with the Armye to the next Camping place. Some say that commonly the weomen haue litle or no payne in Chyldebearing, /30/ and attribute the same to a bone broken whe<sup>↑</sup>n<sup>↑</sup>[re] the are tender Children, but whatsoeuer the cause be, no doubt they haue easye deliuerance, and commonly such strang ability of body presently after it, as I neuer heard any wemen in the wo<sup>↑</sup>r<sup>↑</sup>lde to haue the like, and not only the meere Irish, but most of the old English Irish dwelling in the Cittyes, yea the foresayde Author in his owne wordes Printed by master Camden affirmeth, that the wemen deliuered of Children did after the sixth day admitt their husbandes to lye with them,<sup>304</sup> /40/ midwiues and neighbors come to helpe wemen to be deliuered commonly more for fashion then any great neede of them, and here is no talke of a months lying in, or soleme Churching at the end of the month, as with vs in England. They seldome Nurse their owne Children, espetially the Wiues of lords, and gentlemen (aswell meere Irish as English Irish) For wemen of good wealth seeke <sup>↑</sup>with<sup>↑</sup> great ambition to Nurse them, not for any profit, rather spending much vpon them while they liue, and giuing them when they dye sometymes more /50/ then to their owne Children. But they doe it only to haue the Protection and loue of the Parents whose Children the Nurse. And old Custome is so turned into a second nature with them,, as they esteeme the Children they nurse more then their owne, and holding it a reproach to nurse their owne Children, yet men will forbear their wyues beds for the good of the children they Nurse //



fol.660.

or Foster, but not for nursing their ↑towne↑. Yea the foster brothers, I meane the Children of the Nurse and strangers that haue sucked her milke, loue one another better then naturall brothers, and hate them in respect of the other, and by frequent examples wee haue seene, many mourne for their foster brothers much more then they would haue done for their Naturall brothers, and some to expose their owne brothers to death, that they might saue their forster brothers from danger therof. The worst is, that these Nurses with this extreame indulgency cor/10/rupt the Children they foster, Norishing and hartning the boyes in all villanye, and the girls in obscenity.<sup>305</sup>

In [sti.] Christnings and like Rites of Religion, they vse generally the Rites of the Roman Church in which they persist with obstinacy, little care hauing beene taken to instruct them in the Reformed Doctryne. But in all thinges they intermix barbarous Customes, as when the Chylde is caryed to be paptised, they tye a little peece of siluer in the Corner of the Cloth wherein the Chylde is wrapped, to begiuen to the Priest, and likewise Salt to be putt in the Chyldes mouth. /20/ And at Christnings they haue plenty of drincke, and of flesh meates to intertayne the frendes invited. Yea among the very English Irish remayning Papists, the Father intertaynes the guests, though he be a Bachiler and haue disuigined the mother, for it is no shame to be or ↑to↑ begett a Bastard. Banquets of sweete meates are vnknowne to the meere Irish, and the Nurses are rather beneficiall to the Children they foster, then receaue anything of them or their Frendes (as in the Commenwealth aboue written I haue shewed, in the abuse of fostering Chlldren, both /30/ among the meere Irish, and also among the English Irish.

Touching Funeralls, when any be sicke, they neuer speake to them of making any will, nether care they to haue any made, for the wife hath the thirds of goods, and the Children the rest deuided among them, and the land, after their lawe of Tanistry, (which they willingly obserue rather then the English) is commonly possessed by the most actiue and powerfull of the Sept and kindred bearing all one Sir name, so as the vncles on the Fathers syde or the Nephewes many /40/ tymes invade it, excluding the sonnes. Nether doe they who visite the sicke person speake ought to him of good Counsell for his soules health, which sad discourses they thincke like to increase his sicknes, taking it for a desperate signe of death, if the sicke person desyre to receaue the Sacraments But all their speeches tend to mirth and hope of recovery, and the sicke person hath about him many

lights and great stoore of Company, as if thereby they could keepe him from death, wherof I remember an English gentleman who seeing a sicke lord of great quality thus invironed with /50/ lights and hundreths of men and wemen attending in his owne and the next Chambers sayd merily to a frend, if this man thincke not better of Repentance then he doth, all this light and Company cannot keepe him from the handes // fol.661.

of death and the Deuill. And when the sicke person draweth to the point of death, the neere frendes and all the Company call and crye out to him, as if they would stay the soule from departing, by remembring the goodnes of the wife or husband and Children, and the welth and frendes to beleft behinde him, reproching him with vnkyndnes in forsaking them, and asking whether and to whome he will goe to be in better case then he is with them, When the sicke person is dead, they make a monsterous Cry, with shriking, howling and clamping of hands, /10/ and in like sort they followe the dead body, at the buryall, in which outcryes the Norse, the daughters, and the Concubynes, are most vehement.<sup>306</sup> The wenen espetially and Children doe weekly visite the graues of their dead frendes, casting flowers and Crosses vpon them, with weeping and many prayers for the dead. In like sorte with outcryes they bewaile those that dye in the warr, and in stelthes or taking prayes, though they thincke the death of them more happy then any other. The Septs of one name carye deadly feude /20/ towards the man who kills any of their name, and towards all that are of the same name or Sept of him who killed him.<sup>307</sup>

Touching diuers Customes: they seldome eate wyldefowle or fish, though they haue great plenty of both, because they will not take paynes in catching them, and soleaue them all for the English. They gladly eate rawe hearbes, as water Cresses, and shamrootes, and most Commonly eate flesh, many tymes rawe, and if it be roasted or sodd, they seldome eate bread with /30/ it, or any meate, holding him a Churle who hath any bread left after Christmaus, saue that they keepe most of their Corne for their horses, wherof they take spetiall Care. They drinke much vsquebah, which is the best aquavity in the world, and much sacke, but seldome any Claret wyne. The swallows lumps of butter mixt with Oate meale, and often lett their Cowes blood, eating the congealed blood with butter, and loue no meate more then sower milke curdled. In their frequent drinckings, and these feasts of flesh, not only the meere /40/ Irish but allso the old inhabitants of English Irish, haue the Garmans fashion of putting frolichs about the table, as pinching, and kissing ouer the shoulders, and many strange wayes, and the manner is to supp where you [drinke] dyne.<sup>308</sup>



Generally or most commonly the men goe bareheaded, except they weare a steele helmet, but they weare long curled hayre, which both men and wemen norish long, and take pride in it espetilly if it be yellowe. The men weare long and large s[k]hertes ↑coulored↑ with Safforn, a preseruitue /50/ against lyce, they being seldome or neuer washed. The [men] men weare shorte Coates and straye Trousers or breeches, and both men and wemen weare long maltles<sup>309</sup> for the vpper most garment, which the men at night cast into the water, and so vpon the grounde sleepe in them cast ouer their heades. The wemen weare many yeardes of linnen vpon their heades, as the wemen doe in Turky, and weare so many bracelets and necklaces as rather lode then adorne.<sup>310</sup> The men, aswell merce Irish as the  
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{ c.w. old inhabitants }

fol.662.

olde inhabitants of the English Irish, hold it a shame to goe abroade or walke with their wiues, and much more to ride before them on horsebacke. They hold it a disgrace to ryde vpon a mare. They hold it a filthy thinge to breake wynde backward, so as hauing any such occasion, they will bare themselues only for that purpose, and because the English doe not so, they call them vpon all such accidents Cacatrouses (in playne English shite breches) yea they seeme to abhorr it in nature, for [wy] we haue knowne great men putt /10/ away their wyues only for once making this small fault.<sup>311</sup> Yet in the meane tyme both men and wemen weare most fowle linnen, are nastye in their apparrell, and lowsy in their heades and Clothes. And it was no rare thinge to see the wiues of great men to make water as they stode talking with men, and some in the Rushes of the Presence Chamber at Dublin, and to doe openly the most secret necessities of the body. Many of their wemen, and of the best sorte, were great drinckers in the tyme of the Rebellion, and with such /20/ excesse as men could not goe beyond them.

As Conquered nations seldome loue their [qu.] Conquerors, so in those tymes Shane O Nele the great lord of the North, is sayd to haue Cursed his people at his death, if any of them should builde houses, or sowe Corne, to invite the Englishmen to liue among them.<sup>312</sup> And in most Customes they affected to be contrary to the English, My selfe haue heard, a worthy old Captayne who had serued long in Ireland, relate some forty Customes Cleane Contrary to the English, which I haue now forgotten, /30/ and therefore will only instance one or two of them, namely that wemen tooke horse on the Contrary syde to the English, with their faces turned the

contrary way, and that the[y] ↑Irish↑ v<sup>s</sup>ed in harnesse [or] traces for horses drawing in the Plough or drawing sledges with carriage, but only fastend the Plough and the Carriage by withes to the tayles of the horses (or Garrons for so they call them<sup>313</sup>) whereby the tayles are commonly pulled off, and the very Rump<sup>t</sup>s bared. To omitt the rest which I cannot remember, we generally obserued that not only th<sup>e</sup> wemen /40/ of the meere Irish but also of the old English Irish, who could speake English aswell as ourselues, yet durst not speake it with vs if their husbands or their Fathers were present. They keepe the old Calender, and only [Cittysens Cities] Cittyes haue Clockes, and keepe them as wee doe in England.

{ m.n. 47 - 52. Pastymes Exercises *Huntinge Hawkinge Birdinge and Fishinge.* }

Touching Pastimes. They exceedingly delight in playing at Cardes and dyce, espetially at dyce, and professed gamsters goe about, carrying Cardes and dyce with them, and they will not only play for all the mony /50/ and Clothes they haue, but euen for the members of their body at a rate of mony, suffering themselues to be tyed by those members (euen the shamefull partes) and so to be led about, till they can free them by paying the rate of mony. They delight much in dansing, ↑v<sup>s</sup>ing↑ no Arte of [a] slowe measures or lofty galliards,<sup>314</sup> but only Country dances, whereof they haue some pleasant to beholde, as [B.ll..dye] Balrudry,<sup>315</sup> // fol.663.

and the whipp of Duneboyne<sup>316</sup> and the daunse a bout a fyer (Comonly in the midst of a roome) holding whithes<sup>317</sup> in their handes, and ↑by↑ certayne straynes drawing one another into the fyer and also the Matachine daunse w<sup>i</sup>th naked swordes,<sup>318</sup> which they make to meete in diuers comely postures, and this I haue seene them often daunse before the lord Deputy in the houses of [diuers] Irish lordes, and it seemed to me a dangerous sport, to see so many naked swordes so neere the Lord Deputy and cheefe Commanders of the Army, in the handes of the Irish kerne, who had ether lately beene /10/ or were not vnlike to proue Rebels.

Touching Exercises, the Actiuity of their bodyes aswell in swift runing on foote, as in the nimble mounting their horses without stirropes, with the dexterity of vsing their speares and Darts, and ryding swiftly, shewes that they are well breathed in like exercises.<sup>319</sup>

Touching hunting, Ireland yealdes some reasonable plenty of Fallow Deare, aswell closed in Parkes, (namely one at Menouth,<sup>320</sup> be[g]longing to the Earle of Kildare, and another in Mounster then belonging to the



Earle /20/ of Ormode,<sup>321</sup> and a third lately made in the North (as I heare []) by the lord of Belfast,) as also running loose in the woodes, of the north, of Ophalia, of Leax, and of Mounster.<sup>322</sup> And it also yealdes a fewe Stags or red Deare, lunning<sup>323</sup> loose in the woodes bordering vpon lecayle in the North, and the other woodes aboue named. And the plenty is the greater because ordinary persons dare not, and great lordes of the meere Irish will not hunt them, For the meere Irish delight not in the sporte nor care to eate such meates.<sup>324</sup> So as in the tyme of warr, /30/ and for all the tyme I liued there, the English commaunders and gentlemen of the Army, for the most parte inioyed this game running loose in the woodes. The Irish vsed to kill both fallowe and redd deare by shott with the *Harquebuse*, and Commonly Caught the Stags by driuing them into Netts showingt with agreat Noyse vpon the Contrary syde from the netts, which made them goe forward and goe into the netts, or by the way stand gazing till they might be shott. They also had an Art to catch Staggs by singing a certayne tune on all sydes about them, /40/ by which Musicke they fell downe and lay as sleeping. Also they caught both fallowe and red deare by springes of Armes of trees, or young trees, halfe Cutt, and lightly fastned to the grounde, vpon which while the deare browsed, they were Caught by the trees, which being loosened from the grounde, rose vp and many tymes hoysted and griped them farr from the grounde. But of late some of the English haue brought howndes and greyhowndes ↑out↑ of England, and sometymes vsed to hunt these deare with doggs. Aat the ende of the Rebellion, /50/ Ireland had great stoore of hares, but very foggy<sup>325</sup> being not breathed with Coursing. The Irish grey howndes are so high that they over beare the hares when they haue turned them. But after the Warr many of the English brought over English greyhowndes, and howndes to // fol. 664.

Course and hunt them as wee doe, Ireland is much annoyed with innumerable wolues, which they labour not to destroy for very Idlenes, though they haue excelent grayhoundes bold to fasten on them. So as they not only destroy their Cattle, but allso the fallowe and Red deare in the woodes, which in tyme of the Rebellion they were obserued to hunt very conningly, and one of our Fortes of Mounster, which could not be vittled being farr within the Rebells Countrye, was twice Releeued by Staggs hunted by wolues, and falling neere it. The Irish hold it ominous to meete /10/ wolues, and haue many Inchantments against them. Sir Richard Bingham gouernor of Connaught was obserued to haue a great disaster vpon the meeting of wolues,<sup>326</sup> and wee reade that the Emperor Charles the fyth hauing mett a wolfe, did in the same Iourney breake his leg. The

Irish also and the English obserued, that before the defeate of Blackwater; and vpon diuers like disasters, the wolues were seene to enter the villages and the townes of Ireland.<sup>327</sup>

Touching *Hawking*, Ireland in tyme of the warr had /20/ great plenty of Partridges and Fesants, so as in mounster it was well knowne that sixty Fesants were serued at one Feast. And my selfe liuing there, founde this plenty, but thought that the Fesants of Ireland were nothing so good meate as the English, or at least I am sure that they were most eaten by the seruants attending at the Table. They had also plenty of Seafooule, But Birdes in the woods and groues were in diuers parts rare and fewe, wherof I heard some yeald this reason, that they were scared from thence by the frequent shooting of peeeces in the woodes and /30/ vnderwoods, where the Irish kern vsed Commonly [more aboundeth] to lurke ↑ to ↑ and skirmish with the English. No Country more aboundeth with fish, aswell seafish in the frequent harbors and vpon all the Coastes, as fresh fish espetially excellent Trowts in the frequent Riuers and Brookes. To conClude the Idlenes of the Irish, and their hauing no delight in these meates, yealded to the English a plentifull inioying of these games, aswell for the sports as for the meates.



## Endnotes

- 1 The first chapter of the first book reads as follows, "... vnder which tytyle, I contayne the historically introduction, the kings Pedegrees and Courts, the present State of publike affayres, The Tributes and Reuenues, the military power for Horse, Foote, and Navye, the Courts of Justice, rare lawes, more spetially those of Inheritance, and Contracts of mariage, the Criminall Judgments, and the diuersity of degrees in Family and Common wealth." Fol. i.
- 2 William Camden (1551 - 1623) was a pioneering antiquary, whose *Britannia* influenced a generation, including Moryson. He produced his *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum* of 1615 at royal command. His decision to use Latin, the medium of learning, is typical of the age, and may have confirmed Moryson in his original choice of language. See May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age*, (Oxford, 1971), pp. 150 - 154.
- 3 In Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, IV. xx. there is mention of Celts settling in Spain. FB
- 4 Honorius was Emperor of the West from 395 - 423. "In the reign of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, the Emperors, it was inhabited by nations of Scots, as Orosius writes ... For from hence the Scots made their inroads into Britain ... " William Camden, *Camden's Britannia 1695*, with an Introduction by Stuart Piggott, and Bibliographical Note by Gwyn Walters, David and Charles Reprints (Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 968, referred to as Camden hereafter. For the ideas of the Scythians, some of whom were of German descent, coming to Spain and then passing on to Ireland after Constantine drove them out, see also Camden, pp. cxiv - cxvii. As befitting an historian, he questions this theory.
- 5 *EB* suggests 432, *CE* 433, whilst Camden writes 431, p. 968.
- 6 Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald of Wales (1146 - 1220) was a well connected churchman and historian. He accompanied Prince John to Ireland in 1184. Moryson may be referring to his *Topographica Hibernica* and his *Expugnatio Hibernica* about the conquest by Henry II's knights. Many of his prejudices continue in the writings of the Elizabethans. See my note on Fol. 255.
- 7 Ulster is the northern province.
- 8 Camden has a short section on the "Britains of Armorica", pp. cvi - cvii, and they are still called *Bretons* to this day.
- 9 Some early Roman writers as Caesar and Tacitus thought that Spain was much nearer to the British Isles than in fact it is. Does this explain the adoption by some Elizabethans of the idea of large-scale emigration from Spain? It was a happy misconception in that Irish exiles could claim equal rights of citizenship. See Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 208 - 209, and referred to hereafter as Morgan.
- 10 "Finally, it appeareth by good record yet extant, that King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt, had all that island under their allegiance and subjection." Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, edited by W. L. Renwick (Oxford, 1970), p. 46, and referred to hereafter as *View*. For Moryson and Spenser, ancient history justifies modern depredation.
- 11 See Camden, p. 970.
- 12 "After, the Norwegians, under the conduct of *Turgesius*, wasted this Country in a most dismal manner for the space of 20 years together; but he being cut off by an ambush laid for him, the inhabitants fell upon the Norwegians, and made such an entire defeat of them, that hardly so

- much as one of them escaped." Camden, p. 970.
- 13 Camden cites a Charter of King Edgar, saying how he conquered the greatest part of Ireland. p. 970.
  - 14 Leinster, the south eastern province.
  - 15 Meath, the central province adjoins Leinster.
  - 16 Letters Patent is the term for an open letter granting a royal privilege conferring rights, as in the patent conferring rights to Moryson at the beginning of the printed *Itinerary* of 1617. *OED*
  - 17 Wexford, Offaly, Carlow and Kildare.
  - 18 This has been an extended paraphrase of Camden, pp. 970, 971. Moryson does not mention Camden's six kings as one is O'Neale of Ulster, whose legitimacy he is trying to impugn on fol. 248.
  - 19 Connaught is the western province of Ireland.
  - 20 Under an entry for 1166 in "The Annals of Ireland", which Camden transcribed, is the entry "Rothericke O Conghir, Prince of Conaught, was made King and Monarch of Ireland."
  - 21 In 1541 Henry VIII was given the title by the Parliament sitting at Dublin. He did not start using it until the following year. See Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community and the Conflict of Cultures, 1470 - 1603* (London: Longman, 1985), pp. 139 - 140, referred to hereafter as Ellis.
  - 22 "MCLXXVII. This year Vivian a Cardinal, call'd from S. Stephen's in the Mount Cællius, was sent Legat of the Apostolick See into Ireland, by Pope Alexander." Camden's *Annals of Ireland*.
  - 23 Moryson probably mentions Dunluce particularly, because in Elizabethan times, far from being part of the Pale, it was a centre of Scots mercenary activity under Sorley Boye MacDonald. See Morgan, pp. 35, 48. It is near Portrush, County Londonderry.
  - 24 King John (1199 - 1216) surrendered all his lands to Innocent III, including Ireland, to receive them back as a feudal subordinate or feudatory, on condition of homage and service. The doctrine of Papal Donation was much in evidence in the negotiations at Lifford in Tirconnell between Alonso Cobos the emissary of Philip II and confederate Irish lords in May 1596. Sovereignty could be reassigned from Queen Elizabeth (already "deposed" by Papal Bull in 1570) to the Habsburg Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria. See Morgan, p. 210.
  - 25 Catholics speaking against Papal supremacy were considered especially effective by Protestant propagandists. "And sir *Thomas More* that lost his life in defence of the Popes primacie, deserues best of any to be credited in my conceit, auowing, First a weaknesse in the King seeking to subiect his Crowne to superior Commands: & next in the graunt a Nullitie." *A true and perfect relation of the proceedings at the severall arraignmentes of the late traitors (Guy Fawkes, H. Garnett)* (London, 1606), sig. 2M2, [STC 11618]. This, the summing up by the crypto-Catholic Northampton in Henry Garnett's treason trial after the Gunpowder Plot, is for a formal state occasion. Moryson is probably paraphrasing Camden, p. 971.
  - 26 "MCCXCI ... Item, there was an army led into Ulster, against O Hanlan and other Princes that broke the Peace, by Richard Earl' of Ulster and William Vescie Justiciary of Ireland." Camden, *Annals of Ireland*.
  - 27 Moryson is referring to Edward Bruce, brother to the famous Robert, who after the English defeat



- of Bannockburn, tried his luck in Ireland with initial success. Crowned in 1316, he was defeated and killed at Faughart near Dundalk in 1318 by Sir John de Bermingham and English forces. Camden's *Annals of Ireland* for the appropriate years follow the campaigns in detail.
- 28 From Latin *merus*, unmixed, (with English blood.) *OED*
  - 29 Sir John Davies also states that the degeneration of the Old English started in the reign of Edward II and the early part of Edward III. See his *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued*, (London, 1612), [STC6348], referred to hereafter as *Discovery*. It was reprinted in *Ireland Under Elizabeth and James I*, edited by Henry Morley (London, 1890), pp. 213 - 342, (p. 299).
  - 30 Pole is an obsolete spelling of poll. On a head count, there were fifteen hundred troops.
  - 31 The "good lawes" passed in Parliament were the Statutes of Kilkenny, 1366. Moryson has been following Camden's *Annals* closely, but also adding some extra detail from Davies, *Discovery*.
  - 32 Richard II's first expedition was in 1394 - 1395. "... he resolved to finish the conquest of Ireland; he levied a mighty army, consisting of four thousand men at arms and thirty thousand archers ..." Davies, *Discovery*, p. 236.
  - 33 Richard II's second expedition was in 1399.
  - 34 Mortimers.
  - 35 "During the reign of King Henry the Fourth the Lord Thomas of Lancaster, the King's second son, was Lieutenant of Ireland, who for the first eight years of that King's reign made the Lord Scroope and others his deputies, who only defended the marches with forces levied within the land." Davies, *Discovery*, p. 239.
  - 36 "To say nothing of *O Neal* the great, who before the arrival of St. *Patrick* tyranniz'd in *Ulster* and a great part of Ireland; nor of those after his time, who were but obscure; this family has been of no eminent note since the English set foot in the kingdom ..." Camden, p. 1023.
  - 37 "To support their party". Part of the meaning of bear as to sustain. See *OED* bear v. 1. 3. a.
  - 38 "... 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 alteration of the kingdom and success of that side which they favoured and effected." *View*, p. 14.
  - 39 The Bourkes were in constant revolt after Lord Deputy Perrot's attempts in 1586 to destroy tanistry in the Lower Macwilliam lordship in Mayo by interfering with the succession and by granting most to the eldest son rather than the tanist. Another part of the Bourke family, the Earls of Clanrickard whose familial lands in Connaught had been surrendered and regranted, were constant supporters of the English administration. See Morgan, pp. 49 - 50, 189.
  - 40 The Wars of the Roses are seen as a disaster for English polity and civility in Ireland. Spenser and Davies express similar sentiments. See *View*, p. 14, *Discovery*, p. 255.
  - 41 Of the suppression of the Perkin Warbeck revolt, Davies mentions "... an army, as the histories call it, which did not consist of a thousand men by the poll ...", p. 244, and of the suppression of Kildare by Henry VIII "Then sent he over Sir William Skeffington with five hundred men to quench that fire ..." p. 245. Moryson probably had his main source, Camden, in front of him,

and used Davies (who seems to have done independent researches among the pipe rolls and records in the Tower of London and Dublin Castle) to supplement Camden. The problem of attribution is made more difficult because Davies and Spenser also used Camden.

- 42 "King *Hen*, 8, having humbled the Family of *Kildare*, began to suspect this of the *O Neals* likewise, who had been aiding to the former in his rebellions; which put him into such fear, that he came to England voluntarily, renounced the title of *O-Neal*, and surrendered all he had into the King's hands: who, by his Letters-Patents under the great Seal, restored them again, adding the title of Earl of *Tir-Oen* ..." Camden, p. 1023.
- 43 Moryson seems to be familiar with the statute which justified the assumption of the royal title. The "... lack of naming the king's majesty and his noble progenitors kings of Ireland ... hath been great occasion that the Irishmen and inhabitants within this realm of Ireland have not been so obedient to the king's highness ... as they of right and according to their allegiance and bounden duties ought to have been." Quoted in Ellis, p. 139.
- 44 Nicholas Sanders SJ the polemicist whose books poured from the continental presses was the Earl of Desmond's spiritual advisor. Hiram Morgan, following the work of J. J. Silke, has shown that in 1593 the Catholic Primate of all Ireland Edmund McGauran Archbishop of Armagh, his Dean Edmund óg MacDonnell, and Dr James McHely Archbishop of Tuam were certainly plotting a Catholic recovery in Ireland through Philip II's help. Morgan, pp. 139 - 145.
- 45 A minim is missing. It should read "alarums".
- 46 *OED* shows that Shakespeare also uses the word figuratively,  

Even when the navel of the state was touched,  
 They would not thread the gates.  
*Coriolanus*, III. 1. 126 - 127.
- 47 Moryson is thinking of the writing tables of account or *tabulae* of ancient times. *Nouae tabulae* was the shout of those who wanted revolution in the Roman state, for all old debts were partially or wholly cancelled. L & S, FB.
- 48 Hughes adds "son to Edward the third and George Duke of Clarence", p. 186.
- 49 The cautious Elizabeth had only made him Lord Deputy.
- 50 Hughes changes to "the", p. 187.
- 51 An obsolete spelling of "either".
- 52 "Pupil. n. 1. 1. An orphan who is a minor and hence a ward ..." *OED*
- 53 Moryson is referring to cases of forced entry into property or benefices which are adjudicated by the Lord Deputy; alienations mean sales of property, perhaps even crown property; fines are the old feudal dues paid on transfer of rights to land. *OED*
- 54 Hughes has "leiué", p. 188.
- 55 Hughes corrects this to "Pardon", p. 188. Sir Henry Wallop who had twice been Lord Justice before a new Deputy had been appointed wrote of the Deputy's job that even those with "... great backing and friendship in court", were liable to have their reputations "... erased and disgraced by reason of the great credit [normally given in England to the] subtle and malicious ... informations of this nation." Quoted in Professor Nicholas Canny's forthcoming *Ireland in*



*the English Colonial System 1580s - 1650s* (Oxford), Chapter Two.

- 56 Compare "... and the commons ... in this land have ever been more devoted to their immediate lords here, whom they saw every day, than unto their Sovereign Lord and King, whom they never saw." Davies, *Discovery*, p. 307.
- 57 Sir William Fitzwilliam writing to Burghley on 10 November 1588 felt that when dealing with the Earl of Ormonde he was "... but William Fitzwilliam without nobility, or other great title or honour or office at home." Quoted in Professor Nicholas Canny's forthcoming book *Ireland in the English Colonial System 1580s - 1650s* (Oxford), Chapter Two.
- 58 Note the similarity in image to Spenser. Spenser writes of Deputy Perrot (who succeeded Spenser's mentor Grey in 1584) "... succeeding, as it were, into another man's harvest, found an open way to what course he list ..." *View*, p. 109.
- 59 Davus is the cunning slave in Terence's *Andria*. Harvey: It became a generic name for the wily.
- 60 Hughes changes to "successours", p. 190.
- 61 Moryson may be thinking of his own brother Richard, who, whilst he never got further than Deputy Governor of Munster, seemed happy enough to return to England after sixteen years of Irish service and settled at Tooley Park, Leicestershire.
- 62 Moryson probably means in the old sense of to anticipate in action. See *OED*, prevent, v. 2. trans. Ex-Lord Deputy Leonard Grey was executed by Henry VIII in 1541, and Sir John Perrot died of natural causes in the Tower convicted of treason in 1592.
- 63 The bad blood and factionalism between Lord Deputy Sir John Perrot 1584 - 1588, and Sir William Fitzwilliam on his second tour of duty 1588 - 1591 led to the former dying in the Tower of London as stated above. See Morgan, pp. 56 - 58.
- 64 Note how Moryson refers to the Irish as wilful animals which need to be disciplined. Spenser makes Irenius refer to them as difficult draught animals, "... a people altogether stubborn and untamed, and if it were once tamed, yet now lately having quite shaken off their yoke and broken the bands of their obedience." *View*, p. 4.
- 65 Hughes amends to "secrets", p. 191.
- 66 The Tudor goal of English administration in Ireland paying for itself was forever elusive once delegation to a native Deputy, usually the Earls of Kildare, was replaced by more direct intervention in Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Irish affairs. See Ellis, passim.
- 67 Hughes amends to "authority", p. 192.
- 68 "Privty. 5. ... participation in the knowledge of something private or secret, usually implying concurrence or consent ..." *OED*
- 69 Hughes amends to "triumph", p. 192.
- 70 Moryson is trying not to be controversial, by saying that things have improved.
- 71 This was the plan of Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy from 1584 - 1588. See Morgan, p. 30. He may have suggested it because he was at enmity with Sir Richard Bingham, the Governor of Connaught. See below.

- 72 "Tackling. n. 1. b. concr. The rigging of a ship; the tackle." *OED*
- 73 Caesar does not mention this. Moryson has confused his author. However, the work of the medieval Giraldus Cambrensis contains all these prejudices, including those expressed in the unidentified quatrain. Giraldus says of the Irish, "They live on beasts only, and live like beasts ... they think that the greatest pleasure is not to work, and the greatest wealth is to enjoy liberty." Their "flowing hair and beards" are lousy. Quoted in *The First Version of the Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*, translated by John J. O'Meara (Dundalk, 1951) pp. 85, 86.
- 74 Hughes amends to "vacant", p. 193.
- 75 Hughes makes it "pronounce", p. 193.
- 76 Tenants tied or "proper" to the land smacks of feudalism to Moryson.
- 77 The word derives from *Sliocht*, meaning "Literally 'section'; the branch of a clan", Morgan, p. 240.
- 78 From the Gaelic *tánaiste*, the second in line by the Gaelic method of political succession, see Morgan p. 241, and *OED*.
- 79 Hughes changes this to "swordsmen", p. 194, meaning a warrior who lives by his sword. *OED*
- 80 We would probably say "denoting".
- 81 It is also spelt McMahon or MacMahon.
- 82 Moryson's etymology is false. The Mahons, MacMahons, Mac Mahownes were all the same native Irish from Monaghan. See Morgan, *passim*.
- 83 Hughes has "Garne", pp. 195, 197.
- 84 This refers to Niall Garbh (anglicized to Garve, meaning "rough") O'Donnell, (1569 - 1625) a second cousin to Red Hugh O'Donnell, and a self-proclaimed candidate as the O'Donnell, head of the sept, which meant that he was usually in league with the English against Red Hugh, and did signal service around Lough Foyle for them. See the family tree in Morgan, pp. 114 - 115. He was abandoned by Mountjoy after 1603 to the mercies of Rory O'Donnell. See Ellis, p. 311, and fol. 258 below. Moryson's hostility to him may partly stem from a desire not to tarnish the reputation of his master, Mountjoy. Cyril Falls writes of Mountjoy realising that Rory O'Donnell was far more tractable than Neil Garve. Mountjoy cynically ignored the claims of the loyal Neil in favour of the weaker ex-rebel Rory. See Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London 1950), pp. 330 - 331, and his *Mountjoy: Elizabethan General* (London, 1955), p. 197.
- 85 These were hereditary titles. The Knight of the Valley or of Glin belonged to a sept of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, and the White Knight to Clan Gibbon of that family. *Amandis de Gaul* was an outdated chivalric story, that Moryson uses as a mocking reference to ill-placed knightly pretension both here and in the section on the Ottomans.
- 86 Hughes amends to "least", p. 196.
- 87 "1. a. ... ownership, proprietorship ..." *OED*
- 88 MacMahon country was Oriel, Trough, Dartry and Farney, and after it was shired and settled it was known as County Monaghan. See Morgan, p. xiv and map in Ellis, pp. 344 - 345.



- 89 Hughes supplies "it", p. 198.
- 90 "Attainder. 1. ... the legal consequences of judgement of death or outlawry, in respect of treason or felony, viz. forfeiture of estate real and personal, corruption of blood ... " by which the condemned's estate even if there were heirs, would automatically escheat or revert to the feudal lord, in this case the Crown. "Intrusion. 2. a. ... a trespass on the lands of the crown ... " including forced entry. "Alienation. 2. b. The taking of anything from its owner." *OED* Moryson's legal studies are in evidence here. However, this may also be an echo of Spenser. Irenius talks of the dishonesty of Irish juries, whereby as Eudoxius says " ... the Queen as well in all pleas of the Crown, as also for all the inquiries for excheates, lands, attainted wardships, concealments, and all such like is abused, and exceedingly endamaged." *View*, p. 22.
- 91 John William Meade was Recorder of Cork. He seems to have had the enmity of the English establishment. William Lyon, Bishop of Cork in a letter to Robert Cecil dated 15 February 1600 names him as one of the "evil minded men to the State and Her Majesty's government, as hath been proved," *CSP Ireland 1599 - 1600* (London, 1899), p. 477. George Carew in a letter to the Privy Council of 16 December 1600 names him as one of the ringleaders of their corporations enriching themselves in the war. Meade informed the Privy Council of the landing and movements of the Spaniards whilst pledging his loyalty, on 22, 23, and 26 September 1601. See *CSP Ireland 1600 - 1601* (London, 1905), p. 66, and *CSP Ireland 1601 - 1603* (London, 1912), pp. 81, 85, 88. Meade was certainly lucky not to be hanged as Mountjoy did with some " ... of the principall offenders and ringleaders", after the corporations had attempted to exert their privileges in 1603. See *Itinerary A*, III, 333, and *CSP Ireland 1603 - 1606* (London, 1872), pp. 50 - 53. A sympathetic jury acquitted him of any crimes, and " ... being released from prison, also went to Spain, where he was granted 40 gold pieces a month by his Catholic Majesty, where he died." Philip O'Sullivan Bear, *Ireland Under Elizabeth*, translated by Matthew J. Byrne (Dublin, 1903), p. 180.
- 92 Both prey on the unsuspecting, hence the metaphor.
- 93 The reference may have appealed because of the juxtapositioning of civility (Orpheus civilized the Thracians with his music) and violence. In Vergil *Georgic IV*, following hints in Plato's *Republic* X. 620, and *Symposium*, 179, he is torn to bits by "Ciconian matrons" for spurning them while mourning for Eurydice. Orpheus's taming of wild beasts with the music of his harp was a favorite among the Elizabethan writers on Ireland, in part because of the implied contrast Orpheus's harp made with the Irish harp, which was sometimes played in battle and often used to accompany songs celebrating the martial deeds of the Irish. Good government was equated with a well tuned instrument, as with Sir John Davis the writer of *Orchestra*, "The strings of the Irish harp, which the civil magistrate doth finger, are all in tune ... and make a good harmony in this commonweal ... " *Discovery*, p. 341, whilst bad government was equated with the opposite, "Take but degree away, untune that string, / And hark what discord follows." *Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3. 109 - 110.
- 94 Moryson is contemptuous of the Irish oral traditions. Yet he feels that poetry is capable of effective didacticism. Compare Shakespeare's Cleopatra. She is fearful of the "scald rhymers" who will "Ballad us out o' tune." *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. 2. 211 - 212.
- 95 This is from the Gaelic *cearrbhaigh*, a professional gambler. See Quinn, p. 54. Hughes renders the word "Carowes", p. 199.
- 96 It is difficult to tell if Moryson had this information by "credible relation", or out of a manuscript copy of St. Edmund Campion's *A History of Ireland* 1571, only printed in 1633 after Moryson's death. He may have felt uneasy about acknowledging the taking of information from so Catholic a source. Campion writes in Book One Chapter Six, "There is among them a brother-hood of Carrowes that professe to play at cards all the yeare long, and make it their onely occupation. They

play away Mantle and all to the bare skinne ... // ... for default of other stufte, they pawne portions of their glibbe, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their privie members; which they lose or redeeme at the curtesie of the winner." Edmund Campion, *Campions Historie of Ireland* (Dublin, 1633), sig. B4r, B4v, [STC 25067].

- 97 These idle serving men of whom Moryson is suspicious were probably part of the open lineage family groupings which were still strongest where central government was weakest, as in the north of England, and in a modified form in Ireland. The significance of the failure of the Rebellion of the Northern Earls in 1569, and the ultimate failure of four Irish rebellions in Elizabeth's reign could be seen as the old way of life being crushed by a modernizing centralizing state with greater resources at its disposal. See Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500 - 1800* (London, 1977), p. 91.
- 98 "1. Lascivious, lecherous, unchaste. Obs." *OED*
- 99 Sack was a generic name for Spanish white wines, see *OED* 3. 1. a. Usquebaugh is from the Gaelic *uisge beatha* meaning "water of life", *OED* and here Moryson attests to its strength!
- 100 It could be either, as Hughes transcribes, "huckster", p. 201, a mercenary taker of profits, see *OED* 2. a., or "hackster" "1. lit. One who hacks, a 'hacker' or 'cutter'; a cut-throat; a swaggering ruffian, swashbuckler." I suspect that the latter is meant, as Hand Two often leaves the letter 'a' open at the top as in "had" on line 12.
- 101 Compare Spenser "*Irenius*: I cannot speak but by report of the Irish themselves, who report that the Macmahons in the north were anciently English, to wit, were descended from the Fitz-Ursulas, which was a noble family in England, and that the same appeareth by the signification of their Irish names. Likewise that of the Macswines now in Ulster were anciently of the Veres of // England, but that they themselves for hatred of the English so disguised their names." *View*, pp. 64 - 65.
- 102 What Moryson is doing in this section is to impugn the credentials of ancient Anglo-Irish families, so as to justify their effective exclusion from late Tudor government. See Ellis p. 319. By "Breningham" Moryson is probably referring to the Bermingham family, who in the various branches were Barons of Carbury and had provided two Chief Justices of the King's Bench in Yorkist and early Tudor times.
- 103 Moryson was not alone in thinking this. "The earl of Argyll held the opinion that O'Neill was receiving information from his friends on the council." Morgan, p. 184.
- 104 Sir Robert Dillon was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. It was rumoured that in the land commission drawn up in the autumn of 1587 to determine the proportion of lands between Turlough Luineach O'Neill, and his nephew Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the latter had bribed Dillon for a favourable result. It helped to consolidate Tyrone's powerbase and to ensure that he, rather than one of Turlough's sons, would be the O'Neill on Turlough's death. Dillon also voted with the majority on the Council not to detain Tyrone in August 1594, when he was clearly causing trouble. This was interpreted by the Queen as "fear, faction or corruption." Involved as Dillon was in the vicious factionalism which had spilled over from London to Dublin castle and back again, it may be that his enemies used these incidents against him. See Morgan, pp. 32, 102 - 103, 171 - 172. Equally, Moryson's hostility to Dillon may have something to do with Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Moryson uses Fenton's translation of Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* extensively in the sections on the Papacy and the Italian States of *Itinerary B*. Mountjoy's secretary, Moryson and Fenton, clerk to the Irish Council, obviously had similar interests, and may have struck up a close friendship. Dillon had once colluded with Lord Deputy Perrot to imprison Fenton in the Marshalsea gaol for a £70 debt in 1587. See Morgan, p. 45.



- 105 Moryson seems to be referring to the Statute of *Praemunire* of 1353, which was used by Henry VIII's ministers to topple Cardinal Wolsey in 1529 and to indict the whole clergy in 1530. J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1968), pp. 310, 358 - 359.
- 106 Connivance. *OED*
- 107 "L313 A Lion is known by his paw (claw)." See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of The Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), and referred to as Tilley hereafter.
- 108 Queen Elizabeth does write that the English Irish lived idly. She complains to Mountjoy on 20 July 1600 complaining of the "... many suffered to lie idle, like drones, with their companies, without doing hurt to the rebel, or yielding safety to our subjects ..." See *CSP Ireland 1600* (London, 1903), p. 325. There may even be an echo of Spenser here, who writes of the "... great use among the Irish to make great assemblies together upon a Rath or hill ... and ... in these meetings many mischiefs have been both practised and wrought." *View*, p. 77.
- 109 Hughes transcribes "partyes", p. 207.
- 110 Moryson may be referring to the execution by Arthur Grey, lord Grey de Wilton and Lord Deputy of Chief Justice Nicholas Nugent in 1582, and Lord Devlin, who was also a Nugent. See Ellis, p. 282.
- 111 Richard Burke or de Burgh, (1572 - 1635) Fourth Earl of Clanrickard broke Tyrone's deploying cavalry at Kinsale. Moryson may be referring to his father Ulick, Third Earl who died in May 1601. There certainly had been bad blood between the Burkes and the Presidents of Connacht, Nicholas Malby and Sir Richard Bingham. See Chapter Two of Professor Nicholas Canny's forthcoming *Ireland in the English Colonial System 1580 - 1650*.
- 112 "3. b. Moody, peevish, ill-humoured ..." *OED*
- 113 Compare James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 72 (25 June 1621).
- "Caelum non animam mutant qui trans mare currunt.  
The Air but not the Mind they change,  
Who in Outlandish Countries range."
- As Moryson says, it seems to have been proverbial. The earliest instance that I have located is in Albertus Meierus, *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions* (London, 1589), sig. A3r, [STC17784].
- 114 Moryson sees the English state anthropomorphically, with Ireland the possible heel of Achilles becoming the sink of the body "the organs of digestion and excretion" *OEDI* I. 3. transf. b. Ireland digested treasure and men, and left only waste. *OED* quotes one earlier use of this phrase, from Menenius's fable of the belly, *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 120. Sugden says that Cheapside was the old marketplace of London, but it hardly would be the heart of England. It is an ugly mixed metaphor.
- 115 "2. Foresight, prevision ... wise arrangement ... guidance ..." *OED* Moryson is always complimentary about James.
- 116 "This is Prodicus of Ceos, who wrote a famous piece called *The Choice of Heracles*. See Xenophon, *Memorabilia II*." FB
- 117 Moryson is probably referring to the draconian Statutes of Kilkenny 1366 which tried to reverse

- the hibernization of the English settlers.
- 118 Hughes amends to "vulgarly", p. 212. Glibs is from the Gaelic *Glibeanna*, meaning having locks of hair over the eyes. Many writers mention this including Spenser and Thomas Gainsford who is quoted by Quinn, p. 169.
- 119 From the Gaelic *triubhas*, these were close-fitting hose covering the buttocks and thighs; knee-breeches. *OED*
- 120 Compare Spenser's "... a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief." *View*, p. 51.
- 121 The "best part" may be a value judgment, or more likely it means the greater part.
- 122 Moryson may have got these ideas from Botero, "The victors will do well to introduce their own tongue into countries they have conquered, as the Romans did extremely successfully, as the Arabs have done in much of Africa and Spain, and as William Duke of Normandy did in England five hundred years ago." Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P. J. and D. P. Waley, and *The Greatness of Cities*, translated by Robert Peterson, (London, 1956), p. 98. Moryson is obviously interested in etymology. Note the aristocratic pastimes that have assimilated Norman French. The Normans in England were the aristocratic overlay on an Anglo-Saxon society.
- 123 The with or withe is usually made of willow, osier or some flexible twigs attached to the horse's tail or rump to serve as tackle. *OED*
- 124 Hughes amends to "advertised", p. 215.
- 125 "Cast. ppl. 3. Cashiered, dismissed from office (obs.); discarded, cast off. *cast captain* was app. orig. *cased captain*; this led to other uses." *OED*
- 126 Purchase. *OED*
- 127 Limerick.
- 128 In April and May 1603 Kilkenny, Thomastown, Clonmel, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Cashel went into opportunist non-cooperation largely in anticipation of change of religious policy by the incoming Stuart, son of the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots. See Aidan Clarke, 'Pacification, Plantation and the Catholic Question, 1603 - 1623', in *A New History of Ireland III Early Modern Ireland 1534 - 1691*, edited by T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (Oxford, 1976) 187 - 232, (p. 189), referred to hereafter as Clarke.
- 129 The judicial resolutions obtained by Sir John Davies were more potent than the threats of his old patron Mountjoy in curbing municipal privilege. See Hans S Pawlich, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 46 - 47, 122 - 141.
- 130 This was among the municipal privileges lost by the action of Davies alluded to above. Although the towns petitioned and resisted, by 1612 nine port towns had accepted state customs officials.
- 131 Banished Shakespearean characters make for the woods. Duke Senior muses, "Are not these woods/ More free from peril than the envious court?" *As You Like It* II. 1. 3 - 4. They are an ambivalent symbol since they contain outlaws in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and a lion in *As You Like It*.
- 132 Galba (68 - 69), made Emperor by his soldiers in Spain after Nero, was murdered by the Praetorian Guard. "But *Galba* vnderstanding that they complained of him, he spake word meete



for so noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he vsed to choose souldiers, not to buy them." Plutarch, *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, translated by Thomas North, (London, 1579), p. 1115, [STC20065]. Moryson may be more familiar with the original than either North (or Shakespeare). A closer translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, translated by Bernadotte Perrin, 11 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1914 - 1926), XI (1926), 245, renders the passage "... he spoke out like a great Emperor, and declared that it was his custom to enroll soldiers not to buy them."

- 133 This seems to have been a saying of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great. "There's no fence or fortress *against an Ass laden with Gold*. It was a saying, you know, of *his* Father, whom partial and ignorant Antiquity cries up to have conquer'd the World ..." See James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 108 (24 May 1622). Howell repeats it in a letter of 4 December 1637, p. 379.
- 134 Hiram Morgan feels that in advancing the claims of his old master Mountjoy, Moryson was prepared to damn the venal Sir William Fitzwilliam, whose second tour of duty as Lord Deputy was from 30 June 1588 until 11 August 1594, pp. 3 - 4. "All governors were concerned as much with patronage and profit as they were with policy" Morgan writes with reference to Sir John Perrot, Fitzwilliam's predecessor, p. 31. What distinguished Fitzwilliam was the extent of his illicit profits, paid, so as to mask them, to proxies "... either relatives such as his daughter Lady Dyer, or minor officials", according to a complaint by one Robert Legg delivered to Burleigh in 1593, p. 59.
- 135 In 1587 Red Hugh O'Donnell had been kidnapped and imprisoned at Dublin Castle as a surety for his father's good behaviour, and as a warning to Tyrone. He escaped at Christmas 1591, probably with Tyrone's help. It was a dire warning to the English government of Irish determination. See Morgan, pp. 130 - 133. Cormac MacBaron O'Neill was the brother to whom Tyrone entrusted his negotiations with Spain before he broke finally with the English. See his letter in Morgan pp. 223 - 225. Thus, it was Tyrone's nephew who escaped. NC The escape of Cormock Mc Dermond on 29 September 1602 was minimized by Geoffrey Fenton in his covering letter of 8 October to Secretary Cecil, and certainly it was not as significant as the escape of Red Hugh. See *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1601 - 1603* (London, 1912), p. 494.
- 136 I have been unable to find which poet wrote this.
- 137 An obsolete form of Coroner. *OED*
- 138 "I. b. in Law. valid." *OED* Moryson means that the powers of provincial governors were validated by custom rather than by law, a course of which, with his legal background, Moryson disapproves.
- 139 "I would think that it is a Mac Cartan (an Ulster lord) who is being referred to." NC
- 140 Hughes has what must be a printing mistake, "vpposition", p. 220.
- 141 "a. 1. clear." *OED*
- 142 "2. b. ... having at least a *prima facie* aspect of justice or validity." *OED*
- 143 Hughes corrects to "attorney", p. 223.
- 144 Sous can mean deputy as in sousprior, sous-chef, and "reeve n. 1. 1. Hist. a. ... the chief magistrate of a town or district" may explain this unusual word. He was probably a deputy mayor or chief alderman. Hughes transcribes the word as "Souranes", p. 224 possibly an obsolete spelling of "sovereign" in the sense of one who has rank or authority over others.
- 145 This appears to be a corruption of the Gaelic *eiric*, "... a money payment which was required to

- be made in reparation for the murder of an individual. The fine charged related to the status and connection of the individual killed." NC Spenser spells it "Iriach, by which vile law of theirs many murders are amongst them made up and smothered." *View*, p. 5.
- 146 Poyning's Law, 1494.
- 147 Events had overtaken Moryson's plans. The Parliament of 1613 - 1615 had a majority of "new settlers", including his brother Richard. The fact that Sir John Davis was finally chosen Speaker over the Catholic candidate who had to withdraw signalled their victory.
- 148 "3. Corresponding ..." *OED*
- 149 "Itinerant" because they travel to the assizes.
- 150 "Narrow passes through mountains or rocks." *OED*
- 151 Hughes supplies the 'h' to amend to "his", p. 228.
- 152 Donal O'Cahan was the principal *urrt*, or lord under Tyrone who performed Tyrone's inauguration as the O'Neill at Tullahoge. See Morgan, p. 85. He surrendered his large estates in northern Ulster and had part regranted by the Queen on modified terms. On 11 October 1602 Lord Deputy Mountjoy wrote to the Privy Council asking them regrant under general terms so things might be so ordered that his dependent tenants will know the difference "between their former manner of life under the tyranny of their superior Irish lords and the easy and clement government of her Majesty." *CSP Ireland 1601 - 1603*, p. 497. Moryson may even have drafted this letter. Donal O'Cahan was also son-in-law to Tyrone. "During the years 1603 - 7 he was persuaded by government officials to bring evidence against Tyrone and was being promised independence from the earl. After the flight of the earls in 1607 he was forced to subdivide his lordship among tenants-in-chief, and soon joined in the O'Doherty revolt." NC
- 153 The most eminent of these lawyers was the poet, John Davies, who, because King James recognized his poem *Nosce Teipsum*, and on Mountjoy's recommendation, was made Solicitor General in 1603. He became Attorney General in 1606, and was knighted in 1607. He was Speaker in the Parliament of 1613 - 1615, and returned to England in 1619. *DNB* Hans S Pawlich doubts the *Nosce Teipsum* story as an invention of Antony Wood in his *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 21 - 22.
- 154 Rory or *Ruaidhri* first Earl of Tirconnell was brother of the second famous "Archrebel" *Aodh Ruadh* or Red Hugh O'Donnell. Hugh was Tyrone's son-in-law and one of the best captains of gallowglass. After Kinsale he tried to negotiate further aid from Spain, and died there in 1602. Morgan, pp. 113 - 135, and Ellis, pp. 298 - 311.
- 155 "The MacSweeneys and O'Boyles were among the principal sub-chieftains who held their lands under the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell. The former were a family of Scots mercenary ancestry." NC
- 156 Hughes amends this by deleting "that" and substituting "not". p. 230.
- 157 They could depend on nothing but the Earl's favour.
- 158 "II. pa. tense of owe ... 2. a. Had to pay, was under obligation to pay or render ... Obs." *OED*
- 159 "... the supreme lord of a fee, from whom other feudatories hold, but who himself holds from none ..." *OED* Thus in Moryson's example, the two Ulster lords Turlough McHenry O'Neill of the Fewes (the area between Oriel and Orior) and Sir Henry óg O'Neill, both leaders of collateral branches of the O'Neill family, held their lands under the Great O'Neill. "Both made their peace



with the government before the surrender of Tyrone and were therefore given title to their lands by the crown independently of that conceded to Tyrone after 1603." NC

160 i.e. the Stuart Succession.

161 Moryson seems to be speaking of personal experience here. His visit to Ireland in 1613 was probably occasioned by legal difficulties, and tedious lawsuits.

162 Spenser has Irenius complain of traitors, who, living abroad, with their "feoffees in trust" "... have the benefit and profits of their lands here, by pretence of such colourable conveyances thereof, formerly made by them to their privy friends here in trust, who secretly send over to them the said revenues, wherewith they are maintained and enabled against Her Majesty." *View*, p. 27, 28.

163 Apart from a small section on England in *Itinerary B*, it would appear that Moryson never got round to writing about his own country. Perhaps the poor reception of this work which he could not get printed in 1626 discouraged him. In a bitter envoi to his readers, Moryson writes of not answering his critics and of devoting the rest of his life to theology. See Fynes Moryson, British Library, Harleian MSS, 5133, f. 4r.

164 "2. A halter, properly one made with withes", defined as flexible twigs of twisted or braided willow or osier. *OED*

165 "For by the Common Law, the accessory cannot be proceeded against till the principal have received his trial." Irenius in Spenser's *View*, p. 25. By a "sly device" the principle is never found, so the accessory remains untried.

166 Jointure, in this passage an inheritance to support her in viduity. See *OED* 4. a. and b. Hughes spells "Joyncture", p. 233.

167 "ppl. a. 1. That 'imports' or signifies ..." *OED*

168 If a Gaelic lord were going into rebellion, inevitably he had to appeal to his Gaelic powerbase, and emphasise his name of "The O'Neill" or "The O'Donnell".

169 To Moryson fluent and grammatical Latin was the touchstone of whether a man were ignorant or educated. Having spent the decade of the 1580s at Peterhouse Cambridge, he hated to see learning undervalued. During his travels throughout Europe his learning emboldened him to call upon any great person, such as the Catholic theologian Robert Bellarmine and Calvin's successor at Geneva, Theodore Beza, and to be received with courtesy and mutual respect.

170 To Moryson, this is yet a further sign of the moral obloquy of the Catholic Anglo-Irish.

171 Hughes amends to "beautiful", p. 235.

172 It seems to be the case, that the fault as light as wind is not metaphorical language. Compare,

Mendoza: The Duke hates thee.

Malevole: As the Irish do bumcracks.

John Marston, *The Malcontent*, III. 3. 46 - 47, in *Jacobean Tragedies*, edited by A. H. Gomme (Oxford, 1969), p. 44.

173 Ascham deplored the severity of the English methods. "... love is fitter than feare, jentlenes better than beating, to bring up a childe rightlie in learning." Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*

- (London, 1570), sig. C3, [STC 832]. Presumably Moryson was not of Ascham's mind.
- 174 Had Moryson been turned down ?
- 175 *OED* uses this passage to explain pillion "n. 1. a. a kind of saddle", which is obviously different from the English type Moryson was used to. It comes from the Gaelic *pillin*. Bumbasted implies padding, something that would certainly be needed over bare boards, or the rider's thighs would soon be chafed.
- 176 "1. 1. A kind of helmet, without beaver or visor worn by soldiers in the 16th and 17th c." *OED*
- 177 "1. b. *to make a bravado*: to make a display in the face of the enemy ..." *OED*
- 178 "These troops were useful for reconnaissance and foraging, for pursuit of a broken enemy, but for little else. Since they rode without stirrups, they were not fitted for shock action ..." Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London 1950), p. 69.
- 179 These were known as "calivers", and were an increasingly popular weapon as the wars progressed. See Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London, 1950), pp. 39 - 40.
- 180 Defensive body armour. See *OED* 1 and 2. a.
- 181 "n. 2. 2. A repulse." *OED*
- 182 Whilst technically commander of the crown forces before his proclamation as a traitor, O'Neill did obtain lead for construction of a manor house at his seat in Dungannon in the current Elizabethan style. Morgan, p. 181 - 182.
- 183 At the battle of Lough Erne near Belleek in 1593, Tyrone somewhat reluctantly joined with Sir Henry Bagenal in attacking Hugh Maguire who had been raiding. Tyrone was wounded in the thigh, "... and he was pleased thereat, so that the English should not have any suspicion of him." Morgan p. 156, quoting from Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's *Life of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill*. Sess is an Irish word still in use, and an aphetic form of assess or assessment of provisions to maintain a garrison. *OED* The victuals provided for the instructors obviously included butter.
- 184 From the Gaelic *gallóglaich*, foreign soldier. *OED* Halberts were long-handled weapons, a combination of spear and battle-axe. *OED*
- 185 Jacks are jackets of quilted leather or mail. *OED* Spenser gets Irenius to say "... the quilted leather jack is old English, for it was the proper weed of the horseman as ye may read in Chaucer, where he describeth Sir Thopas's apparel and armour when he went to fight against the Geant in his robe of Checklatoun, which Checklatoun is a kind of gilden leather ...", and that it is "most uncomely, seeming like a player's painted coat." *View*, p. 70, 71.
- 186 From a distance. *OED*
- 187 Under kern 1. *OED* has a quotation from 1600 by J. Dymmok, "The kerne is a kinde of footeman, sleightly armed with a sworde, a targett of woode, or a bow or sheafe of arrows with barbed heades, or els 3 dartes."
- 188 The bleeding Captain reports how Macbeth dealt with the rebel Macdonald supplied with kerns and galloglasses from the western isles, he,
- ... ne'er shook hands nor bade farewell to him  
Till he unseamed him from the nave to the chops



And fixed his head upon our battlements.

*Macbeth*, I. 2. 21 - 23.

In the play and here, the implication is that gratuitous violence is ignoble and excessive, but perhaps not wholly unexpected to a contemporary, since the Scots and Irish are cognate.

- 189 The horsemen could not do their duty or function, by raining down blows upon them. See *OED* serve n. 1. 22.
- 190 Hughes corrects to "number", p. 239.
- 191 Hughes corrects to "the", p. 240.
- 192 Moryson is presumably alluding to the fact that the English forces investing the city and Spanish garrison at Kinsale were much weakened by sickness. Hence the honourable terms that the Spanish were able to negotiate at the Composition of 2 January 1602, which Moryson translated into Latin, Spanish and Italian. Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London, 1950), p. 311.
- 193 At Cannae in Apulia in 216 BC, the consul Aemilius Paulus and 50,000 Romans were killed. According to Livy, it was Maharbal, Hannibal's outstanding cavalry leader, who said "... *vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uri nescis*." Livy continues that a day's delay saved Rome and its Empire. See Livy, *History Book XXII*, translated by B. O. Foster Loeb Classical Library, p. 369, Chapter 51.
- 194 Moryson's judgement is uncannily accurate. The Ulster Rebellion of 1641, coming when it did, helped to destroy Charles I's conception of the English state. It foregrounded the issue of who should control its suppression, if not the king.
- 195 Moryson seems to be forgetting the rebellion of Shane O'Neale in the 1560s. The English government had hoped to divide and rule, particularly as Tyrone "... had been lifted up by Her Majesty out of the dust ..." Spenser, *View*, p. 114. Up until about 1587, the English government had invariably supported Tyrone against Turlough Luineach O'Neill, "the O'Neill" (1567 - 1595). See Morgan, p. 215.
- 196 The parsimony started right at the top. Queen Elizabeth was famous for her 'closeness', but her resources were limited. "Despite a lack of policy, there was a fixed objective in the minds of many [English] governments: that of maintaining a secure foothold in Ireland without any cost to the crown." Nicholas P. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565 - 76* (Hassocks, 1976), p. 31.
- 197 "Sale wares" implies that the material was of inferior quality, only fit for army surplus. The officers may well have been shamed because it was their responsibility to feed, clothe and, it would appear from what Moryson writes here, to arm their troops from money allowed out of central funds. The quality of the tools and muskets was inferior because they were made with an eye to profit on the emption, or purchase, by those officers who could then pocket the difference. *OED*
- 198 Hughes has "cheefe", p. 244, which makes scant sense.
- 199 Terms of agreement. *OED* Hughes's proofreader failed to excise an otiose line, which must have come from elsewhere, "their musters, who should have nothing to do with Armes" p. 244.
- 200 Quartermasters.
- 201 Hughes omits "which were content" to here, almost certainly in error.

202 Surgeons.

203 Tether ?

204 Moryson has already mentioned this on Fol. 164.

205 " ... the pay of a man killed or discharged which was appropriated by the captain of his company ... this abuse was legalized ... companies were enlisted with a deficiency of men of 5 or 6 per cent., the pay of the missing men being the legitimate perquisite of the captain." Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London, 1950), p. 61.

206 All of this sounds very Falstaffian. See *2 Henry IV* III. 2. for an hilarious recruitment scene. Note how Moryson continues on the racial theme that only the English can be trusted.

207 Hughes confuses the sense by faulty proofreading of transposed lines, p. 246.

208 War-making is seen as a mystery, a craft, an occupation, proper to princes. Hughes misses a line "their musters ... arms" in faulty proofreading again, p. 246.

209 Sir Cahir O'Doherty, betrayed by his former English allies, went into rebellion in 1608. One of his outstanding achievements was the surprising and subsequent destruction of the important fortress at the Derry (subsequently Londonderry).

210 Hughes's printer mixes lines and has "induce" for "indure" p. 246.

211 Hughes corrects to "Bogges", p. 247.

212 Leix and Offaly. They were "old" in that they had been planted in 1557, the time of Philip and Mary, and were thereafter called King's and Queen's County.

213 i.e. of English, as opposed to those whose faith was suspect.

214 Hughes corrects to "they", p. 249.

215 To Moryson, if religion were reformed all further good effects would follow.

216 The ease with which poorer and low status colonists adapted to Gaelic society in Ireland and to Indian society in Virginia is explored by Nicholas Canny, 'The Permissive Frontier: Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550 -1650' in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland the Atlantic and America 1480 - 1650*, edited by K. R. Andrewes, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair, (Liverpool, 1978), pp. 17 - 44. Moryson, as self-appointed guardian of Mountjoy's political testament, is keen to get the right colonists who would not go native, and destroy by their actions his conception of innate English superiority.

217 Hughes amends to "be detected", p. 250.

218 I take this in the sense of "straightened circumstances", so that the Netherlands are kept poor by their lack of territory. This was not a new initiative on Mountjoy's part, but rather a continuation of a policy originally advocated by Sir Henry Sidney to encourage craftsmen, industry and the prosperity that it brought. Forty families from Flanders were settled at Swords, County Dublin. See Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565 - 1576* (Hassocks, 1976), p. 67.

219 Once again the Irish are seen as wilful horses, keener to feed than obey.



- 220 Events had overtaken Moryson here, for in 1612 the Protestant large landowners "... signalled their ascendancy by introducing English gaming laws, which reserved the right to shoot deer, hare, partridge, and pheasant to landowners only." See Clarke, p. 205. In so doing, landowners were formalizing their superiority over the native Irish who had been confined by choice, and now by law, to "white meats", cheese, milk and butter.
- 221 Hughes changes to "yet", p. 252.
- 222 Ireland even makes the cows refractory.
- 223 "A. adj. 1. Disposed to go counter to what is demanded or reasonable; perverse ... refractory, ungovernable ..." *OED*
- 224 Moryson may be referring to Florence MacCarty who "had great power in Carbury and Desmond ... / ... That Florence had levied of the Provincials and Bonnaghts (so they call waged souldiers) 2000 foot". *Itinerary A*, II, 360, 361.
- 225 Medieval physiology is combined with practical solutions. In this period Europe was suffering a little Ice Age, which had important effects, "... a drop in 1 degree Celsius in average summer temperatures reduces the farm growing season in northern Europe by about 30 days." Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598 - 1648*, Fontana History of Europe (London, 1979), p. 22. With the varieties then available, corn production on a significant scale would have probably failed.
- 226 "I say, we do not find *Ireland* to be cold in the winter, nor so hot in the Summer, as it is in *England*." Barnaby Riche, *A New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610), sig. C2v, [STC 20992].
- 227 "*What should I speake of the Salmon fishing of the Bande, which is so famously known and spoken of: and there is moreouer for three moneths of the yeare, betweene September & December, such a fishing for Eeles, as I thinke is not the like againe in Europe ...*" Barnaby Riche, *A New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610), sig. B3r, [STC 20992]. The Bann fishery was reckoned to be worth over £800 in 1610 by Sir Thomas Phillips. It had been the focus of legal dispute between the Earl of Tyrone, Sir Randall MacDonnell, and Lord Deputy Chichester and the City of London. Attorney-General Davies, using elements of civil law where the common law was silent, managed to vest it with the Londoners. See Hans S. Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 84 - 99.
- 228 Galway to the Killybegs.
- 229 This probably refers to the financial reforms of Sully, Henry IV's minister.
- 230 James I's needs were pressing. Under Elizabeth the English had had their monarchy "on the cheap". She was content to continue with Mary's 1558 book of rates of customs throughout her reign, despite inflation. Moryson's attitude of uncritical acceptance of the need for increased taxes is interesting, but then he saw the revenue being spent. He also had a personal motive in the King being paid. His own pension of six shillings a day granted on 19 June 1604 might be the more secure. See *CSP Domestic 1603 - 1610* (London, 1857), p. 121.
- 231 "Armes", Hughes, p. 258.
- 232 Note yet again how the image is of unruly and dangerous horses.
- 233 If persuasion fails, force must follow. In addition to the reasons already quoted earlier, Moryson may have called Orpheus's instrument a harp because it was a symbol of Ireland, having first appeared on the coinage of Henry VIII. The harp appeared so regularly thereafter that the Irish shillings were known as "Harpers". See *Itinerary A*, II, 138 - 139. Virgil in Georgic IV, line 464

calls Orpheus's instrument a lyre, or more literally *testudine*, a tortoise shell in which the sound of the plucked strings reverberated. The reference to Hercules and his club of justice may be an echo from the Faerie Queen, Book V Canto 1, verse 2,

Next *Hercules* his like ensample shewed,  
Who all the West with equall conquest wonne,  
And monstrous tyrants with his club subdued;  
The club of Iustice dread, with kingly powre endowed.

Edmund Spenser, *Poetical Works* edited by J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912), p. 277.

- 234 Compare two proverbs recorded by Tilley. B 239. Set a *BEGGAR* on horseback and he will ride to the devil. V 57. Set a *VILLEIN* on a mule and he knows not God or the world.
- 235 Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton, was the choice for Lord Deputy of the Walsingham/Leicester hard line Protestant faction in Elizabeth's council. His term of office was from 7 September 1580 until 31 August 1582. The depopulation of Munster with all its attendant miseries, and massacre of the Spanish and papal garrison at Smerwick were his responsibility in the Desmond Wars. Sir Richard Bingham Lord President of Connaught witnessed the massacre at Smerwick, and massacred over a thousand redshanks (Highland Scots mercenary footsoldiers) at Ardnaree in 1586. See *DNB* and Ellis, p. 290. Professor Nicholas Canny in his forthcoming *Ireland in the English Colonial System 1580 - 1650* (Oxford), Chapter Two, feels that Bingham was universally popular with English writers on Ireland because with his brutal activity he cut through the degenerate system that Moryson has been describing, and seemed to get things done.
- 236 This must refer to Sir John Perrot appointed Lord Deputy in 1584. He replaced Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, who had replaced Grey, Edmund Spenser's mentor. Spenser complained of Perrot that he "... did tread down and disgrace all the English, and set up and countenance the Irish all that he could ... thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxom to his government ..." *View*, p. 109. Moryson is writing in this tradition.
- 237 I have been unable to trace the Latin proverb. Perhaps "fisherman" is a mistake. There is a proverb about the fish learning from past mistakes, "*Qui semel est laesus fallaci piscis ab hamo*," "The fish shuns the bait when the hook has once touched him" recorded in the *Dictionary of foreign Phrases and classical Quotations*, edited by Hugh Percy Jones (Edinburgh, 1923), p. 101. Epimetheus (afterthought) was the brother of Prometheus (forethought). Moryson makes them plural. The image does not fit well for Moryson's purposes. Prometheus was a **rebel** against Zeus. Harvey. Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, an image that Spenser also uses to describe the impediments to good government in Ireland, "*Irenius*: Surely, Eudoxius, the evils which you desire to be recounted are very many and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora ...". *View*, p. 2.
- 238 Rufinus Tyrannius (c.345 - 410), priest of Aquileia was the translator of many of the Church Fathers, Origen, Clement, Basil and Gregory Nazianus from Greek into Latin. I owe this information to Rev. J. Clifford Culshaw.
- 239 "These Scots, not many years after, were converted to Christianity in Ireland; though they would have that story in *Rufinus* concerning the conversion of the *Hiberi* in Asia, to be meant of them. Then also Palladius the Bishop was sent to them by Pope Celestinus ... Yet Ninnius says, that nothing was effected by Palladius, being snatch'd away by an untimely death ..." Camden, p. 968. Nennius (c.790) is best known for the history of Arthur, and was the traditional author of *Historia Britonum*, one of Geoffrey of Monmouth's sources. I owe this information to Reverend J. Clifford Culshaw.



- 240 "This monastick profession, now in its infancy, was much different from this of our age. They endeavour'd to be what they profess'd; and were above dissimulation and double dealing. If they erred, it was through simplicity, and not through lewdness or double dealing." Camden, p. 969.
- 241 "The Bishops of Britain in the Council holden at Rhimini were maintained by the publick, having nothing of their own to live upon." Camden, p. 969.
- 242 "In those early times, several very devout persons serv'd God here, and especially Irish, who were maintain'd at the King's charge, and instructed the youth in Religion and the liberal sciences." Camden, p. 64.
- 243 Moryson loses Camden's irony. "But at length, Dunstan, a man of excellent wit and judgment, after his reputation of sanctity and learning had given him access to the conversation of Princes, instead of these brought in Monks of a newer Order, namely, *Benedictines*, and was himself first made Abbot over that large body settl'd there: and these by the bounty of good and pious Princes, got so much wealth as even exceeded that of Kings." p. 64.
- 244 *CE* suggests that St Anthony was the first monk, withdrawing from the world in 270.
- 245 St Basil the Great (329 - 379) Bishop of Caesarea from 370, and "Father of Oriental monasticism", was merely a friend of Gregory of Nazianus (325 - 389), who wrote a eulogy of him. *CE*
- 246 Bred?
- 247 Camden mentions the imposition of celibacy on the priesthood on pp. 27, 519 and 547. Protestants never used to tire of pointing out that celibacy was a church rule imposed with indifferent success, at the times when ambitious Popes were trying to differentiate between laymen and clergy. In the time of Athanasius (328 - 373), Bishop of Alexandria, marriage was not forbidden to priests in the Eastern Church. By the fifth century it had come to expect bishops, but not lower clergy, to leave their wives. See Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (Harmondsworth, 1967), pp. 175, 240.
- 248 Moryson means that he is referring to the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. Historians generally reckon war to have commenced in 1594. Relations with the English were deteriorating long before.
- 249 Moryson the strong Protestant sees the Pope as the antichrist. The Excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1570, and the Massacre of St Bartholomew in France in 1572 set the fervid tone for Catholic relations for many years to follow.
- 250 Hughes amends to "released", p. 286.
- 251 The native Irish law, from *breathamb* a judge. *OED*
- 252 "I. 1. a. In technical legal use (as in Fr.) implying the actual wording of a document ..."
- 253 Hughes changes to "namely", p. 288. A custodiam was a grant by the Exchequer usually of crown lands for a certain period. *OED*
- 254 Moryson may be referring to Myler McGrath, the renegade Archbishop of Cashel.
- 255 A form of "procurator", an agent. See *OED* n. 1. 2.
- 256 The number of minims is awry. "Straunge" is surely intended.

- 257 Hughes amends to "others", p. 289.
- 258 The image of Catholics swarming like insects in dirt is a familiar Protestant one. See Loyola's speech in Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, edited by J. W. Harper, The New Mermaids (London, 1966), Induction.
- 259 "1. trans. To make obdurate, to harden in wickedness, or against moral influence ..." *OED*
- 260 "1. a. A big, clumsy, stupid fellow; esp. one who lives in idleness; a lout ..." *OED*
- 261 John King (1559 - 1621), was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford from 1607 until 1610, and Bishop of London from 1611. He was also the father of the poet and bishop, Henry. *DNB* His *Lectures vpon Ionas delivered in the yeare of our Lorde 1594* (Oxford, 1597), [STC 14976], were reprinted five times thereafter. The passages that Moryson quote begin, "Advise will do more then threatening, & faith commeth rather by perswasion, then by compulsion, I grant it." p. 112. Moryson continues verbatim with a few omissions of allusions. In King's original it is "this" rather than "his Iudgment" on line 17.
- 262 "1. 1. a. Compulsion." *OED*
- 263 "And the Princes saide vnto them againe, Let them liue, but they shall hewe wood, and drawe water vnto al the Congregation, as the Princes appoint them." Joshua 9. 21. Thus the Gibeonites were made perpetual bondmen. Moryson is using scripture to justify English policies towards the Irish.
- 264 "And the sucking childe shall play vpon the hole of the aspe ..." Isaiah 11. 8. "The whole chapter needs to be read to get the flavour of the allusion." Reverend J. Clifford Culshaw, to whom I owe its identification.
- 265 Power ?
- 266 The black coal may be charcoal. A similar expression is still in use when we talk of a "black mark". Moryson may consciously be invoking a mental picture of the coals of hellfire that await obstinate Papists.
- 267 Charlemagne conquered the Lombards in 774, and integrated their kingdom into his.
- 268 Moryson uses this in the theological sense of falling to damnation.
- 269 After O'Doherty's revolt of 1608, the government in London temporarily moved from a policy of appeasement to allowing the Council in Dublin to forbid Catholics to have their children educated abroad. See Clarke, p. 208.
- 270 This hope was fulfilled. Trinity College Dublin was founded in 1591. The government expected a dividend from this. Thus in a letter from Sir William Fitzwilliam and the Irish Council to potential benefactors dated 11 March 1592, it was stated that the new college was "... to the benefit of the whole country, whereby Knowledge, Learning, & Civility may be increased, to the banishment of barbarism, tumults, and disorderly living ..." quoted by J. W. Stubbs, *The History of the University of Dublin from 1591 - 1800* (Dublin, 1889), p. 9.
- 271 "6. fig. ... a place ... where some thing or action is presented to public view (literally or metaphorically)." *OED*
- 272 "The more settled situation in James's reign made it possible for royal tenants to be more closely supervised and for past transgressions to be investigated, lost rights recovered, and unpaid dues



exacted." Clarke, p. 208. Unscrupulous English adventurers were able to discover defects of title and mulct Gaelic Irish and Old English landlords.

273 Many of the ideas come the classics and from Botero. He sought to deny heretics public office, and to impose a uniform language as the ancient Romans had done. See Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P. J. and D. P. Waley, and *The Greatness of Cities*, translated by Robert Peterson, (London, 1956), pp. 98, 109.

274 "The Irish are so wedded to their own customs, that they not only retain them themselves, but corrupt the English that come among them; for so ready is human nature to incline to evil, that it is scarce credible how soon they degenerate." Camden, p. 1048.

275 Hughes amends to "graunts", p. 482.

276 This was known as coign and livery from *coin-mheadh*. See Ellis, p. 321.

277 "*They commonly baptize their children by prophane names, adding somewhat from one accident or other, from some old woman's tattle, from colours, as red, white, black, &c. from distempers, as scab'd, bald, &c. or else from some vice, as Robbery or pride; and though they cannot bear reproach ... are not ashamed of these appellations.*" Camden, p. 1043.

278 Hughes supplies the missing "d", "disdaynefull", p. 482.

279 Hughes amends to "they" here and on lines 29 and 55, pp. 483, 484.

280 The farmers are "... contented to yeld them selues to any manner thraldome, so they might be defended from these helhounds, [the swordmen and their followers] as may better appear by a Prouerb that they vse, which is: *Defend mee, and spend mee.*" Barnaby Riche, *Allarme to England* (London, 1578), sig. D4v, [STC 20978]. "For their common saying is 'Spend me and defend me.'" Spenser, *View*, p. 35.

281 "... *they say God would not tempt then with an opportunity ...*" Camden, p. 1045.

282 Hughes amends to "formerly", here and on Fol. 655, pp. 483, 484. It seems to be a mistake rather than a variant form as he uses the word correctly on Fol. 655.

283 Moryson prints and translates the verse on Fol. 255.

284 Quoting Camden as his source, Moryson thinks the Irish Scots to have been Scythians. See Fol. 244. Camden also writes of the Irish plaiting their long hair, and "*folding over their heads many ells off fine linnen.*" p. 1046, which reminds Moryson of the Turkish turbans. This, and in addition, their music, adds proof to his theory that the Irish were of Scythian origin.

285 The word 'hobou' is probably cognate with 'hubbub', coming from English Irish *abu*, a war cry, and the Gaelic *ub* signifying aversion. See hubbub in Eric Partridge, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966), p. 298.

286 Hughes amends to "Petitioned", p. 484.

287 Hughes amends to "northern", p. 484.

288 Hughes transcribes "rebellious", p. 484.

289 "1. A Countryman, rustic or peasant." *OED*

290 All these are to be found in Camden, pp. 1046 - 1047.

- 291 Camden, pp. 1045 - 1046.
- 292 Camden, p. 1046.
- 293 Tilley quotes a proverb of commendation "I 89 The Irishman for his hand, Welshman for a leg, the Englishman for his face, and the Dutchman for his beard."
- 294 Hughes has "The", p. 485.
- 295 *OED* has a quotation from Locke that strait-lacing, (the use of stays or lace to constrict) hinders the development of children. Here Moryson also moves on to talking about the incidence of fertility.
- 296 "... one Segar, [Stephen Seagar] Constable of the Castle of Dublin by Patent, having large offers made him to permit the escape of Oreighly, [Philip O'Reilly] and acquainting the Lord Deputy [Fitzwilliam] therewith, was shortly after displaced ..." *Itinerary A*, II, 184.
- 297 This wise fool may well have made Moryson, his Lordship's secretary, the butt of many of his jokes as Hughes suggests. This is fooling with a purpose.
- 298 Root language. From the Latin *radix, radices*. Howell noted the similarities to Welsh. See James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 461 (9 August 1630).
- 299 Moryson is referring to the ancient migration described on Fol. 244, as well as to the Spaniards who came over in the incursions of Philip II and Philip III.
- 300 Such is the contempt that Moryson has, that he cannot be bothered to acquire the means of communication.
- 301 Camden writes that modern Irish customs were described "... by a certain modern Author, whom I take to be *J. Good*, a Priest, educated at *Oxford*, and a School-master at *Limerick* in the yeare 1566. from whom I shall transcribe them.", p. 1042
- 302 Dowry. See *OED*, sense 3.
- 303 "... being so disposed", see *OED*, I. 1. a.
- 304 "*Women, within six days after their delivery, return to their husband's bed, and put out their children to nurse.*" Camden, p. 1044.
- 305 "*Nay, the corruption and debauchery of Ireland are, tis believed, to be imputed to no other cause than this method of nursing.*" Camden, p. 1044.
- 306 "... they wil hyre a number of women to bring the corps to the place of buriall, that for some small recompence giuen them, will furnish the cry, with greater shriking and howling, then those that are grieued indeede, and haue greatest cause to cry; and herevpon ariseth this Prouerbe, *to weepe Irish*, that is to say; To weepe at pleasure, without cause, or griefe." Barnaby Riche, *A New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610) sig. D3r [STC20992]. Compare John Webster's *The White Devil*, IV. 2. 95.,
- What ? do'st weepe ?  
Procure but ten of thy dissembling trade,  
[W]ee'd furnish all the Irish funeralls
- With howling, past wild Irish.
- 307 Moryson copies from Camden, p. 1048, and adds a few of his personal reminiscences.



- 308 The sentence suggests that the "frohlchs" may be pranks as well as toasts to future happiness. *OED* cites examples of both at this time, and Partridge suggests that our 'frolic' and the German *fröhlich* both come from the Dutch *vroolijk*. See Eric Partridge, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966), p. 237.
- 309 This is Hand Two's mistake for "mantles".
- 310 Lode means load.
- 311 *Cac* is Gaelic for excrement.
- 312 Shane O'Neill's was the first important rebellion in Elizabethan Ireland. Shane died violently in 1567 in a dinner brawl when he was seeking help from his old enemies the Mac Donnell of Antrim against the English. Canny, *Conquest*, p. 59.
- 313 From *gearran*, "A small and inferior kind of horse bred and used chiefly in Ireland and Scotland." *OED*
- 314 "1. B. 2. A quick and lively dance in triple time. Hist." *OED*.
- 315 This may be a the name of a dance from Balrothery, a village near Drogheda.
- 316 The Whip of Dunboyne is the name of a dance, see *OED* "II. 10. a. A sudden, brisk or hasty movement", from *wippe*, the Middle and Modern Low German for leap.
- 317 Branches usually of willow. *OED* quotes Moryson.
- 318 A sword-dance in fantastic dress. See *OED*
- 319 Used to such exercises.
- 320 Maynooth.
- 321 Ormonde.
- 322 Offaly, Laois and Munster.
- 323 A mixture of "running" and "living"?
- 324 The Irish cattledrovers were still nomadic, living off their cattle with their "white meats" as Spenser calls them, *View*, p. 14. Spenser means the cheese and milk that they produced, rather than the game so prized by the English.
- 325 Fat and unfit through lack of exercise. See *OED* 3. b.
- 326 The career of this brutal soldier had its ups and downs. Like the second Earl of Essex after him, he deserted his post to argue his case at the English court, and was imprisoned for his pains. With the worsening of the English forces at Yellow Ford, things were at such a pass that he was recalled. (Perhaps Essex thought the same might happen to him.) Bingham died suddenly early in 1599. *DNB* Perhaps he had seen some wolves before his setbacks.
- 327 This is quite likely considering that there was such famine and depopulation caused by the wars in Ireland. Whether the English defeat at Yellow Ford attempting to relieve Blackwater fort was a disaster depends on one's preconceptions. It was a remarkable Irish victory, but one outcome was that the defeat of an English army in the field by Tyrone made the government in London concentrate on crushing the rebellion.













