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Ancient Irish Histories.

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A

**HISTORIE**

OF

*IRELAND,*

*Written in the Yeare*

1571.

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BY

**EDMUND CAMPION,**

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, IN OXFORD

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## DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

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*The Works to be Bound in the following Order :*

### VOL. I.

1. General Title.
  2. Subscribers' Names.
  3. Vignette.
  4. Dedication to the Dublin Society.
  5. Title to SPENCER.
  6. WARE'S Dedicatory Epistle.
  7. Preface.
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  10. WARE'S Epistle Dedicatory.
  11. Preface, in *Italic*.
  12. CAMPION'S Epistle Dedicatory.
  13. " *To the loving Reader.*"
  14. CAMPION'S History to follow, instead of HANMER'S Chronicle.
- } From the 5th Number.
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### VOL II.

1. General Title.
2. HANMER'S Title.
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2 B. in the 5th Number.
4. MARLEBVRRROUGH'S Title.
5. MARLEBVRRROUGH'S Chronicle.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

*THOMAS LO: VISCOVNT VVENTVVORTH,*

LO: DEPVTY GENERALL

OF

IRELAND.

**T**HESSE two Bookes (right Honorable) now published for the common benefit, I doe here humbly offer to your Lordships view, as containing Annales and other worthy memorialls of this Kingdome, whereof it hath pleased his most Excellent Majesty to constitute you the Governor. And how-ever it cannot be denyed, that the judicious eye may discern, especially in *Campion*, many slips, through want of necessary instructions, yet in regard of the great light which els-where these Histories doe afford to the knowledge of former times, and the good use which may be made of them by any who have leisure, desire, and ability to erect and polish a

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THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

lasting structure of our Irish affaires, I am embouldned to present them to your Lordships patronage, whose government I beseech the Almighty so to blesse; that it may bee long a happiness to this land.

*Your Lordships ever humbly*

*at commandement,*

JAMES WARE.

THE

## PREFACE

TO THE

SUBSEQUENT HISTORIES.

*WHAT* varietie of choyse matter the affaires of this Kingdome doe afford to an Historian, especially since the middle of the raigne of King Henry the VIII. any one that is but meanelly versed in our Histories can testifie: But if we consider how little hath hetherto bin published, wee cannot but blame the slownes of our learned men, who have (for by-respects) forborne to take paines in so worthy a subject. England hath had the happines that some parts of her Historie have bin lately excellently performed, by the right honorable Francis late Viscount St. Alban, the right Reverend Francis Lo: Bishop of Hereford, the most learned William Camden and others. Some will hereafter, I hope, doe the like for Jreland: In the meane while we are to accept of these tastes, the one left unto us by Edmund Cam-

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*pion, and the other by Doctor Hanmer, who died (of the plague in Dublin in the yeare M. DC. IIII.) before he had finished his intended worke: out of whose collections, what now beareth his name hath bin preserved by our most Reverend and excellently learned Primate. Other helps (to passe by those which are already divulged) may be plentifully had by him who will undertake this taske, out of the ancient and moderne recordes, both in this Kingdome and in England, as also out of diverse manuscript Annales and Chartularies, which are yet extant among us, besides those authors of English birth, as John VVallingford a Monke of St. Alban, Thomas VVike a Canon of Osney, and others, (which I have scene) in that excellent library and treasury of MSS. antiquities, gathered by Sir Robert Cotton knight and Baronett deceased, who doe onely obiter touch upon our affaires. An intention there was not long since by Sir James Ley knight then Lord Chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench in Ireland, (afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England and Earle of Marleburgh) to have published some of our country writers in this kinde, for which end hee caused to be transcribed and made fit for the Presse, the Annales of John Clynne a Friar minor of Kilkenny, (who*

THE PREFACE.

*lived in the time of King Edw. the 3.) the Annales of the Priory of S. John the Evangelist of Kilkenny, and the Annales of Multifernan, Rosse and Clonmell, &c. But his weighty occasions did afterwards divert his purpose. The copies are yet preserved, and I hope ere long with other Annales and fragments of the same nature will be divulged. We come now to the Authors in hand.*





TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

ROBERT DUDLEY,

*BARON OF DENBIGH,*

EARLE OF LEICESTER, KNIGHT OF THE NOBLE  
ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND S. MICHAELS,  
MASTER OF THE QUEENES MAJESTIES  
HORSE, AND ONE OF HER PRIVY  
COUNCELL, HIGH CHAUN-  
CELLOUR OF THE  
VNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

*My singular good Lord,*

• **T**HAT my travaile into Ireland, might seeme nei-  
ther causlesse, nor fruitlesse, I have thought it ex-  
pedient, being one member of your Lordships ho-  
norable charge to yeeld you this poore book, as an ac-  
compt of my poore voyage, happily not the last, nor  
the most beautifull present that is intended to your  
Honour by me, but surely more full of unsavoury  
toyle for the time, then any plot of worke that ever I  
attempted, which I write, not of vanity to commend  
my diligence, but of necessitie to excuse mine imper-

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

fection. For whereas it is well knowne to the learned in this land, how late it was ere I could meet with *Gerald* of Wales, the onely Author that ministreth some indifferent furniture to this Chronicle, and with what search I have been driven to piece out the rest by helpe of forreine Writers (incidentally touching this Realme) by a number of briefe extracts of rolles, records and scattered papers. These things (I say) considered, I trust this little volume shall seeme great enough in such barren shift, & my defect in penning the same shalbe imputed partly to my haste, who must needs have ended all before I should leave the land, and am now even upon point of my departure. So as to handle and lay these things together, I had not in all the space of ten weekes. Such as it is, I addresse and bequeath it to your good Lordship, for two causes. First that by the patronage of this Booke you may be induced to weigh the estate and become a patron to this noble Realme, which claimeth kindred of your eldest auncestors, and loveth entirely your noble virtues: The fame whereof is now carried by those strangers that have felt them into many forraine countryes that never saw your person. Secondly because there is none that knoweth mee familiarly, but he knoweth vwithall how many vvayes I

have been beholding to your Lordship. The regard of your deserts and of my duty hath easily wonne at my hands this testimony of a thankfull minde. I might be thought ambitious, if I should recount in particular the times & places of your severall courtesies to mee. How often at Oxford, how often at the Court, how at Rycot, how at Windsore, how by letters, how by reportes, you have not ceased to further with advice and to countenance with authority, the hope and expectation of mee a single Student. Therefore in summe it shall suffice mee to acknowledge the generall heape of your bounties, and for them all to serve your honour frankely, at least wise with a true heart: Let every man esteeme in your state and fortune, the thing that best contenteth and feedeth his admiration; But surely to a judgement settled and rectified, these outward felicities which the world gazeth on, are there, and therefore to be denied, praiseable when they lodge those inward qualities of the minde, which (saving for suspition of flattery) I was about to say are planted in your breast. Thirteene yeares to have lived in the eye and speciall credit of a Prince, yet never during all that space to have abused this ability to any mans harme, to be enriched with no mans overthrow, to be kindled

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

neither with grudge nor emulation, to benefit an infinite resort of dayly sutors, to let downe your calling to the neede of meane subjects, to retaine so lowly a stomacke, such a facility, so milde a nature in so high a vocation, to undertake the tuition of learning and learned men. These are indeede the kirkels for the which the shell of your nobilitie seemeth faire and sightly; This is the sap, for whose preservation the barke of your noble tree is tendered. This is the substance which maketh you worthy of these Ornaments wherevith you are attyred, and in respect of these good gifts as I for my part have ever bin desirous to discover an officious and dutifull minde towards your Lordship, so will I never cease to betake the uttermost of my power and skill to your service, nor to begge of Almighty God your plentifull increase in godlines, wisdome and prosperity. Fare you well: From Dublin 27 May, 1571.

Your Lordships

humbly to commaund.

EDMUND CAMPION.

TO THE

LOVING READER.

*AT my times of leisure from ordinary studies, I have since my first arrivall hither, enquired out antiquities of the land, wherein being holpen by diverse friendly Gentlemen, I have given th' adventure to frame a Story, which I bring from the very first originall untill th' end of this last yeare 1570. I follow these Authors, Giraldus Cambrensis, who divideth his worke into two parts, from the first (which is stuffed with much impertinent matter) I borrow so much as serveth the turne directly, the second which containeth two bookes, and discourseth the conquest of Henry Fitz Empresse, I abridge into one Chapter: where Cambrensis endeth, there beginneth a nameles Author, who in certaine short notes containeth a Chronologie until the yeare of Christ 1370. From thence to Henry the Eight, because nothing is extant orderly written, and the same is time beyond any mans memory, I scamble forward with such records as could be sought up, and am enforced to be the*

TO THE READER.

*briefe.* From Henry th' eight hitherto, I tooke instructions by mouth, whatsoever I bring besides these helps, either mine own observation hath found it, or some friend hath enformed me, or common opinion hath received it, or I reade it in a pamphlet, or if the Author be worthy the naming I quote him in the margent. Scottish Histories I used these twaine, famous in their times, John Major, and Hector Boethius. For English, wherein the state of Ireland is oft implyed, because I am not in place to examine the auncient, I have credited these late writers, Fabian, Polidore, Cooper, Hall, Grafton, and Stowe: diligent and thankesworthy collectors. Touching the rest of all sorts, from whose bookes I picke matter to my purpose, they are mentioned as they fall in ure, which here I list not to reckon, being loath to fill the page with a ranke of empty names. Irish Chronicles, although they be reported to be full fraught of lewde examples, idle tales, and genealogies: Et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historiâ, yet concerning the state of that wilde people specified before the conquest. I am perswaded that with choice and judgment, I might have sucked thence some better store of matter, and gladly would have sought them, had I found an interpreter, or understood their

tongue, th' one so rare, that scarcely five in five hundred can skill thereof, th' other so hard, that it asketh continuance in the Land, of more yeares then I had moneths to spare about this busines, my speciall meaning was to gather so much as I thought the civill subjects could bee content to reade, and withall to give a light to the learned Antiquaries of this Countrey birth, who may hereafter at good leisure supply the want of this foundation, and pollish the stone rough hewed to their hand. Notwithstanding as naked and simple as it is, it could never have growne to any proportion in such post-haste, except I had entered into such familiar societie, and daylie table talke with the worshipfull Esquire Iames Stanihurst, Recorder of Dublin. VVho beside all curtesie of Hospitality, and a thousand loving turnes not here to be recited, both by word and written monuments, and by the benefil of his owne Library, nourished most effectually mine endeavour. It remaineth that I request my countrymen to bend their good liking to my goodwill, and the English of Ireland to favour the memory of their noble auncestors, both twaine to deliver me from all undue and wrong suspitions, howsoever the priviledge of an history hath tempered mine inke with sweet or soure ingre-

TO THE READER.

*dients. Verily as touching the affaires and persons heere deciphered, how little cause I have with any blind and corrupt affection, either wayes to be miscarryed, themselves know best that heere be noted yet living, and other by enquiring may conjecture. Farewell. From Droghedah the 9. of June. 1571.*



CAMPION'S  
*HISTORIE OF IRELAND.*

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THE FIRST BOOKE.

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CAP. I.

*The Site and speciall parts of Ireland.*

**I**RELAND lieth a-loofe in the West Ocean, and is deemed by the later Survey, to be in length well-nigh three hundred miles north & south: broad from East to West one hundred and twentie. In proportion it resembleth an egge, blunt and plaine on the sides, not reaching forth to Sea, in nookes and elbowes of Land, as Brittainē doth.

Long since, it was devided into foure regions, Leinster East, Connaght West, Vlster North, Mounster South, and into a fift plot defalked from every fourth part, lying together in the heart of the Realme, called thereof Media, Meath.

Each of these five (where they are framable to civility, and answer the writts of the Crowne,) be sundred into shires and counties, after this manner.

In Leinster lye the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weixford, Caterlagh, Kilkenny, King & Queenes counties, these two lately so named by Parliament in the raignes of *Philip* and *Mary*, having Shire-townes accordant, Philipstown and Marryborrow.

Septes, Irish of name planted in these quarters, they reckon, the *Birnes*, *Tooles*, *Cauanaghes*, which is the nation of *Macmurrow*, *Omores*, *Oconnores*, *Odempseyes*, *Odun*.

Citties of best account, Dyvelin: the beauty and eye of Ireland, fast by a goodly river, which *Cambrensis* calleth *Avenlifius*. *Ptolomy Libnius*, they call the *Lyffie*. The seat hereof is in many respects comfortable, but less frequented of marchant strangers, because of the bard haven. Kildare hath Kildare and the Naass. Weixford hath Weixford and Ross. Kilkenny hath Kilkenny the best dry towne in Ireland on the Southside of the river *Suirus*, also *Callan* and *Thomastowne*.

Meath is divided into East and West Meath, and the counties of Longford. Here dwelleth ancient Irish families (sometime Princes & Potentates) *Omalaghlen*, *Mac-Coghlan Obrien*, *Omulloj*, *Omadden*,

*Macgoghigan*, the Fox. This whole part, and the veyne of Finegale in Leinster, are best imployed with husbandry, and taken to be the richest soyles in Ireland.

Connaght hath as yet but the county Clare, the town of Athenry: & Galway, a proper neat city at the sea side. Herein *Turlogh More Oconner* was a peere, & parted the whole betwixt his two Sonnes, *Cahal*, and *Bryen Oconnor*. In it are now cheife Irish, *Breni Orel*, *Breni Oruarke*, *Oconnor Sligo*, *Odoude*, *Ohara*, *Macphilippin*, *Mac-dermot*, *Oconnordown*, *Oconnor-Roe*, the *O-kellies*, *Mac-glomore*, of Langues, *L. Bermingham*, *Omal*, *Mac-william Euter*, *Oflaherty*, *Clanricarde*.

Ulster wherein *Oneale* & *Odonil* are cheife Irish, contayneth the counties, Louth, Down, Antrim, one moiety of Droghdah (for the rest is in Meath) cheife town of Louth Dundalk, of Down, Down, & Carlingford, of Droghdagh, Droghdaghe, of Antrim, Cnockfergus, called also Cragfergus.

This part is dissevered from Meath and Leinster by the river Boandus, which breaketh out beside Loughfoyle, a bogg betweene Ardmagh, and S. *Patricke's Purgatorie*. *Cambrensis* reputeth the bogge at 30. miles in length, and halfe so much in breadth, and the same once firme Land, to have beene suddenly ouerflown, for the bestiall incest committed there, unfit to be told.

In Mounster lye the counties of Waterford, Limericke, Cork, counties Pallatine of Tipperary, Kerry, and exempt from priviledge the Crosse of Tipperarie.

Waterford hath Dongarvon, and Waterford full of traffique with England, France, and Spaine, by meanes of their excellent good Haven.

Limericke hath Kilmallocke lately sackt by *James Fitz Morice*, and the Citie Limiricum, coasting on the sea, hard upon the river Shannon, whereby are most notably severed Mounster and Connaght.

Corke hath Kinsale, Yowghall, and the Cittie Corke, Tipperary hath Tipperary, Clonmell, Fidderstown, Cassell. Mounster was of old time devided into East-Mounster, Ormond, West-Mounster, Desmond, South-Mounster, Thomond. Here dwell *Obrenes*, *Macnemarraes*, *Mack-mahownes*, and one sept of the *O'fflherties*.

In these quarters lyeth the Countryes of *O-Carroll*, *O-Magher*, the white Knight, *Mac-Ibrine*, *O-Gaunaghe*.

Waterford contayneth the Powers, and Deces.

Corke the *Barries* Lands, Imokillie, Carbarrie, Maccarty-more, Maccarty-reagh, L. *Roches* lands, Osulivan, Muscry, L. *Courcy*, and diverse more, some of Irish blood, some degenerate and become Irish.

Limericke hath in it the Knight of the valley, *William Burcke*, Mac-Ibrine Ara, part of the white Knights Lands, *Cosmay*, *Obrenes*, and upon the edge of Kerrie the greene Knight, *alias* the knight of Kerrie.

Leinster butteth upon England, Mounster and Con-naght upon France and Spaine, Vlster upon the Scottish Ilands (which face with *Hebrides*) scattered between both realmes; wherein at this day, the Irish Scot Successour of the old Scythian Pict or Redshancke dwelleth.

The spirituall Iurisdiction <sup>a</sup> is ordered into 4. Provinces whereof the primacy was euer given (in reverence toward Saint *Patricke* their Apostle) to the Archbishoppe of Ardmagha, now called Ardmagh, which custome was since confirmed by *Eugenius* the 3. who sent withall 3. other prelates to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashell, & the last at Tuam. To these are suffraganes in right 29. and all they inferiour to the Primate of Ardmaghe: under his province are the Bishopprickes of Meath, Derry, Ardagh, Kilmore, Clogher, Downe, Coner, Clonmacknoes, Rapho, and Dromore.

Vnder Dublin <sup>b</sup> (whereunto *Innocentius* 3. united Glandelagh) are the Bishop of Elphine, Kildare, Fernes, Ossorie and Laighlein.

<sup>a</sup> Bishops in Ireland. Bern. in vita Malach. An. 1148.

<sup>b</sup> Dublin. an. 1212. S. Pat. booke of Recordes.

Vnder Cashell are B. of Waterford, Lysmore, Corke, & Clone, Rosse, Ardigh, Limericke, Emely, Killalo, Ardferte.

Vnder Tuam the B. of Kilmaco, Olfine, Anagh-doune, Clonfert, Mayo. In this recount some diversities have happened by reason of personall and reall union of the Seas and for other alterations.

An old distinction there is of Ireland into Irish & English pales, for when the Irish had raised continual tumults against the English planted heere with the Conquest. At last they coursed them into a narrow circuite of certaine shires in Leinster, which the English did choose, as the fattest soyle, most defensible, their proper right, and most open to receive helpe from England. Hereupon it was termed their pale, as whereout they durst not peepe. But now both within this pale, uncivill Irish and some rebels doe dwell, and without it, Countreyes and cities English are well governed.

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## CAP. II.

### *The temporall Nobility.*

**BY** conference with certaine gentlemen, attendants upon Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputie, (who excelleth in that knowledge) I tooke notice of the most

noble English families in Ireland, which heere ensue with their surnames as they stand at this present.

*Gerald Fitz Gerald* Earle of Kildare, this house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came thence to Normandie, and so with earle Strangbow his kinsman, (whose Armes hee giveth) into Wales, neere of bloud to *Rice ap Griffin* Prince of Wales, by *Vesta* the mother of *Morice Fitz Gerald*, and *Robert Fitz Stephens*: with the said Earle it removed into Ireland, one of the speciall conquerours thereof. One record that I have seene, nameth a *Geraldine* the first Earle of Kildare, in anno 1289. But another saith, there dyed a *Geraldine* the fourth Earle of Kildare in anno 1316. the family is touched in the sonnet of Surrey, made upon Kildares sister, now Lady Clinton.

*From Tuscan came my Ladyes worthy race,  
Faire Florence was sometime her ancient seate,  
The western Isle whose pleasant shore doth face,  
Wilde Cambres cliffes did give her lively heate.*

His eldest sonne Lord *Gerald*, Baron of Ophalye, I reade the *Geraldine* Lord of Ophalye, in anno 1270.

Sir *Thomas Butler*, Earle of Ormond and Ossorye : the *Butlers* were ancient English Gentlemen, preferred to the Earldome of Ormond in the first of *Edward* the 3. Anno 1327. which fell upon heires generall, lastly upon Sir *Thomas Butler* Earle of Wilshire, after

whose disfavour it reversed to the name of *Pierce Butler*, whom little before King H. 8. had created Earle of Ossorye. *Theo. Butler* was Lord of the Carricke. An. 1205. And Earle of Tipperarie 1300. or sooner: The Latine History calleth him *Dominum de Pincerna*, the English *Le Bottiller*, whereby it appeareth that hee had some such honour about the Prince, his very surname is *Becket*, who was advanced by H. le 2. in recompence of the injurie done to *Thomas* of Canterburie their kinsman.

His eldest sonne Lord *Butler*, Viscount Thurles.

*Gerald Fitz Gerald*, Earle of Desmond, *Morice Fitz Thomas*, a Geraldine, was created Earle of Desmond the same yeare: soone after that the Butler became Earle of Ormond. The Irish say, that the elder house of the *Geraldines* was made Earle of Desmond, though *Kildare* be the more ancient Earle.

His eldest sonne *L. Fitz Gerald* of Desmond, Baron of Inshycoin.

*Sir Richard Burcke*, Earle of Clanriccard, a branch of the English family, *de Burge* Lord *Burgh*, who were noble men before their arrivall into Ireland.

His eldest sonne *Vlioke Burge* Baron of Donkeline.

*Conegher Obrene*, Earle of Tumond: the name of Earle given to *Murroughe Obrene* for terme of life, and



after to *Donoghe Obrene*, An. 5. *Edw.* 6. now confirmed to the heires male.

His eldest sonne *Lo. Obrene*, Baron of Ibrecane.

*Mac Cartimore*, Earle of Clarcar, created An. 1565.

His eldest sonne *Lo: Baron of Valentia*.

Viscount *Barrie*.

Viscount *Roche*.

*Preston*, Viscount of Gormanston, whereunto is lately annexed the Barony of Lounders, their auncestour *Preston*, then cheife Baron of the Exchequer, was made Knight in the field by *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of Ireland.

*Eustace* alias *Powere*, Viscount of Baltinglasse, Lord of Kilkullen, to him and his heires male An. H. 8. 33. Their ancestour *Robert le Powere* was sent into Ireland with commission, and in his Off-spring hath rested heere since An. 1175. *Powere* alias *Eustace* is written Baron of Domvile An. 1317.

Sir *Richard Butler*, Viscount Mongaret, to him and his heires males An. *Edw.* 6. 5.

Viscount *Deces*.

Lord *Bermingham*, Baron of Athenrye, now degenerate and become meere Irish, against whom his auncestors served valiantly in An. 1300.

Sir *Richard Bermingham* was Lord of Athenrye. 1316.

*John Bermingham* Baron de Atrio dei, Anno 1318.  
*Mac Morice* alias *Fitz Gerald*, Baron of Kerye.

Lord *Courcye* a poore man, not very Irish, the aun-  
cient descent of the *Courcyes* planted in Ireland with  
the Conquest.

Lord *Flemmynge* Baron of Slane, *Simon Flemmynge*  
was Baron of Slane in Anno 1370.

*Plonket*, Baron of Killyne: this family came in with  
the Danes, whereof they have as yet speciall monu-  
ments.

*Nugent*, Baron of Delvin.

*Saint Laurence*, Baron of Hothe.

*Plonket*, Baron of Doonesawny.

*Barnewall*, Baron of Trimleston: they came from  
little Brittain, where they are at this day a great sur-  
name, upon their first arrivall they wonne great pos-  
sessions at Beirnhaven, where at length by conspiracie  
of the Irish, they were all slaine, except one yong man,  
who then studied the common Lawes in England, who  
returning, dwelt at Dromnaghe beside Divelin, and  
his heires are there at this day: from thence a second  
brother remooved to Sirestone, and so to Trimleston,

and married the Lady Bruns, who caused him to be made Baron.

This writeth the Lord of Donsany.

*Edward Butler*, Baron of Donboyne, given to *Edmond Butler* esquire, and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8.

*Fitz Patricke*, Baron of upper Ossory, given to *Barnabie Mac Gilpatricke*, and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8.

*Donnate Clonnaghe Mac Gilpatricke*, was a peerelesse warriour in Anno 1219.

*Plonket* Baron of Louthe, to Sir *Christopher Plonket* and his heires males, An. 33. H. 8. This Barony was an Earldome in An. 1316. appertaining to *Bermingham*.

*Oneale*, Baron of Dongannon, to whom the Earldome of Terone was entayled by gift of H. 8.

*Powere*, Baron of Curraghmore.

*Mac Suretan* Lord Deseret, whom Sir *Henry Sidney* called *Iordan de Exeter*. This was Lord in the time of *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, An. 1361. now very wilde Irish.

*Murroghe Obrene*, Baron of Insickeyne, to him and his heires males, An. 35. H. 8.

*Mac Costilaghe*, L. Nangle, whom Sir *Henry Sidney* called *de Angulo*, now very Irish.

*Mac William Burke*, Lord of eighter Connaght, now very Irish.

#### Baronets.

*Seintleger*, Baronet of Slemarge, meere Irish.

*Den*, Baronet of Por man ston, waxing Irish.

*Fitz Gerald*, Baronet of Burnchurch.

*Welleslye*, Baronet of Narraghe.

*Husee*, Baronet of Galtrim.

*S. Michell*, Baronet of Reban.

*Marwarde*, Baronet of Scryne.

*Nangle*, Baronet of the Navan.

English gentlemen of longest continuance in Ireland are the race of those which at this day, either in great povertie, or perill, doe keepe the properties of their auncestors lands in Vlster, being then companions to *Courcy* the conquerour and Earle of that part. These are the *Savages*, *Iordanes*, *Fitz Symonds*, *Chamberlaines*, *Russels*, *Bensons*, *Audleyes*, *Whites*, *Fitz Vrsulyes*, now degenerate, & called in Irish, *Mac Mahon* the Beares sonne.

## CAP. III.

*Nature of the soyle, and other incidents.*

**T**HE soyle is low and waterish, & includeth diverse little Ilands, invironed with bogges and marishes: Highest hilles have standing pooles in their toppe, Inhabitants (especially new come) are subiect to distillations, rhumes and fluxes, for remedy whereof they use an ordinary drinke of Aquavitæ, so qualified in the making, that it dryeth more, and inflameth lesse, then other hote confections. The aire is wholsome, not altogether so cleare and subtle as ours of England. Of Bees good store, no vineyards, contrary to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors touching the land, may easily be excused, as those that wrote of hearesay.

*Cambrensis* in his time, complaineth that Ireland had excesse of wood, and very little champaigne ground, but now the English pale is too naked: Turffe and Sea-coales is their most fuell: it is stored of kyne, of excellent horses, & hawkes, of fish and fowle. They are not without wolves, and greyhounds to hunt them, bigger of bone and limme then a colt. Their kyne, as also their cattle, and commonly what els soever the Countrey ingendreth (except man) is much lesse in quantity then ours of England. Sheepe few and those bearing course fleeces,

whereof they spinne notable rugge mantle. The country is very fruitfull both of corne and grasse, the grasse for default of Husbandrie (not for the cause alleaged in *Polychronicon*;) groweth so ranke in the north parts, that oft times it rotteth their Kyne. Eagles are well knowne to breed heere, but neither so bigge nor so many as Bookes tell. *Cambrensis* reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it averred by credible persons, that Barnacles, thousands at once, are noted along the shoares to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, shippes, oares, anchor-holdes, and such like: which in processe taking lively heate of the Sunne, become water-foules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or fly a broad into the ayre. *Æneas Sylvius* (that after was Pope *Pius* the second) writeth himselfe, to have perceaved the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof, to be found in the Ilands Orchades. Horses they have of pace easie, in running wonderfull swift. Therefore they make of them great store, as wherein at times of need they repose a great peice of safetie. This broode, *Raphael Volateranus* saith, to have come at first from Arturia the country of Spaine, betweene Gallicca and Portugall, whereof they were called Asurcones a name now properly applyed to the Spanish Iennet.

I heard it verified by Honourable to Honourable, that a Nobleman (offered and was refused) for one

such horse, an hundred kyne, five pound Lands, & an Airy of Hawks yearely during seven yeares. In the plaine of Kildare stood that monstrous heape of stones brought thither by Gyants from Affrique and removed thence to the plaine of Sarisbury at the instance of *Aurel. Ambrose* King of Brittain. No venemous creping beast is brought forth or nourished, or can live here, being sent in, and therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne, not to be venemous.

Onely because a frogge was found living, in the Meadowes of Waterford, somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their overthrowe. *S. Bede* writeth that Serpents conveyed hither did presently die being touched with smell of the land; and that whatsoever came hence was then of Sovereigne vertue against poyson. He exemplifieth in certaine men stung with Adders, who dranke in water the scrapings of Bookes that had beene of Ireland, and were cured.

Generally it is observed, the further West the lesse annoyance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it lay long in question, to whether Realme, (Brittaine or Ireland) the Ile of Man should pertaine, the said controversie was decided, that forsomuch as venemous beasts were knowne to breed therein, it could not be counted a naturall peice of Ireland.

Neither is this proprietie to be ascribed to S. *Patrickes* blessing (as they commonly hold) but to the originall blessing of God who gave such nature to the situation and soyle from the beginning. And though I doubt not, but it fared the better in many respects for that holy mans prayer, yet had it this condition notified hundred of yeares ere he was borne.

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### CAP. III.

*Of the Irish tongue and the name Hibernia, Ireland.*

**I** FINDE it solemnly avouched in some of their pamphlets, that *Gathelus*, and after him *Simon Brecke*, divided their language out of all other tongues then extant in the world. But considering the course of enterchanging and blending speeches together, not by invention of Arte, but by use of talke, I am rather led to beleeve (seeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the devision of the tongues) that *Bastolemus* a braunch of *Iapheth* who first seased upon Ireland, brought hither the same kinde of Speech, some one of the seventie two Languages, that to his family befell at the dissolution of Babell, unto whom succeeded the Scithians, Grecians, Ægyptians, Spaniards, Danes: of all which this tongue must needes have borrowed part, but specially retaining the steps of Spanish then spoken



in Granado, as from their mightiest auncestors. <sup>c</sup> Since then to *Henry Fitz Empresse* the Conquerour, no such invasion happened them, as whereby they might be driven to infect their native language, untouched in manner for the space of 1700. yeares after the arrivall of *Hiberius*. The tongue is sharpe and sententious, offereth great occasion to quicke apothegmes and proper allusions, wherefore their common Iesters, Bards, and Rymers, are said to delight passingly those that conceive the grace and propriety of the tongue. But the true Irish indeede differeth so much from that they commonly speake, that scarce one among five score, can either write, read, or understand it. Therefore it is prescribed among certaine their Poets, and other Students of Antiquitie.

Touching the name *Ibernia*, the learned are not yet agreed. Some write it *Hibernia*, and suppose that the strangers finding it in an odde end of the world, wet and frosty, tooke it at the first for a very cold country, and accordingly named it, as to say, the winter land: Another bringeth a guesse of Irlamal,<sup>a</sup> of whom because I read nothing, I neither build upon that conjecture, nor controll it. Thirdly, they fetch it from *Hiberus* the Spaniard. Most credibly it is held that the Spaniards their founders for devotion toward Spaine, called then Iberia, and the rather for that

<sup>c</sup> Munst. l. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Irlamale Fab. part 2. cap. 32.

themselves had dwelled besides the famous river Iberus, named this land Iberia, (for so *John Leland*, and many forraine Chroniclers write it,) or Ibernia, adding the letter n. for difference sake, there being a rich Citty which *Ptolome* recounteth called then Ibernis, <sup>e</sup> & from Ibernia proceedeth Iberland or Iuerland, from Iuerland by contraction Ireland, for so much as in corruption of common talke, wee finde that v, with his vowell, are easily lost and suppressed. So wee say ere for ever, ore for over, ene for even, nere for never, shoole for shovell, dile for divell. At the same time it was also named *Scotia* in reverence of *Scota*, the wife of *Gathelus*, auncient Capitaine of those Iberians, that flitted from Spaine into Ireland. And the said *Scota* was olde grandame to *Hiberus* and *Hirimon*, after the Scottish Chronicles, <sup>f</sup> who in any wise will have their Countrymen derived from the Irish, and not from the Brittaines.

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## CAP. V.

### *Dispositions of the People.*

**T**HE People are thus inclined; religious, franke, amorous, irefull, sufferable, of paines infinite, very glorious, many sorcerers, excellent horsemen, de-

<sup>e</sup> Pliny writeth it Iuuernia. Ibernis. Iuerland. Imland.

<sup>f</sup> Io. Ma. Sco. l. 1. c. 9.

lighted with Warres, great almes-givers, passing in hospitalitie: the lewder sort both Clarkes and Laymen, are sensuall and loose to leachery above measure. The same being vertuously bred up or reformed, are such mirrours of holinesse and austeritie, that other Nations retaine but a shewe or shadow of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting which these dayes make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kinde of chastisement: In which vertue and diverse other, how farre the best excell, so farre in gluttonie and other hatefull crimes the vicious they are worse then too badde. They follow the dead corpes to the grave with howlings and barbarous out-cryes, pitttyfull in apparance, whereof grew (as I suppose) the Proverbe, to weepe Irish. The uplandish are lightly abused to believe and avouche idle miracles and revelations vaine and childish, greedy of prayse they bee, and fearefull of dishonour. And to this end they esteeme their Poets who write Irish learnedly, and penne their sonnetts heroicall, for the which they are bountifully rewarded. But if they send out libells in disprayse, thereof the Gentlemen, especially the meere Irish, stand in great awe. They love tenderly their foster children, and bequeathe to them a childe portion, whereby they nourish sure friendshippe, so beneficiall every way, that commonly five hundredth kyne and better are given in reward to winne a noble mans childe to foster. They are sharpe-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any studie

whereunto they bend themselves, constant in travaile, aduenterous, intractable, kinde-hearted, secret in displeasure.

Hitherto the Irish of both sortes meere, and English, are affected much indifferently, saving that in these, by good order, and breaking the same, vertues are farre more pregnant. In those others, by licentious and euill custome, the same faults are more extreame and odious, I say, by licentious and euill custome, for that there is daylie tryall of good natures among them. How soone they bee reclaymed, and to what rare gifts of grace and wisdom, they doe and have aspired. Againe, the very English of birth, conversant with the brutish sort of that people, become degenerate in short space, and are quite altered into the worst ranke of Irish Rogues, such a force hath education to make or marre. It is further to bee knowne, that the simple Irish are utterly another people then our Englishe in Ireland, whome they call despitefully *boddai Sassoni's*, and *boddai Ghalt*, that is, English and Saxon churlés, because of their English auncestors planted heere with the Conquest, and sithence with descent hath lasted now 400. yeares. Of this people therefore severally by themselves I must intreate. Yet none otherwise then as they stand unfild, and serve their accustomed humours, with whom I joyne all such as either by living neere them, or by liking their trade are transformed into them.

## CAP. VI.

*Of the meere Irish.*

**TOUCHING** the meere Irish, I am to advertise my Reader, that hee impute not to them the faults of their Auncestors, which heere I have noted for two causes. First, that when the same are reade in *Cambrensis*, *Solinus*, or others, he confounds not the times, but may be able distinctly to consider their manners, then different from these dayes. Secondly, that it may appeare how much Ireland is beholding to God for suffering them to be conquered, whereby many of these enormities were cured, and more might be, would themselves be plyable.

In some corners of the land they used a damnable superstition, leaving the right armes of their Infants males unchristened (as they tearmed it) to the intent it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow.

I found a fragment of an Epistle, wherein a vertuous Monke declareth, that to him (travailing in Ulster) came a grave Gentleman about Easter, desirous to be confessed and howseled, who in all his life time had never yet received the blessed Sacrament. When he had said his minde, the Priest demaunded him, whether he were faultlesse in the sinne of Homicide? Hee answered, that hee never wist the matter to bee haynous before, but being instructed there-

of, hee confessed the murther of five, the rest hee left wounded, so as he knew not whether they lived or no. Then was he taught that both the one, and the other were execrable, and verie meekelie humbled himselfe to repentance.

*Solinus* writeth that they woonted (because they would seeme Terrible and Martiall,) to embrue their faces in the bloude of their Enemyes slaine. *Strabo* the famous Geographer, who flourished under *Augustus* and *Tiberius Cæsar*, more then fifteene hundred yeares agoe, telleth (without asseveration) that the Irish were great Gluttons, eaters of mans flesh : and counted it Honourable for Parents deceased, to bee eaten up of their Children, and that in open sight they medled with their Wiues, Mothers, and Daughters : which is the lesse incredible, considering what Saint *Hierome* avoucheth of the Scots their Offspring and Allies, and what all Histories doe witness of the Scithians their auncient founders. See *Strabo lib. 4. Geograph.*

Although since the time of Saint *Patricke*, Christianitie was never extinct in Ireland, yet the government being hayled into contrarie factions, the Nobilitie lawlesse, the multitude willfull, it came to passe that Religion waxed with the temporall common sort cold and feeble, untill the Conquest did settle it, especiallie in cases of restraints and Discipline. The Honourable state of Marriage they much abused,

either in contracts, unlawfull meetings, the Leviticall and Canonicall degrees of prohibition, or in divorcementes at pleasure, or in ommitting Sacramentall solemnities, or in retayning either Concubines or Harlots for Wiues. Yea even at this day, where the Cleargie is fainte, they can bee content to Marrie for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeares end, to returne her home upon any light quarrells, if the Gentlewomans friendes bee weake and unable to avenge the injurie. Never heard I of so many dispensations for Marriage, as those men shewe, I pray God graunt they bee all authentique and buylded upon sufficient warrant.

Covenant and Indent with them never so warilie, never so preciselie, yet they have beene founde faithlesse and periured. Where they are joyned in colour of surest Amitie, there they intended to kill. This ceremonie reporteth *Cambrensis*. The parties to bee coupled in League, meete at Church, become God-septes, or Allies, beare each other on his backe certaine paces in a Ring, kisse together holy reliquees, take blessing of the Bishoppe, offer each to other a droppe of his owne bloude, and drinke it up betweene them: Even in the doing hereof, they practise mutuall destruction.

They have beene used in solemne controversies, to protest and sweare by Saint *Patrickes* Staffe, called *Bachal esu*, which oath, because upon breach thereof

heavy plagues ensued them, they feared more to breake, then if they had sworne by the holy Evangelist.

In Vlster thus they used to Crowne their King, a white cow was brought forth, which the King must kill, and seeth in water whole, and bathe himselfe therein starke naked, then sitting in the same Caldron, his people about him, together with them, he must eat the flesh, and drinke the broath, wherein he sitteth, without cuppe or dish or use of his hand. So much of their old Customes. Now a few words of their trade at this present.

Cleare men they are of Skinne and hue, but of themselves carelesse and bestiall. Their Women are well faoured, cleare coloured, faire handed, bigge and large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body.

Their infants of the meaner sort, are neither swaddled, nor lapped in Linnen, but foulded up starke naked into a Blankett till they can goe, and then if they get a piece of rugge to cover them, they are well sped. Linnen shirts the rich doe weare for wantonnes and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves playted, thirtie yards are little enough for one of them. They have now left their Saffron, and learne to wash their shirts, foure or five times in a yeare. Proud they are



of long crisped glibbes, and doe nourish the same with all their cunning: to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable peece of villany. Shamrotes, Water-cresses, Rootes, and other hearbes they feede upon: Oatemale and Butter they cramme together. They drinke Whey, Milke, and Beefe broth, Flesh they devoure without bread, corne such as they have they keepe for their horses. In haste and hunger they squeue out the blood of raw flesh, and aske no more dressing thereto, the rest boyleth in their stomackes with Aquavitæ, which they swill in after such a surfeite, by quarts & pottles. Their kyne they let blood which growen to a jelly they bake and overspread with Butter, and so eate it in lumpes.

◁ One office in the house of great men is a tale-teller, who bringeth his Lord on sleepe, with tales vaine and frivolous, whereunto the number give sooth and credence. So light they are in beleiving whatsoever is with any countenance of gravitie affirmed by their Superiours, whom they esteeme and honour, that a lewd Prelate within these few yeares needy of money, was able to perswade his parish: That *S. Patricke* in striving with *S. Peter* to let an Irish Galloglass into Heaven, had his head broken with the keyes, for whose releife he obtained a Collation.

Without either precepts or observation of congruity they speake Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common Schooles of Leach-craft and Law,

whereat they begin Children, and hold on sixteene or twentie yeares conning by roate the Aphorismes of *Hypocrates*, and the Civill Institutions, and a few other parings of those two faculties. I have seene them where they kept Schoole, ten in some one Chamber, groveling upon couches of straw, their Bookes at their noses, themselves lying flatte prostrate, and so to chaunte out their lessons by peece-meale, being the most part lustie fellowes of twenty five yeares and upwards.

Other Lawyers they have, liable to certaine families which after the custome of the country determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or felony, or trespasse, all is redeemed by composition, (except the grudge of parties seeke revenge :) and the time they have to spare from spoyling and proyning, they lightly bestow in parling about such matters. The Breighoon (so they call this kind of Lawyer) sitteth him downe on a banke, the Lords and Gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceede. >

They honour devoute Fryars and Pilgrimes, suffer them to passe quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatsoever outrage they shew to the country besides them. To robbe and prey their enemies, they deeme it none offence, nor seeke any meanes to recover their losse, but even to watch them the like turne. But if

neighbours and friends send their Cators to purloyne one another, such Actions are judged by the Breigh-oones aforesaid.

Toward the living they are noysome and malicious, the same being dead they labour to avenge eagerly and fiercely. They love and trust their Foster Brethren more then their owne. *Turlough Leinagh Oneale* that now usurpeth, is said to repose in them his greatest surety.

Strumpets are there too vile and abominable to write of, which not onely without feare, but also without remorse doe advance themselves in numbring what noblemen have had liking to their bodies. Hee that can bring most of his name into the field, base or other, triumpheth exceedingly. For increase of which name, they allow themselves not onely whoores, but also choise & store of whoores. One I heard named which hath (as he calleth them) more then ten wiues, in twentie places.

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, and then trusse themselves in strawe or in leaves, they waite for passengers in the high way, invite them to a game upon the greene, and aske no more but companions to hold them sport, for default of other stuffe 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.

Where they fancie and favour, they are wonderfull kinde; they exchange by commutation of wares for the most part, and have utterly no coyne stirring in any great Lords houses. Some of them be richly plated: their Ladies are trimmed rather with massie Jewels, then with garish apparell, it is counted a beautie in them to be tall, round and fat.

The inheritance descendeth not to the Sonne, but to the Brother, Nephew, or Cousin germaine eldest and most valiant: for the Childe being oftentimes left in nonage or otherwise young and unskillfull, were never able to defend his patrimonie, being his no longer then he can hold it by force of armes. But by that time he grow to a competent age, and have buried an Vncle or two, he also taketh his turne, and leaveth it in like order to his Posterity. This custome breedeth among them continuall Warres and treasons.

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## CAP. VII.

### *The most auncient Inhabitants of Ireland.*

**T**HE honourable Historian *Titus Livius*, yeeldeth certaine priviledge to antiquitie, and will have it

held excused, if percase for advancement of their Citties, they straine a point of truth, and derive a first foundation from one or other, of their supposed Gods: wherefore though I can no lesse doe then reject a fable concerning the arrivall of *Noes* Neece into this Island, yet this kinde of forgery being somewhat universall, seeing every Chronicler paineth himselfe, to fetch his reckoning with the farthest let him hardly be pardoned, who led by relation of his elders, committed first to writing so dull a tale. As for the multitude of writers that agree thereon, they are in effect but one writer, seeing the latest ever borrowed of the former, and they all of *Cambrensis*, who affirmeth it not, but onely alleadgeth the received opinion of Irish Histories, yea rather in the foote of that Chapter, he seemeth to mistrust it, and posteth it over to the credit of his authors: so then if the greatest weight hereof doe consist in Irish antiquitiss, which the learned here confesse to be stuffed with such implements, notoriously felt to be vaine and frivolous, I trust I shall not seeme contentious, nor singular in damning such a fable, not onely false, but also impossible. Thus they say, In the yeare of the world, 1536. The Patriarch *Noe* began to preach vengeance upon the people for their accursed lives, to builde his Arke, to enforme his kindred and speciall friends severally, that within few yeares the earth should be sunke in waters, if they amended not. This did he before the generall flood one hundred and twentie yeares, when every man foreslept the monition, onely a Neece

of his named *Cesara* misdoubting the worst, and hearing her Vncle prophesie that all should be drowned for sinne, determined with her adherents, to seeke adventures into some forraine Island, perswaded that if shee might happely finde a Countrie never yet inhabited, and so with sinne undefiled, the generall sentence of Gods anger should there take no place. Whereupon she furnished a navy, and fled into Ireland, with three men, *Bithi*, *Laigria*, *Fintan*, and fifty women, left unto her after many shipwrackes. The shore where she landed, & where she lyeth entombed, is at this day called *Navicularum littus*. The very stones wherein the memorie hereof hath beene preserved from the violence of waters, were said to be seene of some. Within forty dayes after her footing in Ireland, the deluge prevailed universally, and all this coast was cast away. § Now to ommit that part of this device, which is too flat, and ridiculous, if we consider that before the flood, no part of the Earth was knowen, nor touched beside Syria, <sup>h</sup> where the first age dwelled, that sailing was then utterly unheard of in the world, the first vessell being by Gods owne direction wrought, that she might have sped at home, would she repent with more ease and surety, that *Iapheth* with the Hebrewes, and *Iason* with the Greekes, were the first pilots: that the Records hereof graven in stone, is but a borrowed invention from *Iosephus*. These things I say consi-

§ An. Dom. 1656.

<sup>h</sup> Rab. Isaac. in Gen. 5.

dered, it wilbe no hard matter to descry the falshood, wherin I would be more exquisite, were it worth my labour. We need not so ambitiously runne to *Cesara*, to begge a forged evidence, seeing without her helpe, Ireland must be confessed to have been knowne and peopled with the same kinred, even with the first Ilands of the world. For within three hundred yeares after the generall Floud, immediately after the confusion of tongues, when *Iapheth* and his posterity, imboldened by the example of *Noe*, adventured by ship into divers West Ilands,<sup>i</sup> there was in his retinew one of his progeny, *Bastolenus*, who conceiving stomach and courage at the late successe of *Nemrodus*, *Ninus* his kinsman (then newly intruded upon the Monarch of Assyria) & wandred so farre West, intending to rule without compeeres, till Fortune cast him and his people upon the coast of Ireland.<sup>k</sup> There he settled with his three sonnes, *Languinus*, *Salanus*, *Ruthurgus*, active and stout gentlemen, who searching the Land through & through, left their owne names by three notable places, *Languini stagnum*, *mons Salangi*, since named *S. Dominicks hill*, and *Ruthurgi stagnum*. Of *Bastolenus* is little remembred, save that in short space with many hands working at once, he plained a great part of the Country, then overgrown with woods and thickets. This posterity kept the Land under the

<sup>i</sup> Anno mundi 1957. after the best authors, which make 300. yeares, and not 100. between Noes floud and Babel.

<sup>k</sup> *Bastolenus*. Clem, recogn. l. 4.

government of these three sonnes & their off-spring, about 300. yeares. Together with *Bastolenus*, arrived in Ireland certaine godlesse people of the stocke of *Nemrod*, worthily tearmed a gyant, as one that in bodily shape exceeded proportion, & used his strength to winne soveraigntie, & to oppresse the vveake with rapine and violence: That lineage (*Chams* breed) grev to great numbers, & alvay bethought them of getting mastery, vvheresoever they tarryed. One cause vvas their bodily force ansvverable to their hugenessse of quantity:<sup>1</sup> another the example of *Cham Zoroastes*, that magitian, and *Nemrodus*, *Ninus* his Nephew, which two in themselves and their progenies, were renowned throughout the world, as victorious Princes over two mighty Kingdomes Ægypt and Assyria. Thirdly they maligned the blessings bestowed upon *Sem* and *Iapheth*, counting it necessary for themselves, to stirre, and prevent Dominions, lest the curse of slavery prophesied by *Noe* should light upon them, as notwithstanding it did at last.

Thus irked, they began to kicke at their Governours, and taking head, set up a King of their owne faction, nourishing the same, and annoying the Subjects incessantlie, the successe on both sides was variable, quarrels increased, the enemy caught handfast, & every day bred a new skirmish. It seemed intolerable, & very necessity compelled them to try their whole force

<sup>1</sup> Clem. recognit. l. 4.



in one Battle, either utterly to weede out the Gyants, or to die free. Peace therefore concluded among themselves, for any private grudge hitherto maintayned, all sorts brake truce and amity with the Gyants, and straited them up so, that from all corners of the land, they must needes assemble into one field and fight for the better, maynelie they tugged certaine houres, but in conclusion the lawfull Kings prevayled, the miscreants done to death. See now the mockery of Fortune, Victors they were, and promised themselves a security. Anger & insolencie over-turned all, for what with spoiling the dead carcasses, what with murdering the remaynder of that generation, man, woman, and childe, in all parts of the Realme, vouchsafing them no buryall, but casting them out like a sort of dead dogges,<sup>m</sup> there ensued through the stench of those carryons such a mortall pestilence, infecting not onely the places where they lay, but the ayre round about by contagion, that beside those few which by sea returned homeward, few escaped alive, and heereby hangeth a tale, From this plague (say the Irish) was preserved *Ruanus* the Gyant, who from time to time kept true record of their histories, else utterly done away by sundry casualties of death, warre, spoyle, fire, forraine victories, and he (forsooth) continued till the yeare of Christ 430. and told S. *Patrick* all the newes of the country requiring of him to bee baptized, and so died, when he had lived no more but two thousand and forty

<sup>m</sup> Anno mundi 2257.

one yeares: which is above twice the age of *Methusalem*. Had it beene my chaunce in Ireland, to meete & conferre with this noble Antiquarie, hee might have eased me of much travell. These things I note for no other purpose, but that the simple stumbling upon such blinde legends should be warned to esteeme them as they are, idle fantasies, wherewith some of their Poets, dallyed at the first, and after through error and rudenes it was taken up for a sad matter.

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### CAP. VIII.

*The severall Inhabitants of Ireland from Bastolenus.*

**OF** an infinite number of Gyants slaine, certaine hid families lurked and escaped the common mischiefe, whom at length penury constrayned to forsake their dennes, and to pilfer for meate, when they perceived the murraine of men and beasts, and that none gave them resistance, they waxed hardie, & searching the land, found it wel-nigh desolate, wherefore they harboured themselves in the clearest coast: and easily subduing the poore soules remaining, revived their blood, and became Lords of the whole Iland 60. yeares.

Among the Sonnes of *Iapheth*, Genesis recounteth *Magog* who had now planted his people in Scithia within Tanaris, from whom at this day the Turkes are descended. They hearing the hard happe of their

fathers lyne, cast out by the collaterall braunches of *Cham*, the late King of the Bactrians,<sup>n</sup> their odious neighbours, sent into Ireland *Nemodus* with his foure sonnes, *Starius*, *Gerbavel*, *Aminus*, *Fergusius*, captaines over a faire company, who passing by Greece and there taking up such as would seeke fortunes, finally landed here, held the country, multiplied, but not without continuall warre upon the Gyants aforesaid, who in th'end vanquished and chased them thence againe into Greece, after 216. yeares, from Anno mundi 2533. from which time untill the comming of *Dela* his sonnes, the Gyants possessed it peaceably without forreine invasion. But themselves being disordered, and measuring all things by might, seditiously vexed each other, nor were they ever able to frame a commonwealth.

That espyed five brethren, sonnes to *Dela* the Grecian,<sup>o</sup> notorious Pilots, named *Gaudius*, *Genandius*, *Sagandius*, *Rutheragius*, *Slanius*, the posterity of *Nemodus* expelled successors, who fortified their navyes, and finding the Countrey but weake, wanne it entirely, rooted out the old enemy, divided the Iland into five parts, & in each of them severally raigned, for better contentation of all sides, they agreed to fixe a meare stone in the middle point of Ireland, to which stone every of their Kingdomes should extend, and be

▪ Anno Mundi 2317.

• Ann. mundi 1714.

partakers of the commodities then chiefly found in that soile. These are also supposed to have invented the distribution of shires into Cantredes, every Cantrede or Barony, containing an hundred Townships, wherewith the name and use of hundreds, well knowne in England, might seeme to accord.

Variance for the chieftly set the foure brethren at a lovve ebbe, and then *Slanius* perched over them all, encroached every way round about the middle stone certaine miles for provision and furniture of his owne household, which plot in time obtained the name of one generall part, and now maketh up the fift, *Media*. Meth it was called either for moytie of Cantredes, being but sixteene, vvhercas the rest comprised thirty tvo apeece, or for the site thereof in the navell of Ireland. This hee assigned to the Monarch a surplus over and above his Inheritance, vvchich notwithstanding grevv to a severall Kingdome, and allowed thereof certaine parts by composition. Not long after dyed *Slanius*, & vvvas buried in a mountaine of Meth that carrieth his name. Thirty yeares the Monarchy vvvas possessed in this order, but shortly the Princes ovving fealty, beganne to stomack the Intrusion of *Slanius*, & vvhen he vvvas once rid, they disdained his successour, whereupon ensued everlasting Battels. The Monarchy was laide downe, then fell they at debate for the land of Meth, which strife could never be appeased. In the necke of those troubles came over a new army of Scithians, who claymed also from *Nemodus* their fore-

father, and they tooke parts, and made parts, set all in uproare with sword, and havoocke. <sup>p</sup> To be short, they spent themselves one upon another so fiercely and furiously, that now they reckoned not what nation or what souldiour they received in, to keepe up or beate downe a side. By which occasion the Britaines also put in a foot, who discovering the state of the land to their Princes, opened a gappe for *Brennus* the brother of *Belinus*, to direct his course thither vvith the same Navy vvich he had furnished to serve *Signimius* then King of Lyons amid the Galles in France. But *Brennus* took small effect. Before him also divers Kings of Brittain had scope in Ireland. Insomuch that *Gurguntius* the sonne of *Beline*, reputed the same by lineall descent among his ovvne Dominions. Notvvithstanding they never injoyed it longer then they could keepe possession perforce, and often vvere they repelled and vvearied vvith seeking after it, as vvherein they found small fruite, and blowves enough. Lastly came the Spaniards from Biscaye, conducted by foure Captaines, of vvwhose arryvall before I speake, I must repeate their originall somevvhat farther, and so give a light to the assayling of a controversie, that is, vvwhether the Irish came from *Ægypt*, or from Spaine. It shall appeare they came from both.

<sup>p</sup> Ann. mundi 2800.

## CAP. IX.

*The arrivall of the Spaniards, then called Iberians, into Ireland.*

**I**N the yeare of the World 2436.<sup>9</sup> after the universall floud 780. while the children of Israell served in Ægypt, *Gathelus* the sonne of *Neale*, a great Lord in Greece, was upon disfavour exiled the Country with a number of his faction, adherents, and friends. The young Greeke being very wise, valiant and well spoken,<sup>r</sup> got honourable entertainement with *Pharao* surnamed *Amænophis* king of Ægypt, and in short space reached to such a credit that he espoused the Kings base Daughter *Scota*, whereof the Scotts are thought to be named. This match bred to the King some tumult, and to the young Gentle-man much envy, wherefore assoone as the foresaid *Amænophis*<sup>s</sup> was drowned in the Red Sea, the Princes of Ægypt so vexed *Gathelus* and his wife, that they were faine to buske them, withall their traine into Europe, and came first to Lusitania, where diverse of his people tyred with travaile, would needs abide, he builded there the city of *Brigantia*, called afterwards *Novium*,

<sup>9</sup> Hoctor Boeth. l. 1. Hist. Scot.

<sup>r</sup> Ioh. Major. de gestis Scot. lib. I. cap. 9.

<sup>s</sup> Exod. 14.

now Compostella. <sup>t</sup> The remnant passed with him into Ireland, where the Barbarians highly honoured him, for his cunning in all languages, who also greatly perfected and beautified the Irish tongue, taught them letters, sought up their antiquities, practised their youth in martiall feates, after his Greeke and Ægyptian manner. Finally so well he pleased them that to gratifie such a Benefactour, they were content to name the Iland after him Gathelia, and after his wife Scotia. Truely that Scotia is the auncient appellation of Ireland, all Chroniclers agree, as it shalbe more plaine, when wee touch the Scottish pedigree. A brute there is in Ireland but uncertainelie fathered, that in remembrance of *Pharao*, their good lord, the Kerne pitching his Dart, cryeth of courage *faro*, *faro*; but the learned thinke that to bee taken from the Spaniard, who in his *Ioco dicano* exclaymeth *fabo*, *fabo*.

The people left in the coast of Spaine, founded the city of Bayon, now part of Gascoigne, and replenished all the shore towards Africk, <sup>u</sup> and the edges of Portugall, Castile, Galæcia, towards the sea Cantabricum, well nigh 200. yeares, after which time some of them began to minde another travaile, because they were pestered with Inhabitants, and whether they ever sped to Ireland, it is unknowne, at the

<sup>t</sup> Hector. Boeth. lib. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Ann. mundi 2642.

leastwise in the raigne of *Gurguntius* the Brittain, then chiefe Lord of Bayon, foure brethren Spaniards, whereof two are noted, *Hiberus* and *Hirimon*, not the sonnes of *Gathelus* (as writeth *Boethius*) but his off-spring, understanding that divers Western Ilands were empty, desirous to live in ease and elbowv-room, sayled Westvvard vvith a great retinue of men, <sup>v</sup> vvomen and babes, hovering long about the Ilands Orchades in 60. great ships, untill by good hap they met vvith *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conquest of Denmarke, <sup>w</sup> vvho had refused to pay him the tribute, vvwhich *Belinus* his father vvan, him they besought<sup>x</sup> (considering their vvant of victuals, unable any longer to dvvell in their ships, accumbred vvith carriage of vvomen & children) to direct & further them to some place of habitation, proffering to become his liege people to hold the same of him & his heires for ever. The King advising himselfe, remembered vvith vvhat difficultie he kept the Irish in subjection, & conceived hope that these strangers vvould endeavor either to stub out that unruly generation, or to nurture them, & so taking their oathes and hostages, <sup>y</sup> he mann'd their ships, stored them vvith victuall & munition, & seated them in Ireland. Thus

<sup>v</sup> The head Captaine was Bartholomew, as many Authors affirme,

<sup>w</sup> Fab. part. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Grafton. p. 60.

<sup>y</sup> Ann. mundi 3592.



had the Brittaines an elder right to the Realme of Ireland, then by the conquest of *Henry* the 2. vvhich title they never surceased to claime, & somtimes prevailed, as in the dayes of King *Arthur*, to vvhom the Irish Princes agnized their tribute and apparence, made at his Parliament in *urbe Legionum*, vvhich I take to be Westchester, called of old Carleon, as divers other citties vvere, vvherein the Romanes placed the legions. Again the Kings of Britain vvere then Lords of the place vvhence this people came, so as their vvinings must have beene the Kings Dominion.

To all this when their owne free assent, the dedition of other Princes, lawfull conquest and prescription is adjoynd, it forceth an invincible title. But to prosecute our purpose. Those Iberians being substantially ayded of *Gurguntius*, enjoyed the Lands, bestowed themselves foure brethren into foure parts thereof, untill their pride and ambition armed two against other two, *Hiberus* and his brother against *Hirimon* and his. In this conflict *Hirimon* slew *Hiberus*, and raigned quietly. At this time the countrey was first named *Ibernia*, as I have declared in the third Chapter. The King to avoyde obloquie and slaunder, purged himselfe to his subjects, that neither maliciously nor contentiously, but for his necessary defence and safeguard he had borne armes against his brother. And to witnessse how farre he was from desire to rule alone, he nominated speciall Captaines to be Kings

under him of their severall Countreyes, reserving to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of Meth allotted to the Monarchie for the better maintenance of his part.

These afterward clambered into five Kingdomes incompatible, Leinster, Connaght, Vlster, Mounster in two portions, and sometimes to more by usurpations and compositions, but ever one was elected the Monarch over all.

An hundred and thirtie chiefe Kings are reckoned of this Nation from *Hirimon* to *Laigirus* the sonne of *Nealus magnus*, in whose time the blessed Bishop *Patricius* converted them to Christianity.

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## CAP. X.

### *The comming of the Picts into Ireland.* <sup>2</sup>

**N**OW lived the Irish in tollerable order under their sundry Kings, <sup>a</sup> and applyed themselves to peace and gathering of wealth, when suddainely *Rodericke* a Red-shank of Scythia fled thither with a small company of Galleyes, and winde-driven in compassing round about the British coast, were happely blowne

<sup>2</sup> An. Dcm. 120.

<sup>a</sup> Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

ashore into Ireland. These are the Picts, a people from their cradle dissentious, land-leapers, mercilesse, sowre and hardy, being presented to the King, they craved Interpreters,<sup>b</sup> which granted, *Roderick* their Chieftaine uttered for him and his, the request in this manner.

Not as degenerate from the courage of our auncestors, but inclining our selves to the bent and swaye of fortune, we are become suppliants to Ireland, that never before have humbled our selves to any, Looke Sir King, eye us well, It is not light prowesse that hath caused these valiant bodies to stoop. Scithians we are, and the Picts of Scithia, great substance of glory lodgeth in these two names, what shall I tell of the civill Tumult that hath made us leave our home? or rippe up old Historyes to make strangers bemoane us? Let our vassailes and children discourse it at large and leysure, if perhaps you vouchsafe us any leysure in the Land: To which effect and purpose your infinite necessities pray your favours. A King of a King, Men of Men, Princes can consider how neere it concerneth their honour and surety to proppe up the state of a King defaced by Treason, and men will remember nothing better beseemeth the nature of man, then to feele by compassion the griefes of men. Admit we beseech you these scattered reliques of Scithia, If your Realmes bee narrow, we are not many. If the

<sup>b</sup> Ioh. Maior. de gest. Scot. l. 1. c. 10.

soyle be barren, we are born to hardnesse. If you live in peace, we are your subjects. If you warre, we are your Souldiours. We aske no kingdome, no wealth, no triumph in Ireland. We have brought our selves, and left these casualtyes with the enemie. Howsoever it like you to esteeme of us, we shall easily learne to like it, when we call to minde, not what we have beene, but what we are.

Great consultations was had upon this request, and many things debated too and fro. In the end they were answered, that their antiquities layde forcible arguments, wherefore it could not be expedient to accept the Scithians into Ireland, that mingling of nations in a Realme breedeth quarrels remedillesse, that Ireland finding scarcity rather of roome then of people, that those few inferred amongst a many might quickly disturbe and put the whole out of joynt. But quoth they, though wee may not dwell together yet shall you finde us your very good neighbours and friends. Not farre hence lyeth the Iland of Brittain, in the north thereof: your manhood and polycies shall winne you scope enough, our Capitaines shall conduct you the way, our strength shall helpe to settle you, addresse your shippes and hyc you thither.<sup>c</sup> With this perswasion they shaped course towards the north of Brittain, now called Scotland, where contrary to all expectation *Marius* the King awayted their comming, and gave

<sup>c</sup> John Stow.

them there a sharpe battle, wherein *Rodericke* was slaine, with diverse of his band. Them which remained and appealed to mercy, he licensed to inhabite the uttermost borders of Scotland: Wives they wanted to encrease their Issue, and because the Brittaines scorned to match their daughters with such a froward and beggerly people, the Picts continued their first acquaintance with the Irish and by entreaty obtained wives from them, conditionally that if the Crowne should happe to fall in question they should then yeeld thus much prerogative to the woman as of the female blood royall, rather then of the male to choose their Prince, which Covenant, saith *S. Bede*,<sup>d</sup> the Picts are well knowne to keepe at this day.

But long afore this time the Scottish Chronicles mention the arrivall of Almaine Picts into the marches now of England and Scotland, vvith whom certaine Irish called then also Scotts joynd against the Brittaines,<sup>e</sup> devising to erect a kingdome there, aswell to fortify themselves, as to gratifie the Irish, who detracting their obedience lately promised to *Gurguntius*, practised all they might to abridge the kingdome of the Brittaines. First therefore came from Ireland, *Fergusius* the sonne of *Ferchardus*, a man very famous for his skill in blasoning of armes.<sup>f</sup> Himselfe bare the

<sup>d</sup> Bede lived an. Dom. 730.

<sup>e</sup> Anno Mundi 5757. ante Christum 330.

<sup>f</sup> Ioh. Major. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Red Lyon rampant in a golden field. There was in Ireland a monument of Marble fashioned like a Throne, which *Simon Brecke* a companion to *Hiberus* and his brethren found in the journey, & because he deemed the finding thereof to be ominous to some Kingdome, he brought it along with him, and layde it up in the country for a Jewell. This marble *Fergusius* obtained towards the prospering of his voyage, and in Scotland he left it, which they used many yeares after in Coronation of their King at Scona. But *Fergusius* though he be scored in the row of Kings, for one, and the first, yet he held himselfe there obscurely, sundry times beat backe into Ireland, where he was finallie drowned by misfortune within the Creeke of Knockfergus. That *Fergusius* encountred with *Coilus* the Brittain and slew him, as writeth the Scotts, it is impossible except they mistake the name of *Coilus* for *Calius*, with whom indeede the age of *Fergusius* might well meete, and the rather for that in the first yeare of his raigne, the Picts entred, and then *Fergusius* immediatly after them, 330. yeares ere Christ was borne. Now *Coilus* raigned in the yeare of our Lord, 124. about which time befell the second arrivall of the Picts in Brittain, so it seemeth they mistake by a slight error, *Coilus* for *Calius*, and the second arrivall of the Picts, for the former. This confusion of Histories is learnedly noted by *Cooper* in his generall collection of Chronicles.

## CAP. XI.

*How the Irish settled themselves in Scotland.*

**RETURNE** wee now to the course of our Historie, while the Picts were bestowed in the north of Brittain and waxed populous, & the Irish made sundry arrands over to visite their Daughters, Nephewes, and kindred. In often comming and going, they noted waste places, and little Ilands not replenished, but rather neglected and suffered to grow wilde. Hereof in Ireland they advertised their Prince, namely *Reuther* or *Rheuda*, who being the Issue of *Fergusius*, bethought himselfe of his interest to certaine peeces of land beside the nation of the Picts. Hee therefore well appointed, partly by composition, and some deale perforce stepped into those hamlets which no man occupied, & proceeded handsomely to reare his kingdome. By little and little he edged forward, and got betweene the Picts and Brittaines on this side the Scottish banke, which he possessed but a season. The place was thereof named *Rheudisdale*, now *Riddesdale*, (asmuch to say, as the part of *Rheuda*) for *dahal* in their language, signifieth part. In those quarters after sundry conflicts with the borderers, hee was by them slaine, but the kingdome lasted in his successours still, and the two nations the Picts and the Irish lovingly suffered each other to thrive. The Scotts caught up the Islands &

\* An. Dom. 160. Ioh. Major. l. 1. cap. 11. Bed. l. 1. c. 1.

the Frontiers. The Picts dwelt in the middle: Soone after the peace betweene them, vvent suspicions & the diversities of people, place, custome, language, vvith the memorie of old grudges stirred up such inward jealousies and hate, that it seemed they were easie to kindle, & as in such factions, there never wanted drifte to drive a tumult, so it happened that certaine of the Nobilitie of the Scotts resciant next them had with some difficultie, received out of Greece a Molossian Hound,<sup>h</sup> which breede both in swiftnesse of foote, and and in sweetnesse of opening, was reputed peerelesse.

This Hound, a willfull Gentleman, a Pict, stole home, and therewith gratified his Prince, glad of the novelty, and little thoughtfull of the displeasure.<sup>i</sup> Contrarywise the Irish, wood for anger at this dishonour, and injury, assembled in poste haste under *Eugenius* their King, and after brawling, fell to spoyle, and so to blowes; whereof parts and stomackes being even, the fortune was variable<sup>k</sup> In this division they scambled out a few yeares, untill the malice of *Carassus* a Brittainne forced a quietnesse betweene them to abuse their helpe against th' Empire. But hee was shortly slaine by *Alectus* the Romane Captaine, and hereupon the old sore waxed rawe: To heape the mischief, a Brittish Lord named *Maximus*, aspiring

<sup>h</sup> Ioh. Major. de gest. Scot. l. 5. c. 15.

<sup>i</sup> Lucan. li. 5.

<sup>k</sup> An. Dom. 218.



to the kingdome, sent an ambassadge to *Ethodius* king of Picts, pleading with him a league of friendship, utterly to expulse the Irish Scot: conditioning withall their assistance to chase the Romanes out of Brittain, which was concluded, and by this confederacie, after many lamentable skirmishes, the Irish were betrayed, *Eugenius* the King, *Ethai* his brother, and *Ericus* his nephew, and also the residue, such as could escape the enemies sword, fled thence, some into Norway, some into Ireland their first home.

*Maximus*<sup>1</sup> watching his time, despairing of the Brittain Kingdome, and espying the Picts tyred with continuall vvarres, turned his povver upon them, and brought them to such an exigent, that they had no readier shift then to crave helpe from Ireland,<sup>m</sup> and so by degrees vwhen some private persons, nourishers of the quarrell, vvere out-vvorne, the matter of malice vvas qualified, and the remnant of the Irish Scots, vvith their friends and off-spring called home to their dvvel-ling, after their first banishment, 43. yeares expired.

From this time<sup>n</sup> forvvard the amity vvaxed stedly, and the Irish under *Fergusius* the second their King vvan such credit, that finally the nation of Picts vvere afflicted by the Brittaines, then the Scots incroched

<sup>1</sup> An. Dom. 353.

<sup>m</sup> Io. Maior. li. 2. c. 3.

<sup>n</sup> An. Dom. 398.

into the heart of the Realme, and became the mightier and more populous, of vvhom the Countrey vvas ever since under one Generall name called Scotland.

Thus you see the Scotts a lively, stirring, ancient, & victorious people,<sup>o</sup> are mixed first of Brittaines, (though the Chronicles dissemble it) whom *Brutus* planted there with *Albanactus*: Secondly, of Picts: Thirdly and chiefly, of the Irish, which after this time left the name of Scott, for those in Brittain, and delighted rather to be called Irish. Then came up the distinction of *Scotia major* for Ireland, and *Scotia minor* for the Scotts in Brittain.

But most effectually (as saith *Cambrensis*) the Scotts prevayled under the guiding of six valiant Gentlemen, Sonnes to *Muridus* King of Ulster, who in the time that *Neale* the great enjoyed the monarchy of Ireland, going to succour their countrymen there, at last also tooke up for themselves no little portions of ground, which their posterity kept in *Cambrensis* time, the yeare of Christ 1200. who treateth their exploits more largely in his Topography of Ireland. Ever since then, they were utterly named and esteemed Scotts: <sup>P</sup>The nation of the Picts driven into corners, albeit the most parts & the out Isles retaine at this day a people <sup>q</sup>

<sup>o</sup> An. Dom. 423.

<sup>p</sup> Ioh Major. l. 1. cap. 10.

<sup>q</sup> Pol. l. 1. Angl. hist.

mungrell betwixt both, called Redshanks. The Scotts write that their King *Gregorious*, in an. Dom. 875. invaded Ireland as his lawfull inheritance, and the same conquered, who lieth buried in one of their out-Iles, called Iona, beautified with the Sepulchres of Scottish Kings, where the Irish tongue is their native language, & therefore they call the submission of the Irish to Henry the 2. a defection from Scotland, which neverthelesse they recke, ne regard not, but willfully did forgoe it, as reaping lesse then they expended, and unable to defray the growing charge, which cost considered little better then nothing, say they, the King of England winneth by keeping of Ireland. Yet in the late government of S. *Henry Sidney*, Ulster being conveyed by discent, & act of Parliament to the Crowne, which Earledome was in the time of *Edward* the third reckoned at thirty one thousand markes yearely, the same being but one fift part of Ireland, It seemeth that if this right be well prosecuted that Ireland might pay it selfe of necessaries, and yeeld sufficient benefit to the Princes Coffers.

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## CAP. XII.

*The conversion of the Irish to Christianity.*

**A**BOUT this time,<sup>r</sup> Holy Church being stayed in peace, enriched with possessions, supported with autho-

<sup>r</sup> An. Dom. 426.

rity, many noble Clearkes flourishing in diverse Realmes, the Holy Doctor *Augustine* yet in life: *Theodosius* the second, suppressing Idols in all the Empyre:<sup>s</sup> *Celestinus* 1. Bishop of Rome, conferred with his cleargy touching the instruction specially of the vwestern parts, wherein the faith of Christ was hitherto, either not planted, or by persecution extinct, or by corruption of Hereticks defaced: of them all, no country was more lamented then Ireland, which partly for distance from the heart of Christendome, partly for their infinite rudenesse, had yet received no fruit of true Religion. In that assembly was *Palladius* Arch-Deacon of Rome, a good Priest and well learned, who profered his charitable travaile towards the conversion of any of those lands, whither he should be by them directed and appointed. The Pope knowing the sufficiency of the man, did consecrate *Palladius* a Bishop,<sup>t</sup> authorized his journey, furnished his wants, associated to him, diverse religious persons, delivered him the Holy Bible, with great solemnities, and certaine monuments of *Peter* and *Paul*, whereat diverse miracles had beene shewed. He arryved in the North of Ireland, whence he escaped hardly with his life, into the Ilands adjoyning, there preaching and converting many, erecting monasteries, and ensueing his vocation so painefully, that the onely report of his holynesse and cunning, excited the Scotts (late christ-

<sup>s</sup> Nicephor. 1. 14. cap. 40. Plat in Cælestin. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Vita 5. Patricij.

ened, but abiding in scisme, and committing the function of Bishoppes to single Preists,) to call him thither, whereunto he assented, upon the Popes answere, and leaving his Disciples in the Isle, became the speciall apostle of Scotland, where he spent the residue of his time, with more fruite then among the Irish.<sup>u</sup> Hereunto *Celestinus* <sup>v</sup> condescended the easier, for that in the very point of *Palladius* his departure, *Patricius* attended at Rome to bee sent with leave and benediction into Ireland. In which attempt hee found such joyfull successe, so farre different from their accustomed frowardnesse, that a man would weene the Realme had beene reserved for him. And because it pleased God to worke to the Land such an universall benefite by the meanes of this holy Patriarch, I take it convenient to set downe briefly here his course of life, after the most approved Chronicles that I could finde.

*Patricius* <sup>w</sup> was borne in the marches of England and Scotland, in a sea towne called then Taburnia, whose father *Calphurne* (as writeth *Ioseline*) was a Deacon — and a Priests sonne, his mother *Conches* was sister to *S. Martin*, the famous Bishoppe of Toures in France. The childe was from his cradle brought up in the Faith, and much given to devotion.

<sup>u</sup> Ioh. Major. l. 2. cap. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Prosp. Aquit. in Chroni.

<sup>w</sup> The life of S. Patrick.

Novv vvere the Irish through the helpe of the Scots and Picts, arch-pirats of the narrowv seas, and used to sacke litle vveake villages scattered along the shore, and for vvant of other prey, to bring the Inhabitants home Captives, vvith others also vvas taken this *Patricius*, \* a ladde of sixteene yeares olde, being then a student of secular learning, y and became the Villaine of an Irish Lord called *Mackbiam*, from vvhom after sixe yeares hee redeemed himselfe vvith a peece of gold vvwhich hee found in a clod of earth, nevly turned up by the svvynce hee kept the time of his Banishment (as affliction commonly maketh men religious.) This vvith the regard of his former education, printed in him such remorse and humility, that being from thenceforth utterly vveaned from the vvorld, hee betooke himselfe to contemplation, ever lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that Land, vvherefore not despairing, but that in continuance, some good might bee vvrought upon them, hee learned their tongue perfectly, and alluring one companion vvith him for his excercises, he departed thence into France, ever casting backe his eye to the conversion of Ireland, vvwhose babes yet unborn, seemed to him in his dream (from out their mothers vvombes) to call for Christendome. In this purpose he sought out *Martinus* his Vncle, by vvwhose meanes the yong man entred under the government of *Germanus* then Bishop of Antisiodore, vvwhose scholler and familiar he

\* Ex Epist. Patricij.

† An. Dom. 386.

was forty yeares, bestovving all that time in prayer and study of eloquence and holy Scriptures. Then at the age of threescore and two yeares, being renowned through the Latine Church for his wisdom, vertue, and skill, hee came home to Rome, recommended with letters from the French Bishops, to Pope *Celestine*,<sup>z</sup> to whom he uttered his full mind, and the secret vow which long since he had conceived touching Ireland. The Pope invested him Archbishop and Primate of the whole Iland, blessed him, commaunded publique prayer and fasting, brought him and his disciples onward on the voyage. Therefore in the tventie third yeare of *Theodosius* the younger, which was the yeare of our Lord 430. *Patricke* landed in Ireland: and because he spake the tongue plentifully, being a reverent personage, he tooke holy Bible, adding thereto diverse miracles in the Name & vertue of IESUS whom he preached: many listened unto him, namely such as in the late entertainment of *Palladius* and *Albius* the Irish Bishops his Disciples, had some little feeling in the Gospell. In continuance, hee wanne the better part of that Kingdome, except *Laigirus* himselfe some of *Neale* the great Monarch, who (notwithstanding hee relyed nothing to the Gospell yet) because hee stopped not the course thereof, nor forbid any that list to embrace it, the Bishop denounced to him a curse from God, accordingly tempered vvith mercy and judgement, that during his life hee should bee victorious, but after him, neither the Kingdome should stand, nor

<sup>z</sup> An. Dom. 430.

his linage inherite. Thence hee journeyed vvith a great number of his Disciples and friends to *Conill* Lord of Connaght, (vvho honourably reputed him, and vvith all his people vvas converted) and then sent him to *Logan* his Brother, King of Leinster, vvhom hee likewise persvaded. In Mounster he vvas highly honoured of the Earle of Daris, vvho gave him a dwelling in the East angle of Ardmagh, called Secta, where hee erected many Celles and Monasteries, replenished with votarious men and women. Thirty yeares continually hee travailed in preaching through the Land, ever leaving behinde him Bishops and Priests, whose learning and holinesse by the speciall grace of God shortly repaired the faith so begunne, other thirty yeares hee spent in his Province of Ardmagh among his ghostly brethren, in visitation of those religious Houses, which by his meanes were founded, <sup>a</sup> so hee lived in the whole one hundred twentie two yeares, and lyeth buried in Downe.

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### CAP. XIII.

#### *Of Saint Patrickes Purgatory.*

**EVERY** History of Ireland that I have scene, maketh one severall title *De mirabilibus Hiberniæ*, and therein vvith long processe treateth of severall Ilands, some

<sup>a</sup> An. Dom. 492.



full of Angels, some full of devils, some for male only, some for female, some where poore may live, some where none can dye: finally such effects of waters, stones, trees, and trinkets, that a man would vveene them to be but heedlesse and uncertaine tales by their complexion.

Verily, being inquisitive of these matters, I could finde no one of them soothed by such persons upon whose relation I am disposed to venture. Onely the place behinde Ardmagh called S. *Patricks* Purgatory, because it is knowvne and confessed, and because I vvould be discharged of my Readers expectation, who perhaps vvith the name of S. *Patricke* looketh to bee informed thereof, I can bee content to put so much in vvriting, as Bookes and reports affirme vvith most likelihood.

Tvvo things I muse at, that neither the time nor the author of so strange erection was preserved. Concerning the time one Record putteth it in Anno Domini 302. which is 128. yeares before S. *Patricke* converted Ireland, and sixty sixe yeares before his birth. Againe *Cambrensis* who maketh curious recitall of wonders in the land, never uttereth word of this Purgatory; & though a negative authority be not invincible, yet considering the propertie of that man, and what a sort of trifles he taketh paine to justifie, it may serve for a vehement suspicion, that the place was then either not found, or not miraculous. Concerning the Author,

very few there are that referre it to this *Patricke* their Apostle, but rather to an Abbot of the same name, whom I marvaile I finde not in the mighty bigge volume of their Saints: Notwithstanding these Originalls might bee either lost or altered, but the thing it selfe being extant, must needes have had a beginning, whereof possibly there are monuments in that Church, or in the Irish tongue to me unwitting.

Therefore I hold him unwise that will utterly mistrust the principall, because the circumstances vary; or condemne the vvhole, because he could not reach to the undoubted truth of some part. If any man bee so delicate, that not a jote thereof vvill sinke into his head, vvho shall controule him? neither hee nor vvee are bound to believe any story besides that vvich is delivered us from the Scriptures, and the consent of Gods Church. Let the discreet Reader judge of it.

This I learne, that the holy Abbot *Patricius secundus*, not the Bishop their Apostle, laboured the conversion of the people of Vlster, vvich being novv Christians, could yet at no hand be vvonne to renounce their olde sensuality, cruelty, murthers, extortion.<sup>b</sup> And vvhen he much inforced the life to come, they replied unto him vvith contempt, that unlesse they saw proofes of these loyes and paines hee preached, they vvould never leese possession of the pleasures in hand, for hope or dread of things to come they vvist

<sup>b</sup> Polichro. l. 1. ca. 35.

not vwhen. At their importunacie hee besought God, vvere it his good pleasure to give out some evident token of the maters they required: finally by the special direction of God he found in the north edge of Vlster a desolate angle hemmed in round, & in the mids thereof a pit, where he reared a Church, closed the same with a wall, bestowed therein Canons regular, at the East end of this Church yarde, a doore leadeth into a closet of stone, which they call the Purgatory, because devout people have resorted thither for penance, and reported at their returne, strange visions of paine and blisse appearing to them. They used to continue therein foure & twenty houres, which doing one while with ghostly meditations, and another while a dreadfull conscience of their deserts, they saw as they say, a plaine resembling of their owne faults and vertues, with the horror and comfort thereto belonging, that one so terrible, the other so joyous, that they verily deeme themselves for the time to have sight of heaven and hell. The revelations of men that went in (Saint *Patricke* yet living) are kept vwritten vwithin the saide Abbey. When any person is disposed to enter (for the doore is ever sparred) he repaireth first for advice to the Archbishop, vvho casteth all perils, and dissvvadeth him, because they say diverse never came backe againe, but if the party be resolute, he recommendeth him to the Pryor, vvho in like manner favourably exhorteth him not to hazard such a danger, if notvvithstanding he finde the party fully bent, he conducteth him to this Church, enjoyed him to begin

vvith prayer, fast and vigill of 15. dayes, so long together as in discretion can be endured. This time expired, if he yet persevere in his former purpose, the vvhole Convent accompanieth him vvith solemne procession and benediction to the mouth of the cave, vvhere they let him in, & so barre up the doore till the morrow, & then vvith like ceremonies they avvaite his returne, & reduce him to the Church. If he be seene no more, they fast & pray 15. dayes after. Touching the credit of those matters, I see no cause but a Christian man assuring himself that there is both hel & heaven, may vvithout vanity upon sufficient information, be persuaded that it might please God at sometime for considerations to his infinit vvisdome knowvn to reveale by miracles the vision of loyes & paines eternal, but that altogether in such sort, & so ordinarily, & to such persons, and by such meanes as the common fame & some records therof doe utter, I neither believe, nor wish to be regarded. It appeares by *Trevisa* in his additions to *Polichronicon*, that a superstitious opinion of this Purgatory was then conceived, which he disproveth. And a man of indifferent judgement may soone suspect that in the drift and strength of Imagination, a contemplative person would happely suppose the sight of many strange things which he never saw. Since writing hereof I met with a Priest, who told mee that he had gone the same pilgrimage, and affirmed the order of the premisses: But that he for his owne part saw no sight in the world, save onely fearefull dreames when he chanced to nod, and those he saith

were exceeding horrible: further he added, that the faste is rated more or lesse, according to the quality of the penitent, and that the place seemed to him scarcely able to receive sixe persons.



## CAP. XIII.

*The Irish Saints*

**T**HOUGH my search thereof in this my haste out of the land be very cumbersome, yet being loath to neglect the memory of Gods friends, more glorious to a Realme then all the victories and triumphs of the world, I thinke it good to furnish out this chapter with some extracts touching the Saints of Ireland, namely those that are most notable, mentioned by authors of good credit. *Cambrensis* telleth, that in *S. Patricks* time flourished *S. Bride* the virgin, and *S. Columbe* in Doune, where their bodies soone after the conquest, and also *S. Patrickes* body were found, Sir *Iohn Courcye* being then President of Vlster. In vievving of the sepulture hee testifieth to have seene three principall jevvells, vvhich vvere then translated as honourable monuments vvorthie to be preserved.

Of *S. Columbe*<sup>c</sup> it is doubted, whether he lived in that age. *Brigide* was base Daughter of *Dubtachus*

<sup>c</sup> Ex Vitis sanctorum Hiberniæ.

a Captaine in Leinster, who perceiving the Mother with child, sold her secretly, fearing the jealousy of his wife, to a Irish Poet, reserving to himselfe, the fruite of her wombe, she was there delivered of this *Brigide*, whom the Poet trained up in letters, and so conveyed her home to her father.<sup>d</sup> The Damosell was schooled in the faith by S. *Patricke*, preaching then in those parts, she became so religious, and so ripe in judgement, that not onely the multitude, but a whole synode of Bishoppes assembled by Dublin,<sup>e</sup> used her advice in weighty causes, and highly esteemed her. One fact of hers being yet a childe, made her famous. The King of Leinster had given to *Dubtachus* in token of singular affection, for his good service, a rich sword. Now it befell, that the maiden visiting her sicke neighbours, diversly distressed for hunger, (her father being a sterne man, his Lady a shrewe) she saw none other helpe to relieve these wretched people, but to part the Jewels of that idle sword among them. This matter was haynously taken, and came to the Kings eares, who (comming shortly after to a Banquet in her fathers house) demaunded the Girle, not yet nine yeares old, how she durst presume to deface the gift of a King, shee answered, that it was bestowed upon a better King, then hee was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremity, I would have given all my father hath, and all that thou hast, yea your selves and

<sup>d</sup> An. Dom. 439.

<sup>e</sup> An. Dom. 448.

all, were yee in my power to give, rather then Christ should starve.

At convenient age she professed virginity, and allured other noble Virgins to her fellowship, with whom she lived in her owne Monastery, untill the yeare of our Lord 500. and was buried at Downe, in the Tombe of *S. Patricke*, what *Cambrensis* reporteth of his own knowledge and sight, I will be bold to add hereunto.

Among her reliques, was found a concordance of the 4. Evangelists, seeming to bee written with no mortall hand, beautified with mysticall pictures in the margin, whose colours and workemanship, at the first blush were darke and unpleasant, but in the view wonderful liuely and artificiall. *Senanus* first a Souldiour, succeeded *S. Patricke*<sup>f</sup> in the See of Ardmagh, when he had beene certaine yeares a *minor* and doctour to the Campe. *Brendan* Abbot at the age of ten yeares, was of such incomparable holinesse, and thereto so wise and lettered, that his parents thinking themselves to have wonne the most notable fruite, that could ensue their marriage, by mutuall consent professed continencie. Hee flourished in the time of *S. Bride*, lived familiarly with *Ercus* the Bishop, and *Finan* the Abbot.

*Madoc alias Edan* of noble parentage, taken pri-

<sup>f</sup> An. Dom. 493.

soner with the King of Temore,<sup>g</sup> and kept in his court with diverse yong-men his schoole-fellowes, openly adjured the King to suffer him and them to depart and serve God as they were accustomed, which being now sundred and distrayned of libertie they had partly discontinued, immediately they were dismissed: he died Bishop of Fernes, and laide the foundation of that Burrough. *Molingus* the successor of *S. Madoc* being Bishop tooke himsele to voluntary labour, & with his owne hands, drived a running spring to his Monastery, enduring that travaile dayly after prayer and study, eight yeares together. *Fintan* the Abbot was had in such veneration, that whereas *Colm* King of Leinster, kept prisoner *Cormak* the Kings sonne of Kensill: He went boldly with 12. of his Disciples through the presse of the Souldiours, and in sight of the King, rescued the young Prince, for the Irish in no wayes are outragious against holy men. I remember, *Cambrensis* writeth himsele, merrily to have objected to *Morris* then Archbishop of Cashell, that Ireland in so many hundred yeares had not brought forth one Martyr. The Bishop answered pleasantly, (but alluding to the late murder of *Thomas* of Canterbury,) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enormities yet have ever more spared the bloode of Saints, marry now we are delivered to such a nation, that is well acquainted with making Martyrs, henceforwards I trust this complaint shall cease.

<sup>g</sup> An. Dom. 496.



*Malachias* was borne in Ardmagh of noble parents,<sup>h</sup> cherished in vertue by example of his Mother, and trayned up in learning, even yet a very babe, he vvas oft times espied to steale from his companions to pray in secret, so grave & modest, that of himselfe he choosed alwayes the most severe and rigorous Schoole-masters, and refused an excellent Clerke, only because he saw him, somewhat lightly demeaned at game. In the beginning of his youth hee yeelded himselfe the Disciple of *Imarius*,<sup>i</sup> an old recluse, whose austerity of conversation, the whole towne admired. There he became a Deacon, and at twenty fiye yeares a Priest. The Archbishop for the fame and opinion of his worthinesse, made him his Coadjutor, in the which office he reformed superstitions and revived the strength of religion, specially the uniformitie of their Church service, wherein before time they jarred. The famous monastery of Banchor he reedified, of the patrimony & legacies by his Vncle left him. The same Monastery was of old time, first governed by *Congellos*, and then proceeded *Columbanus*, the father of many religious houses in France. Banchor had beene so stored with Moneks, that no houre of day nor night they ceased, but some company or other was in continuall succession at divine service. Of which brethren there were in one day murthred 900. and the place spoyled, whose possessions conveyed to *Malachias* by his Vncle,

<sup>h</sup> An. Dom. 1094.

<sup>i</sup> Bernard in vita Madach.

hee restored forthwith, and bettered the foundation. At the age of thirtie yeares, he was by Canonicall election forced to accept the Bishopricke of Conereth, a people of all the Irish then most savage and bestiall, whom he with inestimable toyle reclaymed.

In the meane while died *Celsus* Archbishop of Ard-magh, to whom succeeded *Malachias*, at the age of thirty eight yeares. But ere this wel-nigh the space of 200. yeares together, a pestilent custome had crept into the country, that the Metropolitanes See, was inferred upon meere lay persons of the blood royall in manner by inheritance, wherefore *Nigellus* the next of kindred animated by the partiality of some Princes, & getting into his custody the Bible and Staffe, and other Ornaments of *S. Patricke* (whereunto the eares of the common people tyed the prelacy) came to the Pailace, with a bande of Souldiours to have slaine the Bishop. When all the people wept and howled, for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demaunding their purpose. The very Tyrants letting fall their weapons in stead of the murder conspired, fell to reverence him, and departed friends. Three yeares he sate in the primacy, rather to discontinue the horrible corruption before used, then with intent to abide there: and their error having disannulled the abuse, he procured *Gelasius* to be his Successor, and returned to his former Bishopricke of Downe. For to Downe was then annexed Coner. But *Malachias* understanding that in times past, they were

severall, sundred them againe, and preferred another to the Diocesse of Coner, desirous rather to discharge his cure, then to enlarge the frutes, while he preached, a woman fell at his feete, and besought his prayer, for that she had now gone with childe fifteene moneths and twenty dayes, nor could by any meanes be delivered, which done, the newes of her delivery was reported before the assembly brake up. Hee threatned vengeance to a Captaine, unlesse he would turne away the Concubine he kept, the same being also his brothers Concubine. The Captaine tooke it disdainefully, and within one houre, was slaine by a conspiracy of women, whose Daughters and servants he had defiled. There dwelt in Lismore a notable Clerke, of conversation upright, but corrupt in judgement of religion, this fellow advancing his doctrine, offered disputation to the Bishop, before the multitude, when he was forced to silence with the waight of truth, yet he cavilled maliciously, that not the cause nor learning, but the countenance and credit of *Malachias* had wonne the victory. To whom the Bishop answered, our Lord compell thee, even maugre thine owne willfullnesse to acknowledge thine errors. At these words the Clerke and intending to fly the sight of men, was prevented with a mortall infirmity, and beseeching the Bishop of his peace and communion, died immediately, reconciled to God and holy Church. Being demaunded of his Brethren, the Moncks of Banchor, where and when hee would wish to dye, and be buried, if it lay in his choyse, hee answered: If in

Ireland, beside the body of *S. Patricke*: If beyond the seas, at Clarivall, where *S. Bernard* was then famous and in the feast of *All Soules*. He cast in his minde, within a few dayes to sue to *Eugenius* the third, for the increase of the number of Metropolitanes, which request, was shortly after sped, and in this voyage he rested at Clarivall, and there diverse times, openly foretold that his yeare of departing was come: accordingly when he had taken leave of *S. Bernard* and the brethren, descended from his chamber to Church, and received the rites of a christian man, he returned to his lodging, and dyed on *All Soules* day,<sup>k</sup> in the yeare of his age fifty foure, so mildely and peaccably, that it seemed rather a sleepe, then a death. There his obsequies was solemnized and miracles wrought at his tombe, and from thence his body was translated to Ardmagh in the yeare 1192.

*Malchus*, though borne Irish, yet he spent most part of his time in the monastery of Winchester, in England, from thence assumed Bishop of Lismore, him also remembreth *S. Bernard* upon occasion. A lunaticke childe he cured in Bishopping him. This miracle was through the world seene and confessed of many hundreds. There happened the same time, a discord betweene the King of Mounster, and his Brother, wherein the King was overmatched and fled into England, visited *Malchus* in his Abbey, and would at no hand be said nay, but so long as it should please

<sup>k</sup> 1148.

God to afflict him, he would live there under his government, and ensue his conversation, he contented himselfe with a poore Cell, used dayly a cold bathe to repress the wantonnesse of his flesh, dieted himselfe with none other fare, then bread, water and salt, passed dayes and nights in sobbing and remorse of sinne. At length the Kings and Nobles of Ireland began to stomacke the usurper, vanquished him, called home the good King to his right, who with many perswasions of *Malchas* and *Malachias* could scarcely be gotten to forsake ghostly company, & trade of life.

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CAP. XV.

*The most notable events in Ireland, betweene the time of Saint Patricke, and the conquest under Henry the 2.*

**I**N the yeare of Christ 586. the people of Norway were Lordes and victours of the Ilandes in the West Ocean called Orchades, and great scowers of the seas: A nation desperate in attempting the conquest of other Realmes: as being sure to finde warmer dwelling any where, then at their owne home. These fellowes lighted into Ireland by this meanes, *Careticus* King of Brittain (odious to his subjects) fell with them at civill warre. Ioyfull was the newes hereof to the Saxons, who then in the six severall kingdomes, pos-

sessed the Iland sundry wayes, so they laide together their force, & associated to them *Gurmondus*, a Rover out of Norway, who having a navy still in a readinesse, and an army thereafter furnished, holpe the Saxons, to hunt the Brittaines into the marshes of Wales, builded the towne of Gormond-chester, and then having holpen the Saxons, made a voyage into Ireland where he sped but meanelly, and therefore the Irish account not this for any of their conquests, as some of their antiquities have informed me. The same *Gurmondus* finding hard successe, did but build a few slight castles and trenches in the frontiers, and then leaving the land, got him home into France, where he was finally slaine, him our Chronicles name King of Ireland. But the Irish affirme that before *Turgesius* no Easterlings obtained a Kingdome. Here *Cambrensis* to salve the contradiction, thinketh *Gurmondus* to have conquered the land by *Turgesius* his Deputy, sent thither at his provision, which answer breedeth a contrariety more incurable, for himself numbred betweene *Laigivius* King of Ireland, in an. 430. and *Fedlemidius* whom *Turgesius* vanquished, Monarches 33. and yeares 400. so that *Turgesius* lived in an. 830. and could not possibly deale with *Gurmondus*, who joyned with the Saxons against *Careticus* in Anno 586. This knot might be untwined with more facility. *Gurmondus* made much of that little he caught, and wrote himselfe King, which Title our Histories doe allow him, because he opened a gappe, enjoyed it for a while, and brake a way for his Countrey-men. *Turgesius* brought

this attempt to perfection, and in these respects each of them may be called first King and Conqueror.

Secondly therefore *Turgesius* with his Normans, assaulted Ireland, <sup>1</sup> sustained losse and many overthrowes, but in the end fastening his power to the sea coasts, and receiving in his friends at will, he subdued the land through and through, ever as he went building up Castles and fortresses, vvherevvith the Irish had not beene yet acquainted, for hitherto they knevv no fence, but vvoods or bogges, or strokes. *Turgesius* bridled the Kings, and avved them so, that vvithout interruption he raigned thirty yeares, cryed havocke & spoile vvhere any vvealth vvas heaped, spared neither Lay nor Clergy, nor Church, nor Chappell, but very insolently abused his victory. *O malaghlien* king of Meth, vvas in some trust vvith the Tyrant, his onely Daughter *Turgesius* craved for his concubine. The father having a present vvitt, and vvatching some subtle oportunities, Saving your fancie, my Lord, quoth hee, there are diverse Ladies of my bloud svveeter bed-fellovves for a king, then that brovvne girle; and then he began to count neeces and cousins a number forsooth, endovved vvith angell-like beauties, painted so lively vvith his Tale, that the Tyrant doted already upon them ere hee savv them: But ever he doubted, lest *O-malaghlien* extolled them to exempt his ovvne, and the vvise father cloaked his drift vvith modestie in ansvveres, and lingering his graunt to enflame the leachers folly, as hee

that vould any thing to bee suspected rather then his thought indeed. And at the last vwhen the other tooke his delay somewhat unkindely, and bade his Queene speake to him. If I said (quoth hee) that vvith my very goodvill my sole daughter should bee sent to you to bee deflovvred, your high vvisedome vould guesse I did but faine and flatter, and yet if ten daughters were deerer unto me then your good pleasure and contentation, by whose bounty, both she & I, and we all are supported, I were unworthie the secret friendship, wherein it lyeth in you to use mee. As for the wench, it will in part seeme honourable to bee asked to the bed of such a Prince, seeing Queenes have not sticked to come from farre, and prostrate their bodies to noble Conquerours, in hope of issue by them, and howsoever it bee taken, time will redceme it. But such a friend as you are to mee and mine, neither I nor mine shall live to see, and I purpose not to offend your amity with saving a greater mater then twenty maiden-heads, seeing fathers have not sticked to yeeld their owne wives to quench the loves and lustes of their somes.

Therefore I am thus agreed, name you the day and place, sever your selfe from the open eye of your Court, conferre with those that have a curious insight and skill in beauties, I will send you my daughter, and with her the choice of twelve or sixteene gentlewomen, the meanest whereof may bee an Empresse in comparison, when all are before you, make your game at will, and then if my childe shall please your fancie, shee is not



too good to be at your commandement : Onely my request is, that if any other presume upon your leavings, your Majestie will remember whose fathers childe shee is. This liberall proffer was accepted of him, whose desire was insatiable, with many faire promises and thanks. To bee short, the same day *O-malaghlien* attired Princelike his owne Daughter, and with her sixteene beautifull striplings, which presented to the King in his privy Chamber, accompanied onely with certaine wantons of the Nobility, drew foorth from under their woman-like garments, their skeanes, and valiantly bestirred themselves, stabbing first the Tyrant, next the youth present that prepared but small resistance, surely fitt mates to supply the office they tooke in hand, of *Paris*, not of *Hector*.

Out flew the fame thereof into all quarters of Ireland, and the Princes nothing dull to cathe holde of such advantage, vvith one assent, rose ready to pursue their liberty. All Meth and Leinster vvere soone gathered to *O-malaghlien*, the father of this practise, vvho lightly leapt to horse, and commaunding their forvvardnesse in so naturall a quarrell, sayde, Lordings and friendes, this case neither admitteth delay, nor asketh policie, heart and haste is all in all, vvhile the feate is young and strong, that of our enemies some sleepe, some sorrovv, some curse, some consult, all dismayed, let us anticipate their furye, dismember their force, cut off their flight, occupie their places of refuge and succour. It is no mastery to plucke their feathers, but their

neckes, nor to chase them in, but to roovse them out, to vveede them, not to rake them; nor to treade them dovvne, but to digge them up. This lesson the Tyrant himselfe hath taught mee, I once demaunded him in a parable, by vvhat good husbandry the Land might bee ridde of certaine Crovves that annoyed it, hee advised to vvatche vvhere they bred, and to fire the nestes about their eares. Goe vvee then upon these Cormorants that shroovde themselves in our possessions, and let us destroy them so, that neither nest, nor roote, nor seede, nor stalke, nor stubbe may remaine of this ungracious generation.

Scarce had he spoken the vvord, but vvith great showvtes and clamours, they extolled the King as patron of their lives and families, assured both courage and expedition, joyned their confederates, and vvith a running campe, svvept every corner of the Land, razed the castles to the ground, & chased the strangers before them, slevv all that abode the battaile, recovered each man his ovvne precinct and former state of government. The Irish delivered of slavery, fell to their old vomit in persecuting one another, & having lately defaced their fortified castles & tovvnns, as coverts to the enemy; al sides lay novv more open in harmes vvay. This considered, the Princes that in the late rule of *Turgesius* espied some towardnesse to wealth and ease, began to discourse the madnesse of their fathers, who could not see the use of that vvchich their enemies abused, they began to loathe their unquietnesse, to wish

either lesse discord, or more strength in every mans dominion to cast out the danger of naked Territoryes, as ready to call in the enemy, as the contrary was to shrowd them, faine vvould they mend, and they vvist not hovv. The former subjection though it seemed intollerable, yet they felt therein a grovving to peace, fruits of merchandize, rest & surety; for it fared diversly tvvixt those Easterlings, & these Irish: they knevv hovv to thrive, might they get some commodious soyle. These had all the commodities of the soyle, & reckoned them not. While the Princes and Potentates pāvvsed in this good mood, certain marchants out of Norvvay, called Ostomanni, Easterlings, because they lay East in respect of us, though they are indeede properly Normans, & partly Saxons, obtained licence safely to land & utter their vvares. By exchanging of vvares & money, finding the Normans civill and tractable, delighted also vvith gay conceipts, vvich they never esteemed needfull untill they savv them, they entred into a desire of traffique vvith other nations, to allure marchants, they licenced the strangers aforesaid to build, if they vvere disposed, Haven-Tovvnes, vvich vvvas done. *Amellanus* founded Waterford; *Sitaricus*, Limericke; *Inorns*, Dublin, more at leisure by others. Then were repaired by helpe and counsell of these men, castles, forts, steeples, and Churches every-where. Thus are the Irish blended also in the blood of the Normans, who from thenceforth continually flocked hither, did the Inhabitants great pleasure, lived obediently, till wealth made them

wanton and rebellious. But they could not possibly have held out, had not the conquest ensuing determined both their contentions. The meane while they waxed Lords of Havens and Bur-Townes, housed their souldiours, and oftentimes skirmished tooke their fortune, crept no higher, onely a memory is left of their field in Clantarfe,<sup>m</sup> where diverse noble Irish men were slayne, that lye buried before the Crosse of Kil-maynam.

And it is to be noted, that these are the Danes, which people (then Pagans) wasted England, and after that, France. From whence they came againe into England with *VVilliam* the Conquerour.<sup>n</sup> So that Ostomani, Normans, Easterlings, Danes, and Norway-men are in effect the same, and as it appeareth by conference of times and Chronicles, much about one time or season, vexed the French men, subdued the English, and multiplied in Ireland.<sup>o</sup> But in the yeare of CHRIST 1095. perceiving great envy to lurke in the distinction of Easterlings and Irishe utterly west, and because they were simply Northerne, not Easterne, and because they magnified themselves in the late conquest of their Countrey men, who from Normandy flourished now in the Realme of England, they would in any wise be called and counted Normans.

<sup>m</sup> 1050. al. 1014.

<sup>n</sup> Guil de Nangiac. Polid l. 8. Angl. hist.

<sup>o</sup> An. Dom. 900.

Long before this time, <sup>p</sup> as ye have heard, Ireland was bestowed into two principall Kingdomes, and sometime into more, whereof one was ever elected Monarch, whom they tearme in their Histories, *maximum regem*, or without addition, *regem Hiberniæ*. The rest were written *Reguli* or *Reges* by limitation, as the King of Leinster, of Connaght, of Ulster, of Mounster, of Meth. To the Monarch besides his allowance of ground, and titles of Honours, and other priviledges in Iurisdiction, was graunted a negative in the nomination of Bishops at every vacation. The Cleargy and Laity of the Diocesse, recommended him to their King, the King to their Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for that as yet the Metropolitanes of Ireland had not received their palles: In this sort was nominated to the Bishopricke of Divelin, then voide Anno 1074. (at the petition of *Godericus* King of Leinster, by sufferance of the cleargy & people there, with the consent of *Terdilvachus* the Monarch) a learned prelate called *Patricius*: who the blessed archbishop *Lanfrancus* consecrated at S. *Pauls* Church in London, & swore him to the obedience after the maner of his antecessors. <sup>q</sup> *Christian* Bishop of Lismore Legate to *Eugenius* 3. summoned a Provinciall Councell in Ireland, wherein were authorized foure Metropolitan Sees, Ardmagh, Dublin, Cashell, & Tuam: Bishops thereof being *Gelasius*, *Gregorious*, *Donatus*,

<sup>p</sup> An. Dom. 948.

<sup>q</sup> 1152.

*Edanus*; for hitherto, though they yeelded a primacy to the Bishop of Ardmagh, in reverence of Saint *Patrick*, yet was it partly voluntary, and ratified rather by custome, then by sufficient decree: neither did that Arch-Bishop take upon him to invest other Bishops, but sent them to Canterbury (as I said before) which henceforth they did not. Namely the next Bishop of *S. Laurence*, sometimes Abbot of *S. Kevynes* in *Glandilagh*,<sup>r</sup> was ordered and installed at home by *Gelasius* Primate of Ardmagh.

THE  
SECOND BOOKE  
OF  
CAMPION'S  
*HISTORY OF IRELAND.*

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CAP. I.

*The conquest of Ireland by Henry the second, King of England, commonly called Henry Fitz Empresse.*

**DERMOT MACMURROUGH**,<sup>s</sup> King of Leinster, halt and leacherous, vowed dishonestly to serve his lust on the beautifull Queene of Meath, and in the absence of her husband, allured the woman so farre, that she condescended to be stolne away. This dishonourable wrong to avenge, *O-Rorick* the King her husband, besought assistance of *Rodericke Oconor*, King of Connaght, at that season the generall Monarch of all Ireland. The subjects of Leinster detesting the quarrell, and long ere this time hating their Prince, left him desolate

\* 1167. This Chapter concludeth the 1. and 2. booke Cambrens de conquest Hiberniæ: delivered unto me by Francis Agard.

in his greatest neede, so as with much difficulty he caught his boate, and fled over for succour to *Henry* the 2. King of England, then warring upon the French men, within his Dukedome of Aquitaine. Somewhat before this season sate in the See of Rome, *Adrianus* † 4. an English man borne, who having in his youth taken a painefull pilgrimage into Norway, and reduced the whole Iland unto Christianity, learned distinctly the state of Ireland, and how their countrymen which dayly repaired thither, being themselves the most part infidels, meeting with a people there, wilde and furious, were like very shortly (but if God found remedy) to deface religion: for though Christ were beleaved and taught, yet the multitude eft soone, grew to a shamelesse kinde of liberty, making no more of necessary points of Doctrine, then served their loose humour. Besides these occasions *Henry* the 2. builded upon the Popes favour, his borne subject, had sent Ambassadors to Rome, in the first yeare of his raigne, asking leaue to attempt the conquest of Ireland. *Adrian* trusting and requiring a diligent reformation of the premisses, graunted his Bull, which *Alexander* his Successour confirmed, and ratified upon the same conditions. Now when *Dermot* was come in the very necke of these consultations, and put up his complaint, wherein he preferred the interest of his Crowne, and craved a restitution of some peece of his lands, the matter did seeme not all untowardly broached, *Henry* having his hands full with the French, because *Mac Murrough* urged

† Polichron. Plat. in Adr. 4. Io. Stell. in Chr.



all possible haste, could not personally intend that offer, but sent him honourably garded into England, with letters patents bearing this Tenour.

HENRY the second, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earle of Angiow. To all our true subjects, English, Normans, Welchmen, Scotts, and to all nations within our Dominions whatsoever. Greeting. Witt yee that the Bearer hereof, *Dermot Mac Murrough* King of Leinster, we have received into the soveraigne protection of our Grace and bounty, wherefore who so of you all our loving subjects will extend towards him, your ayde for his restoring, as to our trusty and welbeloved, know yee that he is thereto authorized by these presents, and shall deserve at our hands high favour in so doing.

With these letters and many gay additions of his owne, he arrived at Bristow, where he fell at conference with *Richard Strongbow*, Earle of Pembroke, with whom he covenanted, the delivery of his onely daughter and heire unto marriage, and so the remainder of his Kingdome: If the said Earle would recover him his home. That day were planted in Wales two gentlemen, *Robert Fitz Stephens* and *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, brethren of a Mother, allyed to *Rice ap Griffin*, then Prince of Wales, whose Grand-father was surnamed *Rice* the great. *Fitz Stephens* had beene high Constable there under the King, and for executing rigour upon the Princes servants, was with

him detained prisoner three yeares, ne would in any wise pay ransome or accept the liberty promised him, but if the conditions were loyall to the Crowne, and to his person no dis-worship. Lastly by the mediation of *David* Bishop of S. Davids, the third brother; and of *Fitz Gerald*, and at the instance of *Mac Murrough* whom the Prince entertained in that distresse, *Fitz Stephens* was conditionally delivered, that he and his brother *Maurice*, should the next spring, while *Strongbow* provided his army, assist the Irish out-cast, who in consideration thereof assured them an estate for ever in the towne of Weixford, and two Cantreds adjoining.

Thus much firmly concluded on all sides, the King stale secretly home, and wintered closely among the Cleargie of Fernes.

According to covenant came *Fitz Stephens*, with 30. Knights of his blood, 60. Squiers, & 300. footemen Archers, to whom at his landing, *Dermot* sent in aid his base sonne *Duvelnaldus*, and five hundred speares. The towne and suburbes of Weixford marched forth against him: But when they saw Souldiours in array, diversly dighted and weaponed, furnished with artillery, barbed horses and harnessse, they retyred to their walles and strenghtned them, burning the villages thereabouts, and all the provision they could not carry. The assault lasted 3. dayes, in the 4. certaine Bishops resciant there, tooke up the variance, pacified the

Townsmen to their King, and procured the rendring of the Towne. *Dermot* having tryed the valiantnes of the Welchmen, immediately kept his touch, and gave possession of Weixford with the appurtenances aforesaid, to *Fitz Stephens* and his brother. After successe of these matters, they leavyed to the number of 3000. Souldiours, and devised to vex the Lords of Vpper Ossory, who had beene to the King of all other most cruell and injurious. Them they compelled to deliver Trewage and sweare fealty.

*Rodericke* the monarch appalled at these newes, reared up all the Kings, in defence of the land, verily supposing that all would to wrecke, were it not prevented. And first they directed courteous messages and gifts to *Fitz Stephens*, moving him to depart the land quietly, and not to molest them without cause. To whom he answered, that much he wondred at the folly of those Princes, who to satisfie their choller had opened such a gappe to their owne prejudice, as though the subjects whom they had schooled, to breake allyance towards the King of Leinster, would not be as ready by this example to learne to withstand the King of Connaght, for his owne part, though hee might with better reason invade strangers, then they could expell their neighbours and their peere, yet would they suffer the King to reenter his right, they should not finde him stiffe, nor untractable, otherwise they should well feele that the Bryttons wanted neither abilitie, nor truth, to maintaine their word.

*Rodericke* perceived it was no boote to spurne, and therefore bethought himselfe of composition upon agreement, they resolved thus.

*Inprimis*, that *Mac Murrough* swearing afresh his obedience to the Monarch, should quietly, repossesse the parts of Leinster, which *Rodericke* with-held by suspensation.

Secondly, that for ensurance thereof, he should pledge his dearest base sonne *Cnotharn*, to whom *Rodericke* promised his daughter, if this peace were found effectuall.

Thirdly, that being rested in his kingdome, he should discharge the Welch army, nor should hence-forwards call them over in defence.

About this time, *Donatus* the good King of Ergall, founded the Abbey of Mellyfont, which is the eldest that I finde recorded since the Danes arrivall, except *S. Mary* Abbey, besides *Divelin*, erected in an. 948.

The meane while was landed at Weixford, *Maurice Fitz Gerald* with his provision, ten Knights, thirty Squiers, and an hundred Bowmen, hereupon *Dermot* and the two Brethren, set their force against *Divelin*, which being the cheife City of his Realme, refused to yeeld, when *Divelin* and the country about it vvas recover'd, there befell hostility between *Rodericke*,

and *Duvenaldus* Prince of Limericke, vvhom *Dermot* his father holpe in field, foyled the enemy, and then vvithdrevv his obedience from the Monarch. Shamefull was *Roderickes* flight, and *Dermot* insinuated into the favour of his people, began to recount the confederates of his first misfortune, and consulted with the two Captaines for the invasion of Connaght, finding them prest, he wrote over to the Earle *Strongbow*, renewed their covenants, prayed his helpe. *Richard* Earle *Strongbow* (whose auncestors came in vvith the Conquest, but commonly of the King and his successors disfavoured) having read the letters, he passed to King *Henry*, besought him either to answere him his rightfull heritage, vvich other men occupied, or to licence him else vvhere in uncouth lands, to seeke his fortune. The King halfe in derision bad him on in the name of God, even as farre as his feete could beare him. The Earle dissembling to perceive the hollownes of the king, furnished his Cousin *Reymond le Grose*, Nephev to the brethren aforesaid, vvith ten Knights, and 70. Bovvmen, himselfe ensued vvith about 200. Knights, and 1000. lusty Welchmen, tryed Souldiours, shortly they vvanne the City of Waterford, and then immediately *Mac Murrough* accomplished his convention, gave to the Earle in marriage his daughter *Eve*, with the succession of his Kingdome. When Waterford was gotten, and Leinster pacified, and the Princes of Ossory tamed, and a chosen band ever in garrison, *Mac Murrough* became so terrible, that none durst encounter him. The

Cleargy assembled themselves at Ardmagh, and with one accord did protest that for all their sinnes, and especially for the Turkish kinde of Tyrany which they used in buying and selling, and with vile slaveries oppressing the bodies of the English, (whom their pyrats tooke) their land was like to be translated to that nation, whose captives they handled so cruelly. To appease in part, the indignation of God, they decreed, that all English, wheresoever in hold within the realme, should forthwith be loosed, Further, if it pleased God to scourge them, it should be meekely suffered, as farre beneath the debt of their deserts. King *Henry*, though he was well apayed that the Earle should be from him, yet he liked no deale, his growing in Ireland to such power, as percase in time to come, with his faction in Wales, then living under a Prince of their owne, he might be able to face the Crowne of England. An edict was therefore drawne, whereby all subjects were charged upon their perill, to revert into England by a day, and a caveat annexed, that upon paine of death, none should presume to passe over without a nevv warrant, nor ship over any wares, money, munition, or victuals into Ireland.

Thus had the Irish a breathing space, and would perhaps have picked greater benefits thereby, had not the Normans beene in their top immediately after.<sup>u</sup> Great force they laide to Divelin, but vvere valiantly repelled, and their Captaine *Hasculphus* taken pri-

soner, who being calmly intreated, began to overview himselfe, and to imagine that the Citizens durst not use him extreamely, & once in open audience brake forth his unseasonable courage, in these wordes. Take this (quoth he) but for hansell, the game is to come : which heard they delayed him no longer, but pusht him downe on a blocke, and swapped off his head.

*Strongbow* perceiving the Kings jealousy not yet allayed, having wel-nigh spent his army in defence of diverse good townes, impugned by *Rodericke* and the Irish, left sufficient warde till his returne : and met the King at Gloucester. v To whom he writeth, declaring the envy that lurked in his preferment, yeelded the tittle of all his winning, craved good countenance with his grace, contented himselfe with any portion whatsoever his Majesty should relinquish : a finall quietnesse was driven betweene them, Dublin with th' appurtenances, and all port townes of Leinster, & all fortresses reserved to the King. The Earle should enjoy with good leave whatsoever he had gotten beside. This yeare dyed *Mac Murrow*, and the Abbey *de Castro Dei* was founded.

Soone after the King with five hundred Knights with archers and horsemen many more tooke shore at Waterford,<sup>w</sup> and was such a terrour to the Irish, that

v 1171.

<sup>w</sup> 1172. Regni sui 17. Ætatis 41.

incontinently all Mounster submitted themselves to his peace. There the men of Wexford to feede the surmises of *Henry* conceived against the gentlemen, betrayed their Lord *Fitz Stephens*, and him delivered to the King. The King to gratifie them, for a while tremely chained and hampered the prisoner, quarrelling with him, notwithstanding the inhibition he had proceeded in atchieving the conquest of Ireland, but shortly hee enlarged him, and ratified the grants of Wexford above-mentioned.

These Princes of the South sware fidelity and tribute to *Henry*. *Dermot Cartye* King of Corke, *Donald Obrene* king of Limericke, *Donald* and *Omalaghlien*, puissant Lords of Ossory, and in briefe, all the states of Mounster, from thence hee journeyed to Dublin, where in like manner all the Captaines of Leinster, and *Ororicke* king of Meth, and *Rodericke Oconor*, king of Connaght, and of all Ireland for himselfe, and the whole Iland, humbly recognized his soveraignety: finally, no man there was of name in the land (except them of Vlster) but they to him bowed and sware obeysance. All which he feasted royally with a dinner of Cranes flesh, a fowle till then utterly abhorred of the Irish.

*Merlin* had prophesied, that five should meete, and the sixt should scourge them. This sixt they now construed to be *Henry*, in whom the five pettie Kingdomes were united. Of the same conquest prophesied



their foure notable Saints, *Patricke*, *Brachon*, *Colme*, and *Moling*.<sup>x</sup>

The King not unmindfull of his charge, enjoyed by the Popes *Adrian* and *Alexander*, entred into a reformation of the Church: and mooved the famous Bishop of Lismore, Saint *Christian*, their Legate, to call a Synode at *Cashell*, wherein they defined Eight Articles.<sup>y</sup>

1. First, that their people should abandon unlawfull contracts of their cousins and allyes, and observe the Canons of Matrimonie.

2. That their Infants should be primestened of the Priests hand at the Church dore, and then baptized in the font of their mother Church.

3. That all faithfull duely pay their Tithes.

4. That holy Church be for ever quit of those cursed exactions of diet and harborow whereunto they had bene accustomedly strayned foure seasons in the yeare, and else against right.

5. That the fine levyed for manslaughter, be not borne by the Clearkes, and kinsmen to the malefac-

<sup>x</sup> Fab. pars. 7. c. 137.

<sup>y</sup> Pol. Virg. lib. 13. Angl. Hist.

tour, but if he were accessory or faulty to the deed doing.

6. That the sicke doe his Testament to be made or read in the presence of credible persons.

7. That the funerals of the dead be devoutly and solemnly kept.

8. That forasmuch as GOD hath universally delivered them into the government of the English, they should in all points, rights, and ceremonies, accord with the Church of England.

To these things *Gelasius* Primate of Ardmagh, because he was old and impotent, gave his consent at Divelin in the presence of the King, he died two yeares after, so aged, that his sustenance was the milke of a white Cow, which he carried with him wheresoever he travelled. Thisyeere the *Abbey de fonte vivo* was founded.

While all went well in Ireland, newes came that *Henry* the sonne (whom his father had for good purpose crowned King of England) was misledde to intrude upon the actuall possession of the Crowne in his fathers life-time, which stirre to appease, the King left the custody of Ireland with *Hugh de Lacy*, to whom he gave Meth in fee, with *Fitz Stephens*, *Fitz Gerald*, and *Philip de Bruise*, and diverse others, and sayled into England.

In absence of King *Henry*, *Ororick* King of Meth, surnamed *Monoculus*, required conference and parley with *Hugh de Lacy*, in which communication the King had trayterously murdered *Lacy*, had not *Fitz Gerald* rescued him. Then stept out an ambushment of the Irish, but *Griffin* a Gentleman of the bloud royall in Wales, flighted the *Kyrneghes*, and slevv *Ororick*.

The English perceived such practices daylie sought and attempted, tooke from the Irish as farre as they durst, all trust of government, fenced themselves vvith garrisons, made Captaines, Keepers and Constables, vvheresoever they vvanne the better. But King *Henry* vvvas so affrighted vvith his sonnes rebellion, and grevv into such envye both at home and abroad for the death of *Thomas* late Archbishop of Canterbury, that he had no vvill to mind his proceedings in Ireland. Ever his jealousie increased tovvardes the Earle *Strongbow*, vvhom he supposed easie to bee carryed avvay vvith any light occasion of tumult. The Earle vvvas a man of great birth, but not of great port until this good marriage befell him, & knowving himselfe neither to be brooked in sight, nor trusted out of sight, kept still one certaine rate in all his doings, bare but lovve saile, fed no quarrells, shunned all suspicious conference.

While they stood thus in a mammaring, and Letters came daylie over, hovv faintly the States and Princes

of Ireland performed obedience; for except in Leinster, all other parts retayned still their auncient kinde of government, and did onely acknowledge Tribute. It vvas thought expedient by *Henryes* Counsellours, to discharge his minde of that care, and seeing there vvas trouble on all sides, and all could not bee intended one vway, they determined to venture the custody of Ireland to *Strongbow*, being likely for his ovvne vvealth and assurance, to procure all possible meanes of bridling and annoying the Irish.

No sooner vvas the Earle landed with his Commission Lord Warden of Ireland, but *Donald King* of Limericke met him at the vantage, and coursed him within the walls of Waterford, whereof hearing the residue their mates were animated, so that up they start in every corner, tagge and ragge to expell the English.

It went hardly, then the Earle remembered himselfe of his cousin Lord *Reymond*, left behinde him in Wales a suitor to *Basil* his sister, whose marriage nothing stopped but the Earles consent. Now therefore hee writeth lovingly to the Wooer, and upon condition that hee came speedily to succour him, hee yelded the Lady and all else at pleasure. *Reymond* in his first entry brake into Divilin, marryed his Wife in compleate Armour, and the very next daye sprang foorth, whipped the Rebels, quieted Leinster.

Also the Cleargy having lately perused the Popes

Bull, <sup>z</sup> wherein hee entitleth *Henry* Lord of Ireland, and under straight paynes commaundeth alleagiance unto him, busily repressed the fury of their Countrey-men. And forsomuch as immediatly after Christianity planted there, the whole Iland had with one consent given themselves not only into the spirituall, but also into the temporall jurisdiction of the See of Rome, which temporall right the two Bishops *Adrian* and *Alexander* had freely derived into King *Henry*, as by their publike instruments read in their counsell at *Cashell* appeareth, they denounced curse and excommunication to any that would maliciously gainsay or frustrate the same.

When these broyles were rocked asleepe and husht for a time, the familiars of *Strongbow* greatly forethought them of the credit and rule committed to *Reymond*, whom in conclusion they procured home againe vvhhen he had served their turne at neede. The meane vvhile dyed *Strongbow*, as some say, <sup>a</sup> betrayed and vvounded, he lyeth buried in the Body of Christ Church in Divelin, leaving behinde him one onely daughter *Isabel*, marryed after 14. yeares to *William* Earle marshall. Closely they concealed *Strongbowes* death, untill they had compassed from the King another Governour after their owne tooth. For ever they dreaded, that *Reymond* being in the Princes eye, and friended

<sup>z</sup> Pol. Virg. lib. 13 Angl. Hist.

in the Court, would catch his opportunity, and wynde himselfe (might he get an inkling in time of the Earles death) into the succession of his office, which even then waxed sweet and savoury. Coodgellers of this drift, stopped messengers, intercepted letters, hasted on their owne course. *Basil* the wife of *Reymond*, more dutiful to her husband, then naturall to her brother, continued still in Ireland sicke, but having privy knowledge of those newes, ere the breath was quite out of the Earles body, payned her selfe to disturbe this whole array. And whereas shee knew well her letters should bee searched, and her owne servants stayed, shee let it be delivered at all a very venture to one of the maryners, and therein draweth a long processe of her affayres and household, but in the middle shuffles in a few lines of her meaning, under these tearmes: To all my afflictions is added now lately the tooth-ake, so that except that one master-tooth had fallen (which I send you for a token) I weene I were better out of my life. Now was the tooth tipped with golde, and burished feately like a present, which *Reymond* wist well to bee none of hers, and therefore quickly smelled the construction, lingred not for Letters Pattents, but stept over presently, and made his packe, and was elected by the Kings Agents there, Lord Protectour of Ireland, till the Kings pleasure were further knowne: During his authority flourished the *Geraldines*, but shortly after they quayled againe, under the government of *VWilliam Fitz Aldelin*, with him was joyned in commission the valiant Knight *Iohn de Courcy*, conquerour, and

Earle of Vlster, which hitherto the King had not obtained.

That yeare <sup>b</sup> was founded the Abbey of Crockesden, by *Bertramus de Verdon*.

To establish the conquest of Vlster, and other victories of the parts of Ireland before enjoyed, <sup>c</sup> *Alexander* the third sent his Cardinall *Vivianus*, vvho declareth the Title that *Henry* held of the Pope, the reservation of the *Peter*-pence, the indignation of GOD and holy Church against the rebels, who beeing themselves contemners and breakers of Canons Ecclesiasticall, yet for maintenance of their unruly stomackes, had found the meanes to make Churches their barnes, bestowing therein both corne and pulse, that the victuallers and purveyors of the Princes campe should not dare to require the sale thereof for perill of sacriledge. Therefore hee licenseth Officers in this behalfe soberly and discretely to convent such persons, as made the Church a Sanctuary for their Corne, and in neede to take thereof at reasonable prices.

Little good did *Fitz Aldelin*, and lesse vvvas like to doe, because hee delighted to crosse his Peeres, and vvvas of them stopped in his course of government.

*Hugh de Lacye* vvvas made Protector generall over

<sup>b</sup> 1176.

<sup>c</sup> 1177.

the Land. But *Miles Cogan*, *Philip de Bruise*, *Fitz Stephens*, *Power*, and diverse other more preferred to severall countreyes under him.

This *Lacye* builded a sort of castles and forts throughout all Leinster and Meth, and the next six yeares continually devout gentlemen erected sundry Abbeyes, as the Abbey of Roseglasse,<sup>d</sup> of Donbrothy by *Hervy* a Welch-man,<sup>e</sup> one of the speciall conquerours of Ireland, vvho himself after that, entred into religion in Trinity Priory at Canterbury,<sup>f</sup> The Abbeyes of Geripont, and *Choro Benedicti*, the Abbey *de lege Dei*, vvith repaying of many Chappels, Chauncells, Bell-houses, High-vvayes, and Bridges.<sup>g</sup> Then dyed Saint *Laurence* Archbishop of Divelin, to vvhom succeeded *John Comyn* an Englishman, brought up in the Abbey of Evesham, Founder of Saint Patrickes in Divelin, vvhich vvas before that time a Parish Church, & novv by the said Archbishop endovved with Prebends, Viccars, Clearkes, Chorists, and many notable possessions for their maintenance, vvhereout from time to time have proceeded Clergy-men of greatest learning & reputation in the Diocese Divers contentions were raised betwixt Christs Church and it, for antiquity, wherein they of S. Patrickes, are (no doubt) inferiour, as shall

<sup>d</sup> 1178.

<sup>e</sup> 1179.

<sup>f</sup> 1180.

<sup>g</sup> 1182.



appeare.<sup>h</sup> They are both written Cathedrall Churches, and both are the Bishops Chapter, in whose election they both ought to convent within the Church of the blessed Trinity, called Christs Church, which in all records hath the prehemineney of place. The party that disturbeth this order of election, forfeiteth by deede to th' Archbishop of Divelin, 200. pounds. This foundation was much enriched by King *John*.

The same yeare died the yong King *Henry*, reconciled to his father, but preparing warre against his brother *Richard* Duke of Aquitain: soon after also deceased *Jeffry* his other son, Duke of Brittain. Thus were left *Richard*, his inheritour, and *John* afterwards Earle of Gloucester, heretofore surnamed without land, to whom the father conveyed all his interest and Lordship of Ireland, sent him thither honourably accompanied, being then but twelue yeares old, and with him in speciall trust, *Giraldus Cambrensis* Clerke, a diligent searcher of the antiquities of Ireland, surely well learned, and in those dayes counted Eloquent.

About the young Earle were servants and counsellours, three sorts, first Normans, great quaffers, lourdens, proud, belly swaines, fed with extortion and bribery; to whom hee most relyed: secondly, the English brought with him, meetly bold: Thirdly, the English found in the land, whom being best worthy and most forward in all good services, hee least regarded, hereof

<sup>h</sup> Infra cap. 48.

sprang parties and disdaine, and to the knights that hardiest were and readiest of courage no small discomfort, to the enemies a spurre.

With the brute of his arrivall at Waterford, the Kings of Thomond, Desmond and Connaght, put themselves in the bravest manner they could, to meete him and to submit their countries to his Grace, before them came the Irish Franklyns with rich presents, (and as they are very kind hearted where they list to shew obedience,) made unto the Childe, their Lord, the most joy and gladnesse that might be, and though rudely, yet lovingly, and after the custome of their country, offred to kisse him, with such familiarity as they used towards their Princes at home. Two of the Guard, Normans, pickthankes, shooke and tare the Clownes by the glibs & beards unmannerly, and churlishly thrust them out of the presence, whom they should have instructed curteously, & born with. The Irish thus rejected, went against the fore-named Kings, opened the rebukes and villanyes done to them, for their meekenes, that their Lord whom they thought to honour, was but a Boy, peevish and insolent, governed by a sort of flatterers, younglings and prowlers: That sithence to them that buxome were and tractable, such despite and dishonour (that terme they have borrowed of the Spaniards) was proffered so soone, little good should the states of Ireland looke for in continuance, when the English had once yoked and penned them in their clouches.

This report lightly alienated the mindes of those Princes, not yet very resolute, and turned them home with great oathes and leagues, entred among themselves, caused also the mightiest Captaines elsewhere to sticke together, while their lives lasted, and for no manner earthly thing to slacke the defence of their auncient liberties.

Immediately walked abroad mutinyes of broyle & commotion, so that the young Earle and his army, were content to commit the tryall thereof, to *Lacy*, *Bruise*, *Courcy*, *Fitz Gerald*, and the rest, himselfe departing away the same yeare he came, and leaving the Realme a great deale worse bestedde then he found it.

From the Conquest hitherto *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and from hence to the yeare 1370. I am specially holpen by certaine brieve extracts,<sup>i</sup> whose author is namelesse, and therefore I quote him by the name of *Philip Flatsbury* who wrote them, and enriched them with collections of his owne, for *Gerald* the father of the Earle of Kildare then being. An. 1517.

*Lacy* the rather for these whisperings, did erect and edifie a number of Castles, well and substantially, provided in convenient places, one at *Derwath*, vvhere diverse Irish prayed to be set on worke, for hyre. Sundry

<sup>i</sup> In these notes I used the conference of 3. copies, much different, sent me, the one by my Lord of Trimlestone, another from M. Agard, the third from M. Stanyhurst.

times came *Lacy* to quicken his labourers, full glad to see them fall in ure with any such exercise, wherein, might they once be grounded & taste the svweetenesse of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of reformation to be hoped, for which cause he visited them often, and merrily would command his Gentlemen to give the labourers example in taking paines, to take their instruments in hand, and to worke a season, the poore soules looking on and resting. But this game ended Tragically, while each man was busie to try his cunning: some lading, some plaistering, some heaving, some carving; the Generall also himselfe, digging with a pykeaxe, a desperate villaine of them, he whose toole the Generall used, espying both his hands occupied and his body, with all force inclining to the blow, watched his stoope, and clove his head with an axe, little esteeming the torments that ensued.<sup>k</sup> This *Lacy* was conquerour of Meth, his body the two Archbishops, *Iohn* of Divelin and *Mathew* of Cashell, buried in the monastery of Becktye, his head in S. *Thomas* abbey at Divelin.<sup>l</sup> The next yeare, was builded the abbey of Ines in Vlster,<sup>m</sup> and soone after, the abbeyes of Iugo Dei, and of Comer,<sup>n</sup> and then the abbey of Knoekmoy, or de Colle victoriæ, by<sup>o</sup> *Cathel Cronderg* King of Connaght.

<sup>k</sup> 1189.

<sup>l</sup> 1187.

<sup>m</sup> 1198:

• 1199.

• 1200:

## CAP. II.

*The Titles of the Crowne of England to every part of Ireland, and to the whole diverse wayes.*

**I** WILL begin with the pedigree of *William* Earle marshall, for thereupon depend many recordes in Ireland, and the Queenes right to Leinster. *Walter Fitz Richard*, who came from Normandy, with *William* Conquerour, died Lord Strongbow of Strigule *alias* Chepstow without issue, to whom succeeded his sisters sonne *Gilbert*, who was created the first Earle of Pembroke, & had issue *Richard* the inheritour of Leinster, by a covenant and marriage of *Eva* the sole daughter of *Mac Murrough* King of Leinster. This *Richard* conveyed to *Henry* the second all his title, and held of him the Lordship of Leinster in foure counties, Weixford, Catherlagh, Ossory, and Kildare. *Richard* left issue, a daughter *Isabel*, married to *William* Earle marshall of England, now Earle of Pembroke, Lord Strongbow, and Lord of Leinster. *William* had issue five sonnes, who died without issue, when every of them, except the youngest, had successively possessed their fathers lands, and five daughters, *Maude*, *Ioane*, *Isabel*, *Sibil*, and *Eve*, among whom the patrimony was parted in an. 31. H. 3. Of these daughters bestowed in marriage, are descended many noble houses, as the *Mortimers*, *Bruises*, *Clares*, &c.

borne subjects to the Crowne of England, paying ever to the King his duties reserved.

*Hugh de Lacy* Conquerour of Meth, had issue *Walter de Lacy*, who held the same of King *Iohn*, paying a fine of foure thousand marks sterling, and hence beganne all the severall claimes there at this day, with allegiance sworne and done by their aunces-tours.

At the very first arrivall of *Henry* the second, the Princes of Mounster came universally, and did homage voluntarily, and acknowledged to him and his heires, duties and payes for ever.

*Iohn de Courcy* Conquerour and Earle of Vlster, dyed without issue, King *Iohn* Lord of Ireland, gave the Earledome to *Hugh de Lacy*, who had issue, *Walter* and *Hugh*, dead without issue, and one daughter married to *Reymond Burke* Conquerour and Lord of Connaght.

Connaght descended to diverse heires, owing service to the Prince, but Vlster is returned by devolution to the speciall inheritance and revenues of the Crowne of England, in this manner The said *De Burgo*, had issue, *Richard*, who had issue *Iohn*, who had issue *William*, who was slaine without issue, and a Daughter, *Elizabeth* intytled to thirty thousand marks yearly, by the Earledome of Vlster, whom *Edward*

the 3. gave in marriage to *Leonel* his second sonne, Duke of Clarence, who had issue a daughter *Philippe*, marryed to *Edmund Mortymer*, who had issue *Edmund*, *Anne*, *Elinor*. *Edmund* and *Elinor* died without issue, *Anne* was marryed to *Richard*, Earle of Cambridge, sonne to *Edmund* of Laugley Duke of Yorke, fift sonne to Edward the third, which said *Richard* had issue *Richard Plantagenet*, father to *Edward* the fourth, father to *Elizabeth* wife to *Henry* the seventh, and mother to *Henry* the eight, father to *Mary*, *Edward* the sixth, and *Elizabeth*.

*Severall claimes to the Land of Ireland.*

1. First that the Irish (for of the rest there is no question) were subjects to the Crowne of Brittain, before they set foote in Ireland. Thus it appeareth. They dwelt on that side of Spaine, whereof Bayon was then cheife imperiall Citie, and the same then in possession and obedience to *Gurguntius* 376. yeares ere Christ was borne, as it was to his successours many a day after, namely to *Henry*, the which as I finde noted in certaine precepts of government, dedicated to *James Young*, to *James Butler* Earle of Ormond, then Lieutenant of Ireland an. 1416.

From this coast and Citty, now part of Gascoigne came the fleete of those Iberians, who in 60. ships met *Gurguntius* on the sea, returning from the conquest of Denmarke, to whom they yeilded oath and

service, sued for dwelling, were by him conducted and planted in Ireland, and became his leige people.

2. *Mac Gil-murrow* King of Ireland, with all his petty Princes, Lordes, and Captaines, summoned to King *Arthurs* court held in Carlion, an. 519. did accordingly their homage, and attended all the while his great feast and assembly lasted.

3. The Monarch of Ireland and all other, both *reges* and *reguli* for them and for theirs for ever, betooke themselves to *Henry* the second in an. Dom. 1172. namely those of the south, whiles he lay at Waterford, *Dermot* King of Corke, which is the nation of *Mac Cartyes*, at Cashell, *Donald* King of Limericke, which is the nation of the *Obrenes*, *Donald* King of Ossory, *Mac Shughlen* King of Ophaly, at Divilin did the like, *Okernell* king of Vriell, *Ororicke* king of Meth, *Rodericke* King of all Ireland, and of Connaght. This did they with consents and shoutes of their people: and king *Henry* returned without any Battle given. Only Vlster remained which *Iohn de Courcy* soone after conquered, and Oneale Captaine of all the Irish there, came to Dublin to *Richard* the 2. in an. 1399. And freely bound himselfe by oath and great summes of money, to be true to the crowne of England.

4. The same time *Obrene* of Thomond, *Oconor* of Connaght, *Arthur Mac Murrow* of Leinster, and



all the Irish Lords which had been somewhat disordered, renewed their obedience.

5. When Ireland first received Christendome they gave themselves into the jurisdiction both spirituall & temporall, of the See of Rome. The temporall Lordship, Pope *Adrian* conferred upon *Henry* the second, and hee gave the same to *Iohn* his younger sonne, afterwards King of England, and so it returned home to the Crowne.

6. *Alexander* the 3. confirmed the gift of *Adrian* as in both their Charters is expressed at large.

7. *Vivian* the legate on the Popes behalfe doth accurse and excommunicate all those that flitte from the obeysance of the Kings of England.

8. The cleargy twice assembled, once at Cashell, secondly at Ardmagh, plainly determined the conquest to be lawfull, and threatned all people, under paine of Gods, and holy Churches indignation, to accept the English kings for their Lords, from time to time.

9. It would aske a volume to recite the names of such Irish Princes, who since the conquest have continually occasions, revolts or petitions, sworne truth and faith to the kings of England, from time to time, received honours, wages, fees, pardons, and petitions.

And thus I thinke no reasonable man will doubt of a right so old, so continued, so ratified, so many wayes confessed.

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### CAP. III.

*Richard the first, and King John.*

**BY** occasion of *Lacyes* mishap, *John Courcye*, and *Hugh de Lacye* the younger, with all their assistants, did streight execution upon the Rebels, and preventing every mischiefe ere it fell, stayed the Realme from uproares.<sup>p</sup> Thus they continued lovingly, and lived in wealth and honour all the dayes of *Richard* the first, untill the first yeare of King *Johns* raigne.

*Henry* the second had issue male, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Jeffrey*, and *John*.<sup>q</sup> *William*, *Henry*, and *Richard* dyed without issue. *Jeffrey* Earle of Brittainne dyed before his father, and left issue two daughters, and an after-borne son called *Arthur*, whose title to the Crowne, as being the undoubted lyne of the elder brother, *Philip* King of France, and certaine Lords of England and Ireland stoutly justified: Him had King *John* taken prisoner in Normandy, and dispatched, if

<sup>p</sup> 1189.

<sup>q</sup> 1199.

the fame be true, with his owne hands at Roane. Of this barbarous cruelty all mens eares were full, and *Courcye* either of zeale or partiality, spake bloody words against it, which meane his underminers caught, and did not onely heave him out of credit, but also got comission to attach his body, and to send him into England.

The Earle mistrusted his part, and kept aloofe, till *Hugh de Lacye* Lord Iustice, vvas faine to levy men in armes, and to invade Vlster.<sup>r</sup> Thence hee vvas often put to flight, vvhwhereupon hee proclaymed *Courcye* Traytour, and hyred sundry gentlemen vvith revvards, to bring him in quicke or dead, so long hee vvoood the matter, that *Courcyes* ovvne Captaines vvere inveygled to betray their Lord. Therefore upon good Friday, vvhen the Earle did off his armour, and in secret meditations visited religious places bare-footed, they layde for him, tooke him as a rebell, and shipped him into England the next way, where he was adjudged to perpetuall prison.<sup>s</sup> *Sentleger* addeth in his collections that *Lacy* payd the Traytors their money, and then immediatly hanged them.

This *Courcye* translated the Church and Prebendaryes of the Trinity in Downe, to an Abbey of black Monks brought thither from Chester, and the

<sup>r</sup> 1202.

<sup>s</sup> 1204.

same did hallow to *S. Patricke*, for which alteration of the name of God to his servant, hee deemed himselfe justly punished.

Not long after (as say the Irish) certaine French knights came to King *Iohns* Court, and one of them asked the combat for tryal of the Dutchy of Normandy. It was not thought expedient to jeopard the title upon one mans lucke, yet the challenge they determined to answeere: some friend put them in minde of the Earle imprisoned, a Warriour of noble courage, and in pitch of body like a gyant. King *John* demanded *Courcye* whether hee would bee content to fight in his quarrell: Not for thee (said the Earle) whose person I esteeme not worthy the adventure of my bloud, but for the Crowne and dignity of the Realme, wherein many a good man liveth against thy will. The words were haply taken without dudgen, as proceeding from stomack, and from one counted more plaine then wise.

*Courcye* therefore being cherished to the field, and refreshed with dyet, fed so wonderfully after his hard keeping, that the French Challenger tooke him for a monster, and privily stale into Spaine. Then was the Earle enlarged, and crossed the seas tovvardes Ireland, fifteene times, evermore beaten back to the shoare, vvent thence into France to change the coast, and there dyed: after vvwhose decease vvithout heires of his body, the Earldome of Vlster vvvas

entirely bestovved upon *Hugh de Lacye* for his good service.

In Ireland remained one of the *Coureyes*, Lord of Rathenny and Kilbarrock, vvhom as a spye of all their practises, and an informer thereof to the King, *VValter* and *Hugh* the sonnes of *Hugh* had slaine, and great seditions rayned, bearing themselves after the decease of their father for Governours out of checke. To settle the Realme of Ireland, King *John* brought thither a maine Armye, banished the *Lacyes*, subdued the remanents, tooke pledges, punished malefactours, established the execution of English Lawes, coyned money of like value currant sterling in both Realmes. † The two *Lacyes* repentant of their follyes and tyrannies, fled into France, dispoyled of sumptuous appa-rell, and unknowne, meekely they served in *Saint Taurines* Abbey, as gardners, untill the Abbot by their countenance and behaviour, beganne to smell their estates, and pressed them so farre, that they detected their offences, and the due desert of much harder chastisement, eft-soone beseeching the Abbot to keepe their counsells, who commending their humilities, yet advising them to laye holde upon their Princes favour, if it might be had, laboured the King his familiar and godsip earnestly for their pardons and obtained it.

Each of them were fined, *VValter* at 4000. and *Hugh* at 2500. markes, and restored him to the Lord-

† Anno 1210. Stow.

ship of Meth, this to the Earldome of Vlster: King *John* made his Vice-gerent, and returned home, subdued the Welchmen, met with *Pandulphus* the Legate of *Innocentius* the third, who came to release him of the sentence wherein he stood excommunicate for his spoyle and extortion of Church goods, to whom being the Popes Atturney, hee made a personall surrender of both his Realmes in way of submission, and after his assoylement, received them againe: some adde that he gave away his Kingdome to the See of Rome, for him and his successours, recognizing, to holde the same of the Popes in fee, paying yearely therefore one thousand markes, and in them three hundred for Ireland. " *Blundus* sayth, *Centum pro utroq; auri marchas*. Sir *Thomas Moore*, a man in that calling & office likely to sound the matter to the depth, writeth precisely, that neither any such writing the Pope can shew, nor were it effectuell if he could. How farre forth, and with what limitation a Prince may or may not addiet his Realme feodary to another, *John Maior* a Scottish Chronieler, and a Sorbonist, not unlearned, partly scanneth, who thinketh 300. marks for Ireland a very hard pennyworth. The instrument which our English Chronicle<sup>v</sup> rehearseth, might haply be motioned and drawne, and then dye unratified, although the copy of that record continue: But certaine it is, that his successours never payde it, and thereto assenteth *John Bale* in his Apology against vowes.

" Polid. lib. 15.

<sup>v</sup> Fabian.

To *John Comin* Founder of *S. Patrickes* Church, succeeded *Henry Lownders* in the Archbishopps See of *Divelin*,<sup>w</sup> who builded the kings Castle there, being Lord Chiefe Iustice of Ireland, him they nicknamed (as the Irish doe commonly give additions to their Governours in respect of some fact or qualitie) *Scorch-villaine*, and *Burnebill*, because hee required to peruse the writings of his Tenants, colourably pretending to learne the kinde of each mans severall tenure, and burned the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their estates, or to holde at will. In the fourth yeare of King *Iohns* raigne, was founded the Abbey of *Dowske*, in the sixt, the Abbey of *Wethuy* in the Countie of *Limericke*, by *Theobald le Butler*, Lord of the *Carricke*, and in the twelfth, *Richard Tute* builded the Monastery of *Granard*.

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### CAP. III.

*Henry the third, and Edward the first.*

**AFTER** the death of *Lownders*,<sup>x</sup> *Henry* the third (informed of the Truth and good service done by the *Geraldines* ever since their first arryvall in the Countrey) made *Morrice Fitz Gerald* the sonne of *Morrice* aforesaid Lord Iustice.

<sup>w</sup> 1212.

<sup>x</sup> 1228.

To him sent *Edward* the Prince, surnamed *Longshanke*, for assistance and power of men against the Welch Rebels, who leaving Warders in the Castle of Sligaghe, by him lately founded, together with *Phelim Oconnor*, and a lusty band of souldiours met the king at Chepstovv, returned victoriously, and by this meanes increased favour, & streightway they tvvo joyning vvith *Cormack mac Dermot*, *Mac Rory*, made a noble hosting upon *Odonill* the Irish enemy that invaded and grieved the Kings subjects of Vlster, when *Lacy* was once dead.

*Odonill* being vanquished, the Lord Iustice forced pledges and Trowages of *Oneale*, to keepe the Kings peace, and diverse other exploytes did hee during his time of government, which in particular rehearseth *Flatsbury* in his notes collected for *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, Earle of Kildare, Anno 1517.

To him succeeded in office Sir *Iohn Fitz Geffrey* knight,<sup>y</sup> *Geffrey Allan de la Zowche*,<sup>z</sup> whom Earle Warren slevv,<sup>a</sup> to *Zowch*, *Stephen de longa spata*, who slew *Oneale* in the streets of Down,<sup>b</sup> and there dyed. Him followed *William Den*, in whose time *Mac Cartye* played the devill in Desmond, and to *Den*, *Richard Capell*, who envyed the Geraldines, and was of them taken prisoner, together with *Theobald le*

<sup>y</sup> 1248.

<sup>z</sup> 1259.

<sup>a</sup> 1260.

<sup>b</sup> 1261.



*Butler*, and *Miles Cogan*.<sup>c</sup> The king tooke up the variance, and discharged *Den*,<sup>d</sup> preferring *David Barrye* to his roome, who tamed the insolence of *Morrice Fitz Morrice*,<sup>e</sup> cousin germane to *Fitz Gerald*: upon *Barrye* came *Vfford*, upon *Vfford*, *Iames Audeley*, who dyed of a fall from his horse in Thomond: and then for the time *Fitz Morrice* governed, till the king sent over Sir *Ieffrey de Genevill*, newly returned in pilgrimage from the Holy Sepulture: Him called home againe *Edward* the first, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, and sent in his stead *Robert Vfford* the second time, who made his Vice-gerent, Fryar *Fulborne*, Bishop of Waterford, and resumed his charge at his next arryvall into Ireland.

At this time<sup>f</sup> the citty of *Divelin* was miserably wasted with fire, and the Bell-house of Christs Church utterly defaced, which the citizens before they repayred their private harmes jointly came to succor, & collections made to redresse the ruines of that ancient building first begun by the Danes, as I finde in a monument of that foundation, continued by *Sitricus*; Prince of *Divelin*, at the motion of *Donate*, then Bishop, & dedicated to the Blessed Trinity, finished by *Richard Earle Strangbow*, *Fitz Stephens*, and *S. Laurence* the Archbishop, and his foure successors, *Iohn* of *Evesham*, *Henry Scorchbill*, Lord Iustice, & *Lucas*, and lastly by *Iohn de S. Paul*, which worke at the decay by fire,

<sup>c</sup> 1267.<sup>d</sup> 1268.<sup>e</sup> 1270.<sup>f</sup> 1280.

and since, many devout citizens of Divelin have beautified.g

The same *Strongbowes* Tombe spoyled by fall of the rooffe, Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy, restoreth at this present, who hath also given a sightly countenance to the Quire, by doing cost upon the Earle of *Kildares* Chappell, over against the which he hath left a monument of Captain *Randolfe*, late Colonell of Vlster, Valiantly dead in that service, *John Samford* Archbishop of Divelin Lord Iustice, *VWilliam Vescy* Lord Iustice, who pursued *Omalaghlien* king of Meth, that soone after was slaine.

The Souldan of Babylon<sup>h</sup> determined to vex the Christians cities of the East. Tripolis, Tyrus, Berinthus, Sidon, Ptolemais, now parts of Turkey, vvhom to redeeme, & vvith their helpes to get againe the Holy Land, *Edward* the first had foure yeeres past obtained by licence of *Martin* the fourth,<sup>i</sup> and by confirmation of *Honorius*, his successor, the vvhole tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland for 7. yeares, vvhereafter folloved a fifteene of the Temporalty: And the same yeere *John Baliol* Earle of Galvway, founded *Baliol* Colledge in Oxford, made his homage to King *Edward* for his Kingdome of Scotland, and to the Lord Iustice for his Earledome of Ireland.

<sup>g</sup> It was first a Priory and Canon-, now Deane and Chapter.

<sup>h</sup> 1287.

<sup>i</sup> Blundus lib. 3.

*Vescey* was a sterne man, and full of courage, but rashe and impudent of his tongue: he converted before him, <sup>k</sup> *John Earle of Kildare*, & charged him vvith riots & vagaryes unseasonable, for that he ranged vvith his men abroad, & preyed upon privat enemies inordinatly, for malice & grudge, not for advancement of the publique vveale: vvhom the Earle as impatient as the other, answered thus: <sup>1</sup> By your honour and mine, my Lord, & by king *Edwards* hand, you vvould if you durst, appeach me in plaine tearmes of felony: for vvhereas I have the title, and you the fleece of *Kildare*, I wot well how great an eye sore I am in your sight, who if I could bee handsomely trussed up for a felon, then might my young Master your sonne, become a Gentleman: Iustice, Gentleman (quoth he) thou proud Earle, the *Vescyes* were gentlemen, before *Kildare* was an Earldome, and before the Welch bankrupt thy Cousin feathered his Nest in *Leinster*. But seeing thou darest me, I will surely breake thy heart, and with that word he called the Earle a notorious theefe & murderer. Then followed clattering of swords by Souldiours on both parties, untill either side appeased his owne, and the Lord Iustice leaving his Lieutenant *William Hay*, sped over the King, whom immediately followed the Earle, & as fast as *Vescey* charged *Kildare* with fellony, no lesse did *Kildare* appeach the Iustice of high treason, and in tryall thereof he asked the Combate. But when the listes royall were provided, *Vescey* was slipt away into France, and so dis-

<sup>k</sup> 1291.<sup>1</sup> 1294.

herited of all his lands in the county of Kildare, which were bestowed upon the Earle of Kildare and his heires for ever.

The Earle waxed insolent upon this successe, and squared with diverse Nobles English and Irish of the Land, hee took prisoner, *Richard* Earle of Vlster, and him detained untill the Parliament then assembled at Kilkenny, commanded his delivery, and forthat unrulinesse, disseised the Geraldines of the Castle of Sli-gagh, and of all his lands in Connaght.

*William Doddingsale* Lord Iustice. <sup>m</sup> This yere for the defence of Wales, and commodity of Passengers, to and from Ireland, the King did coast upon the Isle of Anglisey, called the mother of Wales, and builded there the castle *de bello marisco*, or Bewmarishe. *Thomas Fitz Morice* Lord Iustice.

*John VVogan* Lord Iustice pacified the former strife,<sup>n</sup> betweene Vlster and Kildare, and all the Geraldines, with their associats, together with *Theobald* Lord *Butler*, gathered strength of men, and met the kings army before Edinburgh, wan the Citty, ° slew 25. thousand Scots, hampred *Iohn Baliol* king of the Scots, in such sort, that glad and faine was he to renew his homage.

<sup>m</sup> 1294.

<sup>n</sup> 1296:

° 1299.

## CAP. V.

*Edward the second.**THOMAS FITZ MORICE* Lord Iustice. P

I will begin this Chapter with the modestie of a good Clerke, *Richard Havering* who five yeares by dispensation had received the frutes and revenues of the Bishopricke of Divelin, and long might have done, had he beene so disposed. But now feeling in sleep a waight upon his stomacke, heavyer to his weening then any masse of mettall, whercof to be released he vowed in his dreame, all that ever he could make in this world: Suddainely the next morne, resigned the custodium of the Bishopricke, and contented himselfe with other ecclesiasticall cures incident to his vocation. The same yeare was the bane of the Templers in Ireland, to whom succeeded the Knights of the Rhodes. This profession began at Ierusalem, by certaine Gentlemen that kept their abode next to the Temple there, who till the Councell of Creetz increased not above the number of nine. <sup>q</sup> But thenceforth in little more then fiftie yeares, being enriched by contribution of all Christian Realmes, every where their houses were erected and endowed bountiffully: they grew to 300. Knights of the order and into inferiour brethren innumerable. But with ease and wealth they declined

P 1307.

<sup>q</sup> Tyr. l. 12. c. 7.

now to such intollerable deformities of life and other superstitious errors, nothing lesse regarding then the purpose of this their foundation, that the generall Councell assembled at Vienna, disannulled the same for ever. And thereupon as in other countries so in Ireland, they confessed the publicke fame of their enormities, and themselves culpable, their persons they yeilded to perpetuall pennance, their lands were given (though with some difficulty) to the Knights of *S. Iohns* hospitall at Ierusalem, who since then for recovering the Iland of Rhodes from the Saracens, became famous, and multiplied much more honouraby then did the Templers. Of this latter foundation was the priory of *S. Iohns* at Kilmaynam besides Divelin. <sup>r</sup>

*John Decer* Major of Divelin builded the high Pye there, and the Bridge over the Liffy, toward *S. Wolstans*, and a chapell of our Lady at the Fryar minors, where he lyeth buried, repaired the Church of the Fryars preachers, and every friday tabled the Fryars at his owne costs.

In absence of *Wogan*, *Sir William Burcke* was Lord Warden of Ireland, to whom King *Edward* recommended *Pierce* of *Gavestone* the disquieter of all the nobility in England, a companion to the King in vice, bolstered up by the King so peremptorily against the will of his Councell, that whereas the said *Pierce*

was by them exiled, *Edward* sent him now into Ireland with much honour and many Jewels, assigning him the commodities royall of that Realme, which bred some bickering betweene the Earle of Vlster Sir *Richard Burke*, and *Gavestone*, who notwithstanding bought the hearts of the Souldiours with his liberality, subdued *Obrene*, edified sundry Castles, cawswayes, and bridges, but within three yeares he retyred from Flaunders, into England, where the nobles besieged him at Scarborough and smit off his head.

*John VVogan* Lord Iustice, <sup>s</sup> summoned a Parliament at Kilkenny, where wholesome lawes were ordained, but never executed: There fell the Bishops in argument about their Iurisdictions and in especiall the Archbishop of Divelin forbad the Primate of Ardmagh to lift up his crosyer within the province of Leinster. In ratifying of which priviledge I have seene the cobby of Pope *Honorius* Bull exemplified among the recordes of *S. Patricks* Church, shortly after *Rowland Ioyce*, then Primate, stale by night in his pontificals from Howth to the priory of Gracedieu, where the Archbishops servants met him, and violently chased him out of all the diocesse. This Archbishop was named *John Alecke*, after whose death were elected in scisme & division of sides, two successours, *Thorneburgh* Lord Chancellor, and *Bignore* Treasurer of Ireland. The Chancellor to strengthen his election, hastily went to sea, and

perished by shipwracke, the other submitting his cause to the processe of law tarryed at home, and sped.

*Theobald de Verdon* Lord Iustice. Sixe thousand Scots fighting men, under the conduct of *Edward Bruise* † brother to *Robert King* of Scotland, also the Earle *Murray*, *John Menteith*, *John Steward*, and others landed in the north of Ireland, † ioyned with the Irish, and conquered Vlster, gave the Englishmen three notable overthrowes, crowned the said *Bruise* King of Ireland, burned Churches and Abbeyes, with all the people found therein, men, women, and children. Then was Sir *Edmund Butler* chosen Lord Iustice, † who combined the Earle of Vlster, and the Geraldines in friendship, himselfe with Sir *John Mandevill*, and preserved the rest of the Realme.

In the necke of these troubles, arose foure Princes of Connaght, to impaire and scatter the English force. But then the *Burckes* and the *Berninghams* discomfited and slew the number of eleaven thousand besides Athenry. To Sir *Richard Berningham* belonged a lusty young swayne, *John Hussee*, whom his Lord commanded to take a view of the dead carcasses about the walles, and bring him word whether *Okelly* his mortall foe were slaine among them. *Hussee* passed forth with one man to turne up and peruse the bodies. All this marked *Okelly*, who lurking in a

† 1313.

† 1314.

† 1315.



bush thereby, being of old time well acquainted with the valiantnes & truth of *Hussee*, sore longed to traine him from his Captaine, and presuming now upon this opportunity, disclosed himself & said. ‘ *Hussee*, thou  
 ‘ seest I am at all points armed, and have my Esquire,  
 ‘ a manly man, besides me, thou art thin and thy  
 ‘ page a youngling so that if I loved not thee for  
 ‘ thine owne sake, I might betray thee for thy Mas-  
 ‘ ters. But come and serve me at my request, & I  
 ‘ promise thee by S. *Patrickes* staffe, to make thee a  
 ‘ Lord in Connaght, of more ground, then thy Master  
 ‘ hath in Ireland.’ When these wordes waighed him nothing, his owne man (a stout lubber) began to reprove him, for not relenting to so rich a proffer, assured him with an oath, whereupon hee proffered to gage his soule for performance. Now had *Hussee* three enemies, and first he turned to his owne knave, and him he slew, next hee raught to *Okellyes* Squire a great rappe under the pit of his eare, which overthrew him: Thirdly he bestirred himselfe so nimble that ere any helpe could be hoped for, he had also slaine *Okelly*, and perceiving breath in the Squire, he drew him up againe, & forced him, upon a truncheon to beare his Lords head into the high towne, which presented to *Bermingham*, and the circumstances declared, he dubbed *Hussee* Knight and him advanced to many preferments, whose family became afterwards Barons of Galtrime. While the Scots were thus matched, *Robert de Bruise* King of Scots, tooke shore at Cragfergus, to assist his brother, whose Soul-

diours committed sacriledge and impiety, against Monasteries, Tombes, Altars, Virgins, robbed Churches of all their plate and ornaments. They of Vlster, sent to the Lord Iustice pittifull supplication, for aide in this misery, who delivered them the Kings power and standard, wherewith under pretence to expell the Scots, they raunged through the country with more grievance and vexation to the subjects, then did the strangers. *Le Bruise* proceeded and spoyled *Cashell*, and wheresoever he lighted upon the *Butlers* lands, those hee burned and destroyed unmercifully. By this time <sup>w</sup> had the Lord Iustice, and *Thomas Fitz Iohn* Earle of Kildare, *Richard de Clare*, and *Arnold de Powere*, Baron of Donoile, furnished and armed thirty thousand men ready to set forward. Then came newes that *William de Burgo* the Earles brother was taken by the Scots, whereof the Irish of Vlster imboldened with the presence of the Scottish Army, and with the late discomfiture which Earle *Richard Burcke* sustained at Coynes, denyed their alleagance openly, and conspired in the behalfe of *Edward le Bruise*, whom they proclaimed King. The Lord Iustice had assembled such force against them, under the leading of the *Geraldines* and *Poweres*, that each of them was thought sufficient, by himself, to winne the field. But suddainely the two Captaines, and their adherents squared, so as no good conclusion might be inferred: *Roger Mortimer*, trusting by their discention to imbeazell a victory, culled out fiftene thousand Soul-

diours, and met the Scots at Kenles, where he was shamefully foyled, his men (as folke supposed) wilfully forsaking him, and bearing false hearts. Vp start the Irish of Mounster at these newes, the *Ocooles*, *Obrines*, and *Omores*, and wasted with fire and sword from Arkloe to Leix; with them coped the Lord Iustice and made a great slaughter, fourescore of their heads were set upon Divelin Castle.

The mean while *Edward Bruise* raigned in Vlster, held his courts, pronounced his enemies traytors, abandoned the English blood, exhorted the Irish of Leinster to doe the like, whereupon *Donald* the sonne of *Arthur Mac Morrow*, a slip of the royall family, displayed his banner within two miles of Divelin, but him *Traherone* tooke prisoner, sent him to the castle of Dublin, whence he escaped, slyding downe from the Turret, by a cord that one *Adam Maugle* brought him. The said *Maugle* was drawne and hanged.

*Roger Mortimer*<sup>s</sup> Lord Iustice pacified the displeasure, betweene *Richard* Earle of Vlster, and the Nobles that had put the said Earle under surety, misdeeming him of certaine riots committed against the kings subjects, wherby the Scots caught strength and courage, whose ravening, caused such horrible scarcity in Vlster, that the Souldiours which in the yeare before abused the Kings authority, to purvey themselves of wanton fare, surfeited with flesh and aquavitæ all the

Lent long, prollod and pilled insatiably without neede, and without regard of poore people, whose onely provision they devoured: Those (I say) now living in slavery under *Le Bruise*, starved for hunger, when they had first experienced many lamentable shifts, as in scratching the dead bodyes out of their graves, in whose skulls they boyled the same flesh, and fed thereof. *Mortymor* went over to the King indebted to the Citizens of Divelin for his viands, a thousand poundes, whereof he payde not one smulkin, and many a bitter curse carried with him to the sea.

*William* Archbishop of Cashell Lord Chancellor was left Lord Warden of Ireland, in whose timey *Bermingham* aforesaid being generall of the field, and under him Captains, *Tute*, *Verdon*, *Tripton*, *Sutton*, *Cusacke* and *Manpas*, led forth the Kings power against *Edward Bruise*, pitching by Dundalke, the Primate of Ardmagh personally accompanying our souldiours, blessing their enterprise, and assoyling them all, ere ever they began to encounter. In this conflict the Scots were vanquished full & whole, 2000. slaine, & *Manpas* that pressed into the throng to meet with *Bruise*, was found in the search, dead, covering the dead body of *Bruise*. Thus dissolved the Scottish Kingdome in Ireland, and *Bermingham* sending his head to the King, received in recompence the Earldome of Lowth, and to his heires for ever the Barony of Ardee and Athenry.

*Alexander Bigmore*, <sup>z</sup> Archbishop of Divelin, sued to Pope *John* the 21. (so I reckon, omitting the scismaticke and dame *Ioane*) for priviledge of an Vniversitie to bee ordained in Divelin, which tooke effect, and the first three Doctors of Divinity the said Bishop did create, *William Hardit* a Fryar preacher, *Henry Coggy* a Fryar minor, Fryar *Edmund Kermerdin*, & one Doctor of the Canon law, *William Rodiard* Deane of *S. Patricks*, Chancellour of the said Vniversity, who kept their termes & commencements solemnely, neither was the same ever disfranchised, but onely through variety of time discontinued, and now since the subversion of monasteries utterly extinct, vvherein the Divines vvere cherished, and open exercise maintained. A motion vvas made in this last Parliament to erect it againe, contributions layde together, Sir *Henry Sidney* then Lord Deputy, proffered 20. pound lands, & one hundred pounds in money, others folloved after their abilities & devotions, the name devised Master *Acworth*, *Plantolium* of *Plantaganet* and *Bullyne*. But vvhile they disputed of a convenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principall.

*Thomas Fitz John*, Earle of Kildare, Lord Iustice, to vvhom succeeded *Bermingham* Earle of Louth, and to him Sir *John Darcy*. At this time<sup>a</sup> lived in the Diocesse of Ossorye, the Lady *Alice Kettle*, vvhom the Bishop ascited to purge the same of inchaunting

<sup>a</sup> An. 1320.<sup>a</sup> 1321.

and Witch-craft objected to her, and to *Petronilla*, and *Basill* her complices. They charged her mightily to have carnall conference vwith a spirit called *Robin Artison*, to whom shee sacrificized in the high way nine redde Cockes, and nine Peacockes eyes, shee swept the streetes of Kilkenny betweene compleere and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of her sonne *VWilliam Outlawe*, murmuring these wordes, *To the house of VWilliam my sonne, hye all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.* At the first conviction they abjured and accepted pennance, but were very shortly found in relapse, and then *Petronilla* was burned at Kilkenny, the other twayne could not be had: shee at the houre of her death, accused the said *VWilliam* as privy to their sorceyres, whom the Bishop helde in durance nine weekes, forbidding his keepers to eate or drink with him, or to speake with him more then once in the day, by procurement of *Arnold le Power*, then Senischall of Kilkenny hee was delivered, & corrupted the Senischall to vexe the Bishop, which he did, thrusting him into prison for three moneths. In ryffing the closet of *Alice*, they found a wafer of Sacramentall bread, having the devils name stamped thereon, instead of IESUS, and a pype of oyntment, wherewith shee greased a staffe, whereon shee ambled through thicke and thinne, when and how shee listed. This businesse troubled all the Cleargy of Ireland, the rather for that the Lady was supported by Noblemen: and lastly, conveyed into England, since which time no man wotteth what became of her.

## CAP. VI.

*Edward the third, and Richard the second.*

**SCARCELY** vvvas this businesse ended, <sup>b</sup> but another devill possessed another franticke gentleman of the nation of the *O-tooles* in Leinster, named *Adam Duffe*, vvwho denied obstinately the Incarnation of Christ, the Trinity of persons in unity of the God-head, the resurrection of the flesh. Hee called the Holy Scripture, a fable; the blessed Virgin, a vvhore; the See Apostolick, erroneous; for vvwhich assertions hee was burned in Hogging greene besides Divelin.

*Roger Outlaw*, Prior of *S. Johns* of Ierusalem at *Kilmainham*, <sup>c</sup> became Lord Iustice. Great variance arising betveene the *Geraldines*, *Butlers*, and *Berminghams* on the one side, and the *Powers* and *Burkes* on the other side, for tearming the Earle of *Kildare* a *Rymer*. The Lord Iustice summoned a Parliament to accord them, wherein he himselfe was faine to cleare the slaunder of heresie fathered upon him by *Richard Ledred*, Bishop of *Ossory*. The Bishoppe had given a declaration against *Arnold le Power*, convented and convict in his consistory of certaine hereticall opinions; but because the beginning of *Powers* accusations concerned the Iustices kinsman, and the Bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person

<sup>b</sup> 1327.

<sup>c</sup> 1328.

of the man, rather then the fault, a day was limited for the justifying of the bill, the party being apprehended and respited thereunto. This dealing, the Bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkenny, to prosecute his accusation) reputed partiall; and when by meanes thereof the matter hanged in suspence, hee infamed the said Prior, as an abbettour and favourer of *Arnolds* heresie. The Prior submitted himselfe to the tryall, and three several Proclamations were cryed in Court, that any man might lawfully come in and indict, accuse or say evidence against the Iustice: none came: then passed the Councell a decree, commanding to appeare at Divelin, all Bishops, Abbots, Pryors, the Majors of Divelin, Corke, Limericke, Waterford, Droghedah, the Sheriffes, Knights, and Senischalls of every shire. Out of them all they sorted sixe Inquisitours, which in secrecie examined the Bishoppes and persons aforesaid one by one, who with universall consent deposed for the Pryor, that to their judgements hee was a zealous and faithfull childe of the Catholique Church. The meane while deceased *le Power* prisoner in the Castle, and because he stood unpurged, long he laye unburyed.

Sir *Iohn Darcy* Lord Iustice.<sup>d</sup>

The Irish of Leinster made insurrections, so did *Magoghigan* in Meth, and *Obrien* in Mounster, whom *William* Earle of Vlster, and *Iames* of Ormond van-



quished. In which sturre, *William Bermingham*, a warriour incomparable, was found halting, and was condemned to dye by *Roger Outlawe*, Pryor of Kilmainam, then Lieutenant to the Lord Iustice, and so hanged was hee, a Knight among thousands odde and singular. So outrageous were the Leinster Irish that in one Church they burned 80. innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their Priest then at Masse, whom they notwithstanding sticked with their Iavelins, spurned the blessed Sacrament, and wasted all with fire, neither forced they the Popes interdiction, nor any censures ecclesiasticall denounced against them: But maliciously persevered in that fury, till the Citizens of Weixford tamed them, slevv foure hundred in one skirmish, the rest flying, vvere all drenched in the vvater of Slane.

*Thomas Burgh*<sup>e</sup> Treasurer and Lieutenapt of Ireland, vvhile *Darcy* Lord Iustice pursued the murtherers of *William Bourk* Earle of Vlster, a young gentleman of tvventy yeares olde, vvhom the seditions of *Maunderuill* murdered besides Cragfergus. And vvhen hee had scourged those Traytours, he entred Scotland vvith an army and might have possessed the Ilands besides, had they bene vvorth the keeping, into vvhich Ilands besides him and *Sussex* the late Lieutenant of Ireland no Governour ever yet adventured.

Sir *Iohn Carleton* Lord Iustice,<sup>f</sup> vvith vvhom came

<sup>e</sup> 1335.

<sup>f</sup> 1337.

his brother *Thomas* Bishop of Hereford, Lord Chauncellor, and *John Rice* Treasurer, and two hundred Welchmen souldiours. The Bishop became Lord Iustice, in whose time all the Irish of Ireland were at defiance with the English, but were shortly calmed by the Earles of Kildare and Desmond.

Sir *John Darcy* by the Kings Letters Patents Lord Iustice of Ireland during life, in the fourteenth yeare of *Edward* the third, which king abused by some corrupt informers, <sup>h</sup> called in under his signet royall, franchises, and liberties, and graunts vvhatsoever his predecessours had ratified to the Realme of Ireland, and to every person thereof. This revocation vvas taken very displeasantly.

The English of birth, and the English of blood falling to vvords, and divided in factions about it. The Irish laye wayting for the contention, so as the Realme was even upon point to give over all and rebell. For remedy the Iustice began a Parliament at Divelin, whereto the nobles refused to make apparance, & assembled themselves quietly without disturbance at Kilkenny, where they with the Commons agreed upon certaine questions to be demaunded of the King by way of supplication, by which questions they partly signified their griefes: Those in effect were,

1. How a Realme of warre might be governed

<sup>g</sup> 1338.

<sup>h</sup> 1340.

by one, both unskillfull and unable in all warlike services.

2. How an officer under the king that entred very poore, might in one yeare grow to more excessive wealth, then men of great patrimony in many yeares.

3. How it happened seeing they all were called Lords of their owne, that the Lord of them all was not a penny the richer for them.

The Prince of this repining was *Morice* Earle of Desmond,<sup>i</sup> whom *Vfford* the now Lord Iustice in paine of forfeiture of all his lands commaunded to the Parliament at Dublin, and there put him under arrest, delivered him by main prise of the tvvo Earles *Vlster* & *Ormond*, & of 28. knights & squiers: All vvch, except the Earles & tvvo knights, lost their inheritance by rigour of the said *Vfford*, because *Desmond* had escaped.

Therefore at the decease of the Lords Iustice, vvch ensued the next yeare, Bonfires and gavvdes vv ere solemnized in all the Land: his Lady vv as a miserable sott, and led him to extortion and bribery, much he clipped the prerogatives of the Church, and vv as so hated, that even in the sight of the country, he vv as robbed vvithout rescue, by *Mac Carty*, notwithstanding

<sup>i</sup> 1345.

he gathered povver, and dispersed the rebellions of Vlster.

*Robert Darcy* Lord Iustice,<sup>k</sup> chosen by the Councell, untill the Kings charter came to Sir *John Fitz Morrice*, vwho enlarged *Fitz Thomas* Earle of Kildare, left in holde by *Vfford*, *Fitz Morrice* vvas deposed, and Sir *Walter Bermingham* elected, who procured safe conduct for *Desmond* to pleade his right before the King, where he was liberally intreated & allowed towards his expences there twenty shillings a day at the Princes charge, in consideration of which curtesie to his kinsman, the Earle of Kildare, accompanied with diverse Lords, Knights, and chosen horsemen, served the King at Callice, a towne thought impregnable, and returned after the winning thereof in great pompe and jollity.

*John Archer* of Kilmainam, Lieutenant to the Lord Iustice,<sup>l</sup> to whom succeeded Baron *Carew*, after *Carew* followed Sir *Thomas Rokesby* knight.

This yeare<sup>m</sup> dyed *Kemvricke Shereman*, sometimes Major of Divelin, a Benefactour to every Church and religious house twenty miles round about the citty: his legacies to poore and others, besides the liberality shewed in his life time, amounted to 3000. marks: with such plenty were our fathers blessed, that cheerefully

<sup>k</sup> 1316.<sup>l</sup> 1348.<sup>m</sup> 1350.

gave of their true winnings to needfull purposes, whereas our time that gaineth excessively, and whineth at every farthing to be spent on the poore, is yet oppressed vvith scarcity and beggery.

The same time dvvelled in Vlster Sir *Robert Savage*, a vvealthie Knight, vvho the rather to preserve his ovvne, beganne to vvall & fortifie his Mannour houses, vvith castles and pyles against the Irish enemy, exhorting his heire Sir *Henry Savage*, to intend that Worke so beneficiall for himselfe and his posterity. Father (quoth he) I remember the Proverbe, better a Castle of bones, then of stones, vvhere strength and courage of valiant men are to helpe us. Never vvill I, by the grace of God, cumber my selfe vvith dead vvalls, my fort shall be vvheresoever young blouds be stirring, and vvhere I finde roome to fight. The father in a fume let lye the building, and forsvvore it. But yet the vvant thereof, and such like, hath beene the decaye asvvell of the *Savages*, as of all the Englishe Gentlemen in Vlster, as the lacke of vvalled townes is also the principall occasion of the rudenesse and wildenesse in other partes of Ireland. This *Savage* having prepared an army against the Irish, allowed to every Souldiour before he buckled with the enemy, a mighty draught of Aquavitæ, Wine, or old Ale, and killed in provision for their returne, beeffes, venison, and foule great plenty, which diverse of his Captains misliked, & considering the successe of warre to be uncertaine, esteemed it better pollicy to poyson the cates or to doe

them away, then to cherish a sort of Catives with princely foode: If ought should happen to themselves in this adventure of so few, against so many. Hereat smyled the Gentleman and said: Tush yee are too full of envy, this world is but an Inne whereunto you have no speciall interest, but are onely tennants at the will of the Lord. If it please him to commaund us from it, as it were from our lodging, & to set other good fellows in our roomes, what hurt shall it be for us to leave them some meate for their suppers, let them hardly winne it, and weare it, If they enter our dwellings, good manners would no lesse but to welcome them, with such fare as the country breedeth, and with all my heart much good may it doe them: Notwithstanding I presume so farre upon your noble courage, that verily my minde giveth me, that wee shall returne at night, and banquet our selves with our owne store, and so they did, having slaine 3000. Irishmen.

*Morrice Fitz Thomas* Earle of Desmond, <sup>n</sup> Lord Iustice during life, whom followed Sir *Thomas Rokesbye* a knight, sincere and upright of conscience, who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be served in wooden Cuppes; Answered, these homely Cuppes and dishes pay truely for what they containe, I had rather drinke out of wood, and pay gold and silver, then drinke out of gold, and make wooden payment.

*Almericus de Sancto Amando*, *Iames Butler* Earle

of Ormond, <sup>o</sup> and *Morrice Fitz Thomas* Earle of Kildare, <sup>p</sup> Iustices of Ireland by turnes. <sup>q</sup> To this last, the Kings letters appointed in yearely fee, for his office 500. pounds, with promise that the said governour should finde twenty great horse to the field, and should bee the tventieth man in going out against the enemy, which allowvance and conditions at these days, I thinke were ordinary.

*Leonell* the third sonne of *Edward* the third Duke of Clarence, <sup>r</sup> and in the right of his wife, Earle of Vlster, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He published an inhibition, to all of Irish birth, that none of them should approach his army, nor be imployed in service of the warres. *Obrene* he vanquished suddenly, but no man wist how, an hundred of his principall Souldiours in garrison were missed, whose dispatch, that seditious decree was thought to have procured, wherefore hee advised himselfe and united the people, shewing alike fatherly care towards them all, and ever after prospered, Knights he created these Gentlemen, the worthiest then in Chivalry, and at this day continuing in great worship, *Preston*, now the house of Gormanstowne, *Holywood*, *Talbot*, *Cusacke*, *Delahide*, *Patricke*, *Robert* and *Iohn de Fraxinis*. The exchequer he removed to Catherlagh, and bestowed in furnishing that towne 500. pounds.

*Gerald Fitz Morrice* Earle of Desmond, Lord

<sup>o</sup> 1357.

<sup>p</sup> 1359.

<sup>q</sup> 1360.

<sup>r</sup> 1361.

Iustice, <sup>s</sup> untill the comming of *William de Windsor*, <sup>t</sup> Lieutenant to the King, then in the last yeare of *Edward* the third <sup>u</sup> ruling the realme, under the name of Lord Governour, and keeper of Ireland.

¶ *At the yeare 1370. all the Notes written by Flatsbury doe end, and from hence to this day, nothing is extant orderly gathered, the rest I have collected out of sundry monuments, authorities, and pamphlets.*

During the raigne of *Richard* <sup>v</sup> the second, Lieutenants and Iustices of Ireland, are specially recorded, the two *Mortimers*, *Edmund* and *Roger* Earles of March, *Phillip Courtney* the kings cousin, *James* Earle of Ormond, and *Robert Vere* Earle of Oxford, Marquesse of Divilin, and Lord Chamberlaine, who was created Duke of Ireland by Parliament, and was credited with the whole Dominion of the Realme <sup>w</sup> by graunt for tearme of life, nothing paying therefore, passing all writs, all offices, as Chancellor, Treasurer, Chiefe Iustice, Admirall, his owne Lieutenant, and other inferiour charges under his own Teste.

The mean while King *Richard* <sup>x</sup> afflicted impatiently with the decease of Queene *Anne* his wife,

<sup>s</sup> 1367.

<sup>t</sup> 1369.

<sup>u</sup> 1377.

<sup>v</sup> Recordes of th' exchequer sought up by M. Iohn Thomas remembrancer, Iohn Stow. Records of excheq. an. 9. Rich. 1.

<sup>w</sup> 1385.

<sup>x</sup> 1394.



nor able without many teares to behold his pallaces, and chambers of Estate, which represented unto him the solace past, and doubled his sorrow, sought some occasion of businesse and visited Ireland, where diverse Lords and Princes of Vlster renewed their homage, and he placing *Roger Mortimer* his Lieutenant, returned quietly, but within foure yeares after, informed of the trayterous death of *Mortimer*, whom he loved entirely, and being wonderfull eager in hastening the revenge thereof upon the Irish, he journeyed thither the second time, y levied infinite subsidies of money, by penall exactions, and with his absence as also with those injuries, fed the hatred and opportunity of the conspiratours at home, for *Henry* Duke of Lancaster, intercepted the Kingdome, whose sonne with the Duke of Glocesters sonne, King *Richard* shut up in the Castle of Trim, and then shipped course into England, tooke land at Milford Haven, found his defence so weake and unsure, that to avoide further inconvenience and perill of himselfe and his friends, he condescended to resigne the Crowne.

## CAP. VII.

*The House of Lancaster, Henry the Fourth, Henry the fift, Henry the sixt.*

*ALEXANDER* Bishop of Meth,<sup>z</sup> Lieutenant of Ireland, under *Thomas Lancaster* the King's brother, so was also the worshipfull Knight Sir *Stephen Scroope*, whom for his violence and extortion before used, in the same office under King *Richard*, the common voyce and out-cry of poore people damned.<sup>a</sup> This report hearing the Lady his wife, she would in no wise assent to live in his company there, but if he sware a solemne oath on the Bible, that wittingly he should wrong no Christian creature in the land, that duely and truely he should see payment made for all expences, and hereof, she said, she had made a vow to Christ so deliberately, that unlesse it were on his part firmly promised, she could not without perill of her soule goe with him: her husband assented, and accomplished her boone effectually, recovered a good opinion, schooled his Caters, enriched the country, continued a plentiful house, remissions of great fines, remedies for persons endamaged to the Prince, pardons of lands and lives he granted so charitably and discretely, that his name was never

<sup>z</sup> 1329.

<sup>a</sup> James Young in precepts of government to the Earle of Ormond cap. 5.

uttered among them, without many blessings and prayers, and so cheerefully they served him against the Irish, that in one day he spoyled *Arthur Mac Murrough*, brent his country, restored *O-Carrol* to the towne of *Callane*, with-held by *VValter Burke*, slew a multitude of *Kerneghes*, and quieted *Leinster*. Not long before, the Major of *Divelin* *John Drake*,<sup>b</sup> with his band out of the *Citty*, had slaine of the same *Irish Outlawes* 400.

In this Kings raigne the inhabitants of the county and towne of *Corke*,<sup>c</sup> being tyred with perpetuall oppressions of their *Irish borderers*, complained themselves in a generall writing, directed to the *Lord of Rutheland* and *Corke*, the *Kings Deputy*, and to the *Councell of the Realme*, then assembled at *Divelin*, which Letter because it openeth the decay of those partes, and the state of the *Realme* in times past, I have thought good to enter here as it was delivered me, by *Francis Agard* Esquire, one of her *Majesties privy Councell* in *Ireland*.

It may please your wisdomes,<sup>d</sup> to have pittie of us the *Kings poore subjects*, within the county of *Corke*, or else we be cast away for ever, for where there was in this countie these *Lords* by name, besides *Knights*,

<sup>b</sup> 1402.

<sup>c</sup> Records of Christ Church in *Divelin*.

<sup>d</sup> A letter from *Corke* coppied out of an old *Record* bearing no date.

Esquiers, Gentlemen, and Yeoman, to a great number, that might dispend yearelie 800. pounds, 600. pounds, 400. pounds, 200. pounds, 100. pounds, 100. markes, 20. pounds, 20. markes, 10. pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great number, besides these Lords following.

First the Lord Marquesse *Caro* his yearely revenues was, besides Dorzey Hauen and other Creekes, 2200. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Barnevale* of Bearehaven, his yearely revenues was, beside Bearehaven and other Creekes, 1600. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Vggan* of the great Castle, his yearely revenues was, besides havens and creekes, 1300. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Balram* of Emforte, his yearly revenues was, besides havens and creekes, 1300. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Courcy* of Kilbretton his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1500. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Mandevil* of Barrenstelly his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1500. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Arundell* of the strand his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1500. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Baron* of the Guard his yearely revenues, besides havens and creekes, 1100. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Sleynie* of Baltimore his yearely revenue, besides havens and creeks, 800. pounds sterling.

The Lord *Roche* of Poole-castle his yearely revenue, besides havens and creekes, 1000. pounds sterling.

The Kings Majesty hath the Lands of the late young *Barry* by forfeiture, the yearely revenue whereof, besides two rivers and creekes, and all other casualties is, 1800. pounds sterling.

And at the end of this Parliament Your Lordship with the Kings most noble Councill may come to Corke, and call before you all these Lords and other Irish men, and binde them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that never any of them doe make warre upon another, without licence or commandement of you my Lord Deputy, & the Kings Councill, for the utter destruction of these parts, is that onely cause, and once all the Irish men, and the King's enemies were driven into a great valley, called Glanehought, betwixt two great mountaines, called Maccorte or the

leproous Iland, and their they lived long and many yeares, with their white meat till at the last these English Lords fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part tooke certaine Irish men to take his part, and so vanquished his enemy, and thus fell the English Lords at variance among themselves, till the Irish men were stronger then they, and drave them away and now have the whole country under them, but that the Lord *Roche*, the Lord *Courcy*, and the Lord *Barry* onely remaine, with the least part of their auncestors possessions, and young *Barry* is there upon the Kings portion, paying his Grace never a penny Rent. Wherefore we the Kings poore subjects, of the Citty of Corke, Kinsale, and Yowghall, desire your Lordship to send hither two good Iustices, to see this matter ordered, and some English Captaines, with twenty English men that may be Captaines over us all, and we will rise with them to redresse those enormities, all at our owne costs. And if you doe not, we be all cast away, and then farewell Mounster for ever. And if you will not come nor send, we will send over to our Liege Lord, the King, and complaine on you all. Thus farre the letter.

And at this day the Citty of Corke is so encumbred with unquiet neighbours of great power, that they are forced to watch their gates continually, to keepe them shut at service times, at meales, from sunne set, to sunne arising; nor suffer any stranger to enter there

with his weapon, but to leave the same at a lodge appointed. They walke out for recreation at seasons, with strength of men furnished, they match in wedlocke among themselves, so that welnigh the whole citty is allyed together. It is to be hoped that the late sent over Lord President of Mounster, Sir *Iohn Parrot*, who hath chosen the same place to abide in, as having greatest neede of a Governour resident, would ease the inhabitants of this feare, and scourge the Irish Outlawes that annoy the whole region of Mounster.

*Henry* the 4.<sup>e</sup> in the 10. yeare of his raigne, gave the Sword to the Citty of Divelin, which Citty was first governed, as appeareth by their auncient seale, called, *Signum proposituræ*, by a Provost, and in the 14. yeare of H. the 3. by a Major, & two Bayliffes, which Bayliffes were changed into Sheriffes, by Charter of *Edward* the 6. an. 1547. This mayoralty both for state and charge of that office, and for the bountifull hospitality exceedeth any Citty in England, except London.

While *Henry* the 5. reigned, I finde lieutenants and deputyes of Ireland specially remembred, *Iohn Talbott* of Hollamshire Lord of Furnyvall. *Thomas de Lancaster*, Senischa of England, and *Stephen le Scroope* his Deputy, *Iohn* Duke of Bedford then also Lord Keeper of England, and the noble Earle of Ormond.

Sir *James Butler*,<sup>f</sup> whose grandsire was *James* surnamed the chast, for that of all vices hee most abhorred the sinne of the flesh, and in subduing of the same gave notable example. In the red Moore of Athye (the sun almost lodged in the West, and miraculously standing still in his epicycle the space of three houres till the feat was accomplished, and no pit in that bogge annoying either horse or man on his part) he vanquished *Omoro* and his terrible Army with a few of his owne, and with the like number *Arthur Mac Murrrough*, at whose might and puissance, all Leinster trembled.<sup>g</sup> To the imitation of this mans worthinesse, the compiler of certaine precepts touching the rule of a Common-wealth, exciteth his Lord the said Earle in diverse places of that Worke<sup>h</sup> incidently, eftsoones putting him in minde that the Irish beene false by kinde, that it were expedient, and a worke of Charity to execute upon them (willfull and malicious transgressours) the Kings Lawes somewhat sharpely, <sup>i</sup>That *Odempseye* being winked at a while, abused that small time of sufferance, to the injury of the Earle of Kildare, intruding unjustly upon the Castle of Ley, from whence the said Deputy had justly expelled him, and put the Earle in possession thereof, that notwithstanding their oathes and pledges, yet they are no longer true then they feele themselves the vveaker.

This Deputye tamed the *Obriens*,<sup>k</sup> the *Burckes*,

<sup>f</sup> 1421.

<sup>g</sup> In the translation of Cambrensis c. 57.

<sup>h</sup> Prec. of government, c. 27.

<sup>i</sup> ca. 28.

<sup>k</sup> ca. 43.



*Macbanons, Ogaghnraghte, Mamus Mac Mahowne*, all the Captaines of Thomond, and all this in three moneths. The Cleargye of Divelin tvvice every vveeke in solemne procession praying for his good successe against these disordered persons, vvchich novv in every quarter of Ireland, had degenerated to their olde trade of life, and repyned at the English.

Lieutenants to *Henry* the sixt over the Realme of Ireland were *Edmund*<sup>1</sup> Earle of Marche, and *James* Earle of Ormond his Deputy<sup>m</sup> *John Sutton* Knight, Lord *Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Strange*, his Deputy<sup>n</sup> Sir *Thomas Standley*, and Sir *Christopher Plonket* his Deputy<sup>o</sup> *Lyon* Lord Welles, and the Earle of Ormond his Deputy,<sup>p</sup> *James* Earle of Ormond, the Kings Lieutenant by himselfe, *John* Earle of Shrewesbury, and the Archbishop of Divelin, Lord Iustice in his absence.

*Richard Plantaginet*,<sup>q</sup> Duke of Yorke, father of *Edward* the fourth, and Earle of Vlster, had the office of Lieutenant by letters Patents, during the space of ten yeares, who deputed under him at severall times, the Baron of Delvin, *Roland Fitz Eustace* knight, *James* Earle of Ormond, and *Thomas Fitz Morrice* Earle of Kildare. To this *Richard* then resciant in Divelin, was borne within the castle there, his second

<sup>1</sup> An. 7.<sup>m</sup> An. 12.<sup>n</sup> An. 10.<sup>o</sup> An. 22.<sup>p</sup> An. 26.<sup>q</sup> An. 27.

son *George*, Duke of Clarence, afterwards drowned in a butt of Malmsey: his god fathers at the front were the Earles of Ormond and Desmond. <sup>r</sup>

Whether the commotion of *Iacke Cade* an Irishman borne, naming himselfe *Mortimer*, and so clayming cousinage to diverse noble houses, proceeded from this crew, it is uncertaine: <sup>s</sup> surely the Duke was thereof vehemently mistrusted, & immediately began his tumults, which because our English histories discourse at large, I omit as impertinent.

Those broyles being couched for a time, *Richard* held himselfe in Ireland, being lately by Parliament ordained Protector of the Realme of England, leaving his agent in the Court his brother the Earle of Salisbury <sup>t</sup> Lord Chauncellour, to whom he declared by letters, the trouble then toward in Ireland, which letter exemplified by Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy, a great searcher and preserver of Antiquities, as it came to my hands, I thinke it convenient here to set downe.

*To the right worshipfull and with all my heart entirely beloved brother, the Earle of Shrewesbury.*

Right worshipfull and with all my heart entirely beloved Brother, I commend mee unto you as heartily as I can.

<sup>r</sup> Records of Christ church.

<sup>s</sup> 1450. Io. Ma. 1. 6. c. 16.

<sup>t</sup> 1458.

And like it you to wit, that sith I wrote last unto the King our soveraigne Lord his Highnes, the Irish enemy, that is to say, *Magoghigan*, and with him three or foure Irish Captaines, associate with a great fellowship of English rebels, notwithstanding, that they were within the King our Soveraigne Lord his power, of great malice, and against all truth, have maligned against their legiance, and vengeably have brent a great towne of mine inheritance, in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and brent both men, women, and children, without mercy. The which enemies be yet assembled in woods and forts, wayting to doe the hurt and grievance to the Kings subjects that they can thinke or imagine, for which cause I write at this time unto the Kings Highnes, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according to his letters of vvarrant, novv late directed unto the Treasurer of England, to the intent I may vvage men in sufficient number, for to resist the malice of the same enemyes, and punish them in such vvyse, that other vvchic vvould doe the same, for lacke of resistance in time, may take example; for doubtlesse, but if my payment bee had in all haste, for to have men of vvarre in defence and safe-guard of this Land, my povver cannot stretch to keepe it in the Kings obeysance. And very necessity vvill compell mee to come into England to live there, upon my poore livelode, for I had lever bee dead, then any inconvenience should fall thereunto in my default; for it shall never bee chronicled, nor re-

maine in scripture, by the grace of God, that Ireland vvas lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you right vvorshipfull brother, that you will hold to your hands instantly, that my payment may bee had at this time, in eschuing all inconveniences, for I have example in other places, more pittie it is for to dread shame; and for to acquite my truth unto the Kings Highnes, as my dutie is. And this I pray and exhort you good brother, to shew unto his good grace, and that you willbe so good, that this language may be enacted at this present Parliament for my excuse in time to come, and that you will bee good to my servant *Roger Roe* the bearer hereof, and to mine other servants in such things as they shall pursue unto the kings Highnes: And to give full faith and credence unto the report of the said *Roger*, touching the said maters Right worshipfull, and with all my heart entirely beloved brother, our blessed Lord God preserve and keepe you in all honour, prosperous estate and felicity, and graunt you right good life and long. Written at Divilin the 15. of Iune.

Your faithfull true brother,  
*Richard Yorke.*

Of such power was *Magoghigan* in those dayes, who as he wan and kept it by the sword, so now he liveth but a meane Captaine, yeelding his winnings to the stronger. This is the misery of lawlesse people, resembling the wydenesse of the rude vvorld, vvherein

every man vvas richer or poorer then other, as he vvas in might and violence more or lesse enabled.

Heere beganne factions of the nobility in Ireland, favouring diverse sides that strived for the Crowne of England, for *Richard* in those tenne yeares of government, exceedingly tyed unto him the hearts of the noblemen and gentlemen in this land, vvhwhereof diverse vvvere scattered and slaine vvwith him at Waterford,<sup>u</sup> as the contrary part vvas also the next yeare by *Edward* Earle of Marche, the Dukes brother, at *Mortimers* crosse in Wales, in vvvhich meane time the Irish vvaxed hardye,<sup>v</sup> and usurped the English Countreyes insufficiently defended, as they had done by like opportunity in the latter end of *Richard* the second. These two seasons did set them so a-floate, that henceforwards they could never be cast out from their forcible possessions, holding by plaine wrong all Vlster, and by certaine Irish Tenures, no little portions of Mounster and Connaght, left in Meth and Leinster, where the civill subjects of English bloud did ever most prevaile

<sup>u</sup> 1459.

<sup>v</sup> 1460.

## CAP. VIII.

*Edward the fourth, and Edward his sonne. Richard the third, & Henry the seventh.*<sup>w</sup>

**THOMAS FITZ MORICE** Earle of Kildare,<sup>x</sup> Lord Iustice untill the third yeare of *Edward* the fourth, since which time the Duke of Clarence afore-said, brother to the King, had the office of Lieutenant, while he lived, and made his Deputies in sundry courses, *Thomas* Earle of Desmond,<sup>y</sup> *John Tiptoft*, Earle of Worcester<sup>z</sup> the Kings cozen, *Thomas* Earle of Kildare,<sup>a</sup> *Henry* Lord Graye.<sup>b</sup> Great was the credit of the *Geraldines*, ever when the house of Yorke prospered, and likewise the *Butlers* thryved under the bloud of Lancaster, for which cause the Earle of Desmond remained many yeares Deputy to *George* Duke of Clarence his god-brother, but when he had spoken certaine disdainfull words against the late marryage of King *Edward* with the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, the said Lady being now Queene, caused his trade of life, (after the Irish manner, contrary to sundry old statutes enacted in that behalfe) to be sifted and examined by *John* Earle of Worcester his successour. Of which treasons he was attaint and con-

<sup>w</sup> Ann. Reg. 1:

<sup>x</sup> Ann. D. 1460.

<sup>y</sup> An Reg 3.

<sup>z</sup> An. Reg. 7.

<sup>a</sup> An 10.

<sup>b</sup> An. 18.

demned, and for the same beheaded at Droghedah. <sup>c</sup> *James* the father of this *Thomas* of Desmond, being suffered and not controuled, during the government of *Richard* Duke of Yorke his godspis: and of *Thomas* Earle of Kildare his kinsman put upon the Kings subjects within the Countyes of Waterford, Corke, Kerry, and Limericke, the Irish impositions of Coyne and Liverie, Cartings, carriages, loadings, cosherings, bonnaght, and such like, which customes are the very nurse and teat of all Irish enormities, and extort from the poore tennants everlasting Sesse, allowance of meate and money, their bodies and goods in service, so that their horses and their Galloglashes lye still upon the Farmers, eate them out, begger the Countrey, foster a sort of idle vagabonds, ready to rebell if their Lord commaund them, ever nusseled in stealth and robberyes. These evill presidents given by the Father, the sonne did exercise being Lord Deputy, to whome the reformation of that disorder especially belonged, notwithstanding the same fault being winked at in others, and with such rigour avenged in him, it was manifestly taken for a quarrell sought and picked.

Two yeares after, the said Earle of Worcester <sup>d</sup> lost his head, while *Henry* the 6. taken out of the towre, was set up againe, and King *Edward* proclaymed *V*surper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom being likewise attainte, they thought also to have ridde, and

<sup>c</sup> 1467.<sup>d</sup> 1469.

shortly both the Earles of Kildare and Desmond were restored to their blood by Parliament.

Sir *Rowland Eustace*,<sup>e</sup> Knight, sometimes Treasurer, and Lord Chauncellour, and lastly, Lord Deputye of Ireland, founded Saint *Frauncis* Abbey besides Kilkullen bridge.

*Edward*,<sup>f</sup> a yeare before his death, honoured his younger son *Richard* the infant, Duke of Yorke, with the title of Lieutenant over this Land. But his unnatural Vncle *Richard* the Third, when he had murdered the childe, and the elder brother called *Edward* the 5. He then preferred to that Office his ovvne sonne *Edward*, vv hose Deputy was *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, and bare that office a vv hile in *Henry* the 7. his dayes. To whom came the vvylie Priest, Sir *Richard Symonds*, & presented a lad his scholler, named *Lambert*, vv hom he fained to be the son of *George* Duke of Clarence, lately escaped the tovvre of London. And the child could his pedegree so readily, and had learned of the Priest such princely behaviour, that he lightly moved the said Earle, and many Nobles of Ireland tendering the Seed Royall of *Richard Plantagenet*, and *George* his sonne, as also maligning the advancement of the house of Lancaster, in *Henry* the seventh, either to thinke or make the world weene, they thought verily this childe to bee



*Edward* Earle of Warwicke, the Duke of Clarences lawfull Sonne.

And although King *Henry* more then halfe marred their sport, in shewing the right Earle through all the streetes of London, yet the Lady *Margaret* Duchesse of Burgoine, sister to *Edward* the fourth, *John de la Poole* her Nephew, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton* Knight, and diverse other Captaines of this conspiracy devised to abuse the colour of this young Earles name, for preferring their purpose, which if it came to good, they agreed to depose *Lambert*, and to erect the very Earle indeed now prisoner in the towre, for whose quarrell had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likely hee should have beene made away: Wherefore it was blazed in Ireland, that the King to mocke his subjects, had schooled a Boy to take upon him the Earle of Warwickes name, and had shewed him about London to blinde the eyes of simple folkes, and to defeate the lawfull Inheritour of the good Duke of Clarence, their countryman and Protectour during his life, to whose lineage they also derived a title of the Crowne. In all haste they assembled at Divilin, and there in Christ-Church they Crowned this Idoll, honouring him with titles imperiall, feasting and triumphing, rearing mighty shoutes and cryes, carrying him from thence, to the Kings Castle upon tall mens shoulders, that he might be seene and noted, as he was surely an honourable Boy to looke upon. Thereupon ensued the Battle of Stoke, wherein *Lambert* and his

Master were taken, but never executed, the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Lord *Lovel*, *Martine Swarte*, the *Almaigne* Captaine, and *Morice Fitz Thomas* Captaine of the Irish, were slaine, and all their power discomfited.

*Iasper* Duke of Bedford and Earle of Penbroke, & Lieutenant, and *Walter* Archbishop of Divelin his Deputy. In this time befell another like illusion of Ireland, procured from the Dutchesse aforesaid, and certaine Nobles of England, whereby was exalted as rightfull King of England, and undoubted Earle of Vlster, the counterfeit *Richard* Duke of Yorke preserved from King *Richards* cruelty, as his adherents faced the matter downe, and with this maygame lord, named indeede *Peter* (in scorne *Perkin*) *VVarbecke*, flattered themselves many yeares.

Then was Sir *Edward Poynings*<sup>h</sup> Knight, sent over Lord Deputy, with commission to apprehend his principall partners in Ireland, amongst whom was named *Gerald Fitz Gerald* Earle of Kildare, whose purgation the King (notwithstanding diverse avouching the contrary) did accept. After much adoe *Perkin* taken, confessed under his owne hand-writing the course of all his proceedings, whereof so much as concerneth Ireland, <sup>i</sup> I have heere borrowed out of *Halles* Chronicles.

I being borne in Flaunders, in the towne of Turney,

<sup>g</sup> 1490.

<sup>h</sup> 1494.

<sup>i</sup> an. Hen. 7. 14.

put my selfe in service with a Britton, called *Pregent Meno*, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when wee were there arrived in the towne of Corke, they of the towne (because I was arrayed with some cloathes of silke of my said Masters) threeped upon me, that I should be the Duke of Clarences sonne, that was before time at Divelin, and forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the Holy Evangelists and the Crosse, by the Major of the towne, called *Iohn Lewellin*, and there I tooke my oath that I was not the said Dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. After this came to me an English man whose name was *Stephen Poytowe*, vvith one *Iohn VValter*, and svvare to me, that they knevv well that I vvvas King *Richards* Bastard sonne, to whom I answered vvith like oathes that I vvvas not. And then they advised me not to be affraide, but that I should take it upon me boldly: And if I vvould so doe, they vvould assist me with all their povver, against the King of England, and not onely they, but they vvvere assured that the Earles of *Desmond* and *Kildare*, should doe the same, for they passed not vvhat part they tooke, so they might be avenged upon the King of England. And so against my will they made me to learne English, and taught me what I should doe and say: and after this, they called me *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, second sonne to *Edward* the fourth, because King *Richards* Bastard sonne was in the hands of the King of England: And upon this, the said *Iohn VValter*, and *Stephen Poytowe*, *Iohn Tyler*, *Hubbert Burgh*, with many others,

as the foresaid Earles, entred into this false quarrell, and within short time after the French King sent ambassadours into Ireland, whose names were *Lyot*, *Lucas*, and *Stephen Frayn*, and thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flanders, and from Flanders againe into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

Thus was *Perkins*<sup>k</sup> bragge twighted, from a milpost to a pudding pricke, and hanged was he the next yeare after.

Then in the yeare 1501. King *Henry* made Lieutenant of Ireland, his second sonne *Henry* as then Duke of Yorke, who afterwards. raigned. To him was appointed Deputy, the aforesaid *Gerald* Earle of Kildare,<sup>l</sup> who accompanied with *John Blacke* Major of Divilin, warred upon *William de Burgo*, *O-Brien*, and *Mac Nemarra*, *Ocarroll*, and the greatest power of Irish men, that had beene seene together since the conquest, under the hill of Knoctoe, in English the hill of Axes, sixe miles from Galway, and two miles from Ballinclare, *de Burgoes* mannor towne. *Mac William* and his Complices were there taken, his Souldiours that escaped the sword were pursued, flying five miles, great slaughter done, and many Captaines gotten, not one English man killed. The Earle at his returne was created knight of the Noble Order, and

<sup>k</sup> 1499.

<sup>l</sup> Recordes of Christ-Church 1504.

flourished all his life long, of whom I shall bee occasioned to say somewhat in the next Chapter.

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CAP. IX.

*Henry the eight.*

**GERALD FITZ GERALD**<sup>m</sup> Earle of Kildare a mighty made man, full of honour and courage, who had beene Lord Deputy and Lord Iustice of Ireland thirtie foure yeares, deceased the third of September, and lyeth buried in Christs Church in Divelin. Betweene him and *James Butler* Earle of Ormond, their owne jealousies fed with envy and ambition, kindled with certaine lewd factions, abbettors of either side: ever since the ninth yeare of *Henry* the seventh, when *James* of Ormond with a great army of Irish men, camping in *S. Thomas* Court at Divelin,<sup>n</sup> seemed to face the countenance and power of the Deputy: these occasions I say fostered a mallice betwixt them and their posterityes, many yeares after incurable, causes of much ruffle and unquietnes in the Realme, untill the confusion of the one house, and nonage of the other, discontinued their quarrels, which except their Inheritours have the grace to put up, and to love unfainedly, as

<sup>m</sup> 1513. From henceforward I have followed the relation of the wisest and most indifferent persons that I could acquaint myselfe withall in Ireland.

CAMPION.

<sup>n</sup> Register of Majors.

*Gerald* and *Thomas* doe now, may hap to turne their countryes to little good, and themselves to lesse.

*Ormond* was nothing inferiour to the other in stomacke, and in reach of pollicy farre beyond him; *Kildare* was in governement a milde man, to his enemies intractable, to the Irish such a scourge, that rather for despite of him then for favour of any part, they relyed upon the *Butlers*, came in under his protection, served at his call, performed by starts, as their manner is, the duty of good subjects.

*Ormond* was secret and driftie, of much moderation in speech, dangerous of every little wrinkle that touched his reputation. *Kildare* was open and passionable, in his moode desperate, both of word and deede, of the English welbeloved, a good Iusticier, a warriour incomparable, towards the Nobles that he favoured not somewhat headlong and unrulie, being charged before *Henry* the seventh, for burning the Church at Cashell, and many witnesses prepared to avouch against him, the truth of that article, he suddainly confessed the fact, to the great wondering and detestation of the Councell, when it was looked how he would justifie the matter, By Iesus (quoth he) I would never have done it, had it not beene told me that the Archbishop was within. And because the Archbishop was one of his busiest accusers there present, merrily laught the King at the plainnesse of the man, to see him alleadge that intent for excuse, which most of all did aggravate his

fault. The last article against him they conceived in these tearmes, finally all Ireland cannot rule this Earle: No (quoth the King) then in good faith shall this Earle rule all Ireland. Thus was the accusation turned to a jest, the Earle returned Lord Deputy, shortly after created Knight of the Garter and so died. Marvell not if this successe were a corrosive to the adverse party, which the longer it held aloofe and bit the bridle, the more eagerly it followed his course, having once the sway and roome at will, as you may perceive hereafter.

*Gerald Fitz Gerald* sonne of the aforesaid Earle of Kildare, and Lord Deputy, who chased the nation of the *Tooles*, battered *Ocarrolls*<sup>o</sup> Castles, awed all the Irish of the land more & more. A Gentleman valiant and well spoken, yet in his latter time overtaken with vehement suspition of sundry Treasons. He of good meaning to unite the families, matched his Sister *Margaret Fitz Gerald*, with *Pierce Butler* Earle of Ossory, whom he also holpe to recover the Earledome of Ormond, whereinto after the decease of *Iames*, a Bastard brother had intruded.

Seven yeares together *Kildare* kept in credit and authority, notwithstanding the pushes given against him by secret heavers, enviers of his fortune, and nourishers of the old grudge, who sett him up to the Court of England by commission, and caused him there to be

opposed with diverse interrogatories, touching the Earle of Desmond his Cousin, a notorious traytor, as they said. He left in his roome *Morice Fitz Thomas* Lord Iustice. After whom came over Lord Lieutenant, *Thomas Howard* Earle of Surrey, Grandfather to this Duke of Norfolke, accompanied with 200. of the Kings garde. While he sate at Dinner in the Castle of Divelin, hee heard newes that *Oneale* with a mighty army was even in the mouth of the borders, ready to invade: Immediately men were levyed by the Major, and the next morrow joyning them to his band, the Lieutenant marched as farre as the water of Slane, where having intelligence of *Oneales* recoyle, hee dismissed the footemen, and pursued *Omore* with his horsemen, which *Omore* was said to lurke within certaine miles That espied a Gunner of *Omore*, and watching by a wood side discharged his peece at the very face of the Deputy, strake the visard of hishelmet, and pierced no further (as God would.) This did he in manner recklesse what became of himselfe, so he might amaze them for a time, breake the swiftnesse of their following, and advantage the flight of his Captaine, which thing he wanne with the price of his owne blood, for the Souldiours would no further, till they had searched all the corners of that wood, verily suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in severall knots ferretted out this Gunner, whom *Fitz VWilliams* and *Bedlowe* of the Roche were faine to mangle and hewe in peeces; because the wretch would never yeeld.



In the meane while defiance proclaimed with Fraunce & Scotland both at once, moved the King to returne *Surrey* <sup>q</sup> out of Ireland, that he might employ him in those services, his prowesse, integrity, good nature and course of government, the country much commendeth, and honoureth the name and family to this day.

*Pierce Butler* <sup>r</sup> Earle of Ossory Lord Deputy, *Kildare* attending the Kings pleasure for his dispatch, recovered favour at the instance of the Duke of Suffolke whose daughter, Dame *Elizabeth Graye* he espoused royally, and so departed home. Now there was a great partaker of all the Deputies Councell, one *Robert Talbot* of Belgard whom the *Geraldines* hated deadly, him they surmized to keepe a Kalender of all their doings and to stirre the coales that incensed brother against brother. In which fury, *James Fitz Gerald* meeting the said Gentleman besides Ballimore, slew him even there, journeying to keepe his Christmasse with the Deputy. With this despitfull murder both sides brake out into open rage, and especially the Countesse of Ossory, *Kildares* sister, a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a Realme, had not her stomacke over-rul'd her selfe. Heere beganne intimation of new Treasons passing to and fro, with complaints and replies. But *Suffolke* had wrought the canvas so fast in his sonne in lawes behalfe, that hee was suffered to rest at home, and onely Commissioners directed thither with Authority to examine the roote of their

• 1523.

• 1514.

griefes, wherein if they found *Kildare* but even tollerably purged, their instructions was to depose the plaintiffe, and to swear the other Lord Deputy. The Commissioners were, Sir *Raphe Egerton*, a Cheshire Knight, *Anthony Fitzherbert*, second Iustice of the Common-pleas, and *James Denton*, Deane of Lichfield, who huddled up those accusations as they thought good, and suddenly tooke the sword from the Earle of Ossory, sware the *Geraldine* Lord Deputy, before whom *Con Oneale* bare the sword that day. Concerning the murtherer whom they might have hanged, they brought him prisoner into England, presented him to Cardinall *Wolsey*, who vvas said to hate *Kildares* bloud: And the Cardinall intending his execution vvith more dishonour to the name, caused him to be ledde about London streetes manacled and haltered, vvich asked so long time, that the Deane of Lichfield stepped to the King, and got the Gentleman his pardon.

This untimely shift inflamed the Cardinall, and ripened the malice hitherto not so ranke, and therefore hereafter *Ossory* brought evident proofes of the Deputies disorder, that hee vvillfully vvinked at the Earle of Desmond, vvhom hee should have attached by the Kings letters, that he curried acquaintance and friendship vvith meere Irish enemies, that he had armed them against him being the Kings Deputy, that he hanged and hevved rashly good subiects, vvhom hee mistrusted to leane to the *Butlers* friendship. Yet againe therefore was *Kildare* commanded to appeare,

which he did, leaving in his roome *Fitz Gerald* of *Leixlip*,<sup>s</sup> whom they shortly deprived, and chose the Baron of *Delvin*, whom *O-Connor* tooke prisoner, and there the Earle of *Ossory* to shew his ability of service, brought to *Divelin* an army of Irish-men, having Captaines over them *Oconnor*, *Omore* and *O-Carroll*, and at *S. Mary* Abbey, was chosen Deputie by the Kings Councill.

In which office (being himselfe, save onely in feates of Armes, a simple gentleman) he bare out his honour, and the charge of government, very worthily, through the singular wisdom of his Countesse, a Lady of such port, that all Estates of the Realme couched unto her, so politike, that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice, manlike and tall of stature, very rich and bountifull, a bitter enemy, the onely meane at those dayes whereby her Husbands Countrey was reclaymed from the sluttish and uncleane Irish custome to the English habite, bedding, house-keeping, and civility.

But to those vertues vvas yoked such a selfe-liking, and such a Majesty above the tenure of a subiect, that for insurance thereof shee sticked not to abuse her husbands honour against her brothers follye. Notwithstanding I learne not that shee practised his undoing, (vvhich ensued, and vvas to her undoubtedly, great heavinesse, as upon vvhom both the blemish

thereof, and the sustenance of that vvhole family depended after,) but that shee by indirect meanes vvrought her Brother out of credite to advance her husband, the common voyce, and the thing it selfe speaketh.

All this vvhile abode the Earle of Kildare at the Court, and vvith much adoe found shift to be called before the Lords, to ansvvere solemnly. They sate upon him diversely affectioned, and especially the Cardinall, Lord Chauncellour, disliked his cause, comforted his accusers, and enforced the Articles objected, and vvhat else soever could be gathered thereof in these words.

I wot well, my Lord, that I am not the meetest man at this Board to charge you with these treasons, because it hath pleased some of your pew-fellowes to report, that I am a professedemie to all Nobilitie, and namely to the *Geraldines*, but seeing every curst boy can say asmuch when he is controled, and seeing these points are so vveightie, that they should not be dissembled of us, and so apparent, that they cannot be denied of you. I must have leave, notwithstanding your stale slaunder, to be the mouth of these honorable persons at this time, and to trumpe your Treasons in your way, howsoever you take me.

First, you remember how the lewde Earle your kinsman, who passeth not whom he serve, might he

change his Master, sent his confederates with letters of credence to *Frauncis* the French King, and having but cold comfort there, to *Charles* the Emperour, proffering the helpe of Mounster and Connaght towards the conquest of Ireland, if either of them vvould helpe to vvine it from our King. Hovv many letters? vvhat precepts? what messages? what threats have been sent you to apprehend him? and yet not done: vvhy so? forsooth I could not catch him: Nay nay, Earle, forsooth you vvould not nighly vvatch him. If he be justly suspected, vvhy are you partiall in so great a charge? If not, vvhy are you fearefull to have him tryed? Yea Sir, it vvil be svorne & deposēd to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you have vvinked, vvilfully shunned his sight, altered your course, vvarned his friends, stopped both eyes and eares against his detectors, and vvhen soever you tooke upon you to hunt him out, then vvvas he sure before-hand to bee out of your vvalke: surely this juggling and false-play, little became either an honest man, called to such honour, or a Nobleman put in such trust. Had you lost but a Covv, or a Garron of your ovvne, tvvo hundred Kyrneghes vvould have come at your vvhistle, to rescue the prey from the uttermost edge of Vlster: All the Irish in Ireland must have given you the vvay. But in pursuing so vveightie a matter as this, mercifull God, hovv nice, how dangerous, how wayward have you bin? One while he is from home, another while he keepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the borders where you dare

not venture: I wish, my Lord, there be shrewde bugges in the borders for the Earle of Kildare to feare: The Earle, nay, the King of Kildare, for when you are disposed, you reigne more like then rule the Land: where you are malicious, the truest subjects stand for Irish enemies; where you are pleased, the Irish enemy stands for a dutifull subject: hearts and hands, lives and lands are all at your courtesie, who fawneth not thereon, hee cannot rest within your smell, and your smell is so ranke, that you tracke them out at pleasure.

Whilest the Cardinall was speaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour, & sundry proffers made to answer every sentence as it came, at last he broke out, and interrupted them thus.

My Lord Chancellour, I beseech you pardon me I am short witted, and you I perceiue intend a long tale. If you proceede in this order, halfe my purgation will be lost for lacke of carryage: I have no schoole trickes, nor art of memory, except you heare me while I remember your words, your second processe vwill hammer out the former.

The Lords associate, vvho for the most part tenderly loved him, and knevv the Cardinals manner of termes so lothsome, as vvherevvith they vvere tyred many yeares agoe, humbly besought his grace to charge him directly vvith particulars, and to dwell

in some one matter, till it vvere examined through. That granted.

It is good reason (quoth the Earle) that your Grace beare the mouth of this chamber. But my Lord, those mouthes that put this tale into your mouth, are very vvide mouths, such indeed as have gaped long for my vvreck, & novv at length for vvant of better stuff, are fain to fill their mouths vvith smoak. What my cousin *Desmond* hath compassed, as I knovv not, so I beshrevv his naked heart for holding out so long. If hee can bee taken by my agents that presently wayte for him, then have my adversaries betrayed their malice, and this heape of haynous wordes shall resemble a man of strawe, that seemeth at a blush to carry some proportion, but when it is felt and poysed, discovereth a vanity, serving onely to fray crowes, and I trust your Honours will see the prooffe hereof and mine innocencie testified in this behalfe by the thing it selfe within these few dayes. But goe to, suppose hee never bee had, what is *Kildare* to blame for it, more then my good brother of *Os-sory*, notwithstanding his high promises, having also the Kings power, is glad to take egges for his money, and bring him in at leysure. Cannot the Earle of *Desmond* shift, but I must be of counsell? cannot hee bee hid, except I winke? If hee bee close, am I his mate? If he be friended, am I a Traytour? This is a doughty kinde of accusation, which they urge against mee, vwherein they are stabled and myred at my first

denyall; You vvould not see him, say they, vvho made them so familiar vvith mine eye-sight? or vvhen vvvas the Earle vvithin my *Equinas*? or vvho stood by vvhen I let him slip, or vvhere are the tokens of my vvillfull hood-vvinking? Oh, but you sent him vvord to bevvarre of you; Who vvvas the messenger? vvhere are the letters? convince my negative: See hovv loosely this idle reason hangeth, *Desmond* is not taken, vvell, vve are in fault: vvhy? because you are: vvho proves it? no body. What conjectures? so it seemeth. To vvhom? to your enemies vvho tolde it them? What other ground? none. Will they svveare it? they vvill svveare it. My Lords, then belike they knovv it, if they knovv it, either they have my hand to shevv, or can bring forth the messenger, or vvere present at a conference, or privy to *Desmond*, or some body bevvraged it to them, or themselves vvere my carryers or vice-gerents therein, vvhich of these parts vvill they choose, I knovv them too vvell to reckon my selfe convict by their bare vvords or headlesse hearesayes, or franticke oathes, my letter vvere soone read, vvere any such vvriting extant, my servaunts and friends are ready to bee sifted. Of my cousin *Desmond* they may lye lewdly, since no man can heere well tell the contrary. Touching my selfe, I never noted in them either so much wit, or so much faith, that I could have gaged upon their silence the life of a good hound, much lesse mine owne, I doubt not may it please your Honours to oppose them, how they came to knowledge of these matters which they are so ready



to depose, but you shall finde their tongues chayned to another mans trencher, and as it were, Knights of the Post, suborned to say, sweare and stare the uttermost they can, as those that passe not what they say, nor with what face they say it, so they say no truth. But of another thing it grieveth me, that your good grace, whom I take to bee wise and sharpe, and who of your owne blessed disposition wish me well, should bee so farre gone in crediting those corrupt informers, that abuse the ignorance of their state and countrey to my perill. Little knowv you my Lord, hovv necessary it is not onely for the governour, but also for every Nobleman in Ireland, to hamper his vincible neighbors at discretion, vvherein if the vvayted for processe of Law, and had not these lives and lands you speake of vvithin their reach, they might hap to loose their ovvne lives and lands vvithout Lavv. You heare of a case as it vvere in a dreame, and feele not the smart that vexeth us. In England there is not a meane subject that dare extend his hand to fillip a Peere of the Realme. In Ireland, except the Lord have cunning to his strength, and strength to save his ovvne, and sufficient authoritie to racke theeves and varletts vvhen they stirre, hee shall finde them svvarme so fast, that it vvill bee too late to call for Iustice. If you vvill have our service take effect, you must not tye us alvvayes to the Iudicial proceedings, vvherevvith your Realme, thanked bee God, is inured.

As touching my Kingdome (my Lord) I vvould

you and I had exchanged Kingdomes but for one moneth, I vvould trust to gather up more crummes in that space, then tvvice the revenues of my poore Earledome; but you are vvell and vvarme, and so hold you, and upbraide not me vvith such an odious storme. I sleepe on a cabbin, when you lye soft in your bed of downe, I serve under the cope of heaven, when you are served under a Canopy, I drinke water out of a skull, when you drinke out of golden Cuppes; my courser is trained to the field, when your Iennet is taught to amble, vvhen you are begraced and belorded, and crowched and kneeled unto, then I finde small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.

At these girds the Councell would have smiled if they durst, but each man bitt his lippe, and held his countenance, for howsoever some of them inclined to the *Butler*, they all hated the Cardinall: A man undoubtedly borne to honour, I thinke some Princes Bastard, no Butchers sonne, exceeding wise, faire spoken, high minded, full of revenge, vicious of his body, lofty to his enemies, were they never so bigge, to those that accepted and sought his friendship wonderfull courteous, a ripe Schooleman, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flattery, insatiable to get, & more princelike in bestowing: as appeareth by his two Colledges at Ipswich, and at Oxenford, th' one suppressed with his fall, th' other unfinished and yet as it lieth an house of Students (considering all

appurtenances) incomparable, through Christendome, whereof *Henry* the eight is now called Founder, because hee let it stand. He held and enjoyed at once the Bishopricks of Yorke, Durham, and Winchester, the dignities of Lord Cardinall, Legate, and Chancellour: the Abbey of *S. Albans*, diverse Priories, sundry fat Benefices in *Commendam*: A great preferer of his servants, advauncer of learning, stoute in every quarrell, never happy till his overthrow. Therein he shewed such moderation, and ended so patiently, that the houre of his death did him more honour then all the pompe of life passed,

The Cardinall perceived that *Kildare* was no Babe, and rose in a fume from the Councell table, committed the Earle, deferred the matter till more direct probations came out of Ireland,

After many meetinges and objections wittily refelled, they pressed him sore with a trayterous errant, sent by his daughter the Lady of Slane, to all his brethren, to *Oneale*, *Ocomor*, and their adherents, wherein he exhorted them to warre upon the Earle of Ossory then Deputy, which they accomplished, making a wretched conspiracy against the English of Ireland, and many a bloody skirmish.

Of this Treason he was found guilty, and reprimed in the Towre a long time, the Gentleman betooke himselfe to God and the King, was heartily loved of

the Lieutenant, pittied in all the Court, and standing in so hard a case altered little his accustomed hue, comforted other noblemen, prisoners with him, dissembling his owne sorrow. One night when the Lieutenant and he, for disport were playing at slide-groat, suddainely commeth from the Cardinall a mandat to execute *Kildare* on the morrow. The Earle marking the Lieutenants deepe sigh, in reading the bill; By Saint *Bride*, quoth he, there is some mad game in that scrolle, but fall how it will, this throw is for a huddle; when the worst was told him, now I pray thee, quoth he, doe no more but learne assuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his Grace be witting thereto or not. Sore doubted the Lieutenant to displease the Cardinall, yet of very pure devotion to his friend, he posteth to the King at midnight, and said his errant, (for all houres of the day or night, the Lieutenant hath accesse to the Prince upon occasions.) King *Henry* controwling the sawcynesse of the Priest, those were his tearmes, gave him his Signet in token of countermand, which when the Cardinall had seene, he begun to breake into unseasonable words with the Lieutenant, which he was loath to heare, and so he left him fretting: Thus broke up the storme for a time, and the next yeare<sup>t</sup> *Volsey* was cast out of favour, & within few yeares Sir *William Skevington*<sup>u</sup> sent over Deputy, who brought vvith him the Earle pardoned, and rid from all his troubles. Who vvould not thinke but these lessons should have schooled so vvise a man,

<sup>t</sup> 1528.<sup>u</sup> 1530.

and warned him rather by experience of adversities past, to cure old sores, then for joy of this present fortune, to minde seditious drifts to come. The second yeare of *Skevingtons* government, there chaunced an uproare among the Merchants and their Apprentices, in *Divelin*, which hard and scant the Deputy and Major both, could appease.<sup>v</sup> Then was also great stirre about the Kings divorce, who hearing the forwardnes of Ireland under *Skevington*, and thinking it expedient in so fickle a world to have a sure poste there, made *Kildare* his Deputy,<sup>w</sup> the Primate of Ardmagh Lord Chancellor, and Sir *James Butler* Lord Treasurer. But *Kildare* reviving the old quarrels, fell to prosecute the Earle of *Ossory*, excited *Oneale* to invade his country, his brother *John Fitz Gerald* to spoyle the country of *Vriell* and *Kilkenny*, being himselve at the doing of part, namely in robbing the towne, and killing the Kings subjects. The next yeare<sup>x</sup> going against *O-Carrol* he was pittifull hurt with a Gun in the thigh, so that he never after enjoyed his limmes, nor delivered his wordes in good plight, otherwise like enough to have beene longer forborne, in consideration of his many noble qualities, great good service, and the state of those times. Straight wayes complaints were addressed to the King of these enormities, & that in the most haynous manner could be devised, whereupon he was againe commuanded by sharpe letters to repaire into England,<sup>y</sup> & to leave such a substitute,

<sup>v</sup> 1532.<sup>w</sup> 1533.<sup>x</sup> 1534.<sup>y</sup> 1535.

for whose government he would undertake at his perill to answer: He left his heire the Lord *Thomas Fitz Gerald*, and ere he went, furnished his owne pyles, forts, and castles, with the Kings artillery and munition, taken forth of *Divelin*. Being examined before the Councell, he staggered in his answer, either for conscience of the fact, or for the infirmity of his late mayme: Wherefore a false muttering flew abroad that his execution was intended. That rumour helped forward *Skevingtons* friends and servants, who sticked not to write into Ireland secret letters, that the Earle their Masters enemy (so they tooke him, because he got the government over his head,) was cut shorter, and now they trusted to see their Master againe in his Lordship, whereafter they sore longed as crowes doe for carryon. Such a letter came to the hands of a simple Priest, no perfect English man, who for haste hurled it among other papers in the Chimneyes end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it better at more leisure. The same very night a Gentleman retaining to Lord *Thomas* (then Lord Deputy under his father) tooke up his lodging, with the Priest, and raught in the morning for some paper to drawe on his strait hosen, and as the devill would he hit upon the letter, bare it away in the heele of his hose, no earthly thing misdeeming, at night againe he found the paper unfretted, and musing thereof began to pore on the writing, which notified the Earles death. To horsbacke got he in all haste, and spreading about the country these un-

thrifty tydings, Lord *Thomas* the Deputy rash and youthfull, immediately confedered himselfe with *Oneale*, and *O-Connor*, with his Vnkles and Fathers friends, namely, *John*, *Oliver*, *Edward Fitz Gerald*, *James* and *John Delahide*, *Velch* parson of *Loughseudy*, *Burnel* of *Balgriffen*, *Rorcks* a pirat of the seas, *Bath* of *Dullardston*, *Field* of *Buske*, with others, and their adherents guarded, he rideth on *S. Barnabyes* day to *S. Mary Abbey* where the Councell sate, and when they looked he should take his place, and rose to give it him, hee charged them to sit still, and stood before them and then spake.

Howsoever injuriously we be handled and forced to defend our selves in armes, when neither our service nor our good meaning towards our Princes crowne availeth, yet say not hereafter but in this open hostility, which wee professe heere and proclaime, we have shewed our selves no villaines nor churles, but warriours and Gentlemen. This Sword of estate is yours and not mine, I received it with an oath, and have used it to your benefit, I should offend mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoyance, now have I neede of mine owne sword, which I dare trust, as for this common sword, it flattereth me with a golden scabberd, but hath in it a pestilent edge, already bathed in the *Geraldines* blood, and whetted it selfe in hope of a destruction: save your selves from us, as from your open enemies. I am none of *Henryes* Deputy, I am his foe, I have more minde to conquere,

then to governe, to meeete him in the field, then to serve him in office, If all the hearts of England and Ireland that have cause thereto, vvould joyne in this quarrell (as I trust they will) then should he be a by-word (as I trust he shall) for his heresie, lechery, and tyranny, wherein the age to come may skore him among the auncient Princes, of most abhominable and hatefull memorie. With that he rendred up the sword, and flang away like a Bedlam, adding to his shamefull Oration many other slanderous and foule termes, which for regard of the Kings posteritie, I have no minde to utter

They concluded, first to murder all of the English birth in Ireland, and sent an ambassador to *Paulus* the 3, called *Mac Granell*, archdeacon of *Kelles*, and rejected thence to *Charles* the fift, whose Aunt Queene *Katherine* the King had lately cast off, with much indignation of all the Spaniards, him hee thought eith to be kindled, and craved assistance to conquer the land, which he promised to hold under him, & his heires for ever. The meane while he forced an oath upon Gentlemen of every shire to ayde him, camped within the pale, reared a great army of English, Irish, and Scots, invaded the Earle of *Ossory*, and *James* his sonne Lord *Butler*, who having intelligence thereof, prevented his fury and kept those parts in order.

When the *Butlers* had stopped his rage in Moun-



ster, he fell to parlyes and treatyes with them, sent them diverse messengers and letters, whereby he covenanted to devide with them halfe the Kingdome, would they assist his enterprise, *James* Lord Treasurer, in whom for their youth and acquaintance he most affied, and often accumbred with such temptations, finally returned his brokers with letters.

Taking pen in hand to write you my resolute answer, I muse in the very first line, by what name to call you, my Lord, or my Cousin, seeing your notorious treason hath distayned your honour, and your desperate lewdnes shamed your kindred, you are so liberall in parting stakes with mee, that a man would weene you had no right to the game, so importunate in craving my company, as if you would perswade me to hang with you for good fellowship. And thinke you that *James* is so mad to gape for gudgens, or so ungratious to sell his truth for a peece of Ireland, were it so, (as it cannot be) that the Chickens you reckon were both hatched and feathered, yet be thou sure I had rather in this quarrell die thine enemy, then live thy partner: for the kindnes you proffer mee, and good love in the end of your letter, the best way I can I purpose to requite, that is, in advising you though you have fetched your feaze, yet to looke well ere you leape over. Ignorance and error, and a certaine opinion of duty hath carried you unawares to this folly, not yet so ranke, but it may be cured. The King is a vessell of bounty and

mercy, your words against his Majesty shall not be counted malicious, but rather balked out for heat and impotency, except your selfe by heaping offences, discover a mischievous and willfull meaning. Farewell.

Nettled with this round answer, forth he passed to increase his power, offered violence to very few, except that one despitous murder at Tartaine, the twenty five of Iuly, where in a morning earely he caused to be brought before him, the honourable Prelate Doctour *Allen*, Archbishop of Divelin, and Lord Chancellor, who being a reverent personage, feeble for age and sicknesse, kneeling at his feete in his shirte and mantle, bequeathing his soule to God, his body to the Traytors mercy, the wretched young man commaunded there to be brained like an ox. The place is ever since hedged in, overgrowne and unfrequented, in detestation of the fact. The people have observed that all the accessaries thereof, being after pardoned for rebellion, ended miserably. *Allen* had bene in service with Cardinall *Wolsey*, of deepe judgement; in the Cannon law, the onely match of *Stephen Gardener* another of *Wolseyes* Chaplaines, for avoyding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, hated of the *Geraldines* for his Masters sake, & his owne, as that he crossed them diverse times, and much troubled both the father and sonne in their governements, nor unlike to have promoted their accusations.

All this while the Kings army was looked for, and no succour came to the rebels, which greatly quayed them, being of themselves, though stored with souldiours, yet unfurnished with any sufficient munition to stand in a maine battell. Moreover the number of wise Gentlemen did not greatly incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the City of Divelin, the most part of those arrowes which were shot over the walles, were unheaded, and little or nothing af-frayed them. That espied the citizens, and gathering the faintnes of his souldiours thereby, blazed abroad upon the walles triumphant newes, that the King's Army was arryved, and as it had beene so indeed, suddenly rushed out of their gates upon the Rebels, who at the first sight of armed men, weening no lesse but the truth was so, otherwise assured that the City would never dare to encounter them, gave ground, forsooke their Captaines, dispersed and scattered into diverse corners, and never after met together.

A little before this time dyed the Earle of Kildare in the towre of London for thought and paine.<sup>2</sup> Sir *VWilliam Skevington* (whom the Irish men call the gunner, because hee was preferred from that office of the Kings Master-gunner to governe them, and that they can full evill brooke to be ruled of any that is but meanely borne) brought over an Army, and with him *Leonard Gray*, a younger sonne to the Marquesse

<sup>2</sup> John Stow.

Dorset, Lord Marshall. To whom *Fitz Gerald* yeelded, and vvas sent into England, vvhere hee vvith his Vncles, and other principalls of the conspiracy, vvere afterwards dravvne, hanged and quartered at Tiburne. Soone after vvas the house of the *Geraldines* attaynted by Parliament, and all of the name busily trayned out for feare of nev commotions. But *Thomas Leurus*, late Bishop of Kildare, schoole-master to a younger brother, *Gerald Fitz Gerald*, the Earle that novv liveth, secretly stale avvay vvith the childe, first into Scotland, then into France, and misdoubting the French, into Italy, vvhere Cardinall *Pole* his neere kinsman preserved him, till the raigne of *Edward* the sixt, vvith vvhom hee entred into high favour, and obtayned of him his olde inheritance of Meinothe.

Lastly, by meanes of the said Cardinall, and Sir *Anthony Browne*, Lord Mountague, whose sister hee marryed (a woman worthy of such a brother) Queene *Mary* (Founder and restorer of many noble houses) repealed his attainder, and set him in his fathers Earledome, wherein since that time he hath shewed himselfe sundry wayes officious and serviceable towards his Common-wealth, and the Crowne of England, beside other good qualities of honour and curtesie, they repute him heere for the best horseman in these parts of Christendome. With this escape of yong *Fitz Gerald*, the Lord *Leonard Gray* his Vncle on the mothers side was held suspect, & the same was

one speciall article urged against him when hee lost his head, Anno. 1542. <sup>a</sup>

Sir *William Skevington*, a worthy Governour, and among all vertues very just of his vvord, deceased Lord Deputy at Kilmaynam, and the Lord *Leonard Gray* succeeded him. <sup>b</sup> *Oneale* and *Odonill* colourably required a parley vvith the Deput, but in the vvay as they rode, they burned the Navan, and the tovne of Ardee. Wherefore the Deputy vvith the helpe of the Maior of Divelin *James Fitz Symonds*, and the Maior of Droghedagh, and the English pale met them, flighted them, slevv 400. of their trayne, and there the Maior of Divelin for notable service in that journey, vvvas knighted.

Sir *Anthony Seintleger* Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy. He summoned a Parliament, vvherein the *Geraldines* vvere attainted, Abbeyes suppressed, the King named supreme head and King of Ireland, because he recognized no longer to hold it of the Pope. <sup>c</sup> At this Parliament appeared Irish Lords *Mac Gilpatricke*, Lord *Barry*, *Mac Cartimore*, *O-brene*, and diverse more, vvhom folloved *Con Oneale*, submitting himselfe to the Kings Deputy, and after to the King himselfe, vvho returned him richly plated, created him Earle of Tyrone, his base sonne *Matthew Oneale* Baron of Donganon. As for *Shane Oneale*

<sup>a</sup> Hall. An. H. 3. 32 & 34.

<sup>b</sup> 1547.

<sup>c</sup> 1548.

the onely sonne of his body *mulier* begotten, hee vvas then little esteemed and of no prooffe. The same time *James Earle of Desmond* came to the King, and vvas of him both Princely entertained and revwarded.

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## CAP. X

*Edward the 6. Mary, and Elizabeth.*

**B**EFORE the decease of *Henry the 8. Seintleger* was twice in England, leaving at both times Sir *William Brabason* Lord Iustice. In his second returne An. 1546. Sir *Edward Bellingham*, Captaine generall, landed at *Waterford*, and skowred the coast, where *Omore* and *Ocomore* used to prey.

This yeare<sup>d</sup> the city of *Divelin* obtained a Charter for two Sheriffes in stead of Bayliffes.

The *Geraldines* Out-lawes were taken and executed, *Bellingham* appointed Lord Deputye, erected a Mint within the Castle of *Divelin*, which quickly wearyed them for want of fuell. *Andrew Brereton* with 300. horsemen, and 40. footemen, inhabited the North as farre as *Lecale*, where hee with 35. horsemen gave the charge upon 240. Scotts, that from the out Islandes came to succour the Irish, and wasted the Countrey.

<sup>d</sup> 1548.

In one yeare hee cleered those quarters, that the Kings subjects might passe in peace.

Sir *Frauncis Bryan* the Kings Mynion was left Lord Iustice, vvhile *Bellingham* repayred into England, vvhether he dyed a man made up by service in the vvarres, by continuall toyle therein diseased and feebled, but of courage a lyon to his dying day, true as steele, as farre from flattery as from hearing flatterers, an exceeding fervent Protestant, very zealous and carefull in tendring the vvealth of Ireland, vvherein the countrey giveth him the praise over all his predecessours and successours vvhithin memory, he spent his vvhole allowvance in hospitality, calling the same, his deare Masters meate, none of his ovvne cost. Letters commendatory offered him by the Councell, vvhether *Brian* had vvrought his trouble before the Nobility of England hee rejected as vaine and superfluous, professing, that if of his owne innocencie he could not uphold him, hee would never seeke other shift, then *Credo resurrectionem mortuorum*, for (quoth he) well they may kill mee, but they shall never conquer mee. Sowre he was, and thundering in words, indeed very temperate, applyed himselfe altogether to severity, Lordlinessse, and terrour, *Brian* dyed within sixe weekes, and *Brabason* became Lord Iustice, till *Saintleger* the fourth time was sent over Deputye. To him crept *Mac Cartye*, that had lately roved and denied his obedience, with an halter about his necke, and got his pardon.

Vpon *Saintleger* came Sir *James Croftes*, of whose bounty and honourable dealing towards them, they yeeld at this day a generall good report. *Crofts* tarried in office two yeares, and left Sir *Thomas Cusack* (who dyed five houres before the writing heereof,) and *Gerald Ailmer*, while they both were coursing *Oneale* from *Dundalke*.

Queene *Mary* established in her Crowne, committed her government once more to *Saintleger*, whom sundry Noblemen pelted and lifted at, till they shouldered him quite out of all credite.<sup>e</sup> He to be counted forward and plyable to the taste of King *Edward* the sixt his raigne, rymed against the Reall Presence for his pastime, and let the papers fall where Courtiers might light thereon, vvho greatly magnified the pith and conveyance of that noble sonnet. But the originall of his own hand-vvriting, had the same firmly (though contrary to his ovvne Iudgement) vvandering in so many hands, that his adversary caught it, and tripped it in his vvay: the spot vvhereof he could never vvipe out. Thus vvvas he removed, a discrete Gentleman, very studious of the State of Ireland, enriched, stout enough, vvithout gall.

While the Deputy staggered uncertaine of continuance, the *Tooles*, and the *Cavenaghes* vvaxed cockish in the Countie of *Divelin*, rangeing in flockes of seven or eight score, on vvhom set forth the Marshall and



the Sheriffes of *Divelin*, *Buckley* and *Gygen*, vvith the citties helpe, and over-layde them in sudden skirmishes, of which, threescore were executed for example.

*Thomas* Earle of *Sussex*, Lord Deputy, with whom came his Brother in law Sir *Henry Sidney*, Treasurer.<sup>f</sup> This Deputy, to the inestimable benefite of the Realme, brought under obedience the disordered countreyes of *Leix*, *Slewmerge*, *Ofalie*, *Irrye*, and *Glinmalire*, then late possessed by the *Oconnores*, *Omores*, *Odempsyses*, and other Irish rebels. Hee molested *James Mac Conell* the Scottish Islander, that in those dayes joyned with the Irish, and disquieted *Vlster*. In which voyage *Divelin* assisted the Governour with a faire company, conducted by *John Vsher*, Sheriffe, and *Patrick Buckley*. He held a Parliament, wherein it was made high Treason to retaine Scots for souldiours, and fellony to contract with them matrimony. At his returne from Englande (in which time Sir *Henry Sidney* vvas Lord Iustice) hee pursued the Scots to their Ilands, and there entred, did them much skathe, vvanne himselfe full great commendation of hardinesse, sayled backe vvith the glory of that adventure, vvherein (I trovv) tvvo more of his matches are not remembred, nor read. With the nevvnes of *Maryes* death, hee crossed the seas againe into England, leaving Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Iustice, and yet againe the next yeare leaving Sir *VWilliam Fitzwilliams* Lord Iustice, then returned he Lord Lieute-

<sup>f</sup> 1554.

<sup>e</sup> 1557.

nant of Ireland, by Proclamation reformed and abated their base Coyne, being as yet perfect in all the proportions, measures, allayes and values thereof, as by mintanor, tooke vvith him souldiours out of Divelin, victualled for sixe vveekes at that citties charge, under the leading of *Petaboghe* Sheriffe, and joyning him to his povver, vvent upon *Shane Oneale*, the Irish enemy of greatest force then living.<sup>h</sup> Thereupon *Shane* hyed him into England, the Lieutenant after him, *Fitz VWilliams* Lord Iustice, till *Sussex* sped his businesse, and came backe the next and last time of his departure. Sir *Nicholas Arnold* directed thither vvith Commission, tarryed behinde him Lord Iustice, and too short a vvhile as the country speaketh, vvho testifieth his upright and reasonable provision of household cates, the abuses whereof with sesse and souldiours, doe so impoverish and alienate the needie Farmers from us, that they say they might as easily beare the Irish oppressions of Coines & Cuddies, from which we pretend to deliver them.

*Arnold* for his better successe in government, linked himselfe entirely with *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, who likewise endeavoured to support the same with all diligence, being authorized to straine the rebels at his discretion, wherefore hee disposed himselfe to serve, and presented the Governour many times with a number of principall Out-lawes heades.

<sup>h</sup> 1560.

In the meane while *Sussex* became Lord President of the North of England, a spare man of body, but sound & healthfull, brought up with *Stephen Gardiner*, passing valiant, a deep reacher, very zealous in friendship, quicke in resolution of extremities in the field, wonderfull patient, able to tyre ten souldiours, learned and languaged, ever doing with his penne, of utterance sharpe and sententious, wary, busie, painefull, and speedie, meeter to rule, then to be over-ruled.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, Knight of the Garter, Lord President of Wales, and Lord Deputie of Ireland. Hee found the Realme distempered vvith *Oneales* rebellion, and the same did extinguish, vvhereof before I speake, I must looke backe a little into certaine yeares past, and lay together the circumstance of this lamentable tumult.

Of all the Irish Princes, though none vvas then comparable to *Oneale* for antiquity and noblenesse of bloud, yet had the same endured sundry varieties and vexations, untill the division began in England of the tvvo royall families, Yorke and Lancaster, at vvhich time the English Lords of Ireland, either for zeale, or for kinred and affection transporting their force thither to vphold a side, the meere Irish vvaxed insolent, and chiefly *Oneale* incroched upon the full possession of Vlster, abiding so uncontrolled, till *Shane Oneale* fearing the puissance of *Henry 8.* exhibited to him a voluntary submission, surrendred all titles of honour,

received at his hands the Earledome of Ter-ovven, commonly called Tirone, to be held of the King of English forme and tenure: Armes he gave the bloody hand a terrible cognizance. This *Oneale* had two sonnes, *Matthew* a bastard, and *Shane* legitimate, but because *Matthew* was a lusty horseman, welbeloved, and a tryed Souldiour, *Shane* but a Boy, and not of much hope, the father obtained the Barony of Donaganon, and the remainder of his Earledome to *Matthew*. When *Shane* and his foster brethren grew to yeares, they considered of the injury and tyranny, done by policie of the base *Oneale*, & with rearing hue and cry at the side of a Castle where he lay that night, when the Gentleman ran suddainely forth to answer the cry, as the custome is, they betrayed and murdered him. The father not utterly discontent with his dispatch, when he saw the prooffe of his lawfull sonne and heire, thenceforward fancied *Shane Oneale*, put him in trust with all, himselfe being but a Cripple, notwithstanding that *Matthew* left issue male which liveth, to whom the inheritance appertained, yet after his fathers decease, *Shane* was reputed for the rightfull *Oneale*, tooke it, kept it, challenged superiority over the Irish Lords of Vlster, warred also upon the English part, subdued *Oreyly*, imprisoned *Odonil*, his wife, and his sonne, enriched himselfe with all *Odonils* forts, castles, and plate, by way of ransome, detained pledges of obedience, the wife (whom he carnally abused) and the Childe, fortified a strong Iland in Tyrone, which he named spitefully, *Foogh-ni-Gall*, that is, the hate

of English men, whom he so detested, that he hanged a Souldiour for eating English bisket, another by the feete mistrusted for a spy, another Captaine of the Galloglaghes he slew with torture. After this usurpation and tyranny, hee was yet perswaded by *Melchior Husse* sent unto him from *Gerald* Earle of Kildare, to reconcile himselfe to good order, and to remember the honourable estate wherein King *Henry* placed his father, which monition he accepted, besought his protection, and made a voyage into England, where the Courtiers noting his haughtines and barbarity, devised his stile thus. *Oneale* the great, Cousin to *S. Patrickke*, friend to the Queene of England, enemy to all the world besides. Thence he sped home againe, graciously dealt with, used Civility, expelled the Scots out of all Vlster, where they intended a conquest, wounded and tooke prisoner, Captaine *Iames Mac Conill* their Chieftaine, whereof the said *Iames* deceased: ordered the North so properly, that if any subject could approve the losse of money or goods within his precinct, he would assuredly either force the robber to restitution, or of his owne cost redeeme the harme to the losers contentation. Sitting at meate, before he put one morsell into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the dayly almes, and send it namely to some begger at his gate, saying, it was meete to serve Christ first: But the Lords of Vlster, and elsewhere, whom he yoked and spoiled at pleasure, abhorring his pride and extortion, craved assistance of the Deputy, for redresse thereof: *Oneale* advertised, increaseth his rage,

disturbeth and driveth out *Mac Gwire*, the plaintiffe, burneth the Metropolitane Church of Ardmagh, because no English army might lodge therein, for which sacriledge the Primate accursed him, besiegeth Dundalke, practiseth to call strangers into the land for ayde, as appeareth by those letters which Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy intercepted, occupieth all the North of Ireland, being 100. myles broad, 120. long. Then addressed he plausible letters to the Potentates of Mounster, exhorting them to rebell, that the force of England at once might bee dismembred. This message the Deputy prevented, stayed the country, abridged him of that hope, and then proclaimed him Traytor. An Irish Iester standing by, and hearing *Oneale* denounced with addition of a new name, traytor: Except (quoth he) traytor be a more honourable title then *Oneale*, he shall never take it upon him, by my consent.

While the Deputy was absent in England, the towne of Droghedagh was in hazard to be taken by the Rebels, which to preserve, at the motion of the Lady *Sidney*, then abiding in Droghedagh, came Master *Sarsfield* then Major of Divilin, with a chosen band of goodly young men Citizens, and brake the rage of the enemies.<sup>i</sup> The Deputy returning made him Knight, and finding it now high time utterly to weede and roote out the Traytor, he furnished a substantiall army, and with the readines thereof hartened the Irish, whom *Oneale* had impoverished, cut off his adherents, and all accesse

<sup>i</sup> 1566.

of succour, chased him and his into corners, spent him, cast him into such despaire, that he consulted with his Secretary *Neale Mac Connor*, to present himselfe unknowne and disguised to the Deputy, with an halter about his necke, begging his pardon. Ere you doe so (quoth his Clarke) let us prove an extreame shift, and there he perswaded him to joyne with the Scots, whom he had lately banished: of whom, should he be refused or finde inconvenience, at any time, submission to the Deputy might then be used, when all faileth. *Shane* knew himselfe odious to the Scots, especially to them whom he thought to lincke with the brother and kindred of *Iames Mac Conill*, yet in those hard oddes hee devised rather to assay their friendship, then to grate upon mercy, which so oft and so intollerably he had abused.

*Mac Conill* whom *Shane* overthrew left two brethren, and a Sister, whereof one *Suarly Torwy* remained with *Oneale*, entertayned after his brothers death. The other was *Alexander Oge*, who with 600. Scots incamped now in *Claneboy*. The woman was *Agnes Ilye*, whose husband *Shane* slew in the said discomfiture, *Agnes* had a sonne *Mac Gillye Aspucke*, who betrayed *Oneale* to avenge his Fathers and Vncles quarrell. At the first meeting, (for thither he came accompanied with *Torwy* and his Secretary, and 50. horsemen) the Captaines made him great cheere, and fell to quaffing, but *Aspucke* minding to enter into his purpose, there openly challenged his Secretary, as the

Author of a dishonourable report, that *Mac Conils* wife did offer to forsake her country and friends, and to marry with *Shane Oneale* her husbands destruction; *Mary* (quoth the Secretary) if thine Aunt were Queen of Scotland, it might besee me her full well, to seeke such a marriage. To this brawle *Oneale* gave eare, upheld his man, advaunced his owne degree: The comparison bred a fray betweene their Souldiours; Out sprang *Aspucke*, and beat *Oneales* man, and then suddenly brought his band upon them in the tent, where the Souldiours with their slaughter-knives, killed the Secretary and *Shane Oneale*, mangled him cruelly, lapped him in an old Irish shirte, and tumbled him into a pit, within an old Chappell hard by: whose head foure dayes after, Captaine *Pierce* cut off and met therewith the Deputy, who sent it before him staked on a pole, to the Castle of *Divelin*, where it now standeth. It is thought that *Tirlagh* who now usurpeth the name of *Oneale*, practised this devise with *Agnes*, *Alexander*, and *Torwy*, when he perceived *Shane* discouraged, and not able to hold out.

Thus the wretched man ended, who might have lived like a Prince, had he not quenched the sparkes of grace that appeared in him, with arrogancy and contempt against his Prince.

The next Tumult in Ireland proceeded of the folly, especially of Sir *Edmund Butler*, *Pierce* and *Edward* his Brethren, who being unable in law, to maintaine



his title to certaine landes, whereof he held possession, whereunto Sir *Peter Carew* laide very direct and manifest claime, (for *Carew* is an ancient Barons house in Ireland) confedered with *James Fitz Morrice* of the south, and others, began commotion, more dangerous to the Realme then the late stirre of *Oneale*, such was their opportunity of place, the rebels so friended, their number so furnished, that the Deputy passing forth against them in haste, requisite with such shift as the suddaine mischiefe asked, was thought to have put his person in great adventure, but in conclusion he wanne by that journey, great martiall honour, started them from hole to hole, and ransackt every veine of the land, so as the *Butlers* craving protection, shortly recoyled, and stand now at the Queenes mercy. To appease the country, & reforme the lewdnes of his Brethren, *Thomas Earle of Ormond* came from the Court of England home, and in quieting the said broyles, shewed also for his part, a right good peece of service, worthy to be remembred. After this ensued a Parliament, the particulars whereof, are expressed in the acts lately drawne, to be published in Print, somewhat before the last session, a seditious libell intituled, *Tom Troth*, (let fall in the streetes of *Divilin*) nipped by name diverse honourable and worshipfull of the Realme, & certaine officers of the Deputyes houshold, for greiving the land with impositions of Cesse, whereupon followed a proclamation, bearing date the twenty-eight of January, which if it may bee executed in all points, would cut off many such murmures, and leave a blessed

memory of the Governour that devised it. The day of prorogation<sup>k</sup> when the Knights and Burgesses of the Cominalty resorted to the Lordes of the upper house, much good matter was there uttered betweene the Deputy and the Speaker, whereof comming home to my lodging I tooke notes, and here I will deliver them, as neere as I can call them to minde, in the same words and sentences, that I heard them. First the Speaker *James Stanihurst* an Esquire of worship, Recorder of Divelin, and for the Citty Burgesse at that present, began thus.

Rather of custome and dutyfull humility, then for doubt of your honourable disposition, (so well knowne to us all, and to every of us in private, that it little needeth my praise) we are to request your Lordship in the behalfe of our selves, and our countryes, whom we represent in this Parliament, to accept our service and endeavour in driving these conclusions, where by to the uttermost of our skill we have intended without injury, the Crowne to enrich, treasons to chastise, to better the state, traffique to further, learning to cherish, and in briefe, to maintaine with our best advice those benefits, which the Prince hath inferred upon this Realme by you, and you with your sword and wisdom have performed. An ordinary suite it is, in the end of such assemblies to crave executions of law, for it sufficeth not, to keepe a statute *tanquam inclusum in tabulis*, as a thing shut up in parchment

<sup>k</sup> 12. Decembris 1570.

rolles, but law must speake and walke abroad, to the comfort and behoofe of good subjects: Otherwise, vve shall resemble the folly of him, that once in every houre saluted his gold, never using it, but onely bad it lye still and couch. Of the necessity thereof, I cannot say so much as your Lordship conceiveth, and I desire not to discourse a matter generally felt and confessed. In particular the zeale which I have to the reformation of this Realme, and to breede in the rudest of our people, resolute English hearts, moveth me to pray your Lordships helping hand for the practice, namely of one statute which is for the erecting of Grammer Schooles, within every diocesse, the stipends to be levied in such proportion, as in the late act hath beene devised, whereunto the royall assent is already granted, and yet the point in no forwardnes, nor in none is like to be, except by some good meanes, the onset be given & freshly followed, surely might one generation sippe a little of this liquor, and so bee induced to long for more, both our countrymen that live obeysant, would ensue with a courage the fruites of peace, whereby good learning is supported, and our unquiet neighbours would finde such sweetness in the taste thereof, as it should bee a ready way to reclaim them. In mine experience, who have not yet seene much more then forty yeares, I am able to say that our Realme is at this day an halfe deale more civill then it was, since noble men and worshipfull, with others of ability, have used to send their sonnes into England to the Law, to Vniversities, or to Schooles. Now when

the same Schooles shall bee brought home to their doores, that all that will may repaire unto them, I doubt not, considering the numbers brought up beyond the Seas, and the good already done in those few places, where learning is professed, but this addition discreetly made, will foster a young frye, likely to prove good members of this common wealth, and desirous to traine their children the same way. Neither were it a small helpe to the assurance of the Crowne of England, when Babes from their Craddles should be inured under learned Schoole-masters, with a pure English tongue, habite, fashion, discipline; and in time utterly forget the affinity of their unbroken borderers, who possibly might be womne by this example, or at the least wise loose the opportunity, which novv they have, to infect others: And seeing our hap is not yet, to plant an Vniversity here at home, which attempt can never bee remembered without many thankes to your good Lordship for your bountifull offer, me seemeth it is the more expedient to enter so farre forth as our commission reacheth and to hope for the rest: I have said enough, especially to a learned governour, to whom an inckling were sufficient in such a plausible and needfull motion. It resteth that wee pray your Lordship to folde up whatsoever squarings or diversities of Iudgements, wise men have heere uttered in our often meetings, and by the sequele of all our doings to measure the good meaning of every severall person.

When the Speaker had done, the Deputy having a

rich and plentifull kinde of utterance, meere naturall, but not without judgement, answered at length, as he that knew no end of his good, the points whereof, as I can remember, were these.

In good faith, M. Speaker, I cannot lesse doe, but recorde and testifie the readines, travaile and good service of you all, and namely of your selfe, who in the whole course of this Parliament, & now lastly in this charitable request for trayning your youth, have confirmed the opinion which my selfe and the generall voyce long since retained of your rare vertues, devotion, wisdom, learning, and modestie, so as the case cannot be misdoubted that is preferred by such a Proctor, the substance whereof toucheth you my Lords spirituall and temporall, & you the knights and worshipfull of every Shire, to you belongeth the quickening of this godly statute, which heere againe I recommend unto you, & will not let to enquire after your diligence therein from time to time, & the most effectuall order that may be for this purpose, shall assuredly be taken in place convenient. Shew your selves forvvard and franke in advancing the honour, wealth, ease and credit of your countryes, envy not to your posterity the same path that your selves have troden, and namely you that flourish at this day in the light & eye of your common-wealth. Had your opinions matched with mine, concerning the Vniversity which M. Speaker remembreth, no doubt the name and reputation thereof would have bin a spurre to these erections, as nurses

for babes to suck in, till they might repaire thither to be wained: But I trust your consents therein are only suspended for a time, and that so much good labour shall not be utterly lost and frustrate: What though certaine imperfections cannot as yet be salved? What though the summe arise not to make a muster of Colledges at the first day? What though the place be not also commodious? What though other circumstances inferre a feeble and rawe foundation? These are indeede objections of the multitude, whose backwardnesse breedeth an unnecessary stoppe in this our purpose. But your wisdomes can easily consider that time must ripen a weake beginning, that other Vniuersities began with lesse, that all experience telleth us so, shall wee be so curious or so testy that nothing will please us, but all in all, all absolute, all excellent, all furnished, all beautified, all fortified in the prime and infancie thereof. I remember a tale of *Apuleius* asse, who being indifferently placed betweene two bottles of haye, because he could not reach them both at once, forbare them both. Let us not so doe, but content our selves by little and little to bee fedde as the case requireth. The rest of your Bills debated and passed by your wisdomes in this Parliament, I must confesse, they are as you say, beneficiall to the Queene my Mistris, and to her Crowne, but how? Verily as the Husband-man soweth his seede, and reapeth much more then he layde downe, so whatsoever this benefite amounteth unto, it returneth to your selves in a circle, heere it groweth, heere it is eaten,

heere it multiplyeth, heere it is spent, they have their due, the Prince is bettered, you are quieted, Iustice executed, malefactours terrified. Were they never so deare collops of your owne flesh and bloud, I see not how you could either have coloured their offence, or qualified their punishment, the one so notorious, that it cannot be dissembled, the other so ordinary, that course of law prescribeth it. Therefore as you have well done, so you have done but your duties, allowed an inch to receive an ell, abridged your owne foes, avenged your own injurys, condemned your owne oppressors. And yet this duty being on your parts, so cheerefully and painfully, so lovingly and advisedly performed, deserveth great thankes, and shall finde it too, If I bee the man, either in office able to consider you, or out of office in place to friend you. I am to depart into England shortly, lay your heads together, and article the points, whereby this Realme may be furthered, use mee either as a mouth to speake for you, or an eye to direct you, or as a hand to under-prop you, *aut consilio, aut auxilio*. Besides, the generall vvhich I ought to have for you all, as your governour, and yoked together under one obedience, English blouds, and English hearts, I am linked to you as to my continuall acquaintance these many yeares, hither I came in my spring, heere I have spent my summer, I returne in the fall of the leafe, now is the time, intimate your defects in demaunds, or what else soever may content you, and see whether I will tender your common-wealth. I meane not the pretended common-

wealth, seditiously promoted in *Tom Loodles* ryme, but some good and substantiall matter worth the hearing, which upright and equall men will indeede esteeme. As for his complaint of Cesse and Imposition, it favoureth either hatefull malice, or childish folly, malice if he would decay the garrison that preserveth the Realme, folly if he thinke the Realme can be preserved vvithout a garrison, vvherin I will shew you my fancie by the vvay, perhaps out of all order, but I pray beare vvith mee, I take matters as they come next to hand, I can not skill of vvritten tales. Many a good-fellovv talkes of *Robin Hoode*, that never drevv in his Bovv, and many an idle head is full of Proclamations, and conceiveth certaine farre fetches, able in his vveening to vvield a Realme. But let me see vvhich of them all can justifie, that Ireland may spare the Army they kicke so much against. Are your enemyes more tractable then they have beene? Are they fevver? Are you by your selves of force to match them? If you bee, then vvere England starke madde, to disburse tvventie or thirtie thousand pounds a yeare, for none other purpose but to vexe and grieve you: that were like the husband who gelded himselfe to anger his wife. You must not thinke wee love you so evill, nay rather thinke truely wee tender your quietnesse and preservation, as a nation derived from our auncestours, ingrafted and incorporate into one body with us, disturbed with a sort of barbarous people, odious to God and man, that lappe your bloud as greedily as ours. The abuse of souldiours, their



horse, boyes, and harlots, the Legerdemaine of Capitaines, chequerelles, the purloining of Cessors & Constables, the number of freedomes holding onely by *concordatum*, the annoyance and hurt which the poore farmer endureth, as I know them to be intollerable, so I know them to be redressed with the first detection, whose complaint hath not been heard? whose enormity vvinked at? what can you aske more? would you have souldiours nothing insolent, nothing sensuall, nothing greedy, no quarrellers? so wish I, but scarce hope for it, vvould you hazard a misery certaine, extreame, and incurable, to avoyde a trouble casuall, transitory, and remedillesse? so vvould not I, if you can prove a garrison needlesse, I undertake to ease you thereof, If you neede it, they must bee fedde, finde another vvay then this, to provide for them victuall, that carryeth asmuch readinesse to service, and more contentation to your selves, and I assure you mine assistance to set it forvvard. But the Brokers of this libell are vvont to reason, Why should not vvee live vvithout an Army as vvell as in England? Why cannot our Noble-men of might in every border, our tenants and servaunts vvithstand the Irish next them, as vvell as the Northerne Lordes and Inhabitants of Riddesdale and Tiddesdale, and those about the Scottish banke resist the Scotts, facing and pilfering as fast as our enemyes. Very good, vvhat saye they then to Fraunce, vvich is no vvorser governed then England, and hath an Armye. Italy notvvithstanding as vvell ordered as Fraunce vvithout an Army? Spaine asvvell as either of them

both, and continually keeps an Armye? I tell you, these are daungerous and hollovve kindes of Arguments, which are deduced *ab exemplo*, by example of other Realmes. Many subtile diversities, many varieties of circumstance, many exceptions alter the case, and make it utterly desperate. Touching Scotland it is well knowne, they were never the men whom England neede to feare: They are but a corner cut out, and easily tamed when they waxe outrageous. Your foes lie in the bosome of your Countryes; more in number, richer of ground, desperate theeves, ever at an inch, unpossible to be severed from you without any fence, beside your owne valiantnes, and the helpe of our Souldiours. England is quiet within it selfe, thoroughly peopled on that side of Scotland, which most requireth it, guarded with an army, otherwise the Lords and Gentlemen, and lusty Yeoman, that dwell on a row are ready to maister their private vagaries. From all forraine invasions walled with the wide Ocean. Were there such a Sea betwixt you and the Irish, or were they shut up in an odde end of the land, or had they no such opportunityes of bogges and woods as they have, or were they Lords of the lesser part of Ireland, or were they severed into handfuls, not able to annoy whole townships and Baronies as they doe, the comparison were somewhat like, but alacke it fareth not so with you, you are beset round, your townes be feeble, the land empty, the commons bare, every county by it selfe cannot save it selfe. Take away the terrour and feare of our Bande, which in-

creaseth your strength, many an Irish Lord would be set agog that novv is full lovvly, and holdeth in his hornes, and the open enemy vvould scovvre your quarters that novv dares not venture lest he pay for his passage. Consider me the effect of an Army vvrought in these fevv yeares, for doubt vvhereof you are nothing so oft nor so lamentably pelted at, as your auncestors vvere, vvhich of them durst be stored with coyne, knovving the rebells teeth vvatered thereat, and himselfe not able to hold him out? vvhich of them had leisure to build, to lye soft and vvarme, to take his ease in his ovvne home? vvhich of them vvere plated, or jevvelled, or attyred themselves, their vivves and children sumptuously, after their calling, as you doe now? If your bagges bee full vvhere theirs were lancke, if you dwell neatly where they dwelled homely, if you sleep on featherbeds where they slept on couches, if you be sumptuous where they vvere skant, you have the more cause to honour that Scepter, that so directeth you, and to love the warrant that procureth you this quietnes, the mother of all your wealth and prosperity.

Therefore to conclude where I began, weigh well the sicke and wounded parts of your common wealth, cure the roote, regard the foundation, the principall pillars, the summer posts, the stone walles, as for the rooffe and the tyles, if yee reparaire them onely, and suffer the ground worke to perish, a tempest of weather; a flovve will shake your building. Of some such good and substantiall reformation I would advise you

friendly to consult, and you shall finde me as willing to preferre the generall welfare of you all, as I have beene desirous to benefit every singular person of you, that hath in any lawfull suite attempted me.

¶ These last words gave *Sidney* to the Realme, as it were for a farewell, and thenceforwards looked for Sir *William Fitz Williams* his brother in law, a politicke and stout gentleman, now Lord Iustice, and for Sir *John Perrot* Lord president of Mounster, to be settled there, before his departure. He was honored at the point of his going, with such recourse, pompe, musicke, shewes & enterludes, as no man remembreth the like. He tooke ship towards England at the key of *Divilin*, in Lent follovving,<sup>1</sup> accompanied to sea with the Estates & Worshipfull of Ireland, vvith innumerable harty prayers, & vvith that vvish of his returne, vvhereof but fevv Governours in these last 60. yeares, have held possession. The man vvas surely much loved of them, from his first office of Treasurer in the 2. yeare of Queen *Mary*, stately vvithout disdaine, familiar vvithout contempt, very continent & chast of body, no more then enough liberall, learned in many languages, & a great lover of learning perfect in blazoning of armes, skilfull of antiquities, of vvit fresh and lively, in consultations very Temperate, in utterance happy, vvich his experience and vvisedome hath made artificiall, a preferrer of many, a father to his servants, both in warre and peace of commendable courage

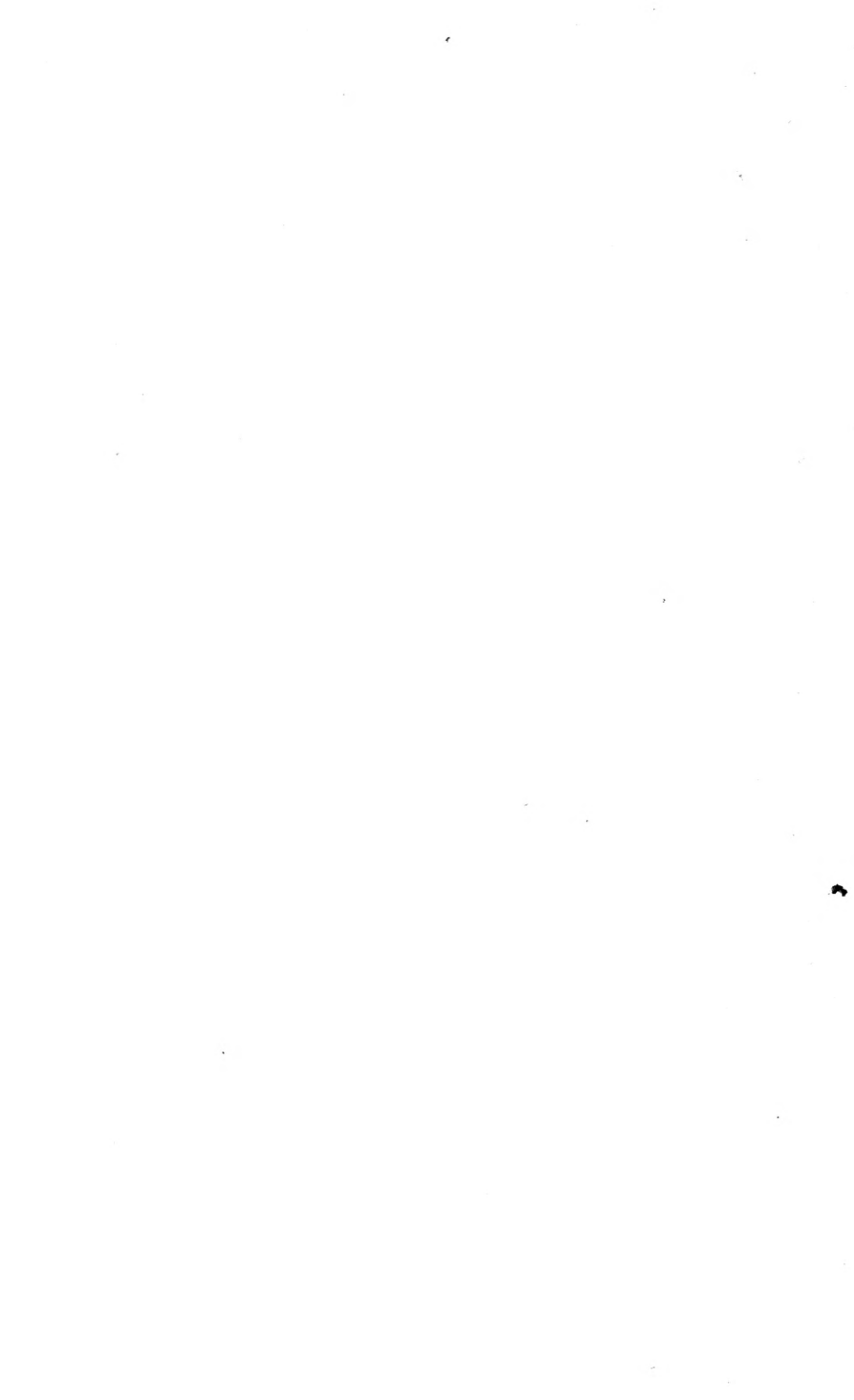
<sup>1</sup> 25. Mar. 1571.

## ERRATA

*In the ORIGINAL text of CAMPION.*

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- Page 30, in the marginal note, read *An. Mundi 1656*.  
Page 43, line 19, read *our* instead of *your*.  
Page 67, line 24, after Clerke, read *astonished*.  
Page 88, line 6, read *extreamely*.  
Page 94, line 4, read *coadiutors*, instead of *coodgellers*.  
Page 123, line 4, read LEINSTER, instead of Mounster.  
Page 132, line 17, after Archer, read *Prior*.  
Page 138, in the notes, read 1399.  
Page 143, line 15, *praepositura*.  
Page 201, line 2, read *cheque rolles*.













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