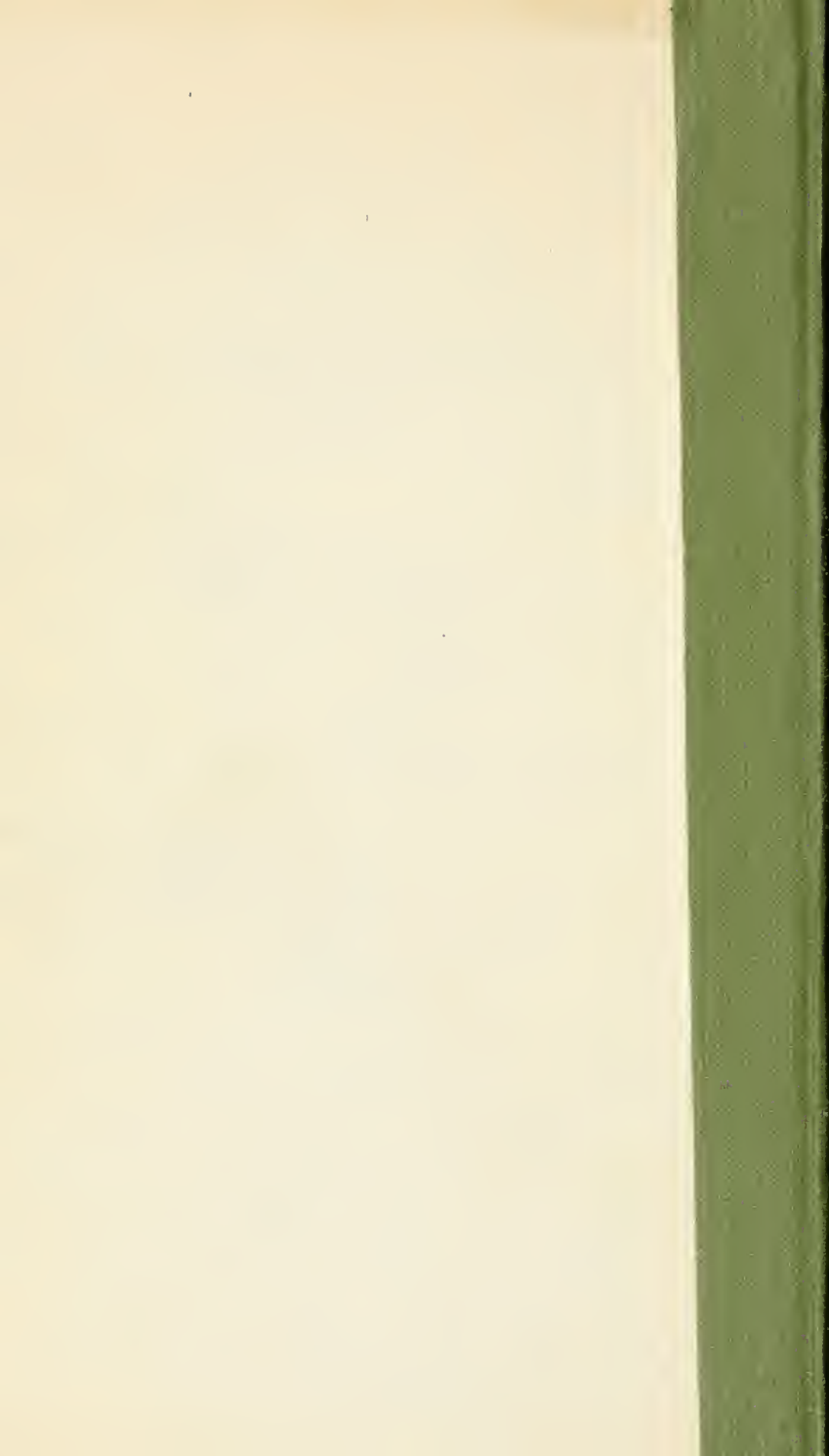
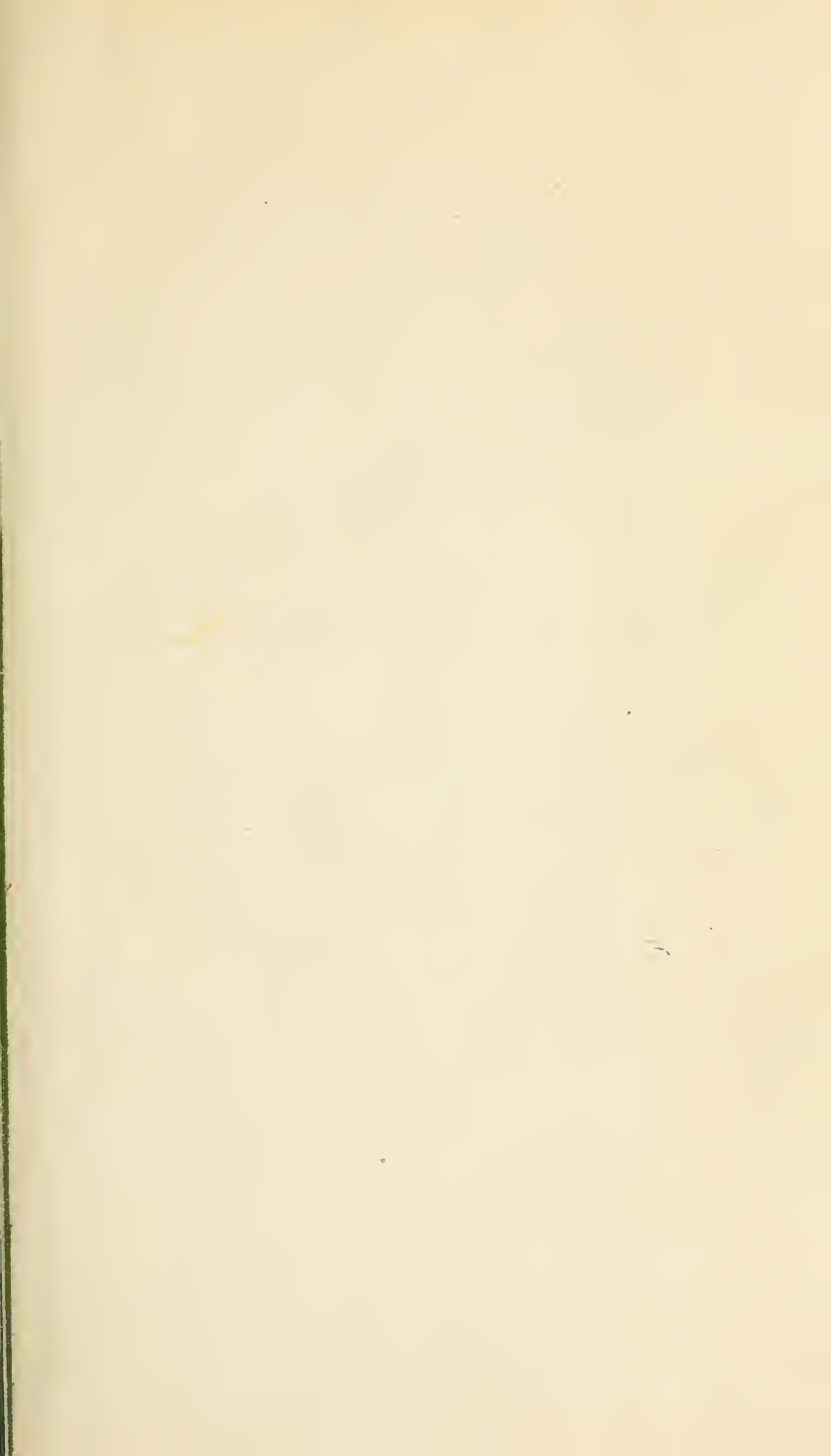




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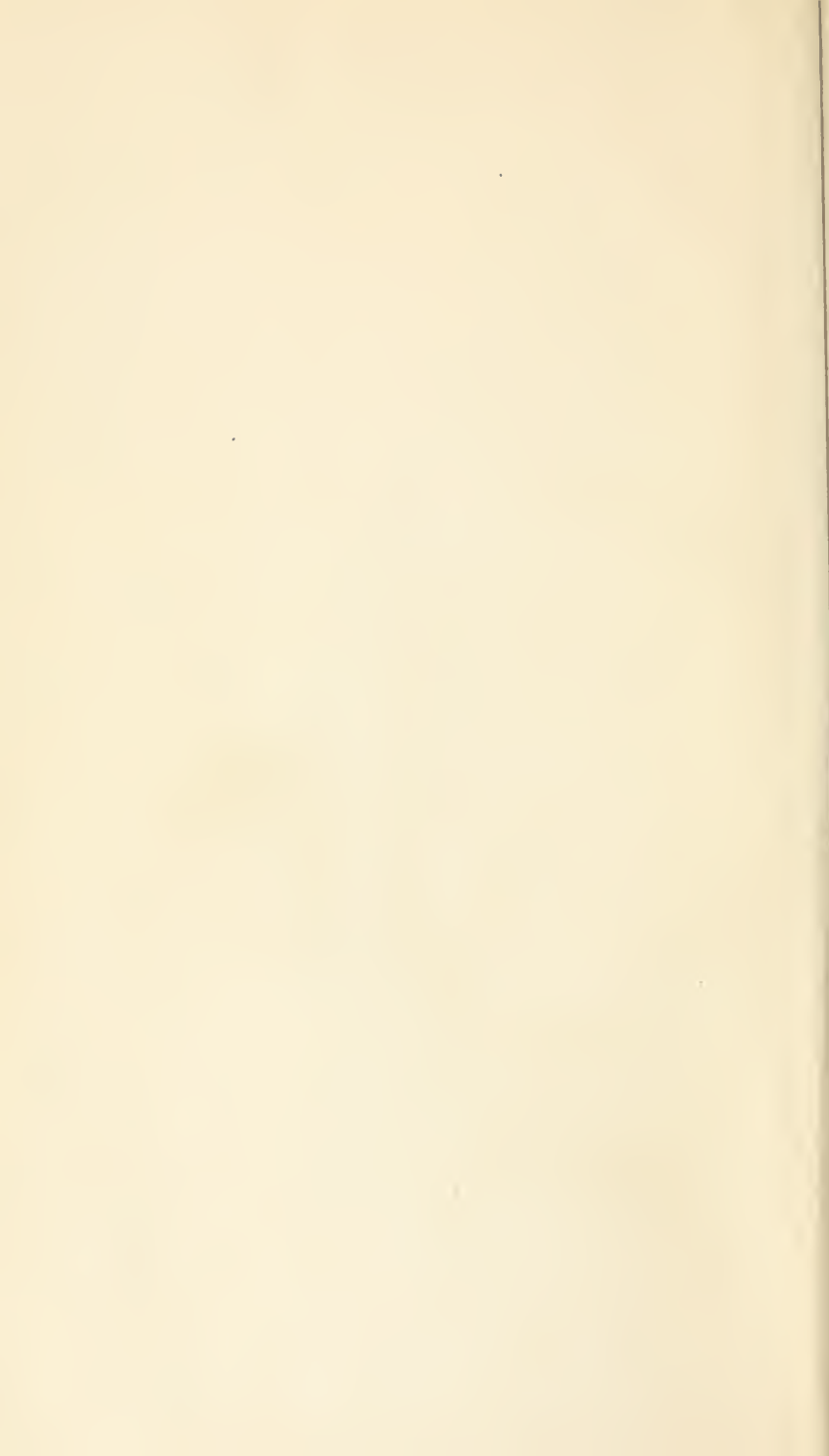








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THE

# WORKS

OF

## EDMUND SPENSER.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

WITH THE

### PRINCIPAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

### VARIOUS COMMENTATORS.

VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

LONDON:

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COLIN CLOUT'S  
COME HOME AGAINE.

By ED. SP.

1595.



TO THE RIGHT WORTHY AND NOBLE KNIGHT

SIR WALTER RALEIGH,

*Captaine of her Maiesties Guard, Lord Wardein of the Stammeries,  
and Licutenant of the Countie of Cornwall.*

SIR,

THAT you may see that I am not alwaies ydle as yee thinke, though not greatly well occupied, nor altogither undutifull, though not precisely officious, I make you present of this simple Pastorall, unworthie of your higher conceipt for the meaneffe of the stile, but agreeing with the truth in circumstance and matter. The which I humbly beseech you to accept in part of paiment of the infinite debt, in which I acknowledge my selfe bounden unto you for your singular favours, and fundrie good turnes, shewed to me at my late being in England; and with your good countenance protect against the malice of evill mouthes, which are alwaies wide open to carpe at and misconfrue my simple meaning: I pray continually for your happineffe. From my house of Kilcolman, the 27. of December.

1591. [rather perhaps 1595.]

Yours ever humbly,

ED. SP.

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## COLIN CLOUTS

### COME HOME AGAIN.

THE shepherds boy (best known by that name)

That after Tityrus first sung his lay,  
Laies of sweet love, without rebuke or blame,  
Sate (as his custome was) upon a day,  
Charming his oaten pipe unto his peres, 5  
The shepheard swaines that did about him play :  
Who all the while, with greedie listfull eares,  
Did stand astonisht at his curious skill,  
Like hartleffe deare, dismayd with thunders  
found.

At last, when as he piped had his fill, 10  
He rested him : and, sitting then around,

Ver. 2. ——— *Tityrus*] Chaucer. See vol. ii. p. cxxxiii. In this poem Spenser has introduced many poets also of his own time, either by their real or fictitious names; of whom notice has been already taken in the Life of Spenser. He has also celebrated the reigning Beauties, as well as Wits, of that age; “but Time,” says Mr. Hughes, “has blended them both in that common obscurity that we can trace out but few of them by their true names.” I have ventured however, in the Life of the poet, to make some additions to Mr. Hughes’s account of these distinguished characters. TODD.

Ver. 5. *Charming &c.*] See the note on F. Q. v. ix. 13.

T. WARTON.

One of those groomes (a iolly groome was he,  
As ever piped on an oaten reed,  
And lov'd this shepheard dearest in degree,  
Hight Hobbinol;) gan thus to him areed. 15

“ Colin, my liefe, my life, how great a losse  
Had all the shepheards nation by thy lacke!  
And I, poore fwaine, of many, greatest crosse!  
That, sith thy Muse first since thy turning backe  
Was heard to found as she was wont on hye, 20  
Hast made us all so blessed and so blythe.

Whilest thou wast hence, all dead in dole did lie:  
The woods were heard to waile full many a  
fythe,

And all their birds with silence to complaine:  
The fields with faded flowers did seem to  
mourne, 25.

And all their flocks from feeding to refraine:  
The running waters wept for thy returne,  
And all their fish with languour did lament:  
But now both woods and fields and floods  
revive,

Sith thou art come, their cause of meriment, 30

Ver. 22. *Whilest thou wast hence, all dead &c.*] Virgil,  
*Ecl.* i. 39.

“ Ipsæ te, Tityre, pinus,  
“ Ipsi te fontes, ipsa hæc arbuſta, vocabant.”

See also *Ecl.* vii. 55—59. And Aristophanes, where the Chorus  
sing the praises of Peace, *Pac.* 596.

Ὡς τε σὲ τὰ τ' ἀμπέλια,

καὶ τὰ νεὰ συνίδια,

τᾶλλα θ' οὐκ ἐστὶ φίλα,

πρὸς γελάσεται σε λαοὶ ἄσμενα. JORTIN.



That us, late dead, hast made againe alive :  
 But were it not too painefull to repeat  
 The passed fortunes, which to thee befell  
 In thy late voyage, we thee would entreat,  
 Now at thy leisure them to us to tell.” 35

To whom the shepheard gently answered  
 thus ;

“ Hobbin, thou temptest me to that I covet ;  
 For of good passed newly to discus,  
 By dubble usurie doth twise renew it.  
 And since I saw that Angels blessed eie, 40  
 Her worlds bright sun, her heavens fairest  
 light,

My mind, full of my thoughts fatietie,  
 Doth feed on sweet contentment of that fight :  
 Since that same day in nought I take delight,  
 Ne feeling have in any earthly pleasure, 45  
 But in remembrance of that glorious bright,  
 My lifes sole blisse, my hearts eternall threasure.  
 Wake then, my pipe ; my sleepe Muse, awake ;  
 Till I have told her praises lasting long :  
 Hobbin desires, thou maist it not forsake ;— 50  
 Harke then, ye iolly shepheards, to my song.”

With that they all gan throng about him  
 neare,

With hungrie eares to heare his harmonie :  
 The whiles their flocks, devoyd of dangers feare,  
 Did round about them feed at libertie. 55

“ One day (quoth he) I fat, (as was my trade)  
 Under the foote of Mole, that mountaine hore,  
 Keeping my sheepe amongst the cooly shade  
 Of the greene alders by the Mullaes shore :  
 There a straunge shepheard chaunft to find me out,  
 Whether allured with my pipes delight,      61  
 Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,  
 Or thither led by chaunce, I know not right :  
 Whom when I asked from what place he came,  
 And how he hight, himselfe he did yleepe      65  
 The Shepheard of the Ocean by name,  
 And said he came far from the main-sea deepe.  
 He, sitting me beside in that same shade,  
 Provoked me to plaie some pleasant fit;  
 And, when he heard the musicke which I made,

Ver. 58. *Keeping my sheepe amongst the cooly shade*

*Of the greene alders by the Mullaes shore:] The*

*Mulla* (noted for excellent trouts and fine eels, also salmon, and some carp, perch, and tench,) is the river *Awbeg*; which runs not far from Kilcolman, [Spenser's residence,] and wathes Buttevant, Doneraile, Castletown-Roch, &c. To which stream, and to the poet, those lines of Pope may justly be applied :

“ O early lost, what tears the river shed!—

“ His drooping swans on every note expire,

“ And on his willows hung each Muse's lyre.”

Spenser also celebrates the *Mulla*, F. Q. vii. vi. 40. Smith's *Hist. of Cork*, vol. i. p. 342. TODD.

Ver. 69. \_\_\_\_\_ fit] *Strain or air.*

A *fit*, says Mr. Steevens, was a part or division of a song; sometimes a strain in musick; and sometimes a measure in dancing. The reader will find the word illustrated in the two former senses by Dr. Percy in the first volume of the *Reliques of ancient Eng. Poetry*, and in the latter by Mr. Steevens in his note on Shakspeare's *Troil. and Cress.* A. iii. S. i. See also F. Q. i. xi. 7. TODD.

He found himselfe full greatly pleas'd at it: 71  
 Yet, æmuling my pipe, he tooke in hond  
 My pipe, before that æmuled of many,  
 And plaid theron; (for well that skill he cond;)  
 Himselfe as skilfull in that art as any. 75  
 He pip'd, I fung; and, when he fung, I piped;  
 By chaunge of turnes, each making other mery;  
 Neither envying other, nor envied,  
 So piped we, untill we both were weary."

There interrupting him, a bonie swaine, 80  
 That Cuddy hight, him thus atweene bespake:  
 "And, should it not thy readie course restraine,  
 I would request thee, Colin, for my sake,  
 To tell what thou didst sing, when he did plaie;  
 For well I weene it worth recounting was, 85  
 Whether it were some hymne, or morall laie,  
 Or carol made to praise thy loved lassie."

"Nor of my love, nor of my lassie, (quoth he)  
 I then did sing, as then occasion fell:  
 For love had me forlorne, forlorne of me, 90  
 That made me in that desert choose to dwell.  
 But of my river Bregogs love I soong,  
 Which to the shiny Mulla he did beare,

Ver. 72. — æmuling] See also æmuled in the next line.  
 This verb is probably of Spenser's coinage. TODD.

Ver. 86. — or morall laie,] Meaning  
 his *Faerie Queene*, as Mr. Warton has observed; his "*moralized  
 song*," F. Q. Introduction, B. i. See also the Life of Spenser.

And yet doth beare, and ever will, so long  
As water doth within his bancks appeare.” 95

“ Of fellowship (said then that bony Boy)  
Record to us that lovely lay againe :  
The staie whereof shall nought these eares  
annoy,

Who all that Colin makes do covet faine.”

“ Heare then (quoth he) the tenor of my tale,  
In sort as I it to that shepheard told : 101  
No leasing new, nor grandams fable stale,  
But auncient truth confirm'd with credence old.

“ Old father Mole, (Mole hight that moun-  
tain gray  
That walls the northside of Armulla dale ;) 105  
He had a daughter fresh as floure of May,  
Which gave that name unto that pleasant vale ;  
Mulla, the daughter of old Mole, so hight  
The Nymph, which of that water course has  
charge,

That, springing out of Mole, doth run downe  
right 110

To Buttevant, where, spreading forth at large,  
It giveth name unto that auncient Cittie,  
Which Kilnemullah cleped is of old ;

Whose ragged ruines breed great ruth and pittie  
To travailers, which it from far behold. 115

Full faine she lov'd, and was belov'd full faine  
Of her owne brother river, Bregog hight,

So hight becaufe of this deceitfull traine,  
 Which he with Mulla wrought to win delight.  
 But her old fire more carefull of her good, 120  
 And meaning her much better to preferre,  
 Did thinke to match her with the neighbour  
 flood,  
 Which Allo hight, Broad-water called farre ;  
 And wrought so well with his continuall paine,  
 That he that river for his daughter wonne : 125  
 The dowre agreed, the day assigned plaine,  
 The place appointed where it should be doone.  
 Nath'lesse the Nymph her former liking held ;  
 For love will not be drawne, but must be  
 ledde ;  
 And Bregog did so well her fancie weld, 130  
 That her good will he got her first to wedde.  
 But for her father, sitting still on hie,  
 Did warily still watch which way she went,  
 And eke from far observ'd, with ieaalous eie,  
 Which way his course the wanton Bregog bent ;  
 Him to deceive, for all his watchfull ward, 136

Ver. 118. *So hight becaufe of this deceitfull traine,*] The etymology of *Bregog*, according to Llhuyd, as Mr. Walker has observed to me, means *false* or *lying*. TODD.

Ver. 123. ———— *Allo*] See Mr. Walker's note on "Strong Allo &c." F. Q. iv. xi. 41. And Smith's *Hist. of Cork*, vol. i. p. 328.

" And *Allo*, by fam'd Spencer fil'd the strong,

" Impetuous from her mountains rolls along. — —

" While gentle *Mulla*, his once favourite them, e,

" Records his Muse's truth in her slow-gliding stream."

TODD.

The wily lover did devise this flight :  
 First into many parts his streame he shar'd,  
 That, whilst the one was watcht, the other  
 might

Passè unespide to meete her by the way ; 140  
 And then, besides, those little streames so broken  
 He under ground so closely did convey,  
 That of their passage doth appeare no token,  
 Till they into the Mullaes water slide.

So secretly did he his love enjoy : 145  
 Yet not so secret, but it was descride,  
 And told her father by a shepherds boy.  
 Who, wondrous wroth for that so foule de-  
 spight,

In great avenge did roll downe from his hill  
 Huge mightie stones, the which encomber might  
 His passage, and his water-courses spill. 151  
 So of a River, which he was of old,  
 He none was made, but scattred all to nought ;  
 And, lost emong those rocks into him rold,  
 Did lose his name : so deare his love he bought."

Which having said, him Thestylis bespake ; 156  
 " Now by my life this was a mery lay,  
 Worthie of Colin selfe, that did it make.  
 But read now eke, of friendship I thee pray,  
 What dittie did that other shepheard sing : 160  
 For I do covet most the same to heare,  
 As men use most to covet forreine thing."

“ That shall I eke (quoth he) to you declare:  
 His song was all a lamentable lay  
 Of great unkindness, and of usage hard, 165  
 Of Cynthia the Ladie of the Sea,  
 Which from her presence faultlesse him debard.  
 And ever and anon, with singulfs rise,  
 He cryed out, to make his under-song;  
 Ah! my loves queene, and goddesse of my life, 170  
 Who shall me pittie, when thou doest me  
 wrong ?”

Then gan a gentle bonylasse to speake,  
 That Marin hight; “ Right well he sure did  
 plaine,  
 That could great Cynthiaes fore displeasure  
 breake,  
 And move to take him to her grace againe. 175  
 But tell on further, Colin, as befell  
 Twixt him and thee, that thee did hence dis-  
 suade.”

“ When thus our pipes we both had wearied  
 well,  
 (Quoth he) and each an end of singing made,  
 He gan to cast great lyking to my lore, 180  
 And great dislyking to my lucklesse lot,  
 That banisht had my selfe, like wight forlore,  
 Into that waste, where I was quite forgot.

The which to leave, thenceforth he counfeld  
mee,

Unmeet for man, in whom was ought regardfull,  
And wend with him, his Cynthia to see; 186  
Whose grace was great, and bounty most re-  
wardfull.

Besides her peerlesse skill in making well,  
And all the ornaments of wondrous wit,  
Such as all womankynd did far excell; 190  
Such as the world admyr'd, and praised it:  
So what with hope of good, and hate of ill,  
He me perswaded forth with him to fare.  
Nought tooke I with me, but mine oaten  
quill:

Small needments else need shepheard to prepare.  
So to the sea we came; the sea, that is 196  
A world of waters heaped up on hie,  
Rolling like mountaines in wide wilderneffe,  
Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie."

Ver. 188. ————— in making well,] In  
*poetical* composition. See the notes on the *Shep. Cal.* June,  
ver. 82. Puttenham highly commends, as "passing sweete and  
harmonicall," a Ditty by her Majesty; which is reprinted in  
Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*: And, in Percy's  
*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, her verses, written with  
charcoal on a shutter while she was prisoner at Woodstock, are  
reprinted from a corrected copy of them as preserved by  
Hentzner. TODD.

Ver. 197. *A world of waters*] Milton's expression also,  
*Par. L.* B. iii. 11. T. WARTON.

Ver. 199. *Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie.*] This  
is a verse of fine effect. TODD.



“ And is the sea (quoth Coridon) so fearfull ?”

“ Fearful much more (quoth he) then hart can  
fear : 201

Thousand wyld beasts with deep mouthes gaping  
direfull

Therin stil wait poore passengers to teare.

Who life doth loath, and longs death to behold,  
Before he die, alreadie dead with feare, 205

And yet would live with heart halfe stonie cold,  
Let him to sea, and he shall see it there.

And yet as ghastly dreadfull, as it seemes,  
Bold men, presuming life for gaine to sell,  
Dare tempt that gulf, and in those wandring  
stremes 210

Seek waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell.

For, as we stood there waiting on the stond,

Behold, an huge great vessell to us came,

Dauncing upon the waters back to lond,

As if it scornd the daunger of the fame ; 215

Ver. 200. *And is the sea, quoth Coridon, so fearfull ?*] A  
judicious question and natural from a shepherd. T. WARTON.

Ver. 213. *Behold, an huge great vessell to us came,  
Dauncing upon the waters &c.*] Cicero, *De Nat.*

*Deor.* II. 35. “ Ille apud Attium pastor, qui navem numquam ante vidisset, ut procul divinum et novum vehiculum Argonautarum e monte conspexit, primo admirans & perterritus, hoc modo loquitur :

————— Tanta moles labitur  
Fremebunda ex alto, ingenti sonitu et strepitu :  
Præ se undas volvit ; vortices vi fuscitat ;  
Ruit prolapsa ; pelagus respergit ; profluit, &c.”

See the notes of Dr. Davies. 'Tis likely Spenser had these lines in his mind. JORTIN.

Yet was it but a wooden frame and fraile,  
 Glewed together with some subtile matter.  
 Yet had it armes and wings, and head and taile,  
 And life to move it felse upon the water.

Strange thing! how bold and swift the monster  
 was, 220

'That neither car'd for wynd, nor haile, nor  
 raine,

Nor swelling waves, but thorough them did  
 passe

So proudly, that she made them roare againe.

The same aboard us gently did receive,  
 And without harme us farre away did beare, 225

So farre that land, our mother, us did leave,  
 And nought but sea and heaven to us appeare.

'Then hartelesse quite, and full of inward feare,  
 'That shepheard I besought to me to tell,

Under what skie, or in what world we were, 230  
 In which I saw no living people dwell.

Who, me recomforting all that he might,  
 'Told me that that same was the Regiment

Of a great shepheardesse, that Cynthia hight,  
 His liege, his Ladie, and his lifes Regent.— 235

“ If then (quoth I) a shepheardesse she bee,

Ver. 226. *So farre that land, our mother, us did leave,  
 And nought but sea and heaven to us appeare.*] Vir-

gil, *Æn.* iii. 192.

“ Postquam altum tenere rates, nec jam amplius ullæ  
 “ Apparent terræ, cælum undique, et undique pontus.”

JORTIN.

Where be the flockes and heards, which she  
doth keep?

And where may I the hills and pastures see,  
On which she useth for to feed her sheepe?"

" These be the hills, (quoth he) the ferges hie,  
On which faire Cynthia her heards doth feed :  
Her heards be thousand fishes with their frie,  
Which in the bosome of the billowes breed.  
Of them the shepheard which hath charge in  
chief,

Is Triton, blowing loud his wreathed horne : 245  
At sound whereof, they all for their relief  
Wend too and fro at evening and at morne.

And Proteus eke with him does drive his heard  
Of stinking seales and porcupises together,  
With hoary head and deawy dropping beard, 250  
Compelling them which way he list, and whether.

And I, among the rest, of many least,  
Have in the Ocean charge to me assignd ;  
Where I will live or die at her behest,  
And serve and honour her with faithfull mind. 255

Besides an hundred Nymphs all heavenly borne,  
And of immortall race, doo still attend  
To wash faire Cynthiaes sheep, when they be  
shorne,

And fold them up, when they have made an end.  
Those be the shepherds which my Cynthia  
serve

At sea, beside a thousand moe at land :  
 For land and sea my Cynthia doth deserve  
 'To have in her commandement at hand."

Thereat I wondred much, till, wondring more  
 And more, at length we land far off descryde:  
 Which sight much gladed me; for much afore  
 I feard, least land we never should have eyde:  
 Thereto our ship her course directly bent,  
 As if the way she perfectly had knowne. 269  
 We Lunday passe; by that fame name is ment  
 An island, which the first to west was showne.  
 From thence another world of land we kend,  
 Floting amid the sea in ieopardie,  
 And round about with mightie white rocks  
 hemd,

Against the seas eneroching crueltie. 275  
 Those fame the shepheard told me, were the fields  
 In which dame Cynthia her landheards fed;  
 Faire goodly fields, then which Armulla yields  
 None fairer, nor more fruitfull to be red.  
 The first, to which we nigh approached, was 280  
 An high headland thrust far into the sea,  
 Like to an horne, whereof the name it has,

Ver. 282. *Like to an horne, &c.*] Cornwall. See Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, 1602. p. 1. "Some draw the name *Cornwall* from *Corineus*, cousin to Brute, &c. Some &c. from *CORNU Gallie*, a horne or corner of Fraunce, whereagainst nature hath placed it; and some, from *CORNU Wallie*, which (in my coniecture) carrieth greatest likelyhood of truth." See also Drayton's *Polyolb.* S. i. TODD.

Yet seemd to be a goodly pleafant lea :  
 There did a loftie mount at firft us greet,  
 Which did a ftately heape of ftones upreare, 285  
 That seemd amid the farges for to fleet,  
 Much greater then that frame, which us did  
 beare :

There did our fhip her fruitfull wombe unlade,  
 And put us all afhore on Cynthias land.

“ What land is that thou meanft, (then Cuddy  
 fayd) 290

And is there other then whereon we ftand ?”

“ Ah! Cuddy, (then quoth Colin) thous a fon,  
 That haft not feene leaft part of natures worke :  
 Much more there is unkend then thou doeft kon,  
 And much more that does from mens know-  
 ledge lurke. 295

For that fame land much larger is then this,  
 And other men and beafts and birds doth feed :  
 There fruitfull corne, faire trees, frefh herbage is,  
 And all things elfe that living creatures need.  
 Befides moft goodly rivers there appeare, 300  
 No whit inferiour to thy Fanchins praife,  
 Or unto Allo, or to Mulla cleare :  
 Nought haft thou, foolifh boy, feene in thy  
 daies.”

“ But if that land be there (quoth he) as here,  
 And is theyr heaven likewise there all one? 305  
 And, if like heaven, be heavenly graces there,

Like as in this fame world where we do wone?"

"Both heaven and heavenly graces do much  
more

(Quoth he) abound in that fame land then this.

For there all happie peace and plenteous store

Conspire in one to make contented blisse: 311

No wayling there nor wretchednesse is heard,

No bloodie issues nor no leprosyes,

No griesly famine, nor no raging sward,

No nightly bodrags, nor no hue and cries; 315

The shepheards there abroad may safely lie,

On hills and downes, withouten dread or

daunger:

No ravenous wolves the good mans hope destroy,

Nor outlawes fell affray the forest raunger.

There learned arts do flourish in great honor, 320

And Poets wits are had in peerlesse price:

Religion hath lay powre to rest upon her,

Advancing vertue and suppressing vice.

For end, all good, all grace there freely growes,

Had people grace it gratefully to use: 325

For God his gifts there plenteously bestowes,

But gracelesse men them greatly do abuse."

"But say on further, then said Corylas,

The rest of thine adventures, that betyded."

Ver. 312. *No wayling there, &c.*] See the note on F. Q. vii. vi. 55. T. WARTON.

Ver. 315. ————— *bodrags,*] Rather *bordrags*, i. e. *bordragings*, as in the F. Q. ii. x. 63. Where see the note on the word. TODD.

“ Foorth on our voyage we by land did passe,  
 (Quoth he) as that same shepheard still us  
 guded, 331

Untill that we to Cynthiaes presence came :  
 Whose glorie greater then my simple thought,  
 I found much greater then the former fame ;  
 Such greatnes I cannot compare to ought : 335  
 But if I her like ought on earth might read,  
 I would her lyken to a crowne of lillies,  
 Upon a virgin brydes adorned head,  
 With roses dight and goolds and daffadillies ;  
 Or like the circlet of a turtle true, 340  
 In which all colours of the rainbow bee ;  
 Or like faire Phebes garlond shining new,  
 In which all pure perfection one may see.  
 But vaine it is to thinke, by paragone 344  
 Of earthly things, to iudge of things divine :  
 Her power, her mercy, and her wisdome,  
 none

Can deeme, but who the Godhead can define.  
 Why then do I, base shepheard, bold and blind,  
 Presume the things so sacred to prophane ?  
 More fit it is t'adore, with humble mind, 350  
 The image of the heavens in shape humane.”

Ver. 340. *Or like the circlet of a turtle true, &c.*] The emperor Nero said of the dove,

“ Colla Cytheriacæ splendent agitata columbæ :”

Which verse his tutor Seneca commends greatly, *Nat. Quæst.*  
 l. 5. And indeed it is not a bad one. JORTIN.

With that Alexis broke his tale afunder,  
 Saying; " By wondring at thy Cynthiaes praise,  
 Colin, thy selfe thou mak'st us more to wonder,  
 And her upraising doest thy selfe upraise. 355  
 But let us heare what grace she shewed thee,  
 And how that shepheard strange thy cause ad-  
 vanced."

" The Shepheard of the Ocean (quoth he)  
 Unto that Goddesse grace me first enhanced,  
 And to mine oaten pipe enclin'd her eare, 360  
 That she thenceforth therein gan take delight,  
 And it desir'd at timely houres to heare,  
 All were my notes but rude and roughly  
 dight;

For not by measure of her owne great mynd,  
 And wondrous worth, she mott my simple song,  
 But ioyd that country shepheard ought could  
 fynd 366  
 Worth harkening to, emongst the learned  
 throng."

" Why? (said Alexis then) what needeth shee  
 That is so great a shepheardesse her selfe,  
 And hath so many shepheards in her see, 370  
 To heare thee sing, a simple silly else?  
 Or be the shepheards which do serve her laesie,  
 That they list not their mery pipes applie?"

Ver. 365. ————— *she mott my simple song,*] Perhaps  
*mott* is the preterperfect of *mote*, i. e. *measure*. T. WARTON.



Or be their pipes untunable and craefie,  
That they cannot her honour worthy lie?" 375

" Ah! nay (faid Colin) neither fo, nor fo:  
For better fhepheards be not under fkie,  
Nor better hable, when they lift to blow  
Their pipes aloud, her name to glorifie.

There is good Harpalus, now woxen aged 380  
In faithful fervice of faire Cynthia:

And there is Corydon though meanly waged,  
Yet hableft wit of moft I know this day.

And there is fad Alcyon bent to mourne,  
Though fit to frame an everlafting dittie, 385  
Whofe gentle fpright for Daphnes death doth  
toun

Sweet layes of love to endleffe plaints of pittie.

Ah! penfive boy, purfue that brave concept,  
In thy fweet Eglantine of Meriflure;

Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height, 390  
That may thy Mufe and mates to mirth allure.

There eke is Palin worthie of great praife,  
Albe he envie at my ruftick quill:

And there is pleafing Alcon, could he raife  
His tunes from laies to matter of more fkill. 395

And there is old Palemon free from fpight,  
Whofe carefull pipe may make the hearer  
rew:

Yet he himfelfe may rewed be more right,  
That fung fo long untill quite hoarfe he grew.

And there is Alabaſter throughly taught 400  
 In all this ſkill, though knowne yet to few;  
 Yet, were he knowne to Cynthia as he ought,  
 His Elisëis would be redde anew.

Who lives that can match that heroick ſong,  
 Which he hath of that mightie Princeſſe  
 made? 405

O dreaded Dread, do not thy ſelfe that wrong,  
 To let thy fame lie ſo in hidden ſhade:  
 But call it forth, O call him forth to thee,  
 To end thy glorie which he hath begun:  
 That, when he finiſht hath as it ſhould be, 410  
 No braver Poeme can be under ſun.

Nor Po nor Tyburs ſwans ſo much renowned,  
 Nor all the brood of Greece ſo highly praized,

Ver. 403. *His Elisëis &c.*] This is preſerved among the Manuscripts in Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and is numbered 1. 4. 16. I have been favoured by the Maſter of that Society with the peruſal of it. It is entitled, *Elisëis, Apotheoſis poetica, ſive, De florentiſſimo imperio et rebus geſtis auguſtiſſimæ et inviſiſſimæ principis Elizabethæ D. G. Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Reginæ. POEMATIS in duodecem libros tribuendi LIBER PRIMUS. Authore GULIELMO ALABAſTRO, Cantabrigienſi Colleg. Trin.*—It is dedicated to queen Eliſabeth. The poem opens thus:

- “ Virgineum mundi decus, anguſtamque Britannæ
- “ Regnatricem aulæ, et lætis digeſta tot annos
- “ Imperiis, paciſque artes, bellique triumphos,
- “ Ordior æternæ rerum tranſcribere famæ.
- “ Argumentum ingens, &c.”

See more of Alabaſter, and of his other compositions, in the Life of Spenſer. This manuſcript, according to Antony Wood, had been formerly in the poſſeſſion of Theod. Hake. Alabaſter never finiſhed the poem. TODD.

Can match that Muse when it with bayes is  
crowned,

And to the pitch of her perfection raised. 415

And there is a new shepheard late up sprung,

The which doth all afore him far surpasse;

Appearing well in that well tuned song,

Which late he fung unto a scornfull lasse.

Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie, 420

As daring not too rashly mount on hight,

And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie

In loves soft laies and looser thoughts delight.

Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell,

And to what course thou please thy selfe ad-

vance: 425

But most, me seemes, thy accent will excell

In tragick plaints and passionate mischance.

And there that Shepheard of the Ocean is,

That spends his wit in loves consuming smart:

Full sweetly tempred is that Muse of his, 430

That can empierce a Princes mightie hart.

There also is (ah no, he is not now!)

But since I said he is, he quite is gone,

Amyntas quite is gone and lies full low,

Having his Amaryllis left to mone. 435

Ver. 429. *That spends his wit in loves consuming smart:*] Most of Sir Walter Raleigh's verses appear to have been of the amatory kind. TODD.

Ver. 434: *Amyntas &c.*] Amyntas is Ferdinando, Earl of Derby; which poetical name he received also from Nash. See the *Life of Spenser*, vol. i. p. xc. &c. TODD.

Helpe, O ye shepheards, helpe ye all in this,  
 Helpe Amaryllis this her losse to mourne:  
 Her losse is yours, your losse Amyntas is,  
 Amyntas, floure of shepheards pride forlorne:  
 He whilest he lived was the noblest swaine, 440  
 That ever piped in an oaten quill:  
 Both did he other, which could pipe, maintaine,  
 And eke could pipe himselfe with passing skill.  
 And there, though last not least, is Action;  
 A gentler shepheard may no where be found:  
 Whose Muse, full of high thoughts invention,  
 Doth like himselfe heróically found.  
 All these, and many others mo remaine,  
 Now, after Astrofell is dead and gone:  
 But, while as Astrofell did live and raine; 450  
 Amongst all these was none his paragone.  
 All these do flourish in their fundry kynd,  
 And do their Cynthia immortall make:  
 Yet found I lyking in her royall mynd,  
 Not for my skill, but for that shepheards sake."

Then spake a lovely lassie, hight Lucida;  
 "Shepheard, enough of shepheards thou hast  
 told,  
 Which favour thee, and honour Cynthia:  
 But of so many nymphs, which she doth hold  
 In her retinew, thou hast nothing sayd; 460  
 That seems, with none of them thou favor  
 foundest,

Or art ingratefull to each gentle mayd,  
That none of all their due deserts refoundest."

" Ah far be it (quoth Colin Clout) fro me,  
That I of gentle mayds should ill deserve : 465  
For that my felfe I do professe to be  
Vassall to one, whom all my dayes I serue ;  
The beame of beautie sparkled from above,  
The floure of vertue and pure chastitie,  
The blossome of sweet ioy and perfect love, 470  
The pearle of peerlesse grace and modestie :  
To her my thoughts I daily dedicate,  
To her my heart I nightly martyrize :  
To her my love I lowly do prostrate,  
To her my life I wholly sacrifice : 475  
My thought, my heart, my love, my life is shee,  
And I hers ever onely, ever one :  
One ever I all vowed hers to bee,  
One ever I, and others never none."

Then thus Melissa said ; " Thrife happie  
Mayd, 480  
Whom thou doest so enforce to deifie :  
That woods, and hills, and valleyes thou hast  
made

Her name to eccho unto heaven hie.  
But say, who else vouchsafed thee of grace ?"

" They all (quoth he) me graced goodly  
well, 485  
That all I praise ; but, in the highest place,

Urania, sister unto Astrofell,  
 In whose brave mynd, as in a golden cofer,  
 All heavenly gifts and riches locked are ;  
 More rich then pearles of Ynde, or gold of  
     Opher, 490

And in her sex more wonderfull and rare.  
 Ne lesse praise-worthie I Theana read,  
 Whose goodly beames though they be over  
     dight

With mourning stole of carefull wydowhead,  
 Yet through that darksome vale do glister bright ;  
 She is the well of bountie and brave mynd, 496  
 Excelling most in glorie and great light :  
 She is the ornament of womankind,  
 And courts chief garlond with all vertues dight.  
 Therefore great Cynthia her in chiefest grace 500  
 Doth hold, and next unto her selfe advance,  
 Well worthie of so honourable place,  
 For her great worth and noble governance.

Ne lesse praise-worthie is her sister deare,  
 Faire Marian, the Muses onely darling : 505  
 Whose beautie shyneth as the morning cleare,  
 With silver dew upon the roses pearling.

Ne lesse praise-worthie is Mansilia,  
 Best knowne by bearing up great Cynthiaes  
     traine :

That fame is she to whom Daphnaida 510  
 Upon her neeces death I did complaine:

She is the paterne of true womanhead,  
 And onely mirrhor of feminitie :  
 Worthie next after Cynthia to tread,  
 As she is next her in nobilitie. 515  
 Ne lesse praise-worthie Galathea scemes,  
 Then best of all that honourable crew,  
 Faire Galathea with bright shining beames,  
 Inflaming feeble eyes that her do view.  
 She there then waited upon Cynthia, 520  
 Yet there is not her won ; but here with us  
 About the borders of our rich Coshma,  
 Now made of Maa, the Nymph delitious.  
 Ne lesse praiseworthy faire Neæra is,  
 Neæra ours, not theirs, though there she be ; 525  
 For of the famous Shure, the Nymph she is,  
 For high desert, advaunst to that degree.  
 She is the blofome of grace and curtesie,  
 Adorned with all honourable parts :  
 She is the braunch of true nobilitie, 530  
 Belov'd of high and low with faithfull harts.  
 Ne lesse praiseworthy Stella do I read,  
 Though nought my praises of her needed arre,  
 Whom verse of noblest shepheard lately dead  
 Hath prais'd and rais'd above each other starre.  
 Ne lesse praiseworthy are the sisters three, 536  
 The honor of the noble familie :  
 Of which I meanest boast my selfe to be,  
 And most that unto them I am so nie :

Phyllis, Charillis, and sweet Amaryllis; 540

Phyllis, the faire, is eldest of the three :

The next to her is bountifull Charillis :

But th' youngest is the highest in degree.

Phyllis, the floure of rare perfection,

Faire spreading forth her leaves with fresh de-  
light, 545

That, with their beauties amorous reflexion,

Bereave of sence each rash beholders sight.

But sweet Charillis is the paragone

Of peerlesse price, and ornament of praise,

Admyr'd of all, yet envied of none, 550

Through the myld temperance of her goodly  
raies.

Thrife happie do I hold thee, noble swaine,

The which art of so rich a spoile posselt,

And, it embracing deare without disdaine,

Hast sole possession in so chaste a brest : 555

Of all the shepheards daughters which there bee,

And yet there be the fairest under skie,

Or that elfewhere I ever yet did see,

A fairer Nymph yet never saw mine eie :

She is the pride and primrose of the rest, 560

Made by the Maker selfe to be admired ;

Ver. 560. ————— primrose of the rest,] So, in the  
*Shep. Cal.* Feb. ver. 166.

“ To be the *primrose* of all thy land.”

The same expression, to denote excellence, occurs in *Daph-  
naida*, ver. 233.

“ And mine the *primrose* of the lowly shade.” TODD.



And like a goodly beacon high adrest,  
 That is with sparks of heavenlie beautie fired.  
 But Amaryllis, whether fortunate  
 Or else unfortunate may I aread, 565  
 That freed is from Cupids yoke by fate,  
 Since which she doth new bands adventure  
 dread ;—

Shepherd, what ever thou hast heard to be  
 In this or that prayfd diversly apart,  
 In her thou maist them all assembled see, 570  
 And seald up in the threasure of her hart.  
 Ne thee lesse worthie, gentle Flavia,  
 For thy chaste life and vertue I esteeme :  
 Ne thee lesse worthie, curteous Candida,  
 For thy true love and loyaltie I deeme. 575  
 Besides yet many mo that Cynthia serve,  
 Right noble Nymphs, and high to be com-  
 mended :

But, if I all should praise as they deserve,  
 This sun would faile me ere I halfe had ended.  
 Therefore, in closure of a thankfull mynd, 580  
 I deeme it best to hold eternally  
 Their bounteous deeds and noble favours shrynd,  
 Then by discourse them to indignifie.”

So having said, Aglaura him bespake :  
 “ Colin, well worthie were those goodly favours  
 Bestowd on thee, that so of them doest make,  
 And them requitest with thy thankfull labours.

But of great Cynthiaes goodnesse, and high  
grace,

Finish the storie which thou hast begunne.”

“ More eath (quoth he) it is in such a case 590

How to begin, then know how to have donne.

For everie gift, and everie goodly meed,

Which she on me bestowd, demaunds a day ;

And everie day, in which she did a deed,

Demaunds a yeare it duly to display. 595

Her words were like a streame of honny fleeting,

The which doth softly trickle from the hive :

Hable to melt the hearers heart unweeting,

And eke to make the dead againe alive.

Her deeds were like great clusters of ripe  
grapes, 600

Which load the bunches of the fruitfull vine ;

Offring to fall into each mouth that gapes,

And fill the same with store of timely wine.

Her lookes were like beames of the morning sun,

Forth looking through the windowes of the  
east, 605

When first the fleecie cattell have begun

Upon the perled grasse to make their feast.

Her thoughts are like the fume of franckincence,

Which from a golden censer forth doth rise,

And throwing forth sweet odours mounts fro  
thence 610

In rolling globes up to the vaulted skies.

There ſhe beholds, with high aſpiring thought,  
 The cradle of her owne creation,  
 Emongſt the feats of angels heavenly wrought,  
 Much like an angell in all forme and faſhion.”

“ Colin, (ſaid Cuddy then) thou haſt forgot  
 Thy ſelfe, me ſeemes, too much, to mount  
 ſo hie :

Such loftie flight baſe ſhepherd ſeemeth  
 not,

From flocks and fields, to angels and to ſkie.”

“ True, (answered he) but her great excel-  
 lence, 620

Lifts me above the meaſure of my might :

That, being filld with furious inſolence,

I feele my ſelfe like one yrap't in ſpright.

For when I thinke of her, as oft I ought,

Then want I words to ſpeake it fitly forth : 625

And, when I ſpeake of her what I have thought,

I cannot thinke according to her worth.

Yet will I thinke of her, yet will I ſpeake,

So long as life my limbs doth hold together ;

And, when as death theſe vitall bands ſhall

breake, 630

Her name recorded I will leave for ever.

Ver. 622. ——— with furious inſolence,] That is, with  
 UNUSUAL fury ; INSOLENCIE being here uſed as the Latin *in-*  
*ſolentia* ſometimes is. See Erneſti Index Lat. in Opp. Cicer.  
 a V. *Inſolentia*. TODD.

Her name in every tree I will endosse,  
 That, as the trees do grow, her name may grow:  
 And in the ground each where will it engrosse,  
 And fill with stones, that all men may it know.  
 The speaking woods, and murmuring waters fall,  
 Her name Ile teach in knowen termes to frame:  
 And eke my lambs, when for their dams they call,  
 Ile teach to call for Cynthia by name.

And, long while after I am dead and rotten, 640  
 Amongst the shepherds daughters dancing  
 rownd,

My layes made of her shall not be forgotten,  
 But sung by them with flowry gyrlonds crownd.  
 And ye, who so ye be, that shall survive,  
 When as ye heare her memory renewed, 645  
 Be witnessè of her bountie here alive,  
 Which she to Colin her poore shepheard shewed."

Much was the whole assembly of those heards  
 Moov'd at his speech, so feelingly he spake:  
 And stood awhile astonisht at his words, 650  
 Till Thestylis at last their silence brake,  
 Saying; "Why Colin, since thou foundst such  
 grace

With Cynthia and all her noble crew;

Ver. 632. *Her name on every tree &c.*] Virgil, more elegantly, *Ecl. x. 53.*

————— "tenerisque meos incidere amores  
 "Arboribus: crescent illæ: crescetis amores!"

JORTIN.

Ibid. ————— endosse] *Carve or engrave.*  
 See the note on F. Q. v. xi. 53. TODD.

Why didst thou ever leave that happie place,  
 In which such wealth might unto thee accrew ;  
 And back returnedst to this barrein foyle, 656  
 Where cold and care and penury do dwell,  
 Here to keep sheepe, with hunger and with  
 toyle ?

Most wretched he, that is and cannot tell."

" Happie indeed (said Colin) I him hold, 660  
 That may that blessed presence still enjoy,  
 Of fortune and of envy uncomptrold,  
 Which still are wont most happie states t' annoy :  
 But I, by that which little while I proved,  
 Some part of those enormities did see, 665  
 The which in court continually hooved,  
 And followd those which happie seemd to bee.  
 Therefore I, filly man, whose former dayes  
 Had in rude fields bene altogether spent,  
 Durst not adventure such unknowen wayes, 670  
 Nor trust the guile of fortunes blandishment ;  
 But rather chose back to my sheep to tourne,  
 Whose utmost hardnesse I before had tryde,  
 Then, having learnd repentance late, to mourne  
 Emongst those wretches which I there descryde."

" Shepheard, (said Thestylis) it seemes offpight  
 Thou speakest thus gainst their felicitie,

Ver. 666. ————— hooved,] *Hovered.* So, in his 89th *Sonnet*. " Ne ioy of ought that under heaven doth *hove*." Chaucer uses *hove* in the same sense, *Tr. and Cr.* L. iii. 1433. TODD.

Which thou enviest, rather then of right  
That ought in them blameworthy thou doest  
spie."

"Cause have I none (quoth he) of cancred  
will 680

To quite them ill, that me demaend so well :  
But selfe-regard of private good or ill  
Moves me of each, so as I found, to tell  
And eke to warne yong shepheards wandring  
wit,

Which, through report of that lives painted  
blisse, 685

Abandon quiet home, to seeke for it,  
And leave their lambes to losse misled amisse.  
For, sooth to say, it is no fort of life,  
For shepheard fit to lead in that same place,  
Where each one seeks with malice, and with  
strife, 690

To thrust downe other into foule disgrace,  
Himselfe to raise : and he doth soonest rise  
That best can handle his deceitfull wit  
In subtil shifts, and finest sleights devise,  
Either by slaundring his well deemed name, 695  
Through leasings lewd, and fained forgerie ;  
Or else by breeding him some blot of blame,  
By creeping close into his secrecie ;  
'To which him needs a guilefull hollow hart,  
Masked with faire dissembling curtesie, 700

A filed tounge furnisht with tearmes of art,  
 No art of schoole, but courtiers schoolery.  
 For arts of schoole have there small counte-  
 nance,

Counted but toyes to busie ydle braines ;  
 And there professours find small maintenance,  
 But to be instruments of others gaines. 706

Ne is there place for any gentle wit,  
 Unlesse, to please, it selfe it can applie ;  
 But shouldred is, or out of doore quite shitt,  
 As base, or blunt, unmeet for melodie. 710  
 For each mans worth is measured by his  
 weed,

As harts by hornes, or asses by their eares :  
 Yet asses been not all whose eares exceed,

Ver. 701. *A filed tounge &c.*] So, in F. Q. i. i. 35.

“ And well could *file* his tongue as smooth as glasse.”

See also Chaucer, *Prolog.* 713. Again, *Tr. et Cr.* L. i. ver. 1681. The same metaphor occurs again in our author. See F. Q. ii. i. 3, iii. ii. 12. It is also found in Skelton's *Boke of Colin Cloute* :

“ But they their tongues did *file*

“ And make a pleasaunte style.”

And in other passages of the same author. It seems at length to have grown into a common phrase. Thus Holofernes in Shakespeare: “ His humour is lofty ; his discourse peremptory, his tongue *filed*,” *Love's Lab. Lost*, A. i. S. i. And Jonson, *Hor. B.* iv. *Od.* i.

“ For he's both noble, lovely, young,

“ And for the troubled client *files* his tongue :

“ Child of a thousand arts, &c.” T. WARTON.

Ver. 710. *As base, or blunt,*] *Blunt* is ignorant, or *uncivilised* ; and is thus used in the *Shep. Cal.* Sept. ver. 109.

“ All for her shepherds is beastly and *blount*.”

TODD.

Nor yet all harts that hornes the higheft  
 beares. 714

For higheft lookes have not the higheft mynd,  
 Nor haughtie words moſt full of higheft thoughts:  
 But are like bladders blownen up with wynd,  
 That being prickt do vaniſh into noughts.

Even ſuch is all their vaunted vanitie,  
 Nought elſe but ſmoke, that ſmuth ſoone  
 away : 720

Such is their glorie that in ſimple eie  
 Seeme greateſt, when their garments are moſt gay.  
 So they themſelves for praiſe of fooles do ſell,  
 And all their wealth for painting on a wall ;  
 With price whereof they buy a golden bell, 725  
 And purchace higheſt rowmes in bowre and  
 hall :

Whiles ſingle Truth and ſimple Honeltie  
 Do wander up and downe deſpys'd of all ;  
 Their plaine attire ſuch glorious gallantry  
 Diſdaines ſo much, that none them in doth  
 call." 730

“ Ah! Colin, (then ſaid Hobbinol) the blame  
 Which thou imputeſt, is too generall,  
 As if not any gentle wit of name  
 Nor honeſt mynd might there be found at all.  
 For well I wot, ſith I my ſelfe was there, 735  
 To wait on Lobbin, (Lobbin well thou kneweſt,)  
 Full many worthie ones then waiting were,



As ever else in princes court thou vewest,  
 Of which, among you many yet remaine,  
 Whose names I cannot readily now ghesse: 740  
 Those that poore Sutors papers do retaine,  
 And those that skill of medicine professe,  
 And those that do to Cynthia expound  
 The ledden of straunge languages in charge:  
 For Cynthia doth in sciences abound, 745  
 And gives to their professors stipends large.  
 Therefore uniuersally thou doest wyte them all,  
 For that which thou mislikedst in a few."

" Blame is (quoth he) more blamelesse  
 generall, 749

Then that which private errours doth pursue;  
 For well I wot, that there amongst them bee  
 Full many persons of right worthie parts,  
 Both for report of spotlesse honestie,  
 And for profession of all learned arts,  
 Whose praise hereby no whit impaired is, 755  
 Though blame do light on those that faultie bee;  
 For all the rest do most-what far amis,  
 And yet their owne misfaring will not see:  
 For either they be puffed up with pride,  
 Or fraught with envie that their galls do swell,

Ver. 744. *The ledden &c.*] *Dialect*; a corruption, Mr. Tyrwhitt says, of *Latin*.—Dante, he adds, uses *Latino* for *language*, *Canz.* 1.

" E.cantine gli augelli

" Ciascuno in suo *latino*." TODD.

Or they their dayes to ydleneſſe divide, 761  
 Or drowned lie in pleaſures waſtefull well,  
 In which like moldwarps nouſling ſtill they  
 lurke,

Unmindfull of chiefe parts of manlineſſe ;  
 And do themſelves, for want of other worke, 765  
 Vaine votaries of laeſie Love profeſſe,  
 Whoſe ſervice high ſo baſely they enſew,  
 That Cupid ſelſe of them aſhamed is,  
 And, muſtring all his men in Venus vew,  
 Denies them quite for ſervitors of his.” 770

“ And is Love then (ſaid Corylas) once knowne  
 In Court, and his ſweet lore profeſſed there?  
 I weened ſure he was our god alone,  
 And only woond in fields and foreſts here:”

“ Not ſo, (quoth he) Love moſt aboundeth  
 there. 775

For all the walls and windows there are writ,  
 All full of love, and love, and love my deare,  
 And all their talke and ſtudie is of it.  
 Ne any there doth brave or valiant ſeeme,  
 Unleſſe that ſome gay Miſtreſſe badge he  
 beares : 780

Ver. 780. *Unleſſe that ſome gay Miſtreſſe badge he beares :*] See Mr. Warton's note at the commencement of his Remarks on Spenser's Allegorical Character, vol. ii. p. ci. In his manuſcript obſervations he alſo refers to Sackville's *Gorboduc*, A. iv. S. ii. where a warrior, “ mounted on his fierce and trampling ſteed,” ready for the combat, is alſo deſcribed “ with his miſtreſs's ſleeve tied on his helm.” TODD.

Ne any one himfelfe doth ought esteeme,  
 Unleffe he fwim in love up to the eares.  
 But they of Love, and of his facred lere,  
 (As it should be) all otherwife devife,  
 Then we poore fhepheards are accustomd here,  
 And him do fwe and ferve all otherwife. 786  
 For with lewd fpeeches, and licentious deeds,  
 His mightie myfteries they do prophane,  
 And ufe his ydle name to other needs,  
 But as a complement for courting vaine. 790  
 So him they do not ferve as they professe,  
 But make him ferve to them for fordid ufes:  
 Ah! my dread Lord, that doeft liege hearts  
 poffeffe,

Avenge thy felfe on them for their abufes.  
 But we poore fhepheards whether rightly fo, 795  
 Or through our rudeneffe into errour led,  
 Do make religion how we rashly go  
 To ferve that god, that is fo greatly dred;  
 For him the greateft of the gods we deeme,  
 Borne without fyre or couples of one kynd; 800  
 For Venus felfe doth foly couples feeme,  
 Both male and female through commixture  
 ioynd:

So pure and spotleffe Cupid forth fhe brought,  
 And in the Gardens of Adonis nurft:

Ver. 802. *Both male and female &c.*] See Mr. Upton's  
 note on F. Q. iv. x. 41. TODD.

Where growing he his owne perfection wrought,  
 And shortly was of all the gods the first. 806  
 Then got he bow and shafts of gold and lead,  
 In which so fell and puissant he grew,  
 That love himfelfe his powre began to dread,  
 And, taking up to heaven, him godded new. 810  
 From thence he shootes his arrowes every where  
 Into the world, at randon as he will,  
 On us fraile men, his wretched vassals here,  
 Like as himfelfe us pleaseth save or spill.  
 So we him worship, so we him adore 815  
 With humble hearts to heaven uplifted hie,  
 That to true loves he may us evermore  
 Preferre, and of their grace us dignifie:  
 Ne is there shepheard, ne yet shepheards swaine,  
 What ever feeds in forest or in field, 820  
 That dare with evil deed or leasing vaine  
 Blaspheme his powre, or termes unworthie  
 yield."

"Shepheard, it seemes that some celestiall rage  
 Of love (quoth Cuddy) is breath'd into thy brest,  
 That powreth forth these oracles so sage 825  
 Of that high powre, wherewith thou art possiest.  
 But never wist I till this present day,  
 Albe of Love I alwayes humbly deemed,  
 That he was such an one, as thou doest say,  
 And so religiously to be esteemed. 830  
 Well may it seeme, by this thy deep insight,

That of that god the priest thou shouldest bee :  
 So well thou wot'st the mysterie of his might,  
 As if his godhead thou didst present see."

“ Of Loves perfection perfectly to speake, 835  
 Or of his nature rightly to define,  
 Indeed (said Colin) passeth reasons reach,  
 And needs his priest t' expresse his powre divine.  
 For long before the world he was ybore,  
 And bred above in Venus bosome deare : 840  
 For by his powre the world was made of yore,  
 And all that therein wondrous doth appeare.  
 For how should else things so far from attone,  
 And so great enemies as of them bee,  
 Be ever drawne together into one, 845  
 And taught in such accordance to agree ?  
 Through him the cold began to covet heat,  
 And water fire ; the light to mount on hie,  
 And th' heaue downe to peize ; the hungry t' eat,  
 And voydnesse to seeke full satietie. 850  
 So, being former foes, they wexed friends,  
 And gan by litle learne to love each other :  
 So, being knit, they brought forth other kynds  
 Out of the fruitfull wombe of their great mother.  
 Then first gan heaven out of darknesse dread 855  
 For to appeare, and brought forth chearfull day :  
 Next gan the earth to shew her naked head,  
 Out of deep waters which her drownd alway :  
 And, shortly after, everie living wight

Crept forth like wormes out of her flimie nature.  
 Soone as on them the suns life-giving light 861  
 Had powred kindly heat and formall feature,  
 Thenceforth they gan each one his like to  
     love,

And like himfelfe desire for to beget:  
 The lyon chofe his mate, the turtle dove 865  
 Her deare, the dolphin his owne dolphinet;  
 But man, that had the sparke of reasons might  
 More then the rest to rule his paffion,  
 Chofe for his love the faireft in his fight,  
 Like as himfelfe was faireft by creation: 870  
 For Beautie is the bayt which with delight  
 Doth man allure for to enlarge his kynd;  
 Beautie, the burning lamp of heavens light,  
 Darting her beames into each feeble mynd:  
 Against whose powre, nor God nor man can  
     fynd 875

Defence, ne ward the daunger of the wound;  
 But, being hurt, feeke to be medicynd  
 Of her that first did fir that mortall ftownd.  
 Then do they cry and call to Love apace,  
 With praiers lowd importuning the skie, 880  
 Whence he them heares; and, when he list shew  
     grace,

Ver. 871. *For Beautie is the bayt &c.*] So, in *A knacke to know an honest man*, 1596. Sign. C. i.

“ Why, such is *beautie*, fir; a *bait* wherewith the worlde  
 “ Doth angle arts, &c.” TODD.

Does graunt them grace that otherwise would  
die.

So Love is lord of all the world by right,  
And rules their creatures by his powrfull law :  
All being made the vassalls of his might, 885  
Through secret fence which therto doth them  
draw.

Thus ought all lovers of their lord to deeme :  
And with chaste heart to honor him alway :  
But who so else doth otherwise esteeme,  
Are outlawes, and his lore do disobay. 890  
For their desire is base, and doth not merit  
The name of love, but of disloyall lust :  
Ne mongst true lovers they shall place inherit,  
But as exuls out of his court be thrust."

So having said, Melissa spake at will ; 895  
" Colin, thou now full deeply hast divynd  
Of Love and Beautie ; and, with wondrous skill,  
Hast Cupid selfe depainted in his kynd.  
To thee are all true lovers greatly bound,  
That doest their cause so mightily defend : 900  
But most, all wemen are thy debtors found,  
That doest their bountie still so much commend."

" That ill (said Hobbinol) they him requite,  
For having loved ever one most deare :  
He is repayd with scorne and foule despite, 905

That yrkes each gentle heart which it doth  
heare."

" Indeed (said Lucid) I have often heard  
Faire Rosalind of divers fowly blamed  
For being to that swaine too cruell hard ;  
That her bright glorie else hath much de-  
famed. 910

But who can tell what cause had that faire  
Mayd

To use him so that used her so well ;  
Or who with blame can iustly her upbrayd,  
For loving not ? for who can love compell ?  
And, sooth to say, it is foolhardie thing, 915  
Rashly to wyten creatures so divine ;  
For demigods they be and first did spring  
From heaven, though graft in frailnessse feminine.  
And well I wote, that oft I heard it spoken,  
How one, that fairest Helene did revile, 920  
Through iudgement of the gods to been ywroken,  
Lost both his eyes and so remaynd long while,  
Till he recanted had his wicked rimes,  
And made amends to her with treble praise.  
Beware therefore, ye groomes, I read betimes,  
How rashly blame of Rosalind ye raise." 926

Ver. 906. *That yrkes each gentle heart*] That grieves each gentle heart. So, in Shakspeare's *King Hen. VI.*

" It IRKS his heart he cannot be reveng'd." TODD.

Ver. 920. *How one &c.*] He speaks of the poet Stesichorus. JORTIN.



“ Ah! shepheards, (then said Colin) ye ne weet  
 How great a guilt upon your heads ye draw,  
 To make so bold a doome, with words unmeet,  
 Of thing celestiall which ye never saw. 930  
 For she is not like as the other crew  
 Of shepheards daughters which emongst you  
     bee,  
 But of divine regard and heavenly hew,  
 Excelling all that ever ye did see.  
 Not then to her that scorned thing so base, 935  
 But to my selfe the blame that lookt so hie :  
 So hie her thoughts as she her selfe have place,  
 And loath each lowly thing with loftie eie.  
 Yet so much grace let her vouchsafe to grant  
 To simple swaine, sith her I may not love : 940  
 Yet that I may her honour paravant,  
 And praise her worth, though far my wit above.  
 Such grace shall be some guerdon for the griefe,  
 And long affliction which I have endured :  
 Such grace sometimes shall give me some reliefe,  
 And ease of paine which cannot be recured. 946  
 And ye, my fellow shepheards, which do see  
 And hear the languours of my too long dying,  
 Unto the world for ever witnesse bee,  
 That hers I die, nought to the world denying, 950  
 This simple trophe of her great conquest.”—

Ver. 941. ————— paravant,] *Publickly*. The  
 French *paravant*, however, is not, I believe, used in this sense.  
 But see also F. Q. vi. x. 15. TODD.

So, having ended, he from ground did rise ;  
And after him uprose eke all the rest :  
All loth to part, but that the glooming skies  
Warnd them to draw their bleating flocks to  
rest.

ASTROPHEL.

A PASTORALL ELEGIE

UPON THE DEATH OF THE MOST NOBLE AND  
VALOROUS KNIGHT, SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

DEDICATED TO THE MOST BEAUTIFULL AND VERTUOUS LADIE,  
THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX.



## ASTROPHEL.

*Shepherds, that wont, on pipes of oaten reed,  
Oft times to plaine your loves concealed smart ;  
And with your piteous layes have learnd to breed  
Compassion in a countrey lasses hart :  
Hearken, ye gentle shepherds, to my song,  
And place my dolefull plaint your plaints emong.*

*To you alone I sing this mournfull verse,  
The mournfulst verse that ever man heard tell :  
To you whose softened hearts it may empierse  
With dolours dart for death of Astrophel.  
To you I sing and to none other twight,  
For well I wot my rymes bene rudely dight.*

*Yet as they been, if any nyce wit  
Shall hap to heare, or covet them to read :  
Thinke he, that such are for such ones most fit,  
Made not to please the living but the dead.  
And if in him found pity ever place,  
Let him be moov'd to pity such a case.*

**A** GENTLE Shepherd borne in Arcady,  
Of gentlest race that ever shepheard bore,  
About the grassie bancks of Hæmony,  
Did keepe his sheep, his litle stock and store.  
Full carefully he kept them day and night, 5  
In fairest fields ; and Astrophel he hight.

Young Astrophel, the pride of shepherds praise,  
 Young Astrophel, the rusticke lasses love :  
 Far passing all the pastors of his daies,  
 In all that seemly shepherd might behove. 10  
 In one thing onely fayling of the best,  
 That he was not so happie as the rest.

For from the time that first the Nymph his  
 mother  
 Him forth did bring, and taught her lambs to  
 feed ;  
 A slender swaine, excelling far each other, 15  
 In comely shape, like her that did him breed,  
 He grew up fast in goodnesse and in grace,  
 And doubly faire woxe both in mynd and face.

Which daily more and more he did augment,  
 With gentle usage and demeanure myld : 20  
 That all mens hearts with secret ravishment  
 He stole away, and weetingly beguyld.  
 Ne Spight it selfe, that all good things doth spill,  
 Found ought in him, that she could say was ill.

His sports were faire, his ioyance innocent, 25  
 Sweet without fowre, and honny without gall :  
 And he himselfe seemd made for meriment,  
 Merily masking both in bowre and hall.  
 There was no pleasure nor delightfull play,  
 When Astrophel so ever was away. 30

For he could pipe, and daunce, and caroll sweet,  
 Emongst the shepheards in their shearing feast ;  
 As somers larke that with her song doth greet  
 The dawning day forth comming from the East.  
 And layes of love he also could compose : 35  
 Thrife happie she, whom he to praise did chose.

Full many Maydens often did him woo,  
 'Them to vouchsafe emongst his rimes to name,  
 Or make for them as he was wont to doo  
 For her that did his heart with love inflame. 40  
 For which they promised to dight for him  
 Gay chapelets of flowers and gyrlonds trim.

And many a Nymph both of the wood and  
 brooke,  
 Soone as his oaten pipe began to shrill,  
 Both christall wells and shadie groves forfooke,  
 'To heare the charmes of his enchanting skill; 46  
 And brought him presents, flowers if it were  
 prime,  
 Or mellow fruit if it were harvest time.

But he for none of them did care a whit,  
 Yet Woodgods for them often sighed fore : 50  
 Ne for their gifts unworthie of his wit,  
 Yet not unworthie of the countries store.  
 For one alone he cared, for one he sigh't,  
 His lifes desire, and his deare loves delight.

Stella the faire, the fairest star in skie, 55  
 As faire as Venus or the fairest faire,  
 (A fairer star saw never living eie,  
 Shot her sharp pointed beames through purest  
 aire.

Her he did love, her he alone did honor,  
 His thoughts, his rimes, his songs were all  
 upon her. 60

To her he vovd the service of his daies,  
 On her he spent the riches of his wit:  
 For her he made hymnes of immortall praise,  
 Of onely her he sung, he thought, he writ.  
 Her, and but her, of love he worthie deemed; 65  
 For all the rest but litle he esteemed.

Ne her with ydle words alone he wowed,  
 And verses vaine, (yet verses are not vaine,)  
 But with brave deeds to her sole service vowed,  
 And bold atchievements her did entertaine. 70  
 For both in deeds and words he nourtred was,  
 Both wise and hardie, (too hardie alas !)

In wrestling nimble, and in renning swift,  
 In shooting steddie, and in swimming strong :

Ver. 55. *Stella the faire, &c.*] This means Sir Philip's beloved mistress, as the name Astrophel points out Sir Philip himself. See Sir Philip's poem, consisting of numerous Sonnets, entitled *Astrophel and Stella*. TODD.



Well made to strike, to throw, to leape, to lift, 75  
 And all the sports that shepherds are among.  
 In every one he vanquisht every one,  
 He vanquisht all, and vanquisht was of none.

Besides, in hunting such felicitie  
 Or rather infelicitie he found, 80  
 That every field and forest far away  
 He fought, where salvage beasts do most abound.  
 No beast so salvage but he could it kill,  
 No chace so hard, but he therein had skill.

Such skill, matcht with such courage as he had,  
 Did prick him forth with proud desire of  
                   praise 86  
 To seek abroad, of daunger nought y'drad,  
 His mistresse name, and his owne fame, to raise.  
 What needeth perill to be fought abroad,  
 Since, round about us, it doth make abroad! 90

It fortun'd as he that perilous game  
 In forreine foyle pursued far away ;  
 Into a forest wide and waste he came,  
 Where store he heard to be of salvage pray.  
 So wide a forest and so waste as this, 95  
 Nor famous Ardeyn, nor fowle Arlo, is.

There his welwoven toyles, and subtil traines,  
 He laid the brutish nation to enwrap:

So well he wrought with practise and with  
paines,

That he of them great troupes did soone entrap.  
Full happie man (misweening much) was hee, 101  
So rich a spoile within his power to see.

Eftsoones, all heedlesse of his dearest hale,  
Full greedily into the heard he thrust,  
'To slaughter them, and worke their finall bale,  
Least that his toyle should of their troupes be  
bruft. 106

Wide wounds emongst them many one he made,  
Now with his sharp borespear, now with his  
blade.

His care was all how he them all might kill,  
'That none might scape, (so partiall unto none :)  
Ill mynd so much to mynd anothers ill, 111  
As to become unmyndfull of his owne.  
But pardon that unto the cruell skies,  
'That from himselfe to them withdrew his eies.

So as he rag'd emongst that beastly rout, 115  
A cruell beast of most accursed brood  
Upon him turnd, (despeyre makes cowards  
stout,)

Ver. 103. ————— hale,]. *Welfare*, Sax.  
*hæl*. fanitas, falus. See Lye's Sax. Dict. edit. Manning.  
Chaucer writes it *hæle*. TODD.

And, with fell tooth accustomed to blood,  
 Launched his thigh with so mischievous might,  
 That it both bone and muscles ryved quight. 120

So deadly was the dint and deep the wound,  
 And so huge streames of blood thereout did flow,  
 That he endured not the direfull stound,  
 But on the cold deare earth himselfe did throw;  
 The whiles the captive heard his nets did rend,  
 And, having none to let, to wood did wend. 126

Ah! where were ye this while his shepheard  
 peares,  
 To whom alive was nought so deare as hee:  
 And ye faire Mayds, the matches of his yeares,  
 Which in his grace did boast you most to bee!  
 Ah! where were ye, when he of you had need,  
 To stop his wound that wondrously did bleed!

Ah! wretched boy, the shape of dreryhead,  
 And sad ensample of mans suddein end:  
 Full litle faileth but thou shalt be dead, 135  
 Unpitied, unplaynd, of foe or frend!  
 Whilest none is nigh, thine eylids up to close,  
 And kisse thy lips like faded leaves of rose.

Ver. 127. *Ah! where were ye this while &c.*] See my note on Milton's *Lycidas*, ver. 50. T. WARTON.

Ver. 138. *And kisse thy lips like faded leaves of rose.*] A line of uncommon expression and tenderness. TODD.

A fort of shepheards sewing of the chace,  
 As they the forest raunged on a day, 140  
 By fate or fortune came unto the place,  
 Where as the lucklesse boy yet bleeding lay ;  
 Yet bleeding lay, and yet would still have bled,  
 Had not good hap those shepheards thether led.

They stopt his wound, (too late to stop it was !)  
 And in their armes then softly did him reare :  
 Tho (as he wild) unto his loved lassé,  
 His dearest love, him dolefully did beare.  
 The dolefulst biere that ever man did see,  
 Was Astrophel, but dearest unto mee ! 150

She, when she saw her Love in such a plight,  
 With crudled blood and filthie gore deformed,  
 That wont to be with flowers and gyrlonds  
 dight,  
 And her deare favours dearly well adorned ;  
 Her face, the fairest face that eye mote see, 155  
 She likewise did deforme like him to bee.

Her yellow locks that shone so bright and long,  
 As funny beames in fairest somers day,  
 She fierly tore, and with outragious wrong  
 From her red cheeks the roses rent away : 160

Ver. 139. *A fort of shepheards &c.*] See the note on *fort*;  
 F. Q. vi. ix. 5. T. WARTON.

And her faire brest, the threafury of ioy,  
She fpoild thereof, and filled with annoy.

His palled face, impiçtured with death,  
She bathed oft with teares and dried oft :  
And with sweet kifses fuct the wafting breath  
Out of his lips like lillies pale and foft. 166  
And oft ſhe cald to him, who anfwerd nought,  
But onely by his lookes did tell his thought.

The reft of her impatient regret,  
And piteous mone the which ſhe for him made,  
No toong can tell, nor any forth can fet, 171  
But he whoſe heart like forrow did invade.  
At laſt, when paine his vitall powres had ſpent,  
His waſted life her weary lodge forwent.

Which when ſhe ſaw, ſhe ſtaied not a whit, 175  
But after him did make untimely haſte :  
Forth with her ghofit out of her corps did flit,  
And followed her make like turtle chaſte :  
To prove that death their hearts cannot divide,  
Which living were in love ſo firmly tide. 180

The gods, which all things ſee, this ſame  
beheld,

Ver. 178. ——— her make] *Mate*, companion; the old word. It occurs often in the *Faer. Qu.* The modern editions read *mate*. TODD.

And, pittying this paire of lovers trew,  
 'Transformed them there lying on the field  
 Into one flowre that is both red and blew :  
 It first growes red, and then to blew doth fade,  
 Like Astrophel, which thereinto was made. 186

And in the midst thereof a star appears,  
 As fairly formd as any star in skeyes :  
 Resembling Stella in her freshest yeares,  
 Forth darting beames of beautie from her eyes ;  
 And all the day it standeth full of deow, 191  
 Which is the teares, that from her eyes did flow.

That hearbe of some, Starlight is cald by name,  
 Of others Penthia, though not so well :  
 But thou, where ever thou doest finde the same,  
 From this day forth do call it Astrophel : 196  
 And, when so ever thou it up doest take,  
 Do pluck it softly for that shepheards sake.

Hereof when tydings far abroad did passe,  
 The shepheards all which loved him full deare,  
 And sure full deare of all he loved was, 201  
 Did thether flock to see what they did heare.  
 And when that pitteous spectacle they vewed,  
 The same with bitter teares they all bedewed.

Ver. 196. ————— do call it *Astrophel*;—  
 Do pluck it softly &c.] The reduplication,  
 “do call it, &c. do pluck it softly, &c.” is peculiarly affecting  
 and impressive. TODD.

And every one did make exceeding mone, 205  
 With inward anguish and great griefe opprest :  
 And every one did weep and waile, and mone,  
 And meanes deviz'd to shew his sorrow best.  
 That from that houre, since first on grassie greene  
 Shepherds kept sheep, was not like mourning  
 seen. 210

But first his sifter that Clorinda hight,  
 The gentlest shepherdesse that lives this day,  
 And most resembling both in shape and spright  
 Her brother deare, began this dolefull lay.  
 Which, least I marre the sweetnesse of the verse,  
 In fort as she it sung I will rehearse. 216

Ver. 215. *Which, least I marre the sweetnesse of the verse,  
 In fort as she it sung I will rehearse.*] From this  
 avowal I conclude that the following poem was not written by  
 Spenser, but by the sifter of Sir Philip, the accomplished Mary  
 Countess of Pembroke, here poetically called *Clarinda*. We  
 have already seen that she was particularly skilled in poetry.  
 See *The Ruines of Time*, ver. 316, and the note there. All the  
 subsequent poems on the death of Sir Philip are evidently a  
 collection brought together by Spenser. TODD.

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 THE

## DOLEFULL LAY OF CLORINDA.

AY me, to whom shall I my case complaine,  
 That may compassion my impatient griefe !

Or where shall I unfold my inward paine,  
 That my enriuen heart may find reliefe !  
 Shall I unto the heavenly powres it shew ? 5  
 Or unto earthly men that dwell below ?

To heavens ? ah ! they alas ! the authors were,  
 And workers of my unremédied wo :  
 For they foresee what to us happens here,  
 And they foresaw, yet suffred this be so. 10  
 From them comes good, from them comes also ill,  
 That which they made, who can them warne to  
 spill !

To men ? ah ! they alas like wretched bee,  
 And subiect to the heavens ordinance :  
 Bound to abide what ever they decree, 15  
 Their best redresse, is their best sufferance.  
 How then can they, like wretched, comfort mee,  
 The which no lesse need comforted to bee ?

Then to my selfe will I my sorrow mourne,  
 Sith none alive like sorrowfull remaines : 20  
 And to my selfe my plaints shall back retourne,  
 To pay their usury with doubled paines.  
 The woods, the hills, the rivers, shall resound  
 The mournfull accent of my sorrowes ground.

Woods, hills, and rivers, now are desolate, 25  
 Sith he is gone the which them all did grace :  
 And all the fields do waile their widow state,  
 Sith death their fairest flowre did late deface.



The fairest flowre in field that ever grew,  
Was Astrophel ; that was, we all may rew. 50

What cruell hand of curfed foe unknowne,  
Hath cropt the stalke which bore so faire a flowre ?  
Untimely cropt, before it well were growne,  
And cleane defaced in untimely howre.

Great losse to all that ever him did see, 35  
Great losse to all, but greatest losse to mee !

Breake now your gyrlonds, O ye shepheards lasses,  
Sith the faire flowre, which them adornd, is gon :  
The flowre, which them adornd, is gone to ashes,  
Never againe let lasse put gyrlond on. 40

In stead of gyrlond, weare sad Cypres nowe,  
And bitter Elder, broken from the bowe.

Ne ever sing the love-layes which he made,  
Who ever made such layes of love as hee ?  
Ne ever read the riddies, which he sayd 45  
Unto your selves, to make you mery glee.

Your mery glee is now laid all abed,  
Your mery maker now alasse ! is dead.

Death, the devourer of all worlds delight,  
Hath robbed you, and rest fro me my ioy : 50  
Both you and me, and all the world he quight  
Hath robd of ioyance, and left sad annoy.

Ioy of the world, and shepheards pride was  
hee !

Shepheards, hope never like againe to see !

Oh Death! that hast us of such riches reft, 55  
 Tell us at least, what hast thou with it done?  
 What is become of him whose flowre here left  
 Is but the shadow of his likencesse gone?  
 Scarfe like the shadow of that which he was,  
 Nought like, but that he like a shade did pas. 60

But that immortall spirit, which was deckt  
 With all the dowries of celestiall grace,  
 By soveraine choyce from th' heavenly quires select,  
 And lineally deriv'd from Angels race,  
 O! what is now of it become aread. 65  
 Ay me, can so divine a thing be dead?

Ah! no: it is not dead, ne can it die,  
 But lives for aie, in blisfull Paradise:  
 Where like a new-borne babe it soft doth lie,  
 In bed of lillies wrapt in tender wife; 70  
 And compast all about with roses sweet,  
 And daintie violets from head to feet.

There thousand birds all of celestiall brood,  
 To him do sweetly caroll day and night;  
 And with straunge notes, of him well understood, 75  
 Lull him a sleep in angelick delight;  
 Whilest in sweet dreame to him presented bee  
 Immortall beauties, which no eye may see.

But he them sees and takes exceeding pleasure  
 Of their divine aspects, appearing plaine. 80  
 And kindling love in him above all measure,  
 Sweet love still ioyous, never feeling paine.

For what so goodly forme he there doth see,  
He may enjoy from iealous rancor free.

There liveth he in everlasting blis, 85  
Sweet Spirit never fearing more to die :  
Ne dreading harme from any foes of his,  
Ne fearing salvage beafts more crueltie.  
Whilest we here, wretches, waile his private lack,  
And with vaine vowes do often call him back. 90

But live thou there, fill happie, happie Spirit,  
And give us leave thee here thus to lainer !  
Not thee that doest thy heavens ioy inherit,  
But our owne felves that here in dole are drent.  
Thus do we weep and waile, and wear our eies,  
Mourning, in others, our owne miseries. 96

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WHICH when she ended had, another swaine  
Of gentle wit and daintie sweet device,  
Whom Astrophel full deare did entertaine,  
Whilest here he liv'd, and held in passing price,  
Hight Thestylis, began his mournfull tourne: 5  
And made the Muses in his song to mourne.

And after him full many other moe,  
As everie one in order lov'd him best,  
Gan dight themselves t' expresse their inward  
woe,  
With dolefull layes unto the time addrest.

'The which I here in order will rehearse,  
As fittest flowres to deck his mournfull hearfe. 12

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THE

MOURNING MUSE OF THESTYLIS\*.

COME forth, ye Nymphes, come forth, forsake  
your watry bowres,

Forsake your mossy caves, and help me to lament :  
Help me to tune my dolefull notes to gurgling found  
Of Liffies tumbling streames : Come, let salt teares  
of ours,

Mix with his waters fresh. O come, let one consent  
Ioyne us to mourne with wailfull p'laints the deadly  
wound 6

Which fatall clap hath made ; decreed by higher  
powres.

The dreery day in which they have from us yrent  
'The noblest plant that might from East to West be  
found.

Mourne, mourn, great Phillips fall, mourn we his  
wofull end, 10

\* In 1587 the following licence, among others, was granted by the Stationers' Company to John Wolf, printer, viz. "The mourning Muses of Lod. Brysket vpon the death of the most noble Sir Phillip Sydney knight &c." And, in a manuscript copy of this poem, preserved in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth Palace, the following poem is expressly given to Bryskett. Mr. Warton has supposed it, but clearly without authority, to be Spenser's. See his *Observations on the Faer. Qu.* vol. i. p. 223. Bryskett, as I have shewn in the *Life of the poet*, was Spenser's friend. TODD.

Whom spitefull death hath pluckt untimely from  
the tree,

Whiles yet his yeares in flowre did promise worthie  
frute.

Ah dreadful Mars, why didst thou not thy knight  
defend?

What wrathfull mood, what fault of ours, hath  
moved thee

Of such a shining light to leave us destitute? 15

Thou with benigne aspect sometime didst us behold,

Thou hast in Britons valour tane delight of old,

And with thy presence oft vouchsaf't to attribute

Fame and renowme to us for glorious martiall  
deeds.

But now their [thy] ireful bemes have chill'd our  
harts with cold; 20

Thou hast estrang'd thy self, and deignest not our  
land:

Farre off to others now thy favour honour breeds,  
And high disdain doth cause thee shun our clime,  
(I feare;)

For hadst thou not bene wroth, or that time neare  
at hand,

Thou wouldst have heard the cry that wofull Eng-  
land made; 25

Eke Zeland's pitcous plaints, and Hollands toren  
heare,

Would haply have appeas'd thy divine angry mynd:  
Thou shouldst have seen the trees refuse to yeeld  
their shade,

And wailing to let fall the honor of their head;

And birds in mournfull tunes lamenting in their  
kinde. 30

Up from his tombe the mightie Corineus rose,  
Who cursing oft the fates that this mishap had bred,  
His hoary locks he tare, calling the heavens unkinde.  
The Thames was heard to roare, the Reyne and eke  
the Mose,

The Schald, the Danow felse, this great mischance  
did rue, 35

With torment and with grief: their fountains pure  
and cleere

Were troubled, and with swelling flouds declar'd  
their woes.

The Muses comfortles, the Nymphs with paled hue,  
The Silvan gods likewise, came running farre and  
neere,

And all with teares bedewd, and eyes cast up  
on hie; 40

O help, O help, ye gods, they ghastly gan to crie.  
O change the cruell fate of this so rare a wight,  
And graunt that natures course may measure out  
his age.

The beasts their foode forfooke, and, trembling  
fearfully,

Each sought his cave or den, this cry did them so  
fright. 45

Out from amid the waves, by storme then stirr'd to  
rage,

This crie did cause to rise th' old father Ocean hoare,  
Who grave with eld, and full of maiestie in fight,  
Spake in this wise. "Refrain (quoth he) your teares  
and plaints,

Cease these your idle words, make vaine requests  
no more. 50

No humble speech, nor mone, may move the fixed  
flint

Of destinie or death: Such is his will that paints  
The earth with colours fresh; the darkeſt ſkies  
with ſtore

Of ſtarry lights: And though your teares a hart of  
flint

Might tender make, yet nought herein they will  
prevaile.” 55

Whiles thus he ſaid, the noble knight, who gan  
to feele

His vitall force to faint, and death with cruell dint  
Of direfull dart his mortall bodie to aſſaile,

With eyes liſt up to heav'n, and courage franke as  
ſteele,

With cheerfull face, where valour lively was expreſt,  
But humble mynd, he ſaid. “O Lord, if ought this  
fraile 61

And earthly carcaſſe have thy ſervice fought t' ad-  
vaunce;

If my deſire have bene ſtill to relieve th' oppreſt;

If iuſtice to maintaine that valour I have ſpent

Which thou me gav'ſt; or if henceforth I might  
advauce 65

Thy name, thy truth, then ſpare me (Lord) if thou  
think beſt;

Forbeare theſe unripe yeares. But if thy will be  
bent,

If that prefixed time be come which thou haſt ſet;

Through pure and fervent faith, I hope now to be  
plaf

In th' everlaſting blis, which with thy precious  
blood 70

Thou purchaſe didſt for us." With that a ſigh he ſet,  
And ſtraight a cloudie miſt his ſences overcaſt ;

His lips waxt pale and wan, like damaſke roſes bud  
Caſt from the ſtalke, or like in field to purple flowre,  
Which languiſheth being ſhred by culter as it paſt. 75

A trembling chilly cold ran through their veines,  
which were

With eies brimfull of teares to ſee his fatall howre,  
Whoſe bluſtring ſighes at firſt their ſorrow did  
declare,

Next, murmuring enſude ; at laſt they not forbear  
Plaine outcries, all againſt the heav'ns that enviouſly  
Depriv'd us of a ſpright ſo perfect and ſo rare. 81

The Sun his lightſom beames did ſhrowd, and hide  
his face

For grieve, whereby the earth feard night eternally :  
The mountaines eachwhere ſhooke, the rivers  
turn'd their ſtreames,

And th' aire gan winterlike to rage and fret apace :  
And griſly ghofts by night were ſeene, and fierie  
gleames, 86

Amid the clouds with claps of thunder, that did  
ſeeme

To rent the ſkies, and made both man and beaſt  
afeard :

The birds of ill preſage this luckleſſe chance foretold,  
By dernfull noiſe ; and dogs with howling made man  
deeme 90



Some mischief was at hand: for such they do effeme  
As tokens of mishap, and so have done of old.

Ah! that thou hadst but heard his lovely Stella  
plaine

Her greivous losse, or seene her heavie mourning  
cheere,

While she, with woe opprest, her sorrowes did unfold.  
Her haire hung lose, neglect, about her shoulders  
twaine; 96

And from those two bright starres, to him sometime  
so deere

Her heart sent drops of pearle, which fell in foyson  
downe

Twixt lilly and the rose. She wroong her hands  
with paine,

And piteously gan say: " My true and faithfull  
pheere, 100

Alas, and woe is me, why should my fortune frowne  
On me thus frowardly to rob me of my ioy!

What cruell envious hand hath taken thee away,  
And with thee my content, my comfort, and my stay?  
Thou onelie wast the ease of trouble and annoy,  
When they did me assaile; in thee my hopes did  
rest. 106

Alas, what now is left but grief, that night and day  
Afflicts this wofull life, and with continuall rage

Torments ten thousand waies my miserable brest!  
O greedie envious heav'n, what needed thee to have  
Enricht with such a Jewell this unhappie age; 111  
To take it back againe so soone! Alas, when shall  
Mine eies see ought that may content them, since  
thy grave,

My onely treafure, hides the ioyes of my poore hart!  
 As here with thee on earth I liv'd, even fo equall 115  
 Me thinkes it were with thee in heav'n I did abide :  
 And as our troubles all we here on earth did part,  
 So reason would that there of thy moft happie ftate  
 I had my fhare. Alas, if thou my trustie guide  
 Were wont to be, how canft thou leave me thus  
 alone 120

In darkneffe and aftray; weake, wearie, defolate,  
 Plung'd in a world of woe, refufing for to take  
 Me with thee to the place of reft where thou art  
 gone!"

This faid, ſhe held her peace, for forrow tide her  
 toong;

And inſteed of more words, ſeemd that her eies a  
 lake 125

Of teares had bene, they flow'd fo plenteouſly  
 therefro :

And, with her ſobs and fighs, th' aire round about  
 her roong.

If Venus, when ſhe waild her deare Adonis ſlaine,  
 Ought moov'd in thy fiers hart compaſſion of her woe,  
 His noble ſiſters plaints, her fighes and teares emong,  
 Would ſure have made thee milde, and inly rue her  
 paine: 131

Aurora halfe ſo faire her ſelfe did never ſhow,  
 When, from old Tithons bed, ſhee weeping did  
 ariſe.

The blinded archer-boy, like larke in ſhowre of  
 raine,

Sat bathing of his wings, and glad the time did  
 ſpend 135

Under those cristall drops, which fell from her  
faire eies ;

And at their brightest beames him proynd in lovely  
wife.

Yet forie for her grief, which he could not amend,  
The gentle boy gan wipe her eies, and clear those  
lights,

Those lights through which his glory and his con-  
quests shine. 140

The Graces tuckt her hair, which hung like threds  
of gold,

Along her yvorie brest, the treasure of delights.

All things with her to weep, it seemed, did encline,  
The trees, the hills, the dales, the caves, the stons  
so cold.

The aire did help them mourne, with dark clouds,  
raine, and mist, 145

Forbearing many a day to cleare it selfe againe ;  
Which made them estfoones feare the daies of  
Pirrha shold

Of creatures spoile the earth, their fatall threds  
untwist.

For Phœbus gladfome raies were wished for in vaine,  
And with her quivering light Latonas daughter  
faire, 150

And Charles-waine eke refus'd to be the shipmans  
guide.

On Neptune warre was made by Aeolus and his  
traine,

Who, letting loose the winds, tost and tormented  
th' aire,

So that on ev'ry coast men shipwrack did abide,

Or else were swallowed up in open sea with waves,  
 And such as came to shoare were beaten with  
 despaire. 156

The Medwaies silver streames, that wont so still to  
 slide,

Were troubled now and wrothe; whose hidden  
 hollow caves,

Along his banks with fog then shrowded from  
 mans eye,

Ay Phillip did resound, aie Phillip they did crie.

His Nimphs were seen no more (thogh custom stil  
 it craves) 161

With haire spread to the wynd themselves to bath or  
 sport,

Or with the hooke or net, barefooted wantonly,

The pleasant daintie fish to entangle or deceive.

The shepherds left their wonted places of resort,

Their bagpipes now were still; their loving mery  
 layes 166

Were quite forgot; and now their flocks men  
 might perceive

To wander and to fraie, all carelesly neglect.

And, in the stead of mirth and pleasure, nights and  
 dayes

Nought els was to be heard, but woes, complaints,  
 and mone. 170

But thou (O blessed soule!) dost haply not respect  
 These teares we shed, though full of loving pure  
 affect,

Having affixt thine eyes on that most glorious  
 throne,

Where full of maiestie the High Creator reignes;

In whose bright shining face thy ioyes are all complete, 175

Whose love kindles thy spright; where, happie  
alwaies one,

Thou liv'st in blis that earthly passion never stains;  
Where from the purest spring the sacred Nectar  
sweete

Is thy continuall drinke; where thou doest gather  
now

Of well employed life th' inestimable gaines. 180

There Venus on thee smiles, Apollo gives thee place,  
And Mars in reverent wise doth to thy vertue bow,

And decks his fiery sphere, to do thee honour most.

In highest part whereof, thy valour for to grace,

A chaire of gold he fetts to thee, and there doth  
tell 185

Thy noble acts arew, whereby even they that boast  
Themselves of auncient fame, as Pirrhus, Hanniball,  
Scipio, and Cæsar, with the rest that did excell

In martiall prowesse, high thy glorie do admire.

All haile, therefore, O. worthie Phillip immortall,  
The flowre of Sydneys race, the honour of thy  
name! 191

Whose worthie praise to sing, my Muses not aspire,  
But sorrowfull and sad these teares to thee let fall,  
Yet wish their verses might so farre and wide thy  
fame

Extend, that envies rage, nor time, might end the  
fame. 195

A

PASTORALL AEGLOGUE

UPON THE

DEATH OF SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY, KNIGHT, &c.\*

LYCON. COLIN.

COLIN, well fits thy sad cheare this sad stownd,  
This wofull stownd, wherein all things complaine  
This great mishap, this greevous losie of owres.  
Hear'st thou the Orown? how with hollow stownd  
He slides away, and murmuring doth plaine, 5  
And seemes to fay unto the fading flowres,  
Along his bankes, unto the bared trees;  
Phillifides is dead. Up, iolly swaine,  
Thou that with skill canst tune a dolefull lay,  
Help him to mourn. My hart with grief doth  
freefe, 10  
Hoarse is my voice with crying, else a part  
Sure would I beare, though rude: But, as I may,  
With fobs and fighes I second will thy song,  
And so expresse the sorrowes of my hart.

COLIN. Ah Lycon, Lycon, what need skill, to  
teach 15

A grieved mynd powre forth his plaints! how long  
Hath the pore turtle gon to school (weenest thou)

\* The signature to this poem is L. B., that is, Lodowick Brykett. Mr. Warton's conjecture, that *Lord Brooke* might be the person designed by those initials, cannot, I believe, be supported. Mr. Warton however concedes that L. B. may signify the author's name, as in the poem we have neither the perspicuity nor the harmony of *Spenser*. TODD.

To learne to mourne her loſt make ! No, no, each  
 Creature by nature can tell how to waile.  
 Seeſt not theſe flocks, how ſad they wander now ?  
 Seemeth their leaders bell their bleating tunes 21  
 In dolefull ſound. Like him, not one doth faile  
 With hanging head to ſhew a heauiſe cheare,  
 What bird (I pray thee) haſt thou ſeen, that prunes  
 Himſelfe of late ? did any cheerfull note 25  
 Come to thine eares, or gladſome ſight appeare  
 Unto thine eies, ſince that ſame fatall howre ?  
 Hath not the aire put on his mourning coat,  
 And teſtified his grief with flowing teares ?  
 Sith then, it ſeemeth each thing to his powre 30  
 Doth us invite to make a ſad comfort ;  
 Come, let us ioyne our mournfull ſong with theirs.  
 Griefe will endite, and ſorrow will enforce,  
 Thy voice ; and eccho will our words report.

LYCON. Though my rude rymes ill with thy  
 verſes frame, 35

That others farre excell ; yet will I force  
 My ſelfe to anſwere thee the beſt I can,  
 And honor my baſe words with his high name.  
 But if my plaints annoy thee where thou ſit  
 In ſecret ſhade or cave ; vouchſafe (O Pan) 40  
 To pardon me, and hear this hard conſtraint  
 With patience while I ſing, and pittie it.  
 And eke ye rurall Muſes, that do dwell  
 In theſe wilde woods ; if ever piteous plaint  
 We did endite, or taught a wofull minde 45  
 With words of pure affect his griefe to tell,  
 Inſtruēt me now. Now, Colin, then goe on,  
 And I will follow thee, though farre behinde.

COLIN. Phillifides is dead. O harmfull death,  
 O deadly harme ! Unhappie Albion, 50  
 When shalt thou see, emong thy shepheards all,  
 Any so sage, so perfect? Whom uneath  
 Envie could touch for vertuous life and skill ;  
 Curteous, valiant, and liberall.  
 Behold the sacred Pales, where with haire 55  
 Untrust she fitts, in shade of yonder hill.  
 And her faire face, bent sadly downe, doth send  
 A flood of teares to bathe the earth ; and there  
 Doth call the heav'ns despightfull, envious,  
 Cruell his fate, that made so thort an end 60  
 Of that fame life, well worthie to have bene  
 Prolongd with many yeares, happie and famous.  
 The Nymphs and Oreades her round about  
 Do sit lamenting on the grassie grene ;  
 And with shrill cries, beating their whitest brests, 65  
 Accuse the direfull dart that death sent out  
 To give the fatall stroke. The starres they blame,  
 That deafe or carelesse seeme at their request.  
 The pleasant shade of stately groves they shun ;  
 They leave their cristall springs, where they wont  
 frame 70  
 Sweet bowres of myrtel twigs and lawrel faire,  
 To sport themselves free from the scorching sun.  
 And now the hollow caves where horror darke  
 Doth dwell, whence banisht is the gladfome aire,  
 They seeke ; and there in mourning spend their  
 time 75  
 With wailfull tunes, whiles wolves do howle and  
 barke,  
 And seem to beare a bourdon to their plaint.



LYCON. Phillifides is dead. O dolefull ryme !  
 Why should my toong expresse thee ? who is left  
 Now to uphold thy hopes, when they do faint, 80  
 Lycon unfortunate ! What spitefull fate,  
 What luckleffe destinie, hath thee bereft  
 Of thy chief comfort ; of thy onely stay !  
 Where is become thy wonted happie state,  
 (Alas !) wherein through many a hill and dale, 85  
 Through pleasant woods, and many an unknowne  
 way,

Along the bankes of many silver streames,  
 Thou with him yodest ; and with him didst scale  
 The craggie rocks of th' Alpes and Appenine !  
 Still with the Muses sporting, while those beames 90  
 Of vertue kindled in his noble brest,  
 Which after did so gloriously forth shine !  
 But (woe is me !) they now yquenched are  
 All suddainly, and death hath them opprest.  
 Loe father Neptune, with sad countenance, 95  
 How he fitts mourning on the frond now bare,  
 Yonder, where th' Ocean with his rolling waves  
 The white feete washeth (wailing this mischance)  
 Of Dover cliffes. His sacred skirt about  
 The sea-gods all are set ; from their moist caves 100  
 All for his comfort gathered there they be.  
 The Thamis rich, the Humber rough and stout,  
 The fruitfull Severne, with the rest are come  
 To helpe their lord to mourne, and eke to see  
 The dolefull sight, and sad pomp funerall, 105  
 Of the dead corps passing through his kingdome.  
 And all their heads, with cypres gyrlonds crown'd,  
 With wofull shrikes salute him great and finall.

Eke wailfull Eccho, forgetting her deare  
Narciffus, their laft accents doth refownd.      110

COLIN. Phillifides is dead. O luckleffe age;  
O widow world; O brookes and fountains cleere;  
O hills, O dales, O woods, that oft have rong  
With his fweet caroling, which could affwage  
The fierceft wrath of tygre or of beare:      115  
Ye Silvans, Fawnes, and Satyres, that emong  
Thefe thickets oft have daunft after his pipe;  
Ye Nymphs and Nayades with golden heare,  
That oft have left your pureft cristall fprings  
To harken to his layes, that coulden wipe      120  
Away all grieffe and sorrow from your harts:  
Alas! who now is left that like him fings?  
When fhall you heare againe like harmonie?  
So fweet a fownd who to you now imparts?  
Loe where engraved by his hand yet lives      125  
The name of Stella in yonder bay tree.

Happie name! happie tree! faire may you grow,  
And fpred your facred branch, which honor gives  
To famous Emperours, and Poets crowne.  
Unhappie flock that wander fcattered now,      130  
What marvell if through grief ye woxen leane,  
Forfake your food, and hang your heads adowne!  
For fuch a fhepherd never fhall you guide,  
Whofe parting hath of weale bereft you cleane.

LYCON. Phillifides is dead. O happie fprite, 135  
That now in heav'n with bleffed foules doeft bide:  
Looke down a while from where thou fitft above,  
And fee how bufie fhepherds be to endite  
Sad fongs of grief, their sorrowes to declare,  
And gratefull memory of their kynd love.      140

Behold my selfe with Colin, gentle swaine,  
 (Whose lerned Muse thou cherisht most whyleare,)  
 Where we, thy name recording, seeke to ease  
 The inward torment and tormenting paine,  
 That thy departure to us both hath bred ; 145  
 Ne can each others sorrow yet appease.

Behold the fountains now left desolate,  
 And withred grasse with cypres boughes be spred ;  
 Behold these floures which on thy grave we strew ;  
 Which, faded, shew the givers faded state, 150  
 (Though eke they shew their fervent zeale and  
 pure,)

Whose onely comfort on thy welfare grew.  
 Whose praiers importune shall the heav'ns for ay,  
 That, to thy ashes, rest they may assure :  
 That learnedst shepherds honor may thy name 155  
 With yeerly praises, and the Nymphs alway  
 Thy tomb may deck with fresh and sweetest flowres ;  
 And that for ever may endure thy fame.

COLIN. The Sun (lo !) hastned hath his face to  
 steep

In western waves ; and th' aire with stormy showres  
 Warnes us to drive homewards our filly sheep :  
 Lycon, lett's rise, and take of them good keep. 162

*Virtute summa : cætera fortuna.*

L. B.

AN ELEGIE,

OR

FRIENDS PASSION, FOR HIS ASTROPHILL.

*Written upon the Death of the Right Honourable SIR PHILLIP  
SIDNEY Knight, Lord Governour of Flushing \*.*

AS then, no winde at all there blew,  
No swelling cloude accloid the aire ;  
The skie, like grasse [glasse] of watchet hew,  
Reflected Phœbus golden haire ;  
The garnisht tree no pendant stird, 5  
No voice was heard of anie bird.

There might you see the burly Beare,  
The Lion king, the Elephant ;  
The maiden Unicorne was there,  
So was Acteons horned plant, 10  
And what of wilde or tame are found,  
Were coucht in order on the ground.

Aleides speckled poplar tree,  
The palme that Monarchs do obtaine,

\* This poem was written by Matthew Roydon, as we are informed in Nash's Preface to Greene's *Arcadia*, and in *Engl. Parnassus. The Phoenix Nest, set foorth by R. S. of the Inner Temple, Gentleman*, 4to. 1593. commences also with "An Elegie, or friends passion, for his Astrophill, &c."

To the two following pieces I am unable to assign their authors ; but no reader will imagine them the productions of Spenser. TODD.

With love-iuice ftaind the mulberie, 15  
 The fruit that dewes the poets braine ;  
 And Phillis philbert there away,  
 Comparde with mirtle and the bay.

The tree that coffins doth adorne,  
 With ftately height threatning the skie ; 20  
 And, for the bed of Love forlorne,  
 The blacke and dolefull Ebonie ;  
 All in a circle compaft were,  
 Like to an ampitheater.

Upon the branches of thofe trees, 25  
 The airie-winged people fat,  
 Diftinguifhed in od degrees,  
 One fort is this, another that,  
 Here Philomell, that knowes full well  
 What force and wit in love doth dwell. 30

The skiebred Eagle, roiall bird,  
 Percht there upon an oke above ;  
 The Turtle by him never ftird,  
 Example of immortall love.  
 The fwan that fings, about to dy, 35  
 Leaving Meander ftood thereby.

And, that which was of woonder moft,  
 The Phœnix left fweet Arabie ;  
 And, on a Cædar in this coaft,  
 Built up her tombe of fpicerie, 40  
 As I coniecture, by the fame  
 Preparde to take her dying flame.

In midst and center of this plot,  
 I saw one groveling on the grasse :  
 A man or stone, I knew not that ; 45  
 No stone ; of man the figure was,  
     And yet I could not count him one,  
     More than the image made of stone.

At length I might perceive him reare  
 His bodie on his elbow end : 50  
 Earthly and pale with ghastly cheare,  
 Upon his knees he upward tend,  
     Seeming like one in uncouth found,  
     To be ascending out the ground.

A grievous sigh forthwith he throwes, 55  
 As might have torne the vitall strings ;  
 Then down his cheeks the teares so flows,  
 As doth the streame of many springs.  
     So thunder rends the cloud in twaine,  
     And makes a passage for the raine. 60

Incontinent, with trembling found,  
 He wofully gan to complaine ;  
 Such were the accents as might wound,  
 And teare a diamond rocke in twaine :  
     After his throbs did somewhat stay, 65  
     Thus heavily he gan to say.

O funne ! (said he) seeing the funne,  
 On wretched me why dost thou shine,  
 My star is false, my comfort done,  
 Out is the apple of my eye ; 70

Shine upon those possesse delight,  
And let me live in endlesse might.

O grieve that liest upon my foule,  
As heavie as a mount of lead,  
The remnant of my life controll, 75  
Confort me quickly with the dead ;  
Halfe of this hart, this sprite, and will,  
Di'de in the brest of Astrophill.

And you, compaffionate of my wo,  
Gentle birds, beafts, and shadie trees, 80  
I am affurde ye long to kno  
What be the forrowes me agreev's ;  
Liften ye then to that infu'th,  
And heare a tale of teares and ruthe.

You knew, who knew not Astrophill ? 85  
(That I should live to fay I knew,  
And have not in poffeffion still !)  
Things knowne permit me to renew,  
Of him you know his merit fuch,  
I cannot fay, you heare, too much. 90

Within these woods of Arcadie,  
He chiefe delight and pleasure tooke,  
And on the mountaine Parthenie,  
Upon the chryftall liquid brooke,  
The Mufes met him ev'ry day, 95  
That taught him fing, to write, and fay.

When he descended downe to the mount,  
 His personage seemed most divine,  
 A thousand graces one might count,  
 Upon his lovely cheerfull eie ; 100  
     To heare him speake and sweetly smile,  
     You were in Paradise the while.

A sweet attractive kinde of grace,  
 A full assurance given by lookes,  
 Continuall comfort in a face, 105  
 The lineaments of Gospell bookes,  
     I trowe that countenance cannot lie,  
     Whose thoughts are legible in the eie.

Was never eie did see that face,  
 Was never eare did heare that tong, 110  
 Was never minde did minde his grace,  
 That ever thought the travell long ;  
     But eies, and eares, and ev'ry thought,  
     Were with his sweete perfections caught.

O God, that such a worthy man, 115  
 In whom so rare defarts did raigue,  
 Desired thus, must leave us than,  
 And we to wish for him in vaine !  
     O could the stars, that bred that wit,  
     In force no longer fixed sit ! 120

Then being fild with learned dew,  
 The Muses willed him to love ;  
 That instrument can aptly shew,  
 How finely our conceits will move ;



As Bacchus opes difsembled harts,  
So Love fets out our better parts. 125

Stella, a Nymph within this wood,  
Most rare and rich of heavenly blis,  
The higheft in his fancie food,  
And ſhe could well demerite this ; 130  
    Tis likely they acquainted ſoone ;  
    He was a Sun, and ſhe a Moone.

Our Aftrophill did Stella love ;  
O Stella, vaunt of Aftrophill,  
Albeit thy graces gods may move, 135  
Where wilt thou finde an Aftrophill !  
    The roſe and lillie have their prime,  
    And ſo hath beautie but a time.

Although thy beautie do exceed,  
In common fight of ev'ry eie, 140  
Yet in his Poefies when we reede,  
It is apparant more thereby,  
    He, that hath love and iudgement too,  
    Sees more than any other doo.

Then Aftrophill hath honord thee ; 145  
For when thy bodie is extinct,  
Thy graces ſhall eternall be,  
And live by virtue of his inke ;  
    For by his verſes he doth give  
    The ſhort-livde beautie aye to l'ive. 150

Above all others this is hee,  
 Which erst approved in his song,  
 That love and honor might agree,  
 And that pure love will do no wrong.  
     Sweet faints ! it is no finne or blame,      155  
     To love a man of vertuous name.

Did never love so sweetly breath  
 In any mortall brest before,  
 Did never Muse inspire beneath  
 A Poets braine with finer store :      160  
     He wrote of love with high conceit,  
     And beautie reard above her height.

Then Pallas afterward attyrde  
 Our Astrophill with her device,  
 Whom in his armor heaven admyrde,      165  
 As of the nation of the skies ;  
     He sparkled in his armes afarrs,  
     As he were dight with fierie starrs.

The blaze whereof when Mars beheld,  
 (An envious eie doth see afar,)      170  
 Such maiestie (quoth he) is feeld,  
 Such maiestie my mart may mar,  
     Perhaps this may a futer be,  
     To set Mars by his deitie.

In this furmize he made with speede      175  
 An iron cane, wherein he put  
 The thunder that in cloudes do breede ;  
 The flame and bolt together shut

With privie force burft out againe,  
And fo our Astrophill was flaine. 180

His word (was flaine !) straightway did move  
And natures inward life frings twitch ;  
The skie immediately above  
Was dimd with hideous clouds of pitch,  
The wraftling winds from out the ground 185  
Fild all the aire with ratling found.

The bending trees exprest a grone,  
And figh'd the forrow of his fall,  
The forreft beafts made ruthfull mone,  
The birds did tune their mourning call, 190  
And Philomell for Astrophill  
Unto her notes annex a phill.

The turtle dove with tunes of ruthe  
Shewd feeling paffion of his death,  
Me thought the faid I tell thee truthe, 195  
Was never he that drew in breath,  
Unto his love more trustie found,  
Than he for whom our griefs abound.

The swan, that was in prefence heere,  
Began his funerall dirge to fing, 200  
Good things (quoth he) may fcarce appeere,  
But paffe away with speedie wing.  
This mortall life as death is tride,  
And death gives life, and fo he di'de.

The generall forrow that was made, 205  
Among the creatures of [each] kinde,

Fired the Phœnix where ſhe laide,  
 Her aſhes flying with the winde,  
     So as I might with reaſon ſee,  
 That ſuch a Phœnix nere ſhould bee.      210

Haply the cinders, driven about,  
 May breede an offspring neere that kinde,  
 But hardly a peere to that I doubt,  
 It cannot ſinke into my minde,  
     That under branches ere can bee,      215  
     Of worth and value as the tree.

The Egle markt with pearcing fight  
 The mournfull habite of the place,  
 And parted thence with mounting flight,  
 To ſignifie to Iove the caſe,      220  
     What forrow nature doth ſuftaine,  
     For Aſtrophill by envie flaine.

And, while I followed with mine eie  
 The flight the Egle upward tooke,  
 All things did vaniſh by and by,      225  
 And diſappeared from my looke;  
     The trees, beaſts, birds, and grove was gone,  
     So was the friend that made this mone.

This ſpectacle had firmly wrought,  
 A deepe compaſſion in my ſpright,      230  
 My molting hart iſſude, me thought,  
 In ſtreames forth at mine eies aright:  
     And here my pen is forſt to ſhrinke,  
     My teares diſcollor fo mine inke.

## AN EPITAPH,

*Upon the Right Honourable SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY Knight:  
Lord Governor of Flushing.*

TO praise thy life, or waile thy worthie death,  
And want thy wit, thy wit high, pure, divine,  
Is far beyond the powre of mortall line,  
Nor any one hath worth that draweth breath.

Yet rich in zeale, though poore in learnings lore, 5  
And friendly care obscurde in secret brest,  
And love that envie in thy life supprest,  
Thy deere life done, and death hath doubled more.

And I, that in thy time, and living state,  
Did onely praise thy vertues in my thought, 10  
As one that feeld the rising sun hath fought,  
With words and teares now waile thy timelesse fate.

Drawne was thy race aright from princely line,  
Nor lesse than such, (by gifts that nature gave,  
The common mother that all creatures have,) 15  
Doth vertue shew, and princely lineage shine.

A king gave thee thy name; a kingly minde,  
That God thee gave, who found it now too deere  
For this base world, and hath resumde it neere,  
To fit in skies, and fort with powres divine. 20

Kent thy birth daies, and Oxford held thy youth ;  
The heavens made hast, and staid nor yeeres, nor  
time ;

The fruits of age grew ripe in thy first prime,  
Thy will, thy words ; thy words the seales of truth.

Great gifts and wisedom rare imployd thee thence,  
To treat from kings with those more great than  
kings ;

26

Such hope men had to lay the highest things  
On thy wise youth, to be transported hence !

Whence to sharpe wars sweet honor did thee call,  
Thy countries love, religion, and thy friends :  
Of worthy men the marks, the lives, and ends,  
And her defence, for whom we labor all.

30

There didst thou vanquish shame and tedious age,  
Griefe, sorrow, sicknes, and base fortunes might :  
Thy rising day saw never wofull night,  
But past with praise from off this worldly stage.

33

Back to the campe, by thee that day was brought,  
First thine owne death, and after thy long fame ;  
Tears to the soldiers, the proud Castilians shame,  
Vertue exprest, and honor truly taught.

40

What hath he lost, that such great grace hath woon ?  
Yoong yeeres for endles yeeres, and hope unsure  
Of fortunes gifts for wealth that still shall dure ;  
Oh ! happie race with so great praises run.

England doth hold thy lims that bred the fame, 45  
 Flaunders thy valure where it laſt was tried,  
 The Campe thy ſorrow where thy bodie died,  
 Thy friends, thy want; the world, thy vertues fame.

Nations thy wit, our mindes lay up thy love;  
 Letters thy learning, thy loſſe, yeeres long to come;  
 In worthy harts ſorrow hath made thy tombe; 51  
 Thy foule and ſpright enrich the heavens above.

Thy liberall hart imbalmd in gratefull teares,  
 Yoong ſighes, ſweet ſighes, ſage ſighes, bewaile thy  
 fall;  
 Envie her ſting, and Spite hath left her gall, 55  
 Malice her ſelfe a mourning garment weares.

That day their Hanniball died, our Scipio fell,  
 Scipio, Cicero, and Petrarch of our time!  
 Whoſe vertues, wounded by my wortheleſſe rime,  
 Let Angels ſpeake, and heaven thy praises tell. 60

### ANOTHER OF THE SAME.

**SILENCE** augmenteth grief, writing encreaſeth  
 rage,  
 Stald are my thoughts, which lov'd, and loſt, the  
 wonder of our age,  
 Yet quickned now with fire, though dead with froſt  
 ere now,  
 Enrag'de I write, I know not what: dead, quick, I  
 know not how.

Hard harted mindes relent, and Rigors teares abound,  
 And Envie strangely rues his end, in whom no fault  
     she found ; 6  
 Knowledge her light hath lost, Valor hath flaine her  
     knight ;  
 Sidney is dead, dead is my friend, dead is the worlds  
     delight.

Place penfive wailes his fall, whose preface was her  
     pride,  
 Time crieth out, my ebbe is come ; his life was my  
     spring tide : 10  
 Fame mournes in that she lost the ground of her  
     reports ;  
 Ech living wight laments his lacke, and all in fundry  
     forts.

He was (wo worth that word!) to ech well thinking  
     minde  
 A spotlesse friend, a matchles man, whose vertue  
     ever shinde,  
 Declaring in his thoughts, his life, and that he writ,  
 Highest conceits, longest forefights, and deepest  
     works of wit. 16

He, onely like himselfe, was second unto none,  
 Whose deth (though life) we rue, and wrong, and  
     al in vain do mone ;  
 Their losse, not him, waile they, that fill the world  
     with cries ;  
 Death flue not him, but he made death his ladder  
     to the skies. 20



Now sinke of sorrow I, who live; the more the wrong;  
Who wishing death, whom death denies, whose thread  
    is al-to long,  
Who tied to wretched life, who looks for no reliefe,  
Must spend my ever dying daies in never ending  
    griefe.

Harts ease and onely I, like parables run on,      25  
Whose equall length keep equall breadth, and never  
    meet in one;  
Yet for not wronging him, my thoughts, my sor-  
    rowes cell,  
Shall not run out, though leake they will, for liking  
    him so well.

Farewell to you, my hopes, my wonted waking  
    dreaimes;  
Farewell sometimes enjoyed, ioy; eclipsed are thy  
    beames!      30  
Farewell selfe pleasing thoughts, which quietnes  
    brings foorth;  
And farewell friendships sacred league, uniting  
    minds of worth.

And farewell mery hart, the gift of guiltlesse mindes,  
And all sports, which, for lives restore, varietie  
    assignes;  
Let all, that sweete is, voyd; in me no mirth may  
    dwell,      35  
Phillip, the cause of all this woe, my lives content,  
    farewell!

Now rime, the sonne of rage, which art no kin to  
skill,

And endles griefe, which deads my life, yet knowes  
not how to kill,

Go, seeke that haples tombe; which if ye hap to  
finde,

Salute the stons, that keep the lims that held so  
good a minde. 40

PROTHALAMION:

OR,

A SPOUSALL VERSE,

MADE BY

EDM. SPENSER.

*In honour of the double marriage of the two honorable and virtuous ladies, the Ladie Elizabeth, and the Ladie Katherine Somerset, daughters to the right honorable the Earle of Worcester, and espoused to the two worthie gentlemen, M. Henry Gilford and M. William Pcter, Esquyers.*



# PROTHALAMION

OR,

A SPOUSALL VERSE.

CALME was the day, and through the trem-  
bling ayre  
Sweete-breathing Zephyrus did softly play  
A gentle spirit, that light'y did delay  
Hot Titans beames, which then did glyster  
fayre ;  
When I, (whom [whose] fullein care, . 5  
Through discontent of my long fruitlesse stay  
In princes court, and expectation vayne  
Of idle hopes, which still doe fly away,  
Like empty shadows, did afflic't my brayne,)  
Walkt forth to ease my payne 10  
Along the shoare of silver streaming Themmes ;  
Whose ruddy bank, the which his river hemmes,

Ver. 3. \_\_\_\_\_ delay] *Temper* or *mitigate*, as in F. Q. ii. ix. 30. "But to *delay* the heat." Hughes, however, rejects the old word, and reads *alloy*; to which unjustifiable alteration the modern editions also conform. *Delay* is repeatedly used in this sense by Spenser. Thus again, in his *Sonnet to Sir Chr. Hatton*, ver. 11. "May eke *delay* the rugged brow &c." Where see the note. TODD.

Ver. 12. *Whose ruddy bank,*] That is, whose bank *full of roots*, &c. *rootie*, an old English adjective. See Cotgrave's Fr. and Eng. Dict. TODD.

Was paynted all with variable flowers,  
 And all the meades adornd with dainty gemmes,  
 Fit to decke maydens bowres, 15  
 And crowne their paramours  
 Against the brydale-day, which is not long :  
 Sweet Themmes! runne softly, till I end my  
 song.

There, in a meadow, by the rivers side,  
 A flocke of Nymphes I chaunced to espy, 20  
 All lovely daughters of the Flood thereby,  
 With goodly greenish locks, all loose untyde,  
 As each had bene a bryde ;  
 And each one had a little wicker basket,  
 Made of fine twigs, entrayled curiously, 25  
 In which they gathered flowers to fill their  
 flasket,  
 And with fine fingers cropt full feateously

Ver. 17. ————— *which is not long :*] That is, approaching, near at hand. See F. Q. iv. iv. 12.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 22. *With goodly greenish locks, all loose untyde,*  
*As each had bene a bryde ;]* This custom appears to have been usual in this country even at the beginning of the eighteenth century. For thus Nahum Tate writes, (strangely enough indeed as to the comparifon,) in his *Injur'd Love, &c.* a tragedy, 1707. "Untie your folded thoughts, and let them dangle loose as a bride's hair !" TODD.

Ver. 27. ————— *with fine fingers]* With *elegant* or *taper* fingers. So Excesse is described squeezeing, into her cup, the sappy liquour of ripe fruit

—————"with daintie breach  
 "Of her *fine* fingers."—

The tender stalkes on hye.  
 Of every fort, which in that meadow grew,  
 They gathered some; the violet, pallid blew, 30  
 The little dazie, that at evening closes,  
 The virgin lillie, and the primrose trew,  
 With store of vermeil roses,  
 To deck their bridegroomes posies  
 Against the brydale-day, which was not long :  
 Sweet Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my  
 song. 36

With that I saw two Swannes of goodly hewe  
 Come softly swimming downe along the lee ;  
 Two fairer birds I yet did never see ;  
 The snow, which doth the top of Pindus strew,  
 Did never whiter shew, 41  
 Nor Jove himselve, when he a swan would be  
 For love of Leda, whiter did appeare ;  
 Yet Leda was (they say) as white as he,  
 Yet not so white as these, nor nothing near ; 45  
 So purely white they were,

And thus Abr. Fraunce describes Phillis, in his *Second part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch*, 1591. Sign. G. 4.

Her " cheeks all white-red, with snow and purple adorned,  
 " And pure flesh swelling with quick veynes speedily moving,  
 " And such FINE fingers as were most like to the fingers  
 " Of Tithonus wife &c." TODD.

Ver. 37. *With that I saw two Swannes &c.*] See Hughes's remark on this fiction, in his *Essay on Allegor. Poetry*, vol. ii. p. xv. It is probable, as Mr. Warton also thinks, that Spenser, in this description, had his eye sometimes on Leland's *Cygneu Cantio*. TODD.

That even the gentle stream, the which them  
 bare,  
 Seem'd foule to them, and bad his billowes spare  
 To wet their filken feathers, leaft they might  
 Soyle their fayre plumes with water not fo fayre,  
 And marre their beauties bright, 51  
 That shone as heavens light,  
 Against their brydale day, which was not long:  
 Sweet Themmes! runne softly, till I end my  
 fong.

Eftfoones the Nymphes, which now had flowers  
 their fill, 55  
 Ran all in hafte to fee that filver brood,  
 As they came floating on the cristal flood;  
 Whom when they fawe, they stood amazed still,  
 Their wondring eyes to fill;  
 Them seem'd they never faw a fight fo fayre, 60  
 Of fowles, fo lovely, that they fure did deeme  
 Them heavenly borne, or to be that fame payre  
 Which through the skie draw Venus filver  
 teeme;  
 For fure they did not feeme  
 'To be begot of any earthly feede, 65  
 But rather angels, or of angels breede;  
 Yet were they bred of Somers-heat, they fay,

Ver. 67. ———— *Somers-Heat,*] A punning allusion to the surname of the Ladies, whose marriages this spoufal verse celebrates. TODD.



In sweetest season, when each flower and weede  
 The earth did fresh aray ;  
 So fresh they seem'd as day, 70  
 Even as their brydale day, which was not long :  
 Sweet Themmes ! runne softly, till I end  
 my song.

Then forth they all out of their baskets drew  
 Great store of flowers, the honour of the field,  
 That to the sense did fragrant odours yeild, 75  
 All which upon those goodly birds they threw,  
 And all the waves did strew,  
 That like old Peneus waters they did seeme,  
 When downe along by pleasant Tempes shore,  
 Scattered with flowres, through Theffaly they  
 streeme, 80  
 That they appeare, through lillies plenteous  
 store,  
 Like a brydes chamber flore.  
 Two of those Nymphes, meane while, two gar-  
 lands bound  
 Of freshest flowres which in that mead they  
 found,  
 The which presenting all in trim array, 85

Ver. 73. *Then forth they all out of their baskets drew  
 Great store of flowers, &c.*] See the note on  
 F. Q. iii. i. 36. T. WARTON.

Ver. 82. *Like a brydes chamber flore.*] See the *Epithala-  
 mion*, ver. 45, 46, &c. TODD.

Their snowie foreheads therewithall they crownd,  
 Whilst one did sing this lay,  
 Prepar'd against that day,  
 Against their brydale day, which was not long :  
 Sweet Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my  
 song. 90

“ Ye gentle Birdes ! the worlds faire ornament,  
 “ And heavens glorie; whom this happie hower  
 “ Doth leade unto your lovers blifsfull bower,  
 “ Ioy may you have, and gentle hearts content  
 “ Of your loves couplement ; 95  
 “ And let faire Venus, that is Queene of Love,  
 “ With her heart-quelling Sonne upon you  
 smile,  
 “ Whose smile, they say, hath vertue to remove  
 “ All loves dislike, and friendships faultie guile  
 “ For ever to affoile. 100  
 “ Let endlesse peace your steadfast hearts accord,  
 “ And blessed plentie wait upon your bord ;  
 “ And let your bed with pleasures chaste  
 abound,  
 “ That fruitfull issue may to you afford,  
 “ Which may your foes confound, 105  
 “ And make your ioyes redound  
 “ Upon your brydale day, which is not long :  
 “ Sweet Themmes ! runne softlie, till I end  
 my song.”

So ended she; and all the rest around  
 To her redoubled that her underfong, 110  
 Which said, their brydale daye should not be  
 long :

And gentle Eccho from the neighbour ground  
 Their accents did resound.

So forth those ioyous Birdes did passe along  
 Adowne the lee, that to them murmurde low, 115  
 As he would speake, but that he lackt a tong,  
 Yet did by signes his glad affection show,  
 Making his streame run flow.

And all the foule which in his flood did dwell  
 Gan flock about these twaine, that did excell 120  
 The rest, so far as Cynthia doth shend  
 The lesser stars. So they, enranged well,  
 Did on those two attend,

And their best service lend  
 Against their wedding day, which was not long :  
 Sweet Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my  
 song. 126

At length they all to mery London came,  
 To mery London, my most kyndly nurse,

Ver. 120. \_\_\_\_\_ *that did excell*  
*The rest, so far as Cynthia &c.] Hor. Od. i. xii. 46.*  
 \_\_\_\_\_ " *micat inter omnes*

" *Julium fidus, velut inter ignes*  
 " *Luna minores."* TODD.

Ver. 121. \_\_\_\_\_ shend] *Put to*  
*shame, disgrace. See F. Q. i. i. 53, ii. vi. 35, &c. TODD.*

That to me gave this lifes first native fource,  
 Though from another place I take my name, 130  
 An house of auncient fame :

There when they came, whereas those bricky  
 towres

The which on Themmes brode aged backe doe  
 ryde,

Where now the studious lawyers have their  
 bowers,

There whylome went the Templer Knights to  
 byde, 135

Till they decayd through pride ;

Next whereunto there standes a stately place,

Where oft I gayned giftes and goodly grace

Of that great lord, which therein went to dwell.

Whose want too well now feels my freendles  
 case ; 140

But ah ! here fits not well

Olde woes, but ioyes, to tell

Against the bridale daye, which is not long :

Sweet Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my  
 song.

Yet therein now doth lodge a noble peer, 145

Great Englands glory, and the worlds wide  
 wonder,

Whose dreadfull name late through all Spaine  
 did thunder,

And Hercules two Pillors standing neere  
 Did make to quake and feare :  
 Faire branch of honor, flower of chevalrie ! 150  
 That fillest England with thy triumphs fame,  
 Ioy have thou of thy noble victorie,  
 And endlesse happineffe of thine owne name  
 That promifeth the fame ;  
 That through thy prowesse, and victorious  
                   armes, 155  
 Thy country may be freed from forraine harmes,  
 And great Elifaes glorious name may ring  
 Through al the world, fil'd with thy wide alarmes,  
 Which some brave Muse may fing  
 To ages following, 160  
 Upon the brydale day, which is not long :  
     Sweet Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my  
           fong.

From those high towers this noble lord issuing,  
 Like radiant Hesper, when his golden hayre

Ver. 164. *Like radiant Hesper, when &c.*] See F. Q. i. xii.  
 21, ii. xii. 65. Thus Seneca, *Hippol.* 749.

“ Qualis est primas referens tenebras

“ Nuncius noctis, modo lotus undis

“ Hesperus, pulsus iterum tenebris

“ Lucifer idem.”

Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 589.

“ Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,

“ Quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes,

“ Extulit os sacrum cælo, tenebrasque resolvit.”

Homer, *Il.* é. 5.

Ἄστέρ' ὀπωρινῶ ἑναλίγκιον, ὅσε μάλιχα

Λαμπρὸν παμφαίνησι λελαμμένος Ὀκεανοῖο. JORTIN.

In th' ocean billowes he hath bathed fayre, 165

Descended to the rivers open vewing,

With a great .raine ensuing.

Above the rest were goodly to bee seene

'Two gentle Knights of lovely face and feature,

Beseeming well the bower of any queene, 170

With gifts of wit, and ornaments of nature,

Fit for so goodly stature,

'That like the 'Twins of Love they seem'd in fight,

Which decke the bauldricke of the heavens

bright ;

They two, forth pacing to the rivers side, 175

Receiv'd those two faire Brides, their loves

delight ;

Which, at th' appointed tyde,

Each one did make his Bryde

Against their brydale day, which is not long :

Sweet Themmes ! runne softly, till I end my

song.

180

Ver. 174. ————— bauldricke] A *girdle* or *belt*. Hence Spenser calls the Zodiack "the *bauldricke* of the heavens." Gloss. to Urry's Chaucer, in V. *Baudrick*. See also F. Q. v. i. 11. And Mr. Upton's note there. TODD.

AMORETTI,

OR

SONNETS;

AND

EPITHALAMION.

By EDM. SPENSER.





\* G. W. SENIOR,

TO THE AUTHOR.

*DARKE is the day, when Phæbus face is shrouded,  
And weaker sights may wander soone astray :  
But, when they see his glorious rays unclouded,  
With stiddy steps they keep the perfect way :  
So, while this Muse in forraine land doth stay,  
Invention weeps, and pens are cast aside ;  
The time, like night, depriv'd of chearfull day ;  
And few do write, but (ah !) too soon may slide.  
Then, hie thee home, that art our perfect guide,  
And with thy wit illustrate England's fame,  
Daunting thereby our neighbours ancient pride,  
That do, for Poesie, challenge chiefeft name :  
So we that live, and ages that succeed,  
With great applause thy learned works shall read.*

---

*AH! Colin, whether on the lowly plaine,  
Piping to shepherds thy sweet roundelays ;  
Or whether singing, in some lofty vaine,  
Heroicke deeds of past or present days ;*

\* *G. W. senior*] Perhaps George Whetstone, a poetaster and dramattick writer in the reign of Elisabeth ; for he is characterised by a contemporary writer, “ as one of the most passionate amongst us to bewail *the perplexities of love.*” These *Amoretti*, or *Sonnets*, we may therefore suppose quite suited to his taste. If this address to Spenser be written by Whetstone, we may suppose G. W. jun., by whom the other address is signed, to be his son. **TODD.**

*Or whether, in thy lovely Mistresse praise,  
Thou list to exercise thy learned quill ;  
Thy Muse hath got such grace and power to please  
With rare invention, beautified by skill,  
As who therein can ever ioy their fill !  
O ! therefore let that happy Muse proceed  
To clime the height of Vertues sacred hill,  
Where endlesse honour shall be made thy meed :  
Because no malice of succeeding daies  
Can raise those records of thy lasting praise.*

G. W. Jun<sup>r</sup>.

\* AMORETTI, &c.

SONNET I.

HAPPY, ye leaves! when as those lilly  
hands,

Which hold my life in their dead-doing might,  
Shall handle you, and hold in loves soft bands,  
Lyke captives trembling at the victors fight.

\* *Amoretti*, &c.] I cannot think the Sonnets of Spenser, the least happy of his productions. If they do not always afford pleasure, they certainly never offend the ear. In general, they flow sweetly; yet they do not always partake of the nature of blank verse, by the lines running into each other at proper intervals. They are not formed exactly on the Italian model; they seem to have been constructed according to the genius of our language. The rhymes in the two first quatrains are alternate. And a couplet uniformly closes every sonnet.

His *Amoretti* do not seem to be the effusions of a genuine passion. They are Platonick flights. They were probably written in emulation of Petrarca. They breathe the spirit of the bard of Valchiusa. This particularly appears from the 83d Sonnet.

“ Let not one spark of filthy lustful fire

“ Break out, that may her sacred peace molest;

“ Ne one light glance of sensual desire

“ Attempt to work her gentle minds unrest.

“ But pure affections bred in spotless brest, &c.”

Though we may often trace Petrarca in these poems, we can seldom discover in them a servile imitation of that charming poet; perhaps the closest is in the 81st Sonnet.

————— “ when her fair golden hairs

“ With the loose wind ye waving chance to mark.”

*Erano i capei d' oro all' aura sparsi.*

Petrarc. Sonnet 69.

And happy lines ! on which, with starry light,  
Those laming eyes will deigne sometimes to  
look,

And reade the sorrowes of my dying spright,  
Written with teares in harts close bleeding book.  
And happy rymes ! bath'd in the sacred brooke  
Of Helicon, whence she derived is ;  
When ye behold that Angels blessed looke,  
My soules long lacked food, my heavens blis ;

But, on this occasion, he follows the Tuscan bard no farther.—  
Nor did he probably mean an imitation, when he says,

————— “ her golden tresses  
“ She doth attire under a net of gold.”  
*Tra le chiome dell' or nascose il laccio &c.*

Petrarc. Ballata. 6.

It may, perhaps, be however asserted that, though Spenser is not a fervile imitator of Petrarca, he would never have written his *Amoretti* if he had not read the Sonnets of the Italian bard.

In the *Amoretti* of Spenser there are often “ conceits, miserable conceits.” Many of them, however, are free from that vice. They frequently display the beauties, without the faults, of the Italian sonnet.

Where these little pieces were written, does not appear : probably in Ireland. G. W. senior, in his preliminary Sonnet, urges the author to “ hie home,” and “ with his wit illustrate England's fame.” If, therefore, Spenser's travels did not extend beyond Ireland, G. W. must allude to his residence in this country, which he calls “ forrain land,” at the time the Sonnets were written. From the 80th Sonnet, they would seem to have been the relaxation of his muse after “ a long race thro' Fairy land.” Entangled in the web of allegory, or weary of “ so long a race,” he probably only wrote a few cantos of the 7th and 8th books, and then suspended the work ; which the political distractions, that drove him out of Ireland, prevented him from ever resuming. So that it may be presumed “ the deep” is unjustly accused of having “ swallowed” what was never written. J. C. WALKER.

I. 6. ————— laming] *Shining*. See the note on F. Q. iii. iii. 1. TODD.

Leaves, lines, and rymes, seeke her to please  
 alone,  
 Whom if ye please, I care for other none!

## SONNET II.

UNQUIET thought! whom at the first I bred  
 Of th' inward bale of my love-pined hart;  
 And sithens have with sighes and sorrowes fed,  
 Till greater then my wombe thou woxen art:  
 Breake forth at length out of the inner part,  
 In which thou lurkest lyke to vipers brood;  
 And seeke some succour both to ease my smart,  
 And also to sustayne thy selfe with food.  
 But, if in presence of that fayrest Proud  
 Thou chance to come, fall lowly at her feet;  
 And, with meek humbleffe and afflicted mood,  
 Pardon for thee, and grace for me, intreat:  
 Which if she graunt, then live, and my love  
 cherish:  
 If not, die soone; and I with thee will perish.

## SONNET III.

THE foverayne beauty which I doo admyre,  
 Witnesse the world how worthy to be prayzed!  
 The light wherof hath kindled heavenly fyre

In my fraile spirit, by her from baseneffe rayfed ;  
 That being now with her huge brightneffe dazed,  
 Base thing I can no more endure to view :  
 But, looking still on her, I stand amazed  
 At wondrous sight of so celestiall hew.  
 So when my toung would speak her praises dew,  
 It stopped is with thoughts astonishment ;  
 And, when my pen would write her titles true,  
 It ravisht is with fancies wonderment :  
 Yet in my hart I then both speak and write  
 The wonder that my wit cannot endite.

## SONNET IV.

NEW yeare, forth looking out of Ianus gate,  
 Doth seeme to promise hope of new delight :  
 And, bidding th' old adieu, his passed date  
 Bids all old thoughts to die in dumpish spright :  
 And, calling forth out of sad Winters night  
 Fresh Love, that long hath slept in cheerlesse  
 bower,  
 Wils him awake, and soone about him dight  
 His wanton wings and darts of deadly power.  
 For lusty Spring now in his timely howre  
 Is ready to come forth, him to receive ;

IV. 4. ——— dumpish] *Mournful*. See the note on  
*dumps*, SONN. 52. TODD.

And warns the Earth with divers colord flowre  
 To decke hir selfe, and her faire mantle weave.  
 Then you, faire flowre! in whom fresh youth  
 doth raine,  
 Prepare your selfe new love to entertaine.

## SONNET V.

RUDELY thou wrongest my deare harts  
 desire,  
 In finding fault with her too portly pride:  
 The thing which I doo most in her admire,  
 Is of the world unworthy most envie:  
 For in those lofty lookes is close implide,  
 Scorn of base things, and sdeigne of foul dis-  
 honor;  
 Thretning rash eies which gaze on her so wide,  
 That loofely they ne dare to looke upon her.  
 Such pride is praise; such portlinesse is honor;  
 That boldned innocence beares in hir eies;  
 And her faire countenance, like a goodly banner,  
 Spreds in defiaunce of all enemies.  
 Was never in this world ought worthy tride,  
 Without some spark of such self-pleasing pride.

## SONNET VI.

BE nought dismayd that her unmoved mind  
 Doth still persist in her rebellious pride :  
 Such love, not lyke to lusts of baser kynd,  
 The harder wonne, the firmer will abide.  
 The durefull oake, whose sap is not yet dride,  
 Is long ere it conceive the kindling fyre ;  
 But, when it once doth burne, it doth divide  
 Great heat, and makes his flames to heaven  
 aspire.

So hard it is to kindle new desire  
 In gentle brest, that shall endure for ever :  
 Deepe is the wound, that dints the parts entire  
 With chaste affects, that naught but death can  
 sever.

Then thinke not long in taking litle paine  
 To knit the knot, that ever shall remaine.

## SONNET VII.

FAYRE eyes ! the myrroure of my mazed hart,  
 What wondrous vertue is contain'd in you,  
 The which both lyfe and death forth from you  
 dart  
 Into the object of your mighty view ?



For, when ye mildly looke with lovely hew,  
 Then is my foule with life and love inspired :  
 But when ye lowre, or looke on me askew,  
 Then do I die, as one with lightning fyred.  
 But, since that lyfe is more then death defyred,  
 Looke ever lovely, as becomes you best ;  
 That your bright beams, of my weak eies ad-  
     myred,  
 May kindly living fire within my brest.  
     Such life should be the honor of your light,  
     Such death the sad enfample of your might.

## SONNET VIII.

MORE then most faire, full of the living fire,  
 Kindled above unto the Maker nere ;  
 No eies but ioyes, in which al powers conspire,  
 That to the world naught else be counted  
     deare :  
 Through your bright beams doth not the  
     blinded guesst  
 Shoot out his darts to base affections wound ;  
 But Angels come to lead fraile mindes to rest  
 In chaste desires, on heavenly beauty bound.  
 You frame my thoughts, and fashion me within ;  
 You stop my tounge, and teach my hart to  
     speake ;  
 You calme the storme that passion did begin,

Strong through your cause, but by your vertue  
weak.

Dark is the world, where your light shined  
never ;

Well is he borne, that may behold you ever.

## SONNET IX.

LONG-while I fought to what I might compare  
Those powrefull eies, which lighten my dark  
spright :

Yet find I nought on earth, to which I dare  
Resemble th' ymage of their goodly light.

Nor to the Sun ; for they doo shine by night ;

Nor to the Moone ; for they are changed never ;

Nor to the Starres ; for they have purer light ;

Nor to the Fire ; for they consume not ever ;

Nor to the Lightning ; for they still persevere ;

Nor to the Diamond ; for they are more tender ;

Nor unto Crisfall ; for nought may them sever ;

Nor unto Glasse ; such basenessè mought offend  
her.

Then to the Maker selfe they likest be,

Whose light doth lighten all that here we see.

## SONNET X.

UNRIGHTEOUS Lord of love, what law is  
this,

That me thou makest thus tormented be,  
The whiles she lordeth in licentious blisse  
Of her freewill, scorning both thee and me?  
See! how the Tyranneſſe doth ioy to ſee  
The huge maſſâcres which her eyes do make;  
And humbled harts brings captive unto thee,  
That thou of them mayſt mightie vengeance take.  
But her proud hart doe thou a little ſhake,  
And that high look with which ſhe doth comptroll  
All this worlds pride bow to a baſer make,  
And al her faults in thy black booke enroll:  
That I may laugh at her in equall fort,  
As ſhe doth laugh at me, and makes my pain  
her ſport.

## SONNET XI.

DAYLY when I do ſeeke and ſew for peace,  
And hoſtages doe offer for my truth;  
She, cruell Warriour, doth her ſelfe addreſſe  
To battell, and the weary war renew'th;

X. 6. ——— maſſâcres] Spenser repeatedly uſes the ſame accent on *maſſâcred* in the *Faer. Qu.* TODD.

Ne wilbe moov'd with reason, or with rewth,  
 To graunt small respit to my refllesse toile;  
 But greedily her fell intent pourfewth,  
 Of my poore life to make unpittied spoile.  
 Yet my poore life, all sorrowes to affoyle,  
 I would her yield, her wrath to pacify:  
 But then she seeks, with torment and turmoyle,  
 To force me live, and will not let me dy.  
 All paine hath end, and every war hath peace;  
 But mine, no price nor prayer may surcease.

## SONNET XII.

ONE day I fought with her hart-thrilling eies  
 To make a truce, and termes to entertaine;  
 All fearlesse then of so false enimies,  
 Which fought me to entrap in treasons traine.  
 So, as I then disarmed did remaine,  
 A wicked ambush which lay hidden long,  
 In the close covert of her guilful eyen,  
 Thence breaking forth, did thicke about me  
 throng.  
 Too feeble I t' abide the brunt so strong,  
 Was forst to yield my selfe into their hands;  
 Who, me captiving streight with rigorous wrong,  
 Have ever since kept me in cruell bands.  
 So, Ladie, now to you I doo complaine,  
 Against your eies, that iustice I may gaine.

## SONNET XIII.

IN that proud port, which her so goodly graceth,  
 Whiles her faire face she reares up to the skie,  
 And to the ground her eie-lids low embaseth,  
 Most goodly temperature ye may descry ;  
 Myld humbleſſe, mixt with awfull maieſtie.  
 For, looking on the earth whence ſhe was borne,  
 Her minde remembreth her mortalitie,  
 Whatſo is fayreſt ſhall to earth returne.  
 But that ſame lofty countenance ſeemes to ſcorne  
 Baſe thing, and thinke how ſhe to heaven may  
                   clime ;  
 Treading downe earth as lothſome and forlorne,  
 That hinders heavenly thoughts with droſſy  
                   ſlime.  
 Yet lowly ſtill vouchſafe to looke on me ;  
 Such lowlineſſe ſhall make you lofty be.

## SONNET XIV.

RETOURNE agayne, my forces late diſmayd,  
 Unto the ſiege by you abandon'd quite.  
 Great ſhame it is to leave, like one afraid,

XIII. 9. — *that ſame loſtie countenance*] The modern editions read “ that *ſome* lofty countenance.” TODD.

So fayre a peece, for one repulse fo light.  
 'Gaynst fuch ftrong caftles needeth greater  
 might

Then thofe fmall forts which ye were wont belay:  
 Such haughty mynds, enur'd to hardy fight,  
 Difdayne to yield unto the firft affay.

Bring therefore all the forces that ye may,  
 And lay inceffant battery to her heart;  
 Playnts, prayers, vowes, ruth, forrow, and difmay;  
 Thofe engins can the proudeft love convert:

And, if thofe fayle, fall down and dy before  
 her;

So dying live, and living do adore her.

## SONNET XV.

YE tradefull Merchants, that, with weary toyle,  
 Do feeke moft pretious things to make your  
 gain;

And both the Indias of their treafure fpoile;  
 What needeth you to feeke fo farre in vaine?  
 For loe, my Love doth in her felfe containe  
 All this worlds riches that may farre be found;

XIV. 4. ——— peece] *Caftle*. See the note on F. Q.  
 ii. xi. 14. TODD.

XIV. 6. ——— belay:] *To place in ambush*,  
 fays Dr. Johnson; but it means, I conceive, *to attack*. Dr.  
 Johnson was mifted by the editions which read

“Than thofe fmall forces &c.” TODD.

If Saphyres, loe, her eies be Saphyres plaine,  
 If Rubies, loe, hir lips be Rubies found :  
 If Pearles, hir teeth be Pearles, both pure and  
     round :

If Yvorie, her forehead Yvory weene ;  
 If Gold, her locks are finest Gold on ground ;  
 If Silver, her faire hands are Silver sheene :  
     But that which fairest is, but few behold,  
     Her mind adornd with vertues manifold.

## SONNET XVI.

ONE day as I unwarily did gaze  
 On those fayre eyes, my loves immortall light ;  
 The whiles my stonifht hart stood in amaze,  
 Through sweet illusion of her lookes delight ;  
 I mote perceive how, in her glauncing sight,  
 Legions of Loves with little wings did fly ;  
 Darting their deadly arrows, fyry bright,  
 At every rash beholder passing by.  
 One of those archers closely I did spy,  
 Ayming his arrow at my very hart :  
 When suddenly, with twinkle of her eye,  
 The Damzell broke his misintended dart.  
     Had she not so doon, sure I had bene slayne ;  
     Yet as it was, I hardly scap't with paine.

## SONNET XVII.

THE glorious pourtrait of that Angels face,  
 Made to amaze weake mens confused skil,  
 And this worlds worthlesse glory to embafe,  
 What pen, what pencill, can expresse her fill?  
 For though he colours could devize at will,  
 And eke his learned hand at pleasure guide,  
 Least, trembling, it his workmanship should  
 spill;

Yet many wondrous things there are beside:  
 The sweet eye-glaunces, that like arrowes glide;  
 The charming smiles, that rob fence from the  
 hart;  
 The lovely pleasance; and the lofty pride;  
 Cannot exprest be by any art.

A greater craftesmans hand thereto doth  
 neede,

That can expresse the life of things indeed.

## SONNET XVIII.

THE rolling wheele that runneth often round,  
 The hardest steele, in tract of time doth teare:  
 And drizzling drops, that often doe redound,  
 The firmeft flint doth in continuance weare:



Yet cannot I, with many a drooping teare  
 And long intreaty, soften her hard hart;  
 That she will once vouchsafe my plaint to heare,  
 Or looke with pittie on my payneful smart.  
 But, when I pleade, she bids me play my part;  
 And, when I weep, she sayes, Teares are but  
     water;  
 And, when I sigh, she sayes, I know the art;  
 And, when I waile, she turnes hir selfe to laughter.  
     So do I weepe, and wayle, and pleade in vaine,  
     Whiles she as steele and flint doth still remayne.

## SONNET XIX.

THE merry Cuckow, messenger of Spring,  
 His trompet shrill hath thrife already founded,  
 That warnes al Lovers wayte upon their king,  
 Who now is coming forth with girland crowned.  
 With noyse whereof the quyre of Byrds re-  
     founded  
 Their anthemes sweet, devized of loves prayse,  
 That all the woods theyr ecchoes back re-  
     bounded,  
 As if they knew the meaning of their layes.

XIX. 1. ————— *messenger of Spring,*] See Mr. Warton's note on Milton's first Sonnet, ver. 6. This classical expression exists also in *Parthencia Sacra*, 1633. p. 39. "She is the herald of the Spring, &c." TODD.

But mongst them all, which did Loves honor  
rayse,

No word was heard of her that most it ought ;  
But she his precept proudly disobayes,  
And doth his ydle message set at nought.

Therefore, O Love, unlesse she turne to thee  
Ere Cuckow end, let her a rebell be !

## SONNET XX.

IN vaine I seeke and sew to her for grace,  
And doe myne humbled hart before her poure ;  
The whiles her foot she in my necke doth  
place,

And tread my life downe in the lowly floure.  
And yet the lyon that is lord of power,  
And reigneth over every beast in field,  
In his most pride disdeigneth to deuoure  
The filly lambe that to his might doth yield.  
But she, more cruell, and more salvage wylde,  
Than either lyon, or the lyoneffe ;  
Shames not to be with guiltlesse bloud defylde,  
But taketh glory in her cruelnesse.

Fayrer then fayrest ! let none ever say,  
That ye were blooded in a yeilded pray.

## SONNET XXI.

WAS it the worke of Nature or of Art,  
 Which tempred so the feature of her face,  
 That pride and meeknesse, mixt by equall part,  
 Doe both appeare t' adorne her beauties grace?  
 For with mild pleafance, which doth pride dis-  
     place,  
 She to her love doth lookers eyes allure;  
 And, with stern countenance, back again doth  
     chace  
 Their loofer lookes that stir up lustes impure;  
 With such strange termes her eyes she doth inure,  
 That, with one looke, she doth my life dismay;  
 And with another doth it streight recure;  
 Her smile me drawes; her frowne me drives away.  
     Thus doth she traine and teach me with her  
     lookes;  
     Such art of eyes I never read in bookes!

## SONNET XXII.

THIS holy season, fit to fast and pray,  
 Men to devotion ought to be inclynd:  
 Therefore, I lykewise, on so holy day,  
 For my sweet Saynt some service fit will find.

Her temple fayre is built within my mind,  
 In which her glorious ymage placed is ;  
 On which my thoughts doo day and night attend,  
 Lyke sacred Priests that never thinke amisse :  
 There I to her, as th' author of my blisse,  
 Will builde an altar to appease her yre ;  
 And on the same my hart will sacrifice,  
 Burning in flames of pure and chaste desyre :  
 'The which vouchsafe, O Goddesse, to accept,  
 Amongst thy deereſt relicks to be kept.

## SONNET XXIII.

PENELOPE, for her Uliſſes ſake,  
 Deviz'd a Web her wooers to deceave ;  
 In which the worke that ſhe all day did make,  
 The ſame at night ſhe did againe unreave :  
 Such ſubtile craft my Damzell doth conceive,  
 Th' importune ſuit of my deſire to ſhonne :  
 For all that I in many dayes do weave,  
 In one ſhort houre I find by her undonee.  
 So, when I thinke to end that I begonne,  
 I muſt begin and never bring to end :  
 For, with one looke, ſhe ſpils that long I ſponne ;  
 And, with one word, my whole years work doth  
 rend.  
 Such labour like the ſpyders web I fynd,  
 Whoſe fruitleſſe worke is broken with leaſt  
 wynd.

## SONNET XXIV.

WHEN I behold that beauties wonderment,  
 And rare perfection of each goodly part ;  
 Of Natures skill the onely complement ;  
 I honor and admire the Makers art.  
 But when I feele the bitter balefull smart,  
 Which her fayre eyes unwares doe worke in mee,  
 That death out of theyr shiny beames doe dart ;  
 I thinke that I a new Pandora see,  
 Whom all the gods in councell did agree  
 Into this sinfull world from heaven to send ;  
 That she to wicked men a scourge should bee,  
 For all their faults with which they did offend.  
 But, since ye are my scourge, I will intreat,  
 That for my faults ye will me gently beat.

## SONNET XXV.

HOW long shall this lyke dying lyfe endure,  
 And know no end of her owne myfery,  
 But wast and weare away in termes unsure,  
 Twixt feare and hope depending doubtfully !  
 Yet better were attonce to let me die,  
 And shew the last ensample of your pride ;  
 Then to torment me thus with cruelty,

To prove your powre, which I too wel have  
tride.

But yet if in your hardned brest ye hide  
A clofe intent at laſt to ſhew me grace ;  
Then all the woes and wrecks, which I abide,  
As meanes of bliſſe I gladly wil embrace ;  
And with that more and greater they might be,  
That greater meede at laſt may turne to mee.

## SONNET XXVI.

SWEET is the Roſe, but growes upon a brere ;  
Sweet is the Iuniper, but ſharpe his bough ;  
Sweet is the Eglantine, but pricketh nere ;  
Sweet is the Firbloome, but his braunches rough ;  
Sweet is the Cypreſſe, but his rynd is rough ;  
Sweet is the Nut, but bitter is his pill ;  
Sweet is the Broome-flowre, but yet ſowre  
enough ;

And ſweet is Moly, but his root is ill.  
So every ſweet with ſoure is tempred ſtill,  
That maketh it be coveted the more :  
For eaſie things, that may be got at will,  
Moſt forts of men doe ſet but little ſtore.

Why then ſhould I accompt of little paine,  
That endleſſe pleaſure ſhall unto me gaine !

## SONNET XXVII.

FAIRE. Proud! now tell me, why should faire  
 be proud,  
 Sith all worlds glorie is but droffe uncleane,  
 And in the shade of death it selfe shall shroud,  
 However now thereof ye little weene!  
 That goodly Idoll, now so gay befeene,  
 Shall doffe her fleshes borrowd fayre attyre;  
 And be forgot as it had never beene;  
 That many now much worship and admire!  
 Ne any then shall after it inquire,  
 Ne any mention shall thereof remaine,  
 But what this verse, that never shall expyre,  
 Shall to you purchas with her thankles pain!  
 Faire! be no lenger proud of that shall perish;  
 But that, which shall you make immortall,  
 cherish.

## SONNET XXVIII.

THE laurel-leave, which you this day doe weare,  
 Gives me great hope of your relenting mynd:  
 For since it is the badge which I doe beare,  
 Ye, bearing it, doe seeme to me inclind:  
 The powre thereof, which ofte in me I find,  
 Let it lykewise your gentle brest inspire

With sweet infusion, and put you in mind  
 Of that proud Mayd, whom now those leaves  
     attyre :

Proud Daphne, scorning Phœbus lovely fyre,  
 On the Theſſalian ſhore from him did flie :  
 For which the gods, in theyr revengefull yre,  
 Did her transforme into a Laurell-tree.

Then fly no more, fayre Love, from Phebus  
     chace,

But in your brest his leafe and love embrace.

## SONNET XXIX.

SEE! how the ſtubborne Damzell doth deprave  
 My ſimple meaning with diſdaynfull ſcorne ;  
 And by the bay, which I unto her gave,  
 Accoumpts my ſelf her captive quite forlorne.  
 The bay, quoth ſhe, is of the victours born,  
 Yielded them by the vanquiſht as theyr meeds,  
 And they therewith doe Poetes heads adorne,  
 To ſing the glory of their famous deeds.  
 But ſith ſhe will the conqueſt challeng needs,  
 Let her accept me as her faithfull thrall ;  
 That her great triumph, which my ſkill exceeds,  
 I may in trump of fame blaze over all.

Then would I decke her head with glorious  
     bayes,

And fill the world with her victorious prayſe.



## SONNET XXX.

MY Love is lyke to yfe, and I to fyre ;  
 How comes it then that this her cold so great  
 Is not dissolv'd through my so hot desyre,  
 But harder growes the more I her intreat !  
 Or how comes it that my exceeding heat  
 Is not delayd by her hart-frosen cold ;  
 But that I burne much more in boyling sweat,  
 And feele my flames augmented manifold !  
 What more miraculous thing may be told,  
 That fire, which all thing melts, should harden  
     yfe ;  
 And yfe, which is congeald with fencelesse cold,  
 Should kindle fyre by wonderful devyse !  
     Such is the powre of love in gentle mind,  
     That it can alter all the course of kynd.

## SONNET XXXI.

AH ! why hath Nature to so hard a hart  
 Given so goodly giftes of beauties grace !  
 Whose pryde depraves each other better part,  
 And all those pretious ornaments deface.

XXX. 6. ———— delayd] *Tempered.* See the note on the *Prothalamion*, ver. 3. TODD.

XXXI. 4. ————— deface.] For "does deface." JORTIN.

Sith to all other beastes, of bloody race,  
 A dreadfull countenance she given hath ;  
 That with theyr terrour all the rest may chace,  
 And warne to ihun the daunger of theyr wrath.  
 But my proud one doth worke the greater scath,  
 Through sweet allurement of her lovely hew ;  
 That she the better may, in bloody bath  
 Of such poore thralls, her cruell hands embrew.  
 But, did she know how ill these two accord,  
 Such cruelty she would have soone abhord.

## SONNET XXXII.

THE paynefull smith, with force of fervent heat,  
 The hardest yron soone doth mollify ;  
 That with his heavy sledge he can it beat,  
 And fashion to what he it list apply.  
 Yet cannot all these flames, in which I fry,  
 Her hart more hard then yron soft a whit ;  
 Ne all the playnts and prayers, with which I  
 Doe beat on th' anvile of her stubberne wit :  
 But still, the more she fervent sees my fit,  
 The more she frieth in her wilfull pryde ;  
 And harder growes, the harder she is smit  
 With all the playnts which to her be applyde.  
 What then remains but I to ashes burne,  
 And she to stones at length all frosen turne !

## SONNET XXXIII.

GREAT wrong I doe, I can it not deny,  
 To that most sacred Empreſſe, my dear dred,  
 Not finishing her Queene of Faëry,  
 That mote enlarge her living prayſes, dead :  
 But Lodwick, this of grace to me aread ;  
 Do ye not thinck th' accompliſhment of it,  
 Sufficent worke for one mans ſimple head,  
 All were it, as the reſt, but rudely writ ?  
 How then ſhould I, without another wit,  
 'Thinck ever to endure ſo tedious toyle !  
 Sith that this one is toſt with troublous fit  
 Of a proud Love, that doth my ſpirite ſpoyle.  
 Ceafe then, till ſhe vouchſafe to grawnt me reſt ;  
 Or lend you me another living breſt.

## SONNET XXXIV.

LYKE as a ſhip, that through the ocean wyde,  
 By conduct of ſome ſtar, doth make her way ;  
 Whenas a ſtorm hath dimd her truſty guyde,  
 Out of her courſe doth wander far aſtray !  
 So I, whoſe ſtar, that wont with her bright ray  
 Me to direct, with cloudes is over-caſt,  
 Doe wander now, in darkneſſe and diſmay,

Through hidden perils round about me past ;  
 Yet hope I well that, when this storme is past,  
 My Helice, the lodestar of my lyfe,  
 Will shine again, and looke on me at last,  
 With lovely light to cleare my cloudy grief.  
 Till then I wander carefull, comfortlesse,  
 In secreet sorrow, and sad pensivenesse.

## SONNET XXXV.

MY hungry eyes, through greedy covetize  
 Still to behold the object of their paine,  
 With no contentment can themselves suffize ;  
 But, having, pine ; and, having not, complaine.  
 For, lacking it, they cannot lyfe sustayne ;  
 And, having it, they gaze on it the more ;  
 In their amazement lyke Narcissus vaine,  
 Whose eyes him starv'd : so plenty makes me  
 poore.

Yet are mine eyes so filled with the store  
 Of that faire sight, that nothing else they brooke,  
 But lothe the things which they did like before,  
 And can no more endure on them to looke.

All this worlds glory seemeth vayne to me,  
 And all their shoves but shadowes, saving she.

XXXV. 8. ————— *so plentie makes me poore.*] Inopem  
 me copia fecit. TODD.

## SONNET XXXVI.

TELL me, when shall these wearie woes have  
end,

Or shall their ruthlesse torment never cease :

But al my days in pining languor spend,

Without hope of affwagement or release !

Is there no meanes for me to purchace peace,

Or make agreement with her thrilling eyes ;

But that their cruelty doth still increace,

And dayly more augment my miseryes ?

But, when ye have shew'd all extremityes,

Then think how little glory ye have gayned

By slaying him, whose lyfe, though ye despyse,

Mote have your life in honor long maintayned.

But by his death, which some perhaps will  
mone,

Ye shall condemned be of many a one.

## SONNET XXXVII.

WHAT guyle is this, that those her golden  
trefles

She doth attyre under a net of gold ;

XXXVI. 6. ————— *her thrilling eyes ;*] Her  
piercing eyes. See *Sonnet xii. 1.* " Her hart-thrilling eyes."

And with fly skill so cunningly them dressèd,  
 That which is gold, or haire, may scarce be told?  
 Is it that mens frayle eyes, which gaze too bold,  
 She may entangle in that golden snare;  
 And, being caught, may craftily enfold  
 Their weaker harts, which are not wel aware?  
 Take heed therefore, myne eyes, how ye doe stare  
 Henceforth too rashly on that guilefull net,  
 In which if ever ye entrappèd are,  
 Out of her bands ye by no meanes shall get.  
 Fondnesse it were for any, being free,  
 To covet fetters, though they golden bee!

## SONNET XXXVIII.

ARION, when, through tempests cruel wracke,  
 He forth was thrown into the greedy seas;  
 Through the sweet musick, which his harp did  
 make,  
 Allur'd a dolphin him from death to ease.  
 But my rude musick, which was wont to please  
 Some dainty eares, cannot, with any skill,  
 The dreadfull tempest of her wrath appease,  
 Nor move the dolphin from her stubborn will;  
 But in her pride she dooth persever still,  
 All carelesse how my life for her decays:  
 Yet with one word she can it save or spill.  
 'To spill were pittie, but to save were prayse!

Chuse rather to be prayfd for doing good,  
Then to be blam'd for fpillling guiltleffe blood.

## SONNET XXXIX.

SWEET fmile! the daughter of the Queene of  
Love,

Expreffing all thy mothers powrefull art,  
With which ſhe wonts to temper angry Iove,  
When all the gods he threats with thundring  
dart :

Sweet is thy vertue, as thy ſelfe ſweet art.  
For, when on me thou ſhinedſt late in ſadneſſe,  
A melting pleaſance ran through every part,  
And me revived with hart-robbing gladneſſe.  
Whyleſt rapt with ioy reſembling heavenly mad-  
neſs,

My ſoule was raviſht quite as in a traunce ;  
And, feeling thence no more her ſorrowes ſadneſſe,  
Fed on the fulneſſe of that chearfull glaunce.

More ſweet than neſtar, or ambroſiall meat,  
Seem'd every bit which thenceforth I did eat.

## SONNET XL.

MARK when ſhe ſmiles with amiable cheare,  
And tell me whereto can ye lyken it ;

When on each eyelid sweetly doe appeare  
 An hundred Graces as in shade to fit.  
 Lykest it seemeth, in my simple wit,  
 Unto the fayre sunshine in somers day ;  
 That, when a dreadfull storme away is flit,  
 Through the broad world doth spred his  
     goodly ray ;  
 At sight whereof, each bird that sits on spray,  
 And every beast that to his den was fled,  
 Comes forth afresh out of their late dismay,  
 And to the light lift up their drouping hed.  
 So my storme-beaten hart likewise is cheared  
 With that sunshine, when cloudy looks are  
     cleared.

## SONNET XLI.

IS it her nature, or is it her will,  
 'To be so cruell to an humbled foe ?  
 If nature ; then she may it mend with skill :  
 If will ; then she at will may will forgoe.  
 But if her nature and her will be so,  
 That she will plague the man that loves her most,

XL. 3. *When on each eye-lid sweetly do appear  
 An hundred Graces as in shade to fit.*] See my note  
 on F. Q. ii. iii. 25. T. WARTON.

XL. 9. *At sight whereof, &c.*] Compare Milton's sublime  
 description of the storm and succeeding calm, in *Par. Reg.*  
 B. iv. ver. 409—433. TODD.



And take delight t' encrease a wretches woe ;  
 Then all her natures goodly gifts are lost :  
 And that same glorious beauties ydle boast  
 Is but a bayt such wretches to beguile,  
 As, being long in her loves tempest toft,  
 She meanes at last to make her pitious spoyle.

O fayrest fayre ! let never it be named,  
 That so fayre beauty was so fowly shamed.

## SONNET XLII.

THE love, which me so cruelly tormenteth,  
 So pleasing is in my extreamest paine,  
 That, all the more my sorrow it augmenteth,  
 The more I love and doe embrace my bane.  
 Ne do I wish (for wishing were but vaine)  
 To be acquit fro my continual smart ;  
 But ioy, her thrall for ever to remayne,  
 And yield for plédege my poor and-captvyed  
     hart ;  
 The which, that it from her may never start,  
 Let her, yf please her, bynd with adamant  
     chayne ;  
 And from all wandring loves, which mote  
     pervart  
 His safe assurance, strongly it restrayne.  
 Onely let her abstaine from cruelty,  
 And doe me not before my time to dy.

## SONNET XLIII.

SHALL I then silent be, or shall I speake?  
 And, if I speake, her wrath renew I shall;  
 And, if I silent be, my hart will breake,  
 Or choked be with overflowing gall.  
 What tyranny is this, both my hart to thrall,  
 And eke my tounge with proud restraint to tie;  
 That neither I may speake nor thinke at all,  
 But like a stupid stock in silence die!  
 Yet I my hart with silence secretly  
 Will teach to speak, and my just cause to plead;  
 And eke mine eyes, with meek humility,  
 Love-learned letters to her eyes to read;  
     Which her deep wit, that true harts thought  
     can spel,  
 Wil soon conceive, and learne to construe well.

## SONNET XLIV.

WHEN those renowned noble Peres of Greece,  
 Through stubborn pride, among themselves did  
     iar,

XLIII. 12. *Love-learned*] He applies the same significant epithet to the nightingale's song, in his *Epithalamion*, ver. 88.

TODD.

XLIV. 1. *When those renowned noble Peres of Greece, &c.*] He makes the same allusion to Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* i. 495, &c. in F. Q. iv. ii. 1. T. WARTON.

Forgetfull of the famous golden fleece ;  
 Then Orpheus with his harp theyr strife did bar.  
 But this continuall, cruell, civill warre,  
 The which my selfe against my selfe doe make ;  
 Whilest my weak powres of passions warreid arre;  
 No skill can stint, nor reason can aslake.  
 But, when in hand my tunelesse harp I take,  
 Then doe I more augment my foes despight ;  
 And grieve renew, and passions doe awake  
 To battaile, fresh against my selfe to fight.  
 Mongst whome the more I seeke to settle peace,  
 The more I fynd their malice to increace.

## SONNET XLV.

LEAVE, Lady ! in your glasse of cristall clene,  
 Your goodly selfe for evermore to vew :  
 And in my selfe, my inward selfe, I meane,  
 Most lively lyke behold your semblant-trew.  
 Within my hart, though hardly it can shew  
 Thing so divine to vew of earthly eye,  
 The fayre idea of your celestially hew  
 And every part remains immortally :  
 And were it not that, through your cruelty,  
 With sorrow dimmed and deform'd it were,  
 The goodly ymage of your visnomy,  
 Clearer than cristall, would therein appere.

But, if your selfe in me ye playne will see,  
 Remove the cause by which your fayre beames  
 darkned be.

## SONNET XLVI.

WHEN my abodes prefixed time is spent,  
 My cruell fayre streight bids me wend my way :  
 But then from heaven most hideous stormes are  
 sent,

As willing me against her will to stay.

Whom then shall I, or heaven or her, obey ?

The heavens know best what is the best for me :

But as the will, whose will my life doth sway,

My lower heaven, so it perforce must be.

But ye high heavens, that all this sorowe see,

Sith all your tempests cannot hold me backe,

Afwage your stormes ; or else both you, and she,

Will both together me too forely wrack.

Enough it is for one man to sustaine

The stormes, which she alone on me doth raine.

## SONNET XLVII.

TRUST not the treason of those smyling lookes,

Untill ye have their guylefull traynes well tryde :

For they are lyke but unto golden hookes,

That from the foolish fish they bayts do hyde :  
 So she with flattrng synyles weake harts doth  
     guyde

Unto her love, and tempte to theyr decay ;  
 Whome, being caught, she kills with cruell  
     pryde,

And feeds at pleasure on the wretched pray :  
 Yet, even whylst her bloody hands them slay,  
 Her eyes looke lovely, and upon them synyle ;  
 That they take pleasure in their cruell play,  
 And, dying, doe themselves of payne beguyle.

O mighty charm ! which makes men love  
     theyr bane,

And thinck they dy with pleasure, live with  
     payne.

## SONNET XLVIII.

INNOCENT paper ! whom too cruell hand  
 Did make the matter to avenge her yre ;  
 And, ere she could thy cause well understand,  
 Did sacrifize unto the greedy fyre.  
 Well worthy thou to have found better hyre,  
 Then so bad end for hereticks ordayned ;  
 Yet heresy nor treason didst conspire,  
 But plead thy Maisters cause, unjustly payned.  
 Whom she, all carelesse of his grief, constrayned  
 To utter forth the anguish of his hart :

And would not heare, when he to her com-  
playned

The piteous passion of his dying smart.

Yet live for ever, though against her will,

And speake her good, though she requite it ill.

## SONNET XLIX.

FAYRE Cruell ! why are ye so fierce and cruell ?

Is it because your eyes have powre to kill ?

'Then know that mercy is the Mighties iewell ;

And greater glory think to save then spill.

But if it be your pleasure, and proud will,

To shew the powre of your imperious eyes ;

Then not on him that never thought you ill,

But bend your force against your enemyes :

Let them feel the utmost of your crueltyes ;

And kill with looks, as cockatrices do :

But him, that at your footstoole humbled lies,

With mercifull regard give mercy to.

Such mercy shall you make admyr'd to be ;

So shall you live, by giving life to me.

XLIX. 3. ————— *mercy is the Mighties jewel* ;] So, in Shakspeare's beautiful description of mercy, *Merch. of Venice* :

“ 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest ; it becomes

“ The throned monarch better than his crown, &c.”

TODD.

## SONNET L.

LONG languishing in double malady  
 Of my harts wound, and of my bodies grieffe;  
 There came to me a Leach, that would apply  
 Fit medicines for my bodies best reliefe.  
 Vayne man, quoth I, that hast but little priefe  
 In deep discovery of the mynds diseafe;  
 Is not the hart of all the body chiefe,  
 And rules the members as it felfe doth please?  
 Then, with fome cordialls, seeke for to appeafe  
 The inward languour of my wounded hart;  
 And then my body shall have shortly ease:  
 But such sweet cordialls passe Physicians art.  
 Then, my lyfes Leach! doe you your skill  
                   reveale;  
 And, with one salve, both hart and body  
                   heale.

L. 3. \_\_\_\_\_ Leach,] *Physician.* See the note on  
 F. Q. iii. iii. 17. TODD.

L. 6. \_\_\_\_\_ *the minds diseafe;*] So, in  
*Macbeth*, A. v. S. iii.

“Canst thou not minister to a mind *diseas'd*, &c.”  
 Shakspeare indeed, in the whole of *Macbeth's* address to the  
 Physician, seems to have had his eye on this Sonnet of Spenser.  
 TODD.

## SONNET LI.

DOE I not see that fayrest ymages  
 Of hardest marble are of purpose made,  
 For that they should endure through many ages,  
 Ne let theyr famous monuments to fade?  
 Why then doe I, untrainde in Lovers trade,  
 Her hardnes blame, which I should more com-  
 mend?

Sith never ought was excellent assaye  
 Which was not hard t' atchive and bring to end.  
 Ne ought so hard, but he, that would attend,  
 Mote soften it and to his will allure:  
 So do I hope her stubborne hart to bend,  
 And that it then more stedfast will endure.

Only my paines wil be the more to get her;  
 But, having her, my ioy wil be the greater.

## SONNET LII.

SO oft as homeward I from her depart,  
 I go lyke one that, having lost the field,  
 Is prisoner led away with heavy hart,  
 Despoyle of warlike armes and knowen shield.  
 So doe I now my self a prisoner yield  
 To sorrow and to solitary paine;



From prefence of my deareft deare exylde,  
 Long-while alone in languor to remaine.  
 There let no thought of ioy, or pleafure vaine,  
 Dare to approach, that may my folace breed ;  
 But fudden dumps, and drery fad difdayne  
 Of all worlds gladneffe, more my torment feed.  
 So I her abfens will my penaunce make,  
 That of her prefens I my meed may take.

## SONNET LIII.

THE panther, knowing that his spotted hyde,  
 Doth pleafe all beafts, but that his looks them  
     fray ;  
 Within a bufh his dreadful head doth hide,  
 To let them gaze, whylft he on them may pray :  
 Right fo my cruell fayre with me doth play.  
 For, with the goodly femblance of her hew,  
 She doth allure me to mine owne decay,  
 And then no mercy will unto me fhew.  
 Great flame it is, thing fo divine in view,  
 Made for to be the worlds moft ornament,

LII. 11. ————— dumps,] *Lamentations*. So, in Holland's translation of Plutarch's *Morals*, fol. 1602. p. 61. "If thou wert not fome blockifh and fenfeleffe dolt, thou wouldeft never laugh when I fung a heavy mixt Lydian tune, or a note to a DUMPE or *dolefull dittie*." And, in Davies's *Wittes Pilgrimage*, 4to. f. d. Sign. V. 1. "A *Dump* vpon the death of the moft noble Henrie late Earle of Pembroke." TODD.

To make the bayte her gazers to embrew :  
 Good flames to be to ill an instrument !  
 But mercy doth with beautie best agree,  
 As in theyr Maker ye them best may see.

## SONNET LIV.

OF this worlds Theatre in which we stay,  
 My Love, like the Spectator, ydly fits ;  
 Beholding me, that all the Pageants play,  
 Disguyfing diversly my troubled wits.  
 Sometimes I ioy when glad occasion fits,  
 And mask in myrth lyke to a Comedy :  
 Soone after, when my ioy to sorrow flits,  
 I waile, and make my woes a Tragedy.  
 Yet she, beholding me with constant eye,  
 Delights not in my merth, nor rues my smart :  
 But, when I laugh, she mocks ; and, when I cry,  
 She laughs, and hardens evermore her hart.

What then can move her ? if nor merth, nor  
 mone,

She is no woman, but a fencelesse stone.

LIII. 11. ————— embrew :] Here, a metaphorical expression. See F. Q. iii. vi. 17. TODD.

LIV. 6. *And mask in myrth*] See *The Teares of the Muses*, ver. 180. And also the note on ver. 208, in which this expression is remarked. TODD.

## SONNET LV.

SO oft as I her beauty doe behold,  
 And therewith doe her cruelty compare,  
 I marvaile of what substance was the mould,  
 The which her made attonce so cruell faire.  
 Not earth; for her high thoughts more heavenly  
     are :

Not water; for her love doth burne like fyre:  
 Not ayre; for she is not so light or rare:  
 Not fyre; for she doth friefe with faint desire.  
 Then needs another Element inquire  
 Whereof she mote be made; that is; the skye.  
 For, to the heaven her haughty looks aspire;  
 And eke her love is pure immortall hye.

Then, sith to heaven ye lykened are the best,  
 Be lyké in mercy as in all the rest.

## SONNET LVI.

FAYRE ye be sure, but cruell and unkind,  
 As is a tygre, that with greedinesse  
 Hunts after bloud; when he by chance doth find  
 A feeble beaft, doth felly him oppresse.  
 Fayre be ye sure, but proud and pitilessse,  
 As is a storme, that all things doth prostrate;  
 Finding a tree alone all comfortlesse,

Beats on it strongly, it to ruinate.

Fayre be ye sure, but hard and obstinate,

As is a rocke amidst the raging floods ;

Gaynst which, a ship, of succour desolate,

Doth suffer wreck both of her selfe and goods.

That ship, that tree, and that same beast,  
am I,

Whom ye doe wreck, doe ruine, and destroy.

## SONNET LVII.

SWEET warrior! when shall I have peace  
with you?

High time it is this warre now ended were ;

Which I no lenger can endure to sue,

Ne your incessant battry more to beare :

So weake my powres, so fore my wounds, appear,

That wonder is how I should live a iot,

Seeing my hart through-launched every where

With thousand arrowes, which your eies have  
shot :

Yet shoot ye sharpely still, and spare me not,

But glory thinke to make these cruel stoures.

Ye cruell one! what glory can be got,

In slaying him that would live gladly yours!

LVI. 8. \_\_\_\_\_ ruinate.] *Throw down.*  
Ital. *ruinare.* TODD.

Make peace therefore, and graunt me timely  
 grace,  
 That al my wounds will heale in little space.

## SONNET LVIII.

*By her that is most assured to her selfe.*

WEAKE is th' assurance that weake flesh re-  
 poseth  
 In her own powre, and scorneth others ayde ;  
 That soonest fals, when as she most supposeth  
 Her selfe assur'd, and is of nought affrayd.  
 All flesh is frayle, and all her strength unstayd,  
 Like a vaine bubble blowen up with ayre :  
 Devouring tyme and changeful chance have  
 prayd,  
 Her glorious pride that none may it repayre.  
 Ne none so rich or wise, so strong or fayre,  
 But fayleth, trusting on his owne assurance :  
 And he, that standeth on the hyghest stayre,  
 Fals lowest: for on earth nought hath en-  
 durance.  
 Why then doe ye, proud fayre, misdeeme so  
 farre,  
 That to your selfe ye most assured arre !

## SONNET LIX.

THIRISE happie she ! that is so well assured  
 Unto her selfe, and fetled so in hart;  
 That neither will for better be allured,  
 Ne feard with worse to any chaunce to start;  
 But, like a steddy ship, doth strongly part  
 The raging waves, and keepes her course aright;  
 Ne ought for tempest doth from it depart,  
 Ne ought for fayrer weathers false delight.  
 Such selfe-assurance need not feare the spight  
 Of grudging foes, ne favour seek of friends:  
 But, in the stay of her owne stedfast might,  
 Neither to one her selfe nor other bends.

Most happy she, that most assur'd doth rest;  
 But he most happy, who such one loves best.

## SONNET LX.

THEY, that in course of heavenly spheares are  
 skild,  
 To every planet point his sundry yeare:  
 In which her circles voyage is fulfild,  
 As Mars in threescore yeares doth run his  
 spheare.  
 So, since the winged god his planet cleare  
 Began in me to move, one yeare is spent:  
 The which doth longer unto me appeare,

'Then al those fourty which my life out-went.  
 'Then by that count, which lovers books invent,  
 'The spheare of Cupid fourty yeares containes :  
 Which I have wasted in long languishment,  
 'That seem'd the longer for my greater paines.  
 . But let my Loves fayre planet short her wayes,  
 'This yeare ensuing, or else short my dayes.

## SONNET LXI.

THE glorious image of the Makers beautie,  
 My soverayne faynt, the idoll of my thought,  
 Dare not henceforth, above the bounds of dewtie,  
 'T' accuse of pride, or rashly blame for ought.  
 For, being as she is, divinely wrought,  
 And of the brood of Angels heavenly born ;  
 And with the crew of blessed faynts upbrought,  
 Each of which did her with theyr guifts adorne ;  
 'The bud of ioy, the blossome of the morne,  
 'The beame of light, whom mortal eyes admyre ;  
 What reason is it then but she should scorne  
 Base things, that to her love too bold aspire !  
 Such heavenly formes ought rather worshipt be,  
 'Then dare be lov'd by men of meane degree.

## SONNET LXII.

THE weary yeare his race now having run,  
 The new begins his compast course anew :  
 With shew of morning mylde he hath begun,  
 Betokening peace and plenty to enfew.  
 So let us, which this chaunge of weather vew,  
 Chaunge eke our mynds, and former lives amend ;  
 The old yeares sinnes forepast let us eschew,  
 And fly the faults with which we did offend.  
 Then shall the new yeares ioy forth freshly send,  
 Into the glooming world, his gladsome ray :  
 And all these formes, which now his beauty  
     blend,  
 Shall turne to calmes, and tymely cleare away.  
 So, likewise, Love ! cheare you your heavy  
     spright,  
 And chaunge old yeares annoy to new delight.

## SONNET LXIII.

AFTER long formes and tempests sad assay,  
 Which hardly I endured heretofore,  
 In dread of death, and dangerous dismay,  
 With which my filly bark was tossed fore ;  
 I doe at length descry the happy shore,

LXII. 11. \_\_\_\_\_ blend,] *Confound*, in  
 which sense it repeatedly occurs in the *Faer. Qu.* TODD.



In which I hope ere long for to arrive :  
 Faire foyle it seemes from far, and fraught with  
 store

Of all that deare and daynty is alyve.  
 Most happy he ! that can at last atchive  
 The ioyous safety of so sweet a rest ;  
 Whose least delight sufficeth to deprive  
 Remembrance of all paines which him opprest.  
 All paines are nothing in respect of this ;  
 All forrowes short that gaine eternall blisse.

## SONNET LXIV.

COMMING to kisse her lyps, (such grace I  
 found,)

Me seemd, I smelt a gardin of sweet flowres,  
 That dainty odours from them threw around,  
 For damzels fit to decke their lovers bowres.  
 Her lips did smell lyke unto gillyflowers ;  
 Her ruddy cheekes, lyke unto roses red ;  
 Her snowy browes, lyke budded bellamoures ;  
 Her lovely eyes, lyke pincks but newly spred ;  
 Her goodly bosome, lyke a strawberry bed ;  
 Her neck, lyke to a bouch of cullambynes ;  
 Her brest, lyke lillyes, ere their leaves be shed ;  
 Her nipples, lyke young blossomd jessemynes :  
 Such fragrant flowres doe give most odorous  
 smell ;  
 But her sweet odour did them all excell.

## SONNET LXV.

THE doubt which ye misdeeme, fayre Love, is  
vaine,

That fondly feare to lose your liberty ;  
When, losing one, two liberties ye gayne,  
And make him bond that bondage earst  
did fly.

Sweet be the bands, the which true love doth tye  
Without constraynt, or dread of any ill :

The gentle birde feesles no captivity  
Within her cage ; but sings, and feeds her fill.  
There pride dare not approach, nor discord spill  
The league twixt them, that loyal love hath  
bound :

But simple Truth, and mutual Good-will,  
Seeks, with sweet peace, to salve each others  
wound :

There Fayth doth fearless dwell in brasen  
towre,

And spotlesse Pleasure builds her sacred bowre.

## SONNET LXVI.

TO all those happy blessings, which ye have  
With plenteous hand by heaven upon you  
thrown ;

This one disparagement they to you gave,  
 That ye your love lent to so meane a one.  
 Ye, whose high worths surpassing paragon  
 Could not on earth have found one fit for mate,  
 Ne but in heaven matchable to none,  
 Why did ye stoop unto so lowly state?  
 But ye thereby much greater glory gate,  
 Then had ye parted with a Princes pere:  
 For, now your light doth more it selfe dilate,  
 And, in my darknesse, greater doth appeare.  
 Yet, since your light hath once enlumind me,  
 With my reflex yours shall encreased be.

## SONNET LXVII.

LYKE as a huntsman after weary chace,  
 Seeing the game from him escaped away,  
 Sits downe to rest him in some shady place,  
 With panting hounds beguiled of their pray:  
 So, after long pursuit and vaine assay,  
 When I all weary had the chace forsooke,  
 The gentle deer returned the selfe-same way,  
 Thinking to quench her thirst at the next  
 brooke:

LXVI. 13. ————— *enlumind*] Chaucer's word.  
 See *The Cl. of Ox. Prolog.* 1063, edit. Urr. speaking of Petrarch,  
 ————— "whose Rhetorike so swete  
 " *Enluminid* Itaile of Poetrie." TODD.

There she, beholding me with mylder looke,  
 Sought not to fly, but fearlesse still did bide ;  
 Till I in hand her yet halfe trembling tooke,  
 And with her owne goodwill her fymely tyde.  
 Strange thing, me seemd, to see a beast so  
     wyld,  
 So goodly wonne, with her owne will beguyld.

## SONNET LXVIII.

MOST glorious Lord of lyfe ! that, on this day,  
 Didst make thy triumph over death and sin ;  
 And, having harrowd hell, didst bring away  
 Captivity thence captive, us to win :  
 This ioyous day, dear Lord, with ioy begin ;  
 And grant that we, for whom thou diddest dy,  
 Being with thy deare blood clene washt from sin,  
 May live for ever in felicity !  
 And that thy love we weighing worthily,  
 May likewise love thee for the same againe ;  
 And for thy sake, that all lyke deare didst buy,  
 With love may one another entertayne !  
 So let us love, deare Love, lyke as we ought :  
 Love is the lesson which the Lord us taught.

LXVIII. 3. ——— *having harrowd hell,*] Having *con-  
 quered* hell. There is an old poem on the subject of Christ's  
*harrowing* hell. See Mr. Steevens's note on *harrow* in Shak-  
 speare's *Hamlet*. TODD.

## SONNET LXIX.

THE famous warriors of the anticke world  
 Us'd trophees to erect in stately wize ;  
 In which they would the records have enrold  
 Of theyr great deeds and valorous emprize.  
 What trophee then shall I most fit devise,  
 In which I may record the memory  
 Of my loves conquest, peerlesse beauties prife,  
 Adorn'd with honour, love, and chastity !  
 Even this verse, vowd to eternity,  
 Shall be thereof immortall monument ;  
 And tell her praise to all posterity,  
 That may admire such worlds rare wonder-  
     ment ;  
     The happy purchase of my glorious spoile,  
     Gotten at last with labour and long toyle.

## SONNET LXX.

FRESH Spring, the herald of loves mighty  
     king,  
 In whose cote-armour richly are displayd  
 All sorts of flowres, the which on earth do  
     spring,  
 In goodly colours gloriously arrayd ;

Goe to my Love, where she is carelesse layd,  
 Yet in her winters bowre not well awake ;  
 Tell her the ioyous time wil not be staid,  
 Unlesse she doe him by the forelock take ;  
 Bid her therefore her selfe soone ready make,  
 To wayt on Love amongst his lovely crew ;  
 Where every one, that misseeth then her make,  
 Shall be by him amearst with penance dew.

Make hast therefore, sweet Love, whilst it is  
 prime ;

For none can call againe the passed time.

SONNET LXXI.

I IOY to see how, in your drawn work,  
 Your selfe unto the Bee ye doc compare ;  
 And me unto the Spyder, that doth lurke  
 In close awayt, to catch her unaware :  
 Right to your selfe were caught in cunning snare  
 Of a deare foe, and thralld to his love ;  
 In whose streight bands ye now captived are  
 So firmly, that ye never may remove.  
 But as your worke is woven all about  
 With Woodbynd flowers and fragrant Eglantine ;  
 So sweet your prison you in time shall prove,  
 With many deare delights bedecked syne.  
 And all thensforth eternall peace shall see  
 Betweene the Spyder and the gentle Bee.

## SONNET LXXII.

OFT, when my spirit doth spread her bolder  
     winges,  
 In mind to mount up to the purest sky;  
 It down is weighd with thought of earthly  
     things,  
 And clogd with burden of mortality;  
 Where, when that soverayne beauty it doth spy,  
 Resembling heavens glory in her light,  
 Drawn with sweet pleasures bayt, it back doth fly,  
 And unto heaven forgets her former flight.  
 There my fraile fancy, fed with full delight,  
 Doth bathe in blisse, and mantleth most at ease;  
 Ne thinks of other heaven, but how it might  
 Her harts desire with most contentment please.  
     Hart need not wish none other happinesse,  
     But here on earth to have such heavens blisse.

## SONNET LXXIII.

BEING my self captived here in care,  
 My hart, (whom none with servile bands  
     can tye,  
 But the fayre tresses of your golden hayre,)  
 Breaking his prison, forth to you doth fly.

Like as a byrd, that in ones hand doth spy  
 Desired food, to it doth make his flight:  
 Even so my hart, that wont on your fayre eye  
 To feed his fill, flyes backe unto your sight.  
 Doe you him take, and in your bosome bright  
 Gently encage, that he may be your thrall:  
 Perhaps he there may learne, with rare delight,  
 To sing your name and prayfes over all:  
 That it hereafter may you not repent,  
 Him lodging in your bosome to have lent.

## SONNET LXXIV.

MOST happy letters! fram'd by skilfull trade,  
 With which that happy name was first desynd,  
 The which three times thrise happy hath me  
     made,  
 With guifts of body, fortune, and of mind.  
 The first my being to me gave by kind,  
 From Mothers womb deriv'd by dew descent:  
 The second is my soveraigne Queene most kind,  
 That honour and large richeffe to me lent:

LXXIII. 10. ———— *encage,*] This is the original and perspicuous reading, which the modern editions ridiculously convert into *engage*. Compare Juliet's beautiful speech to Romeo, A. ii. S. ii.

“ 'Tis almost morning; I would have thee gone;

“ And yet no further than a wanton's bird, &c.” TODD.



The third, my Love, my lives last ornament,  
 By whom my spirit out of dust was rayfed:  
 To speake her prayse and glory excellent,  
 Of all alive most worthy to be prayfed.

Ye three Elizabeths! for ever live,  
 That three such graces did unto me give.

## SONNET LXXV.

ONE day I wrote her name upon the strand;  
 But came the waves, and washed it away:  
 Agayne, I wrote it with a second hand;  
 But came the tyde, and made my paynes his pray.  
 Vayne man, sayd she, that doest in vaine assay  
 A mortall thing so to immortalize;  
 For I my selve shall lyke to this decay,  
 And eke my name bee wyped out lykewize.  
 Not so, quod I; let baser things devize  
 To dy in dust, but you shall live by fame:  
 My verse your vertues rare shall éternize,  
 And in the hevens wryte your glorious name.

Where, when as death shall all the world  
 subdew,

Our love shall live, and later life renew.

## SONNET LXXVI.

FAYRE bosome ! fraught with vertues richest  
 trefure,

The neast of love, the lodging of delight,  
 The bowre of blisse, the paradice of pleasure,  
 The sacred harbour of that heavenly spright ;  
 How was I ravisht with your lovely sight,  
 And my frayle thoughts too rashly led astray !  
 Whiles diving deepe through amorous insight,  
 On the sweet spoyle of beautie they did pray ;  
 And twixt her paps, (like early fruit in May,  
 Whose haruest seemd to hasten now apace,)  
 They loofely did theyr wanton winges display,  
 And there to rest themselves did boldly place.

Sweet thoughts ! I envy your so happy rest,  
 Which oft I wisht, yet never was so blest.

## SONNET LXXVII.

WAS it a dreame, or did I see it playne ;  
 A goodly table of pure yvory,  
 All spred with juncats, fit to entertayne  
 The greatest Prince with pompous roialty :  
 Mongst which, there in a silver dish did ly

Two golden apples of unvalewd price ;  
 Far passing those which Hercules came by,  
 Or those which Atalanta did entice ;  
 Exceeding sweet, yet voyd of sinfull vice ;  
 That many fought, yet none could ever taste ;  
 Sweet fruit of pleasure, brought from Paradiçe  
 By Love himselfe, and in his garden plaste.

Her brest that table was, so richly spredd ;  
 My thoughts the guests, which would thereon  
 have fedd.

## SONNET LXXVIII.

LACKYNG my Love, I go from place to place,  
 Lyke a young fawne, that late hath lost the hynd ;  
 And seeke each where, where last I sawe her face,  
 Whose ymage yet I carry fresh in mynd.  
 I seeke the fields with her late footing fynd ;  
 I seeke her bowre with her late presençe deckt ;  
 Yet nor in field nor bowre I can her fynd ;  
 Yet field and bowre are full of her aspect :  
 But, when myne eyes I therunto direct,  
 They ydly back return to me agayne :

LXXVII. 6. \_\_\_\_\_ unvalewd] *Invaluable.*  
 So Shakspeare, *K. Rich. III. A. i. S. iv.*

“ Inestimable stones, *unvalued* jewels.”

And thus Milton characterises, in one happy expression, the works of Shakspeare ; “ thy *unvalued* book,” *Epit. on Shak.* ver. 11. TODD.

And, when I hope to see theyr trew obiéct,  
 I fynd my self but fed with fancies vayne.  
 Cease then, myne eyes, to seeke her selfe to see;  
 And let my thoughts behold her selfe in mee.

## SONNET LXXIX.

MEN call you fayre, and you doe credit it,  
 For that your selfe ye daily such doe see:  
 But the trew fayre, that is the gentle wit,  
 And vertuous mind, is much more prayfd of me:  
 For all the rest, how ever fayre it be,  
 Shall turne to nought and lose that glorious hew;  
 But onely that is permanent and free  
 From frayle corruption, that doth flesh enfew.  
 That is true beautie: that doth argue you  
 To be divine, and born of heavenly feed;  
 Deriv'd from that fayre Spirit, from whom all  
     true  
 And perfect beauty did at first proceed:  
 He only fayre, and what he fayre hath made;  
 All other fayre, lyke flowres, untymely fade.

## SONNET LXXX.

AFTER so long a race as I have run  
 Through Faery land, which those six books  
     compile,

Give leave to rest me being half foredonne,  
 And gather to my selfe new breath awhile.  
 Then, as a steed refreshed after toyle,  
 Out of my prison I will break anew;  
 And stoutly will that second work assayle,  
 With strong endeavour and attention dew.  
 Till then give leave to me, in pleasant mew  
 To sport my Muse, and sing my Loves sweet  
     praise;  
 The contemplation of whose heavenly hew,  
 My spirit to an higher pitch will rayse.  
     But let her prayes yet be low and meane,  
     Fit for the handmayd of the Faery Queene.

## SONNET LXXXI.

FAYRE is my Love, when her fayre golden  
     haire  
 With the loose wynd ye waving chance to  
     marke;  
 Fayre, when the rose in her red cheekes appeares;  
 Or in her eyes the fyre of love does sparke.  
 Fayre, when her brest, lyke a rich laden barke,  
 With pretious merchandize she forth doth lay;

LXXX. 13. *But let her praises &c.*] This concluding couplet is nearly the same as that of Drayton's sixth Eglog, *Shep. Garland.* 1593, p. 44.

“ Long may she be, as she hath euer beene,

“ The lowly handmaide of the Fayric Queene.”

TODD.

Fayre, when that cloud of pryde, which oft doth  
dark

Her goodly light, with smiles she drives away.

But fayrest she, when so she doth display

The gate with pearles and rubyes richly dight ;

Through which her words so wise do make their  
way

To beare the message of her gentle spight.

The rest be works of Natures wonderment ;

But this the worke of harts astonishment.

SONNET LXXXII.

IOY of my life ! full oft for loving you

I blesse my lot, that was so lucky plac'd :

But then the more your owne mishap I rew,

That are so much by so meane love embas'd.

For, had the equall hevens so much you  
graced

In this as in the rest, ye mote invent

Some heavenly wit, whose verse could have  
enchas'd

Your glorious name in golden monument.

But since ye deign'd so goodly to relent

To me your thrall, in whom is little worth ;

That little, that I am, shall all be spent

In setting your immortal prayfes forth :

Whose lofty argument, uplifting me,  
Shall lift you up unto an high degree.

## SONNET LXXXIII\*.

LET not one sparke of filthy lustfull fyre  
Breake out, that may her sacred peace molest;  
Ne one light glance of sensuall desyre  
Attempt to work her gentle mindes unrest:  
But pure affections bred in spotlesse brest,  
And modest thoughts breathd from well tem-  
ped spirits,  
Goe visit her, in her chaste bowre of rest,  
Accompanyde with ángelick delightès.  
There fill your selfe with those most ioyous sights,  
The which my selfe could never yet attayne:  
But speake no word to her of these sad plights,  
Which her too constant stiffeñesse doth constrayn.  
Onely behold her rare perfection,  
And blesse your fortunes fayre election.

## SONNET LXXXIV.

THE world that cannot deeme of worthy things,  
When I doe praise her, say I doe but flatter:

\* LXXXIII. I have omitted *Sonnet* LXXXIII in the original and every other edition, because it is the same as *Sonnet* XXXV. This circumstance has hitherto escaped observation.

So does the cuckow, when the mavis sings,  
 Begin his witleffe note apace to clatter.  
 But they that skill not of fo heavenly matter,  
 All that they know not, envy or admyre ;  
 Rather then envy, let them wonder at her,  
 But not to deeme of her desert aspyre.  
 Deepe, in the closet of my parts entyre,  
 Her worth is written with a golden quill,  
 That me with heavenly fury doth inspire,  
 And my glad mouth with her sweet prayfes fill.  
 Which when as Fame in her shril trump  
 shall thunder,  
 Let the world chuse to envy or to wonder.

## SONNET LXXXV.

VENEMOUS tongue, tipt with vile adders  
 sting,  
 Of that self kynd with which the Furies fell  
 Their snaky heads doe combe, from which a spring  
 Of poyfoned words and spightfull speeches well ;  
 Let all the plagues, and horrid paines, of hell  
 Upon thee fall for thine accursed hyre ;  
 That with false forged lyes, which thou didst tell,  
 In my true Love did stirre up coles of yre ;  
 The sparkes whereof let kindle thine own fyre,  
 And, catching hold on thine own wicked hed,



Consume thee quite, that didst with guile con-  
spire

In my sweet peace such breaches to have bred!  
Shame be thy meed, and mischief thy reward,  
Due to thy selfe, that it for me prepard!

## SONNET LXXXVI.

SINCE I did leave the presence of my Love,  
Many long weary dayes I have outworne;  
And many nights, that slowly seemd to move  
Their sad protract from evening untill morn.  
For, when as day the heaven doth adorne,  
I wish that night the noyous day would end:  
And, when as night hath us of light forlorne,  
I wish that day would shortly reascend.  
Thus I the time with expectation spend,  
And faine my grieffe with chaunges to beguile,  
That further seemes his terme still to extend,  
And maketh every minute seem a myle.  
So sorrowe still doth seem too long to last;  
But ioyous houres do fly away too fast.

LXXXVI. 4. ——— *protract*] This substantive, I believe, was first adopted by Spenser. TODD.

## SONNET LXXXVII.

SINCE I have lackt the comfort of that light,  
 The which was wont to lead my thoughts astray;  
 I wander as in darknesse of the night,  
 Affrayd of every dangers least difmay.  
 Ne ought I see, though in the clearest day,  
 When others gaze upon theyr shadowes vayne,  
 But th' only image of that heavenly ray,  
 Whereof some glance doth in mine eie remayne.  
 Of which beholding the idæa playne,  
 Through contemplation of my purest part,  
 With light thereof I doe my self sustayne,  
 And thereon feed my love-affamisht hart.

But, with such brightnesse whylest I fill my  
 mind,

I starve my body, and mine eyes doe blynd.

## SONNET LXXXVIII.

LYKE as the culver, on the bared bough,  
 Sits mourning for the absence of her mate;  
 And, in her songs, sends many a wishful vow  
 For his returne that seemes to linger late:

LXXXVIII. 1. ——— culver] *Dove*. So, in Caxton's *Liber Festivalis*, 1483. Sign. i. iiij. "The offerynge of the riche man was a lambe, and for a poure man a payre of turtlys or two *culver* byrdes." TODD.

So I alone, now left disconsolate,  
Mourne to my selfe the absence of my Love ;  
And, wandring here and there all desolate,  
Seek with my playnts to match that mournful  
dove :

Ne ioy of ought, that under heaven doth hove,  
Can comfort me, but her owne ioyous sight :  
Whose sweet aspect both God and man can  
move,

In her unspotted pleasauns to delight.

Dark is my day, whyles her fayre light I mis,  
And dead my life that wants such lively blis.

# SONNETS

WRITTEN BY SPENSER,

COLLECTED FROM THE ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS IN  
WHICH THEY APPEARED.

\* I.

*To the right worshipfull, my singular good friend, M. Gabriell  
Harvey, Doctor of the Lawes.*

HARVEY, the happy above happiest men  
I read; that, sitting like a Looker-on  
Of this worldes stage, doest note with critique  
pen

The sharpe dislikes of each condition:  
And, as one carelesse of suspition,  
Ne fawnest for the favour of the great;  
Ne fearest foolish reprehension  
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat:  
But freely doest, of what thee list, entreat,  
Like a great lord of peerelesse liberty;  
Lifting the Good up to high Honours feat,  
And the Evill damning evermore to dy:

\* I. From "Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets, especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties by him abused, &c. Lond. 4to. Impr. by Iohn Wolfe, 1592." Sign. I. 3. b. TODD.

For Life, and Death, is in thy doomeful  
writing!

So thy renowme lives ever by endighting.

Dublin, this xvij. of July, 1586.

Your devoted friend, during life,

EDMUND SPENCER.

\* II.

WHOSO wil feeke, by right deserts, t' attaine  
Unto the type of true Nobility ;  
And not by painted shewes, and titles vaine,  
Derived farre from famous Auncestrie :  
Behold them both in their right visnomy  
Here truly pourtray'd, as they ought to be,  
And striving both for termes of dignitie,  
'To be advanced highest in degree.  
And, when thou doost with equall insight see  
'The ods twixt both, of both thē deem aright,  
And chuse the better of them both to thee ;  
But thanks to him, that it deserves, behight ;

\* II. Prefixed to "Nennio, or A Treatise of Nobility, &c. Written in Italian by that famous Doctor and worthy Knight Sir Iohn Baptista Nenna of Bari. Done into English by William Iones, Gent. 4to. 1595." TODD.

II. 4. ————— *famous*] This is the true reading. The editor of Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, who reprinted this Sonnet from a manuscript copy in which the word was wanting, conjectured that it should be *buried*. His conjecture of *well*, instead of *it*, in the twelfth line, is also not supported. TODD.

To Nenna first, that first this worke created,  
And next to Jones, that truely it translated.

ED. SPENSER.

\* III.

“ Upon the Historie of George Castriot, alias Scanderbeg, king of  
the Epirots, translated into English.

WHEREFORE doth vaine Antiquitie so vaunt  
Her ancient monuments of mightie peeres,  
And old heröes, which their world did daunt  
With their great deedes and fild their chil-  
drens eares ?

Who, rapt with wonder of their famous praise,  
Admire their statues, their colossoes great :  
Their rich triumphall arcks which they did raise,  
Their huge pyramids, which do heaven threat.

\* III. Prefixed to the “ Historie of George Castriot, alias Scanderbeg, King of Albanie : Containing his famous actes, &c. Newly translated out of French into English by Z. J. Gentleman. Impr: for W. Ponsonby, 1596.” fol. TODD.

III. 7. ——— triumphall arcks] Compare *The Ruines of Rome*, stanza 7. But see, more particularly, the *Theatre for Worldlings*, already spoken of in the notes on *The Visions of Petrarch*, vol. vii. p. 525, &c. The writer of *The Theatre*, speaking of the Romans, says ; “ They adorned their Citie with all maner of sumptuous and costely buyldings, wyth all kindes of curious and cunning workes, as Theaters, TRIUMPHALL ARKES, Pyramedes, Columnes, &c.” p. 16. TODD.

III. 8. ——— pyramids,] The accent on the second syllable appears to have been not uncommon. See Drayton’s *Shep. Garland*, 1593, p. 56.

“ And who erects the brave pyramides  
“ Of monarches &c.” TODD.

Lo! one, whom Later Age hath brought to  
 light,  
 Matchable to the greatest of those great;  
 Great both by name, and great in power and  
 might,  
 And meriting a meere triumphant feate.  
 The scourge of Turkes, and plague of infidels,  
 Thy acts, O Scanderbeg, this volume tels.

ED. SPENSER.

\* IV.

THE antique Babel, Empreffe of the East,  
 Upreard her buildinges to the threatned skie:  
 And second Babell, Tyrant of the West,  
 Her ayry towers upraised much more high.  
 But, with the weight of their own surquedry,  
 They both are fallen, that all the earth did  
 feare,  
 And buried now in their own ashes ly;

III. 12. ————— meere] *Absolute, entire.* So, in the *Faerie Queene*, he has "*mere* compassion." See also Cotgrave's Dict. in *V. Mere.* TODD.

\* IV. Prefixed to "The Commonwealth and Government of Venice, Written by the Cardinall Gaspar Contareno, and translated out of Italian into English, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquire, London, imprinted by John Windet for Edmund Mattes, and are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the Hand and Plow in Fleet-street. 1599." 4to. TODD.

IV. 2. ————— *the threatned skie:*] Compare *Faer. Qu.* v. x. 23. And the preceding *Sonnet*, ver. 8.  
 TODD.

Yet shewing, by their heapes, how great they  
were.

But in their place doth now a third appeare,  
Fayre Venice, flower of the last worlds delight;  
And next to them in beauty draweth neare,  
But farre exceedes in policie of right.

Yet not so fayre her buildinges to behold  
As Lewkenors stile that hath her beautie told.

EDM. SPENCER.



## POEM I.

IN youth, before I waxed old,  
 The blynd boy, Venus baby,  
 For want of cunning made me bold,  
 In bitter hyve to grope for honny:  
 But, when he saw me stung and cry,  
 He tooke his wings and away did fly.

## POEM II.

AS Diane hunted on a day,  
 She chaunft to come where Cupid lay,  
 His quiver by his head:  
 One of his shafts she stole away,  
 And one of hers did close convay  
 Into the others stead:  
 With that Love wounded my Loves hart,  
 But Diane beafts with Cupids dart.

## POEM III.

I SAW, in secret to my Dame  
 How little Cupid humbly came,  
 And said to her; " All hayle, my mother!"  
 But, when he saw me laugh, for shame

His face with bashfull blood did flame,  
 Not knowing Venus from the other.  
 " Then, never blush, Cupid, quoth I,  
 For many have err'd in this beauty."

## POEM IV.

UPON a day, as Love lay sweetly slumbring  
 All in his mothers lap ;  
 A gentle Bee, with his loud trumpet murm'ring,  
 About him flew by hap.  
 Whereof when he was wakened with the noyse, 5  
 And saw the beast so small ;  
 " Whats this (quoth he) that gives so great a  
     voyce,  
 That wakens men withall ?"  
 In angry wize he flies about,  
 And threatens all with corage stout. 10  
 To whom his mother closely smiling sayd,  
 "Twixt earnest and 'twixt game :  
 " See ! thou thy selfe likewise art lyttle made,  
 If thou regard the same.  
 And yet thou suffrest neyther gods in sky, 15  
 Nor men in earth, to rest :  
 But, when thou art disposed cruelly,

IV. 7. ————— *so great a voice,*] Meaning his  
 " loud trumpet," ver. 3. Notwithstanding the obvious sense  
 of this passage, the modern editions have frangely altered the  
 original reading to " so weak a voice." TODD. ♣

Theyr sleepe thou doost molest.  
 Then eyther change thy cruelty,  
 Or give lyke leave unto the fly." 20  
 Nathelesse, the cruell boy, not so content,  
 Would needs the fly pursue ;  
 And in his hand, with heedlesse hardiment,  
 Him caught for to subdue.  
 But, when on it he hasty hand did lay, 25  
 The Bee him stung therefore :  
 " Now out alas, he cryde, and welaway,  
 I wounded am full fore :  
 The fly, that I so much did scorne,  
 Hath hurt me with his little horne." 30  
 Unto his motlier straight he weeping came,  
 And of his grieve complayned :  
 Who could not chuse but laugh at his fond game,  
 Though sad to see him pained.  
 " Think now (quoth she) my son, how great the  
     smart 35  
 Of those whom thou dost wound :  
 Full many thou hast pricked to the hart,  
 That pitty never found :  
 Therefore, henceforth some pitty take,  
 When thou doest spoyle of Lovers make." 40  
 She tooke him streight full pitiously lamenting,  
 And wrapt him in her smock :

IV. 42. *And wrapt &c.*] He borrowed this thought from jocular Master Skelton. See the edition of Skeltons *Poems*, 1736. p. 231. TODD.

She wrapt him softly, all the while repenting  
 That he the fly did mock.  
 She drest his wound, and it embaulmed well 45  
 With salve of soveraigne might :  
 And then she bath'd him in a dainty well,  
 The well of deare delight.  
 Who would not oft be stung as this,  
 To be so bath'd in Venus blis? 50  
 The wanton boy was shortly wel recured  
 Of that his malady :  
 But he, soone after, fresh again enured  
 His former cruelty.  
 And since that time he wounded hath my selfe  
 With his sharpe dart of Love : 56  
 And now forgets the cruell carelesse elfe  
 His mothers heast to prove.  
 So now I languish, till he please  
 My pining anguish to appease. 60

IV. 53. ————— enur'd] See my note  
 on F. Q. v. ix. 39. T. WARTON.

\* EPITHALAMION.

YE learned Sisters, which have oftentimes  
Beene to the ayding, others to adorne,  
Whom ye thought worthy of your gracefull  
rymes,  
That even the greatest did not greatly scorne  
To heare theyr names sung in your simple layes,  
But ioyed in theyr praise ; 6  
And when ye list your own mishaps to mourne,  
Which death, or love, or fortunes wreck did  
rayse,  
Your string could soone to fadder tenor turne,  
And teach the woods and waters to lament 10  
Your dolefull dreriment :  
Now lay those forrowfull complaints aside ;  
And, having all your heads with girlands  
crownd,  
Helpe me mine owne Loves prayfes to resound ;

\* *Epithalamion*.] The song of love and jollity, as he calls it, E. Q. i. xii. 38. Our poets were profuse in compliments of this kind, on the marriages of their friends. See particularly Heyrick's *Poems*, edit. 1648, p. 57. And Randolph's *Poems*, edit. 1640, p. 34. Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, is minute in his description of the ceremonies attending the performance of the *Epithalamion*, &c. 1586. TODD.

Ne let the fame of any be envide : 15  
 So Orpheus did for his owne bride !  
 So I unto my felfe alone will fing ;  
 The woods fhall to me anfwer, and my eccho  
 ring.

EARLY, before the worlds light-giving lampe  
 His golden beame upon the hils doth fpred, 20  
 Having difperft the nights unchearefull dampe,  
 Doe ye awake ; and, with fresh luftyhed,  
 Go to the bowre of my beloved Love,  
 My trueft turtle dove ;  
 Bid her awake ; for Hymen is awake, 25  
 And long fince ready forth his mafke to move,  
 With his bright tead that flames with many a  
 flake,

And many a bachelor to waite on him,  
 In theyr fresh garments trim.  
 Bid her awake therefore, and foone her dight,  
 For loe ! the wifhed day is come at laft, 31  
 That fhall, for all the paynes and forrowes pafte,  
 Pay to her ufury of long delight :  
 And, whyleft ſhe doth her dight,  
 Doe ye to her of ioy and folace fing, 35  
 That all the woods may anfwer, and your eccho  
 ring.

BRING with you all the Nymphes that you  
 can heare

Both of the Rivers and the Forrests greene,  
 And of the Sea that neighbours to her neare;  
 All with gay girlands goodly wel befeene. 40  
 And let them also with them bring in hand  
 Another gay girland,  
 For my fayre Love, of Lillyes and of Roses,  
 Bound truelove wize, with a blew filke riband.  
 And let them make great store of bridale poses,  
 And let them eke bring store of other flowers, 46  
 To deck the bridale bowers.  
 And let the ground whereas her foot shall tread,  
 For feare the stones her tender foot should  
                   wrong,  
 Be strewd with fragrant flowers all along, 50  
 And diapred lyke the discolored mead.  
 Which done, doe at her chamber dore awayt,  
 For she will waken strait;  
 The whiles do ye this Song unto her sing,  
 The woods shall to you answer, and your eccho  
                   ring. 55

YE Nymphes of Mulla, which with carefull  
                   heed  
 The silver scaly trouts do tend full well,

Ver. 51. *And diapred &c.*] *Diversified*, a word borrowed from Chaucer. See the *Rom. R.* 934, edit. Urr.

“ And it was painted well and thwitten,

“ And ore all *diapred* and written.” TODD.

And greedy pikes which use therein to feed ;  
 (Those trouts and pikes all others doe excell ;)   
 And ye likewise, which keepe the russhy lake, 60  
 Where none doo fishes take ;  
 Bynd up the locks the which hang scatterd light,  
 And in his waters, which your mirror make,  
 Behold your faces as the christall bright,  
 That when you come whereas my Love doth lie,  
 No blemish she may spie. 66  
 And eke, ye lightfoot mayds, which keepe the  
     dore,  
 That on the hoary mountayne use to towre ;  
 And the wylde wolves, which seeke them to  
     devoure,  
 With your Steele darts doe chace from coming  
     neer ; 70  
 Be also present heere,  
 To helpe to decke her, and to help to sing,  
 That all the woods may answer, and your eccho  
     ring.

WAKE now, my Love, awake ; for it is time ;  
 The rosy Morne long since left Tithons bed, 75  
 All ready to her silver coche to clyme ;  
 And Phæbus gins to shew his glorious hed.

Ver. 60. ————— *the russhy lake,*] Hence Milton's "*russhy-fringed bank,*" *Com.* ver. 890, where see my note.



Hark! how the cheerefull birds do chaunt theyr  
laies,

And carroll of Loves praise.

The merry Larke hir mattins sings aloft; 80

The Thrush replies; the Mavis descant playes;

The Ouzell shrills; the Ruddock warbles soft;

So goodly all agree, with sweet consent,

To this dayes meriment.

Ah! my deere Love, why doe ye sleepe thus  
long, 85

When meeter were that ye should now awake,

T' awayt the comming of your ioyous Make,

And hearken to the birds love-learned song,

'The dewy leaves among!

For they of ioy and pleafance to you sing, 90

'That all the woods them answer, and their eccho  
ring.

Ver. 81. ————— *the Mavis*] In our old Dictionaries and Glossaries the *mavis* is usually interpreted the *thrush* or *thrush*. As the *mavis* is sometimes mentioned, in our ancient poetry, together with the *thrush*; I suppose the *mavis* means the *cock-thrush*, or *song-thrush*, the cock being most distinguished for its tones. See Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose*, describing the "swete song" of various birds, ver. 665.

"And *thrushils*, terins, and *marise*,

"That songin &c." TODD.

Ver. 82. ————— *the Ruddock*] *Red-breast*, as in Shakspeare's *Cymbeline*, to which Mr. Warton refers, where see the notes of the commentators. See also Gloss. Urry's Chaucer, "*Ruddock*, robin-red-breast." TODD.

Ver. 83. ————— *consent*,] We should rather read *concent*, i. e. *harmony*. Spenser uses *concent* and *concented* in the *Faer. Qu.* See Mr. Warton's note on "pure *concent*," in Milton's Ode at a solemn musick, ver. 6. TODD.

MY Love is now awake out of her dreame,  
 And her fayre eyes, like stars that dimmed were  
 With darksome cloud, now shew theyr goodly  
 beams 94

More bright then Hesperus his head doth rere.  
 Come now, ye Damzels, Daughtets of delight,  
 Helpe quickly her to dight :

But first come, ye fayre Houres, which were begot,  
 In Loves sweet paradise, of Day and Night ;

Which doe the seasons of the year allot, 100

And all, that ever in this world is fayre,

Do make and still repayre :

And ye three handmayds of the Cyprian Queene,  
 The which doe still adorn her beauties pride,

Helpe to adorne my beautifullest bride : 105

And, as ye her array, still throw betweene

Some graces to be seene ;

And, as ye use to Venus, to her sing,

The whiles the woods shal answer, and your  
 eccho ring.

NOW is my Love all ready forth to come : 110

Let all the Virgins therefore well awayt ;

And ye fresh Boyes, that tend upon her Groome,

Prepare your selves ; for he is comming strayt.

Set all your things in seemely good aray,

Fit for so ioyfull day : 115

The ioyfulst day that ever Sunne did see.

Fair Sun ! shew forth thy favourable ray,

And let thy lifull heat not fervent be,  
 For feare of burning her funfhyny face,  
 Her beauty to difgrace. 120  
 O fayreft Phœbus! Father of the Mufe!  
 If ever I did honour thee aright,  
 Or fing the thing that mote thy mind delight,  
 Doe not thy fervants fimple boone refufe;  
 But let this day, let this one day, be mine; 125  
 Let all the reft be thine.  
 Then I thy foverayne prayfes loud wil fing,  
 That all the woods fhall anfwer, and theyr eccho  
                   ring.

HARKE! how the minftrils gin to shrill aloud  
 Their merry mufick that refounds from far, 130  
 The pipe, the tabor, and the trembling croud,  
 That well agree withouten breach or iar.  
 But, moft of all, the Damzels doe delite,  
 When they their tymbrels fmyte,  
 And thereunto doe daunce and carrol fweet, 135  
 That all the fences they doe ravifh quite;  
 The whyles the Boyes run up and downe the  
                   freet,

Ver. 131. ————— croud,] *Crotta*; Welch, *crwth*, the *fiddle*. Hence Butler's appropriation of the name *Crowdero* to the life-inspiring performer on this instrument in *Hudibras*! Thus, in *The fecond part of Robin Good-fellow*, 1628. Sign. D. 1. b. "Robin goes in the fhape of a *fidler* to a wedding;—and with his *crowd* vnder his arme went amongst them and was a very welcome man: there played hee whilst they danced, &c." TODD.

Crying aloud with strong confused noyce,  
 As if it were one voyce,  
 Hymen, io Hymen, Hymen, they do shout ; 140  
 That even to the heavens theyr shouting shrill  
 Doth reach, and all the firmament doth fill ;  
 To which the people standing all about,  
 As in approvance, doe thereto applaud,  
 And loud advance her laud ; 145  
 And evermore they Hymen, Hymen, sing,  
 That all the woods them answer, and theyr eccho  
 ring.

LOE ! where she comes along with portly pace,  
 Lyke Phœbe, from her chamber of the East,  
 Arysing forth to run her mighty race, 150  
 Clad all in white, that seems a Virgin best.  
 So well it her befeems, that ye would weene  
 Some Angell she had beene.  
 Her long loose yellow locks lyke golden wyre,

Ver. 149. *Like Phœbe, &c.*] What the Psalmist has sublimely said of the Sun, Spenser has here applied to the Moon. See *Psalm* xix. 5. TODD.

Ver. 154. *Her long loose yellow locks*] It is remarkable, that Spenser's females, both in the *Faerie Queene*, and in his other Poems, are all described with *yellow* hair. And, in his general description of the influence of beauty over the bravest men, he particularises *golden* tresses. See F. Q. v. viii. 1. This is said in compliment to his mistress, as here, and in *Sonn.* 15 ; or to queen Elizabeth ; who had both *yellow* hair : or perhaps in imitation of the Italian poets who give most of their women tresses of this colour. T. WARTON.

*Ibid.* ————— *like golden wyre,*] Our old poets were fond of this resemblance. Thus, in Abr. Fraunce's *Second*

Sprinckled with perle, and perling flowres atweene,  
 Doe lyke a golden mantle her attyre ; 156  
 And, being crowned with a girland greene,  
 Seem lyke some Mayden Queene.  
 Her modest eyes, abashed to behold  
 So many gazers as on her do stare, 160  
 Upon the lowly ground affixed are ;  
 Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,  
 But blush to heare her prayfes sung so loud,  
 So farre from being proud.  
 Nathlesse doe ye still loud her prayfes sing, 165  
 That all the woods may answer, and your eccho  
 ring.

**TELL** me, ye Merchants daughters, did ye see  
 So fayre a creature in your towne before ?  
 So sweet, so lovely, and so mild as she, 169  
 Adorn'd with beautyes grace and vertues store :

*Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yrychurch, 1591. Sign. G. 4.*  
 where he is describing Phillis :

— “ eyes like bright starrs, and fayre browes dayntily  
 smyling,

“ And cherefull forehead with *gold-wyre* all to be decked.”

And, in the romance of *Palmendos*, bl. l. 4to. p. 155, a lady is  
 described with “ *gold-wire* hair.” And, in *Hawes's Hist. of*  
*Graunde Amoure*, Sign. I. iij. we find the “ *hair gold-wire*.”  
 And, in *The Affectionate Shepherd*, 1594. Sign. C. ij. b.

“ Cut off thy lock, and sell it for *gold wier*.”

The Scottish Muses disdain not the same similitude. See Sib-  
 bald's *Chron. of Scot. Poetry*, vol. i. 162.

“ As *golden wier* so glitterand was his hair.”

Again, p. 202.

“ As rid *gold-wyir* schynit hir hair.” TODD.

Her goodly eyes lyke saphyres shining bright,  
 Her forehead yvory white,  
 Her cheekes lyke apples which the sun hath  
     rudded,  
 Her lips lyke cherries charming men to byte,  
 Her brest like to a bowl of creame uncrudded,  
 Her paps lyke lyllies budded, 176  
 Her snowie necke lyke to a marble towre ;  
 And all her body like a pallace fayre,  
 Ascending up, with many a stately stayre,  
 To Honors feat and Chastities sweet bowre. 180  
 Why stand ye still ye Virgins in amaze,  
 Upon her so to gaze,  
 Whiles ye forget your former lay to sing,  
 To which the woods did answer, and your eccho  
     ring.

BUT if ye saw that which no eyes can see, 185  
 The inward beauty of her lively spright,  
 Garnisht with heavenly guifts of high degree,  
 Much more then would ye wonder at that sight,  
 And stand astonisht lyke to those which red  
 Medusaes a mazeluf hed. 190  
 There dwells sweet Love, and constant Chastity,

Ver. 171. *Her goodly eyes &c.*] Much the same description of personal beauty is to be found in F. Q. ii. iii. 28, 29, 30. Where see the notes. TODD.

Ver. 174. ————— *charming*] That is, tempting by enchantment. See the note on F. Q. v. ix. 13.

T. WARTON.

Unspotted Fayth, and comely Womanhood,  
 Regard of Honour, and mild Modesty ;  
 There Vertue raynes as Queene in royal throne,  
 And giveth lawes alone, 195  
 The which the base affections doe obay,  
 And yeeld theyr services unto her will ;  
 Ne thought of things uncomely ever may  
 Thereto approach to tempt her mind to ill.  
 Had ye once seene these her celestial threafores,  
 And unrevealed pleasures, 201  
 Then would ye wonder, and her prayfes sing,  
 That all the woods should answer, and your  
 eccho ring.

OPEN the temple gates unto my Love,  
 Open them wide that she may enter in, 205  
 And all the postes adorne as doth behove,  
 And all the pillours deck with girlands trim,  
 For to receyve this Saynt with honour dew,  
 That commeth in to you.  
 With trembling steps, and humble reverence, 210  
 She commeth in, before th' Almightyes view :  
 Of her ye Virgins learne obedience,  
 When so ye come into those holy places,  
 To humble your proud faces :  
 Bring her up to th' high altar, that she may 215  
 The sacred ceremonies there partake,  
 The which do endlesse matrimony make ;

And let the roring organs loudly play  
 The praises of the Lord in lively notes ;  
 The whiles, with hollow throates, 220  
 The choristers the ioyous antheme sing,  
 That all the woods may answer, and their eccho  
 ring.

BEHOLD, whiles she before the altar stands,  
 Hearing the holy priest that to her speakes,  
 And blesteth her with his two happy hands, 225  
 How the red roses flush up in her cheekes,  
 And the pure snow, with goodly vermill stayne,  
 Like crimfin dyde in grayne :  
 That even the Angels, which continually  
 About the sacred altar doe remaine, 230  
 Forget their service and about her fly,  
 Ofte peeping in her face, that seems more fayre,  
 The more they on it stare.  
 But her sad eyes, still fastened on the ground,

Ver. 218. *And let the roring organs &c.*] The word *roring* is rather exceptionable. What a dignified contrast is Milton's "*pealing organ.*" For sweetness and sublimity, Milton's whole description of choral musick is inimitable. This passage from the *Il Penseroso* can never be too often cited :

“ There let the pealing organ blow,

“ To the full-voic'd quire below,

“ In service high, and anthems clear,

“ As may with sweetness, through mine ear,

“ Dissolve me into ecstasies,

“ And bring all heaven before mine eyes.” TODD.

Ver. 234. *But her sad eyes, &c.*] See my note on “*solemnue sad,*” F. Q. i. i. 2. TODD.



Are governed with goodly modesty, 235  
 That suffers not one look to glaunce awry,  
 Which may let in a little thought unfownd.  
 Why blush ye, Love, to give to me your hand,  
 The pledge of all our band!  
 Sing, ye sweet Angels, Alleluya sing, 240  
 That all the woods may answer, and your eccho  
 ring.

NOW al is done : bring home the Bride againe ;  
 Bring home the triumph of our victory ;  
 Bring home with you the glory of her gaine,  
 With ioyance bring her and with iollity. 245  
 Never had man more ioyfull day than this,  
 Whom heaven would heape with blis.  
 Make feaft therefore now all this live-long day ;  
 This day for ever to me holy is.  
 Poure out the wine without restraint or stay, 250  
 Poure not by cups, but by the belly full,  
 Poure out to all that wull,  
 And sprinkle all the posts and wals with wine,  
 That they may sweate, and drunken be withall.  
 Crowne ye god Bacchus with a coronall, 255  
 And Hymen also crowne with wreaths of vine ;  
 And let the Graces daunce unto the rest,  
 For they can doo it best :

Ver. 253. *And sprinkle &c.*] The same ceremony *with wine* is recorded in the *Faer. Qu.* i. xii. 38. Where see Mr. Upton's note. TODD.

The whiles the Maydens doe theyr carroll sing,  
 To which the woods shall answer, and theyr  
     eccho ring, 260

RING ye the bells, ye yong men of the towne,  
 And leave your wonted labors for this day :  
 This day is holy ; doe ye write it downe,  
 That ye for ever it remember may.  
 This day the Sunne is in his chiefest hight, 265  
 With Barnaby the bright,  
 From whence declining daily by degrees,  
 He somewhat loseth of his heat and light,  
 When once the Crab behind his back he fees.  
 But for this time it ill ordained was, 270  
 To choose the longest day in all the yeare,  
 And shortest night, when longest fitter weare :  
 Yet never day so long, but late would passe.  
 Ring ye the bells, to make it weare away,  
 And benefiers make all day ; 275  
 And daunce about them, and about them sing,  
 That all the woods may answer, and your eccho  
     ring.

AH ! when will this long weary day have end,  
 And lende me leave to come unto my Love ?  
 How slowly do the houres theyr numbers spend ?  
 How slowly does sad Time his feathers move ?  
 Hast thee, O fayrest Planet, to thy home,

Within the Westerne fome :

Thy tyred steedes long since have need of rest.  
 Long though it be, at last I see it gloome, 285  
 And the bright Evening-star with golden creast  
 Appeare out of the East.

Fayre childe of beauty! glorious lampe of Love!  
 That all the host of heaven in rankes doost lead,  
 And guidest Lovers through the nights sad  
 dread, 290

How chearefully thou lookest from above,  
 And seemst to laugh atweene thy twinkling light,  
 As ioying in the sight

Of these glad many, which for ioy do sing,  
 That all the woods them answer, and their eccho  
 ring. 295

NOW cease, ye Damfels, your delights fore-  
 past ;

Enough it is that all the day was youres :  
 Now day is doen, and night is nighing fast,  
 Now bring the Bryde into the brydall bowres.  
 The night is come, now soon her disaray, 300  
 And in her bed her lay ;

Lay her in lillies and in violets,  
 And silken curteins over her display,  
 And odour'd sheets, and Arras coverlets.  
 Behold how goodly my faire Love does ly, 305

Ver. 290. ————— *sad*] This epithet  
 was wanting till the first folio was published. TODD.

In proud humility !  
 Like unto Maia, when as Iove her took  
 In Tempe, lying on the flowry gras,  
 Twixt sleepe and wake, after she weary was,  
 With bathing in the Acidalian brooke. 310  
 Now it is night, ye Damsels may be gone,  
 And leave my Love alone,  
 And leave likewise your former lay to sing :  
 The woods no more shall answer, nor your eccho  
 ring.

NOW welcome, Night ! thou night so long  
 expected, 315  
 That long daies labour doest at last defray,  
 And all my cares, which cruell Love collected,  
 Hast sumd in one, and cancelled for aye :  
 Spread thy broad wing over my Lovè and me,  
 That no man may us see ; 320  
 And in thy fable mantle us enwrap,  
 From feare of perrill and foule horror free.  
 Let no false treason seeke us to entrap,  
 Nor any dread disquiet once annoy  
 The safety of our ioy ; 325  
 But let the night be calme, and quiet some,  
 Without tempestuous storms or sad afray :  
 Lyke as when Iove with fayre Alcmèna lay,  
 When he begot the great Tiryinthian groome :  
 Or lyke as when he with thy selfe did lie, 330  
 And begot Majesty.

And let the Mayds and Yongmen ceafe to  
 fing;  
 Ne let the woods them anſwer, nor theyr eccho  
 ring.

LET no lamenting cryes, nor dolefull teares,  
 Be heard all night within, nor yet without: 335  
 Ne let falſe whiſpers, breeding hidden feares,  
 Breake gentle ſleepe with miſconceived dout.  
 Let no deluding dreames, nor dreadful fights,  
 Make ſudden ſad affrights;  
 Ne let houſe-fyres, nor lightnings helples  
 harmes, 340  
 Ne let the ponke, nor other evill ſprights,

Ver. 341. *Ne let the ponke, &c.*] The *ponke* or *pouke*, (for *pouke* I conceive is the true reading,) is the fairy Robin Goodfellow, known by the name of *Puck*. This ſpirit appears to have taken pleaſure in deriding the ſolemnities of the nuptial feaſt, and in interrupting the mirth with his wicked tricks! See *The Second Part of Robin Good-fellow, commonly called Hob-goblin*, 4to. 1628. Ch. 6. “How Robin went in the ſhape of a ſidler to a wedding, and of the ſport that he had there. Firſt hee put out the candles; and then, beeing darke, hee ſtrucke the men good boxes on the eares. They, thinking it had beene thoſe that did ſit next them, fell a fighting one with the other; ſo that there was not one of them but had either a broken head or a bloody noſe. At this Robin laughed heartily. The women did not ſcape him. For the handſomeſt hee kiſſed; the other hee pinched, and made them ſcratch one the other as if they had beene cats: Candles being lighted againe, they all were friends, and fell againe to dancing, and after to ſupper. Supper beeing ended, a great poſſet was brought: at this Robin Goodfellowes teeth did water; for it looked ſo louely, that hee could not keepe from it. To attaine to his wiſh he did turne himſelfe into a beare. Both men and women, ſeeing a beare amongſt them,

Ne let mischievous witches with theyr charmes,  
 Ne let hob-goblins, names whose sence we see  
 not,

Fray us with things that be not ;

Let not the shriech-owle, nor the storke, be  
 heard ; 345

Nor the night raven, that still deadly yels ;

Nor damned ghosts, cald up with mighty spels ;

Nor griesly vultures make us once affeard :

Ne let th' unpleasent quyre of frogs still croking  
 Make us to wish theyr choking. 350

Let none of these theyr dreary accents sing ;

Ne let the woods them answer, nor theyr eccho  
 ring.

BUT let still Silence trew night-watches keepe,

That sacred Peace may in assurance rayne,

And tymely Sleep, when it is tyme to sleepe, 355

May poure hislimbs forth on your pleasent playne ;

The whiles an hundred little winged Loves,

Like divers-fethered doves,

Shall fly and flutter round about the bed,

ranne away and left the whole possert to Robin Good-fellow, who quickly made an end of it, and went away without his money: for the sport hee had was better to him then any money whatsoever. The feare that the guests were in did cause such a smell, that the bride-groome did call for perfumes, &c."—The poet very properly deprecates the appearance of a spright, who (to use the words of Shakspeare on another occasion) thus "displaces the mirth, and breaks the good meeting with most *admir'd disorder!*" TODD.

And in the secret darke, that none reprov  
 Their pretty stealthes shall worke, and snares shall  
     spread

To filch away sweet snatches of delight,  
 Conceald through covert night.

Ye Sonnes of Venus, play your sports at will !  
 For greedy Pleasure, carelesse of your toys, 365  
 Thinks more upon her Paradise of ioyes,  
 Then what ye do, albe it good or ill.

All night therefore attend your merry play,  
 For it will soone be day :

Now none doth hinder you, that say or sing ; 370  
 Ne will the woods now answer, nor your eccho  
     ring.

WHO is the same, which at my window peepes ?  
 Or whose is that faire face that shines so bright ?  
 Is it not Cinthia, she that never sleepest,  
 But walkes about high heaven al the night ? 375  
 O ! fayrest goddesse, do thou not envy

My Love with me to spy :

For thou likewise didst love, though now un-  
     thought,

And for a fleece of wooll, which privily  
 The Latmian Shepherd once unto thee brought,  
 His pleasures with thee wrought. 381

Therefore to us be favorable now ;

And sith of wemens labours thou hast charge,

And generation goodly dost enlarge,  
 Encline thy will t' effect our wishfull vow, 383  
 And the chaste womb informe with timely feed,  
 That may our comfort breed:  
 Till which we cease our hopefull hap to sing;  
 Ne let the woods us answer, nor our eccho  
 ring.

AND thou, great Iuno! which with awful  
 might 390  
 The Lawes of Wedlock still dost patronize;  
 And the religion of the faith first plight  
 With sacred rites hast taught to solemnize;  
 And eke for comfort often called art  
 Of women in their smart; 395  
 Eternally bind thou this lovely band,  
 And all thy blessings unto us impart.  
 And thou, glad Genius! in whose gentle hand  
 The bridale bowre and geniall bed remaine,  
 Without blemish or staine; 400  
 And the sweet pleasures of their loves delight  
 With secret ayde doost succour and supply,  
 Till they bring forth the fruitfull progeny;  
 Send us the timely fruit of this same night,  
 And thou, fayre Hebe! and thou, Hymen free!  
 Grant that it may so be. 406  
 Till which we cease your further prayse to sing;  
 Ne any woods shall answer, nor your eccho ring.



AND ye high heavens, the temple of the gods,  
 In which a thousand torches flaming bright 410  
 Doe burne, that to us wretched earthly clods  
 In dreadful darknesse lend desired light ;  
 And all ye powers which in the same remayne,  
 More than we men can fayne ;  
 Poure out your blessing on us plentiouſly, 415  
 And happy influence upon us raine,  
 That we may raise a large posterity,  
 Which from the earth which they may long  
     posseſſe  
 With laſting happineſſe,  
 Up to your haughty pallaces may mount ; 420  
 And, for the guerdon of theyr glorious merit,  
 May heavenly tabernacles there inherit,  
 Of bleſſed Saints for to increaſe the count.  
 So let us reſt, ſweet Love, in hope of this,  
 And ceaſe till then our tymely ioyes to ſing : 425  
 The woods no more us answer, nor our eccho  
     ring !

*SONG ! made in lieu of many ornaments,  
 With which my Love ſhould duly have been dect,  
 Which cutting off through haſty accidents,  
 Ye would not ſtay your dew time to expect, 430  
 But promiſt both to recompens ;  
 Be unto her a goodly ornament,  
 And for ſhort time an endleſſe moniment ! 433*



FOWRE HYMNES,

MADE BY

EDM. SPENSER.

THE HISTORY OF THE

1792

*To the Right Honorable and most vertuous Ladies, the LADIE  
MARGARET, Countesse of Cumberland; and the LADIE  
MARIE, Countesse of Warwick.*

HAVING, in the greener times of my youth, composed these former two Hymnes in the praise of love and beautie, and finding that the same too much pleased those of like age and disposition, which, being too vehemently carried with that kind of affection, do rather sucke out poyson to their strong passion, then honey to their honest delight, I was moved, by the one of you two most excellent Ladies, to call in the same; but, being unable so to do, by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolved at least to amend, and, by way of retraction, to reforme them, making (instead of those two Hymnes of earthly or naturall love and beautie) two others of heavenly and celestially; the which I doe dedicate joyntly unto you two honorable sisters, as to the most excellent and rare ornaments of all true love and beautie, both in the one and the other kind; humbly beseeching you to vouchsafe the patronage of them, and to accept this my humble service, in lieu of the great graces and honourable favours which ye dayly shew unto me, until such time as I may, by better meanes, yeeld you some more notable testimonie of my thankfull mind and dutifull devotion. And even so I pray for your happinesse. Greenwich this first of September, 1596. Your Honors most bounden ever,

In all humble service,

ED. SP.



## AN HYMNE

IN HONOUR OF LOVE.

LOVE, that long since haft to thy mighty  
powre  
Perforce ſubdude my poor captived hart,  
And, raging now therein with reſtleſſe ſtowre,  
Doeſt tyrannize in everie weaker part,  
Faine would I ſeeke to eaſe my bitter ſmart 5  
By any ſervice I might do to thee,  
Or ought that elſe might to thee pleaſing bee.

And now t' aſſwage the force of this new flame,  
And make thee more propitious in my need,  
I meane to ſing the praifes of thy name, 10  
And thy victorious conqueſts to areed,  
By which thou madeſt many harts to bleed  
Of mighty victors, with wide wounds embrewed,  
And by thy cruell darts to thee ſubdewed.

Onely I fear my wits enfeebled late, 15  
Through the ſharp forrowes which thou haft  
me bred,

Ver. 13. ————— embrewed,] *Steeped or moistened.* See F. Q. ii. v. 33, iii. vi. 17. See alſo *Hymne Heav. Love*, ver. 47. It is remarkable that this word ſhould have been unnoticed by our lexicographers. TODD.

Should faint, and words should faile me to relate  
 The wondrous triumphs of thy great god-hed :  
 But, if thou wouldst vouchsafe to overspred  
 Me with the shadow of thy gentle wing,      20  
 I should enabled be thy actes to sing.

Come, then, O come, thou mightie God of  
 Love !

Out of thy silver bowres and secreet blisse,  
 Where thou dost sit in Venus lap above,  
 Bathing thy wings in her ambrosial kisse,      25  
 That sweeter farre than any nectar is ;  
 Come softly, and my feeble breast inspire  
 With gentle furie, kindled of thy fire.

And ye, sweet Muses ! which have often proved  
 The piercing points of his avengefull darts ;      30  
 And ye, fair Nimphs ! which oftentimes have  
 loved

The cruel worker of your kindly smart,  
 Prepare yourselves, and open wide your harts  
 For to receive the triumph of your glorie,      34  
 That made you merie oft when ye were sorrie.

And ye, faire blossoms of youths wanton breed !  
 Which in the conquests of your beautie boist,  
 Wherewith your lovers feeble eyes you feed,  
 But sterve their harts that needeth nourture  
 most,



Prepare your selves to march amongst his host,  
 And all the way this sacred Hymne do sing, 41  
 Made in the honor of your soveraigne king,

GREAT GOD OF MIGHT, that reignest in  
the mynd,

And all the bodie to thy heft doest frame,  
 Victor of gods, subduer of mankynd, 45  
 That doest the lions and fell tigers tame,  
 Making their cruell rage thy scornfull game,  
 And in their roring taking great delight;  
 Who can expresse the glorie of thy might?

Or who alive can perfectly declare 50  
 The wondrous cradle of thine infancie,  
 When thy great mother Venus first thee bare,  
 Begot of Plenty and of Penurie,  
 Though elder then thine own nativitie,  
 And yet a chyld, renewing still thy yeares, 55  
 And yet the eldest of the heavenly peares?

For ere this worlds still moving mightie masse  
 Out of great Chaos ugly prifon crept, X  
 In which his goodly face long hidden was  
 From heavens view, and in deep darknesse kept,  
 Love, that had now long time securely slept 61

Ver. 44. ————— heft] *Behest, command; a*  
 word often used in the *Faer. Qu.* TODD.

In Venus lap, unarmed then and naked,  
Gan reare his head, by Clotho being waked :

And taking to him wings of his own heat,  
Kindled at first from heavens life-giving fyre, 65  
He gan to move out of his idle feat ;  
Weakly at first, but after with desyre  
Lifted aloft, he gan to mount up hyre,  
And, like fresh eagle, made his hardy flight 69  
Thro all that great wide waft, yet wanting light.

Yet wanting light to guide his wandring way,  
His own faire mother, for all creatures sake,  
Did lend him light from her owne goodly ray ;  
Then through the world his way he gan to  
take,  
The world, that was not till he did it make, 75  
Whose fundrie parts he from themselves did  
sever,  
The which before had lyen confused ever.

The earth, the ayre, the water, and the fyre,  
Then gan to raunge themselves in huge array,  
And with contráry forces to conspyre 80  
Each against other by all meanes they may,  
Threatning their owne confusion and decay :  
Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,  
Till Love relented their rebellious yre.

He then them tooke, and, tempering goodly  
well 85

Their contrary dislikes with loved meanes,  
Did place them all in order, and compell  
To keepe themselves within their fundrie  
raines,

Together linkt with adamantine chaines ;  
Yet so, as that in every living wight 90  
They mix themselves, and shew their kindly  
might.

So ever since they firmly have remained,  
And duly well observed his behest ;  
Through which now all these things that are  
contained 94

Within this goodly cope, both most and least,  
Their being have, and daily are increast  
Through secret sparks of his infused fyre,  
Which in the barraine cold he doth inspyre.

Thereby they all do live, and moved are  
To multiply the likenesse of their kynd, 100  
*XV* Whilest they seeke onely, without further care,  
To quench the flame which they in burning  
fynd ;

But man that breathes a more immortall mynd,  
Not for lusts fake, but for eternitie, X  
Seekes to enlarge his lasting progenie ; 105

*X* *3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000*

For, having yet in his deducted spright  
 Some sparks remaining of that heavenly fyre,  
 He is enlumind with that goodly light,  
 Unto like goodly semblant to aspyre ;  
 Therefore in choice of love he doth desyre 110  
 That seemes on earth most heavenly to embrace,  
 That fame is Beautie, borne of heavenly race.

For sure of all that in this mortall frame  
 Contained is, nought more divine doth seeme,  
 Or that resembleth more th' immortall flame  
 Of heavenly light, than Beauties glorious  
 beam. 116

What wonder then, if with such rage extreme  
 Frail men, whose eyes seek heavenly things  
 to see,

At sight thereof so much enravisht bee ?

Which well perceiving, that imperious boy 120  
 Doth therewith tip his sharp empoisoned darts,  
 Which glancing thro the eyes with countenance  
 coy

Rest not till they have pierst the trembling harts,  
 And kindled flame in all their inner parts,

Which suckes the blood, and drinketh up the  
 lyfe, 125

Of carefull wretches with consuming griefe.

Ver. 122. ————— with *countenance coy*] Read  
 rather, "*from count'nance coy.*" T. WARTON.

Thenceforth they playne, and make full piteous  
mone

Unto the author of their balefull bane :

The daies they waste, the nights they grieve  
and grone,

Their lives they loath, and heavens light dis-  
daine ; 130

No light but that, whose lampe doth yet remaine  
Fresh burning in the image of their eye,  
They deigne to see, and seeing it still dye.

The whylst thou tyrant Love doest laugh and  
scorne

At their complaints, making their paine thy  
play, 135

Whylest they lye languishing like thrals forlorne,  
The whyles thou doest triumph in their decay ;  
And otherwhyles, their dying to delay,  
Thou doest emmarble the proud hart of her  
Whose love before their life they doe prefer. 140

So hast thou often done (ay me, the more!)  
To me thy vassall, whose yet bleeding hart  
With thousand wounds thou mangled hast fo  
fore,

That whole remaines scarce any little part ;

Ver. 139. ————— *emmarble*] This elegant and ex-  
pressive verb is unnoticed by all our lexicographers. TODD.

Yet, to augment the anguish of my smart, 145  
 Thou hast enfrosen her disdainfull brest,  
 That no one drop of pitie there doth rest.

Why then do I this honor unto thee,  
 Thus to ennoble thy victorious name,  
 Sith thou doest shew no favour unto mee, 150  
 Ne once move ruth in that rebellious dame,  
 Somewhat to slacke the rigour of my flame?  
 Certes small glory doest thou winne hereby,  
 To let her live thus free, and me to dy.

But if thou be indeede, as men thee call, 155  
 The worlds great parent, the most kind preserver  
 Of living wights, the soveraine lord of all,  
 How falles it then that with thy furious fervour  
 Thou doest afflict as well the not-deserver,  
 As him that doeth thy lovely heasts despize, 160  
 And on thy subiects most doth tyrannize?

Yet herein eke thy glory seemeth more,  
 By so hard handling those which best thee serve,  
 That, ere thou doest them unto grace restore,  
 Thou mayest well trie if thou wilt ever swerve, 165  
 And mayest them make it better to deserve,  
 And, having got it, may it more esteeme;  
 For things hard gotten men more dearely deeme.

Ver. 160. ————— heasts] See the note  
 on *hest*, ver. 44. TODD.

So hard those heavenly beauties he enfyred  
 As things divine, least passions doe impresse, 170  
 The more of stedfast mynds to be admyred,  
 The more they stayed be on stedfastnesse;  
 But baseborne minds such lamps regard the lesse,  
 Which at first blowing take not hastie fyre;  
 Such fancies feele no love, but loose desyre. 175

For Love is lord of Truth and Loialtie,  
 Lifting himself out of the lowly dust  
 On golden plumes up to the purest skie,  
 Above the reach of loathly finfull lust,  
 Whose base affect through cowardly distrust 180  
 Of his weake wings dare not to heaven fly,  
 But like a moldwarpe in the earth doth ly.

His dunghill thoughts, which do themselves  
 enure  
 To dirtie drosse, no higher dare aspyre,  
 Ne can his feeble earthly eyes endure 185  
 The flaming light of that celestially fyre  
 Which kindleth love in generous desyre,  
 And makes him mount above the native might  
 Of heavie earth, up to the heavens hight.

Ver. 169. \_\_\_\_\_ enfyred] *Kindled, set on fire.* JOHNSON.

Ver. 180. *Whose base affect*] That is, whose wretched imitation or imitator. The use of the substantive *affect*, in this sense, is not noticed by our lexicographers. TODD.

Such is the powre of that sweet passion, 190  
 That it all ſordid baſeneſſe doth expell,  
 And the reſyned mynd doth newly faſhion  
 Unto a fairer forme, which now doth dwell  
 In his high thought, that would it ſelfe excell,  
 Which he beholding ſtill with conſtant ſight, 195  
 Admires the mirrour of ſo heavenly light.

Whoſe image printing in his deepeſt wit,  
 He thereon feeds his hungrie fantaſy,  
 Still full, yet never ſatiſfyde with it ;  
 Like Tantara, that in ſtore doth ſterved ly, 200  
 So doth he pine in moſt ſatiety ;  
 For nought may quench his infinite deſyre,  
 Once kindled through that firſt conceived fyre.

Thereon his mynd affixed wholly is,  
 Ne thinks on ought but how it to attaine ; 205  
 His care, his ioy, his hope, is all on this,  
 That ſeemes in it all bliſſes to containe,  
 In ſight whereof all other bliſſe ſeemes vaine :  
 Thrice happie Man ! might he the ſame poſſeſſe,  
 He faines himſelfe, and doth his fortune bleſſe.

And though he do not win his wiſh to end, 211  
 Yet thus farre happie he himſelfe doth weene,  
 That heavens ſuch happie grace did to him lend,  
 As thing on earth ſo heavenly to have ſeene



His harts enshrined faint, his heavens queene,  
 Fairer then fairest, in his sayning eye, 216  
 Whose sole aspect he counts felicitye.

Then forth he casts in his unquiet thought,  
 What he may do, her favour to obtaine ;  
 What brave exploit, what perill hardly wrought,  
 What puissant conquest, what adventurous paine,  
 May please her best, and grace unto him gaine ;  
 He dreads no danger, nor misfortune feares,  
 His faith, his fortune, in his breast he beares.

Thou art his god, thou art his mightie guyde, 225  
 Thou, being blind, lest him not see his feares,  
 But carriest him to that which he had eyde,  
 Through seas, through flames, through thousand  
       swords and speares ;  
 Ne ought so strong that may his force with-  
       stand,  
 With which thou armeest his resistlesse hand. 230

Witnesse Leander in the Euxine waves,  
 And stout Æneas in the Troiane fyre,  
 Achilles preassing through the Phrygian glaives,  
 And Orpheus, daring to provoke the yre  
 Of damned fiends, to get his love retyre ; 235

Ver. 233. ————— glaives,] Swords.  
 See the notes on F. Q. iv. vii. 28. TODD.

For both through heaven and hell thou makest  
     way,  
 To win them worship which to thee obey.

And if by all these perils, and these paynes,  
 He may but purchase lyking in her eye,  
 What heavens of ioy then to himfelfe he  
     faynes !

Eftfoones he wypes quite out of memory      241  
 Whatever ill before he did aby :  
 Had it beene death, yet would he die againe,  
 To live thus happie as her grace to gaine.

Yet, when he hath found favour to his will,      245  
 He nathemore can fo contented rest,  
 But forceth further on, and striveth still  
 T' approach more neare, till in her inmost brest  
 He may embosomd bee and loved best ;  
 And yet not best, but to be lov'd alone ;      250  
 For love cannot endure a paragone.

The fear whereof, O how doth it torment  
 His troubled mynd with more then hellishi  
     paine!  
 And to his fayning fanfie represent  
 Sights never seene, and thousand shadowes  
     vaine,      255  
 To breake his sleepe, and waste his ydle braine :

Thou that hast never lov'd canst not beleeve  
Least part of th' evils which poore lovers greeve.

The gnawing envie, the hart-fretting feare,  
The vaine furmizes, the distrustfull showes, 260  
The false reports that flying tales doe beare,  
The doubts, the daungers, the delays, the  
woes,

The fayned friends, the unassured foes,  
With thousands more then any tongue can tell,  
Doe make a lovers life a wretches hell. 265

Yet is there one more curfed then they all,  
That cancker-worme, that monster, Gelosie,  
Which eats the heart and feedes upon the gall,  
Turning all Loves delight to miserie,  
Through feare of losing his felicitie. 270  
Ah, Gods! that ever ye that monster placed  
In gentle Love, that all his ioyes defaced!

Ver. 257. *Thou that hast never lov'd &c.*] Thomson, in his animated description of lovers joys and sorrows, had certainly this Hymn of Spenser in his mind; and has certainly improved many of the hints which it suggests. Compare the impressive conclusion of his description, *Spring*, ver. 1071.

“ These are the charming agonies of love,

“ Whose misery delights. But through the heart

“ Should Jealousy its venom once diffuse,

“ 'Tis then delightful misery no more,

“ But agony unmix'd, incessant gall,

“ Corroding every thought, and blasting all

“ Love's paradise.” TODD.

Ver. 265. ————— *a wretches hell.*] Spenser is said to have written a poem, entitled “ The Hell of Lovers.” See the Life. TODD.

By these, O Love! thou doest thy entrance  
make

Unto thy heaven, and doest the more endeere  
Thy pleasures unto those which them partake, 275  
As after stormes, when clouds begin to cleare,  
'The sunne more bright and glorious doth ap-  
peare;

So thou thy folke, through paines of Purgatorie,  
Dost beare unto thy blisse, and heavens glorie.

There thou them placest in a paradize 280  
Of all delight and ioyous happy rest,  
Where they doe feede on nectar heavenly-wize,  
With Hercules and Hebe, and the rest  
Of Venus dearlings, through her bountie blest;  
And lie like gods in yvory beds arayd, 285  
With rose and lillies over them displayd.

'There with thy daughter Pleasure they doe play  
Their hurtlesse sports, without rebuke or blame,  
And in her snowy bosome boldly lay  
Their quiet heads, devoyd of guilty shame, 290  
After full ioyance of their gentle game;  
Then her they crowne their goddesse and their  
queene,  
And decke with floures thy altars well befeene.

Ay me! deare Lord! that ever I might hope,  
For all the paines and woes that I endure, 295

To come at length unto the wished scope  
Of my desire, or might my selfe assure  
That happie port for ever to recure !  
Then would I thinke these paines no paines at all,  
And all my woes to be but penace small. 300

Then would I sing of thine immortal praise  
And heavenly Hymne, such as the angels sing,  
And thy triumphant name then would I raise  
Bove all the gods, thee only honoring ; 305  
My guide, my god, my victor, and my king :  
Till then, drad Lord ! vouchsafe to take of me  
This simple song, thus fram'd in praise of thee.

## AN HYMNE

IN HONOUR OF BEAUTIE.

AH! whither, Love! wilt thou now carry  
mee?

What wontlesse fury dost thou now inspire  
Into my feeble breast, too full of thee?  
Whylest seeking to aslake thy raging fyre,  
Thou in me kindlest much more great desyre, 5  
And up aloft above my strength doth rayse  
The wondrous matter of my fire to praise.

That as I earst, in praise of thine owne name,  
So now in honour of thy mother deare,  
An honourable Hymne I eke should frame, 10  
And, with the brightnesse of her beautie cleare,  
The ravisht hearts of gazefull men might reare  
To admiration of that heavenly light,  
From whence proceeds such soule-enchanting  
might.

Therto do thou, great Goddesse! Queene of  
Beauty, 15  
Mother of Love, and of all worlds delight,  
Without whose soverayne grace and kindly  
dewty

Nothing on earth seems fayre to fleshly fight,  
 Doe thou vouchsafe with thy love-kindling light  
 'T' illuminate my dim and dulled eyne, 20  
 And beautifie this sacred Hymne of thyne :

That both to thee, to whom I meane it most,  
 And eke to her, whose faire immortall beame  
 Hath darted fyre into my feeble ghost,  
 That now it wasted is with woes extreame, 25  
 It may so please, that she at length will streame  
 Some deaw of grace into my withered hart,  
 After long forrow and confuming smart.

WHAT TIME THIS WORLDS GREAT WORK-  
 MAISTER did cast

To make al things such as we now behold, 30  
 It seems that he before his eyes had plast  
 A goodly paterne, to whose perfect mould  
 He fashiond them as comely as he could,  
 That now so faire and seemely they appeare,  
 As nought may be amended any wheare. 35

That wondrous paterne, wherefoere it bee,  
 Whether in earth layd up in secret store,  
 Or else in heaven, that no man may it see  
 With sinfull eyes, for feare it to deflore,

Ver. 26. ————— streame] *Send forth,*  
 as in ver. 56. "Thou into them dost streame." TODD.

Is perfect Beautie, which all men adore ; 40  
 Whose face and feature doth so much excell  
 All mortal fence, that none the fame may tell.

Thereof as every earthly thing partakes  
 Or more or lesse, by influence divine,  
 So it more faire accordingly it makes, 45  
 And the grosse matter of this earthly myne  
 Which closeth it thereafter doth refyne,  
 Doing away the drosse which dims the light  
 Of that faire beame which therein is empight.

For, through infusion of celestiall powre, 50  
 The duller earth it quickneth with delight,  
 And life-full spirits privily doth powre  
 Through all the parts, that to the looker's sight  
 They seeme to please ; that is thy soveraine  
 might,  
 O Cyprian queene ! which flowing from the  
 beame 55  
 Of thy bright starre, thou into them doest  
 streame.

That is the thing which giveth pleasant grace  
 To all things faire, that kindleth lively fyre,  
 Light of thy lampe ; which, shyning in the face,  
 Thence to the soule darts amorous desyre, 60  
 And robs the harts of those which it admyre ;



Therewith thou pointest thy fons poyfnd arrow,  
That wounds the life, and wafte the inmoft  
marrow.

How vainely then do ydle wits invent,  
That Beautie is nought elfe but mixture made  
Of colours faire, and goodly temp'rament 66  
Of pure complexions, that fhall quickly fade  
And paffe away, like to a fommers fhade ;  
Or that it is but comely conipofition  
Of parts well meafurd, with meet difpofition !

Hath white and red in it fuch wondrous powre,  
That it can pierce through th' eyes unto the  
hart,  
And therein ftirre fuch rage and reftleffe flowre,  
As nought but death can ftint his dolours smart ?  
Or can proportion of the outward part 75  
Move fuch affection in the inward mynd,  
That it can rob both fenfe, and reason blynd ?

Why doe not then the bloffomes of the field,  
Which are arayd with much more orient hew,  
And to the fenfe moft daintie odours yield, so  
Worke like impreflion in the lookers vew ?  
Oor why doe not faire pictures like powre fhew,

Ver. 72. *That it can pierce through th' eyes &c.*] See my  
note on F. Q. iii. ix. 29. T. WARTON.

In which oft-times we Nature see of Art  
 Exceld, in perfect limming every part?

But ah! beleeve me there is more then so, 85  
 That workes such wonders in the minds of men;  
 I, that have often prov'd, too well it know,  
 And who so list the like assayes to ken,  
 Shall find by trial, and confesse it then,  
 That Beautie is not, as fond men misdeeme, 90  
 An outward shew of things that onely feeme.

For that same goodly hew of white and red,  
 With which the cheekes are sprinckled, shall  
     decay,  
 And those sweete rosy leaves, so fairly spred  
 Upon the lips, shall fade and fall away 95  
 To that they were, even to corrupted clay:  
 That golden wyre, those sparckling stars so  
     bright,  
 Shall turne to dust, and lose their goodly light.

But that faire lampe, from whose celestiall ray  
 That light proceedes, which kindleth lovers fire,  
 Shall never be extinguisht nor decay; 101  
 But, when the vitall spirits doe expyre,  
 Unto her native planet shall retyre;

Ver. 97. *That golden wyre,*] See the note on this expression  
 in the *Epithalam.* ver. 154. TODD.

For it is heavenly borne and cannot die,  
Being a parcell of the purest skie. 105

For when the foule, the which derived was,  
At first, out of that great immortall Spright,  
By whom all live to love, whilome did pas  
Down from the top of purest heavens hight  
To be embodied here, it then tooke light 110  
And lively spirits from that fayrest starre  
Which lights the world forth from his fire carre.

Which powre retayning still or more or lesse,  
When she in fleshly feede is est enraced,  
Through every part she doth the same impresse,  
According as the heavens have her graced, 116  
And frames her house, in which she will be  
placed,  
Fit for her selfe, adorning it with spoyle  
Of th' heavenly riches which she robd erewhyle.

Thereof it comes that these faire foules, which  
have 120  
The most resemblance of that heavenly light,  
Frame to themselves most beautifull and brave

Ver. 114. ————— enraced,] *Implanted.*  
See F. Q. vi. x. 25.

“ Who can aread what creature mote she bee,

“ Whether a creature, or a goddesse graced

“ With heavenly gifts from heven first enraced :”

And Mr. Upton's note on the passage. TODD.

'Their fleshly bowre, most fit for their delight,  
 And the grosse matter by a soveraine might  
 'Temper so trim, that it may well be seene 125  
 A pallace fit for such a virgin queene.

So every spirit, as it is most pure,  
 And hath in it the more of heavenly light,  
 So it the fairer bodie doth procure  
 'To habit in, and it more fairely dight 130  
 With chearfull grace and amiable fight ;  
 For of the foule the bodie forme doth take ;  
 For foule is forme, and doth the bodie make.

'Therefore where-ever that thou doest behold  
 A comely corpse, with beautie faire endewed, 135  
 Know this for certaine, that the same doth hold  
 A beauteous foule, with fair conditions thewed,  
 Fit to receive the seede of vertue strewed ;  
 For all that faire is, is by nature good ;  
 That is a sign to know the gentle blood. 140

Yet oft it falles that many a gentle mynd  
 Dwels in deformed tabernacle drownd,  
 Either by chaunce, against the course of kynd,  
 Or through unaptnessè in the substance fownd,  
 Which it assumed of some stubborne grownd, 145  
 That will not yield unto her formes direction,  
 But is perform'd with some foule imperfection.

And oft it falles, (ay me, the more to rew !)  
 That goodly Beautie, albe heavenly borne,  
 Is foule abused, and that celestially hew, 150  
 Which doth the world with her delight adorne,  
 Made but the bait of sinne, and finners scorne,  
 Whilest every one doth seeke and sew to have it,  
 But every one doth seeke but to deprave it.

Yet nathemore is that faire Beauties blame, 155  
 But theirs that do abuse it unto ill :  
 Nothing so good, but that through guilty shame  
 May be corrupt, and wrested unto will :  
 Nathelesse the foule is faire and beauteous still,  
 However fleshes fault it filthy make ; 160  
 For things immortall no corruption take.

But ye, faire Dames ! the worlds deare orna-  
 ments,  
 And lively images of heavens light,  
 Let not your beames with such disparagements  
 Be dimd, and your bright glorie darkned  
 quight ; 165  
 But, mindfull still of your first countries sight,  
 Doe still preserve your first informed grace,  
 Whose shadow yet shynes in your beauteous  
 face.

Loath that foule blot, that hellish fierbrand,  
 Dissoiall lust, fair Beauties foulest blame, 170

That base affection, which your eares would  
bland

Commend to you by Loves abused name,  
But is indeede the bondslave of Defame ;  
Which will the garland of your glorie marre,  
And quench the light of your brightshyning  
starre. 175

But gentle Love, that loiall is and trew,  
Will more illumine your resplendent ray,  
And add more brightnesse to your goodly hew,  
From light of his pure fire ; which, by like way  
Kindled of yours, your likenesse doth display ;  
Like as two mirrours, by opposd reflection, 181  
Doe both expresse the faces first impression.

Therefore, to make your beautie more appeare,  
It you behoves to love, and forth to lay  
That heavenly riches which in you ye beare, 185  
That men the more admyre their fountaine  
may ;

For else what booteth that celestially ray,  
If it in darknesse be enshrined ever,  
That it of loving eyes be vewed never ?

But, in your choice of loves, this well advize,  
That likest to your selves ye them selekt, 191  
The which your forms first source may sym-  
pathize,

And with like beauties parts be inly deckt ;  
 For if you loofely love without respect,  
 It is not love, but a discordant warre, 195  
 Whose unlike parts amongst themselves do iarre.

For love is a celestially harmonie  
 Of likely harts composd of starrs concent,  
 Which ioyne together in sweete sympathye,  
 To work each others ioy and true content, 200  
 Which they have harbourd since their first  
 descent  
 Out of their heavenly bowres, where they did see  
 And know ech other here belov'd to bee.

Then wrong it were that any other twaine  
 Should in Loves gentle band combyned bee 205  
 But those whom Heaven did at first ordaine,  
 And made out of one mould the more t'agree ;  
 For all, that like the beautie which they see,  
 Straight do not love ; for Love is not so light  
 As streight to burne at first beholders sight. 210

But they, which love indeede, looke otherwise,  
 With pure regard and spotlesse true intent,  
 Drawing out of the object of their eyes  
 A more refyned form, which they present  
 Unto their mind, voide of all blemishment ; 215  
 Which it reducing to her first perfection,  
 Beholdeth free from fleshes frayle infection.

And then conforming it unto the light,  
 Which in it selfe it hath remaining still,  
 Of that first funne, yet sparckling in his sight,  
 Thereof he fashions in his higher skill 221  
 An heavenly beautie to his fancies will ;  
 And, it embracing in his mind entyre,  
 The mirrour of his owne thought doth admyre.

Which seeing now so inly faire to be, 225  
 As outward it appeareth to the eye,  
 And with his spirits proportion to agree,  
 He thereon fixeth all his fantasie,  
 And fully setteth his felicitie ;  
 Counting it fairer then it is indeede, 230  
 And yet indeede her fairnesse doth exceede.

For lovers eyes more sharply fighted bee  
 Then other mens, and in deare loves delight  
 See more then any other eyes can see,  
 Through mutuall receipt of beamës bright, 235  
 Which carrie privie meffage to the spright,  
 And to their eyes that inmost faire display,  
 As plaine as light discovers dawning day.

Therein they see, through amorous eye-glaunces,  
 Armies of Loves still flying too and fro, 240  
 Which dart at them their litle fierie launces ;  
 Whom having wounded, back againe they go,  
 Carrying compassion to their lovely foe ;



Who, seeing her faire eyes so sharp effect,  
Cures all their sorrowes with one sweete aspect.

In which how many wonders doe they reede 246  
To their conceipt, that others never see !  
Now of her smiles, with which their soules they  
feede,

Like gods with nectar in their bankets free ; 249  
Now of her lookes, which like to cordials bee ;  
But when her words embassage forth she  
sends,

Lord, how sweete musicke that unto them lends !

Sometimes upon her forehead they behold  
A thousand graces masking in delight ;  
Sometimes within her eye-lids they unfold 255  
Ten thousand sweet belgards, which to their  
fight

Doe seeme like twinkling starres in frostie  
night ;

But on her lips, like rosy buds in May,  
So many millions of chaste Pleasures play.

All those, O Cytherca! and thousands more 260  
Thy handmaidens be, which do on thee attend,

Ver. 251. ————— *embassade*] As embassadors.  
Fr. *embassade*. TODD.

Ver. 254. *A thousand graces &c.*] See my note on F. Q.  
ii. iii. 25. T. WARTON.

To decke thy beautie with their dainties store,  
 That may it more to mortall eyes commend,  
 And make it more admyr'd of foe and frend ;  
 That in mens harts thou mayst thy throne  
     enfall, 265  
 And spred thy lovely kingdome over all.

Then Iö, tryumph ! O great Beauties Queene,  
 Advance the banner of thy conquest hie,  
 That all this world, the which thy vassels  
     beene,  
 May draw to thee, and with dew féaltie 270  
 Adore the powre of thy great majestie,  
 Singing this Hymne in honour of thy name,  
 Compyld by me, which thy poor liegeman am !

In lieu whereof graunt, O great Soveraine !  
 That she, whose conquering beauty doth captíve  
 My trembling hart in her eternall chaine, 276  
 One drop of grace at length will to me give,  
 That I her bounden thrall by her may live,  
 And this same life, which first fro me she reaved,  
 May owe to her, of whom I it receaved. 280

And you faire Venus dearling, my dear Dread !  
 Fresh flowre of grace, great goddesse of my life,  
 When your faire eyes these fearfull lines shall  
     read,

Deigne to let fall one drop of dew reliefe,  
That may recure my harts long pyning grieffe,  
And shew what wondrous powre your beauty  
hath,  
That can restore a damned wight from death. 287

## AN HYMNE

OF HEAVENLY LOVE\*.

LOVE, lift me up upon thy golden wings  
From this base world unto thy heavens hight,  
Where I may see those admirable things  
Which there thou werkest by thy soveraine  
    might,  
Farre above feeble reach of earthly sight,     5  
That I thereof an heavenly Hymne may sing  
Unto the God of Love, high heavens King.

\* See the sixth canto of the third Book of the *F. Q.* especially the second, and the thirty-second, stanzas; which, with his *Hymnes of Heavenly Love* and *Heavenly Beauty*, are evident proofs of Spenser's attachment to the Platonick School. The notions of his friend, Sir P. Sidney, who, with many others of that age, had a strong Platonick cast, perhaps contributed not a little to fix Spenser's choice on the subject of the *Hymnes*. Take Sir Philip's own words in his *Defence of Poesie*: "That lyrical kind of songs and sonnets—which—how well it might be employed, and with how heavenly fruits both in publicke and private, in singing the praises of the *Immortal Beauty*."

T. WARTON.

Perhaps Boethius suggested several expressions to Spenser in regard to the notion of universal Love. Boethius was much studied in Spenser's time. Queen Elizabeth translated part of his works. See Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 15. I must not omit to mention that Spenser's master, Chaucer, in his *Knights Tale*, particularly notices the Platonick and "*Faire Chaine of Love*."

TODD.

Ver. 1. *Love, lift me up &c.*] Compare the *Hymne of Love*, ver. 70 to the end of the stanza. TODD.

Many lewd layes (ah! woe is me the more!)  
 In praise of that mad fit which fooles call Love,  
 I have in th' heat of youth made heretofore, 10  
 That in light wits did loose affection move;  
 But all those follies now I do reprove,  
 And turned have the tenor of my string,  
 The heavenly prayfes of true Love to sing.

And ye that wont with greedy vaine desire 15  
 To reade my fault, and, wondring at my flame,  
 To warme your selves at my wide sparckling fire,  
 Sith now that heat is quenched, quench my  
 blame,  
 And in her ashes shrowd my dying shame;  
 For who my passed follies now pursewes, 20  
 Beginnes his owne, and my old fault renewes.

BEFORE THIS WORLDS GREAT FRAME,  
 in which al things  
 Are now containd, found any being-place,  
 Ere fitting Time could wag his eyas wings

Ver. 13. ——— turned] It would be more agreeable to the context to read *tuned*. TODD.

Ver. 22. *Before this worlds great frame, &c.*] The following Hymn contains a remarkable mixture of the Christian and Platonick doctrines and expressions. This, however, was not uncommon among our writers in Spenser's time. At a period very little later, the same study appears to have excited great attention abroad. See a most elaborate and curious work, entitled "Christianæ Theologiæ cum Platonica Comparatio, &c. Bononiæ, 1627." fol. TODD.

Ver. 24. ————— eyas] *Unfledged*, as in F. Q. i. xi. 34. Where see Mr. Church's note. TODD.

About that mightie bound which doth embrace  
 The rolling spheres, and parts their houres by  
 space, 26  
 That High Eternall Powre, which now doth move  
 In all these things, mov'd in it selfe by love.

It lov'd it selfe, because it selfe was faire ;  
 (For fair is lov'd ;) and of it self begot 30  
 Like to it selfe his eldest Sonne and Heire,  
 Eternall, pure, and voide of sinfull blot,  
 The firstling of His ioy, in whom no iot  
 Of loves dislike or pride was to be found, 34  
 Whom He therefore with equall honour crownd.

With Him he raignd, before all time prescribed,  
 In endlesse glorie and immortall might,  
 Together with that Third from them derived,  
 Most wise, most holy, most almightie Spright !  
 Whose kingdomes throne no thoughts of earthly  
 wight 40  
 Can comprehend, much lesse my trembling  
 verse  
 With equall words can hope it to reherse.

Yet, O most blessed Spirit ! pure lampe of light,  
 Eternall spring of grace and wisdom trew,  
 Vouchsafe to shed into my barren spright - 45  
 Some little drop of thy celestiall dew,

That may my rymes with sweet infuse embrew,  
 And give me words equall unto my thought,  
 To tell the marveiles by thy mercie wrought.

Yet being pregnant still with powrefull grace,  
 And full of fruitfull Love, that loves to get 51  
 Things like himfelfe, and to enlarge his race,  
 His fecond brood, though not of powre fo great,  
 Yet full of beautie, next He did beget,  
 An infinite increafe of angels bright, 55  
 All gliftring glorious in their Makers light.

To them the heavens illimitable hight  
 (Not this round heaven, which we from hence  
     behold;  
 Adornd with thoufand lamps of burning light,  
 And with ten thoufand gemmes of fhyning gold,)  
 He gave as their inheritance to hold, 61  
 That they might ferve Him in eternall blis,  
 And be partakers of thofe ioyes of His.

There they in their trinall triplicities  
 About Him wait, and on His will depend, 65

Ver. 47. \_\_\_\_\_ infuse] *Infufion.* TODD.

Ver. 60. \_\_\_\_\_ gemmes] See the note on  
 Milton's "*gems of Heaven*," *Par. L. B.* iv. 649, edit. 1801.

TODD.

Ver. 64. *There they in their trinall triplicities &c.*] See  
 F. Q. i. xii. 39, ii. ix. 22. Dante and Taffo divide the orders  
 of Angels into fimilar diftinctions. Our old Englifh poets

Either with nimble wings to cut the skies,  
 When He them on His messâges doth send,  
 Or on His owne dread presence to attend,  
 Where they behold the glorie of His light,  
 And caroll hymnes of love both day and night.

Both day, and night, is unto them all one ; 71  
 For He His beames doth unto them extend,  
 That darknesse there appeareth never none ;  
 Ne hath their day, ne hath their blisse, an end,  
 But there their termelesse time in pleasure spend ;  
 Ne ever should their happinesse decay, 76  
 Had not they dar'd their Lord to disobay.

But pride, impatient of long resting peace,  
 Did puffed them up with greedy bold ambition,  
 That they gan cast their state how to increase  
 Above the fortune of their first condition, 81  
 And sit in Gods own seat without commission :  
 The brightest angel, even the child of Light,  
 Drew millions more against their God to fight.

Th' Almighty, seeing their so bold assay, 85  
 Kindled the flame of His consuming yre,

comment upon this threefold economy with apparent satisfaction. See the notes on Milton's *Par. L. B. v. 750.* edit. 1801.

TODD.

Ver. 75. ————— termelesse] *Unlimited.* The last edition of Spenser strangely reads *tamelesse.* TODD.



And with His onely breath them blew away  
 From heavens light, to which they did aspyre,  
 To deepest hell, and lake of damned fyre,  
 Where they in darknesse and dread horror  
                     dwell, 90  
 Hating the happie light from which they fell.

So that next off-spring of the Makers love,  
 Next to Himselfe in glorious degree,  
 Degendering to hate, fell from above  
 Through pride; (for pride and love may ill  
                     agree;) 95

And now of sinne to all ensample bee:  
 How then can sinfull flesh it selfe assure,  
 Sith purest angels fell to be impure?

But that Eternall Fount of love and grace,  
 Still flowing forth His goodnesse unto all, 100  
 Now seeing left a waste and emptie place  
 In His wyde pallace, through those angels fall,  
 Cast to supply the same, and to enstall  
 A new unknownen colony therein,  
 Whose root from earths base groundworke  
                     should begin. 105

Therefore of clay, base, vile, and next to nought,  
 Yet form'd by wondrous skill, and by His might,

Ver. 94. Degendering] *Degenerating*. See the note on  
 the Introduction to B. 5. ft. 2. F. Q. TODD.

According to an heavenly patterne wrought,  
 Which He had fashiond in his wise foresight,  
 He man did make, and breathd a living spright  
 Into his face, most beautifull and fayre, 111  
 Endewd with wisedomes riches, heavenly, rare.

Such He him made, that he resemble might  
 Himselfe, as mortall thing immortall could ;  
 Him to be lord of every living wight 115  
 He made by love out of his owne like mould,  
 In whom he might his mightie selfe-behold ;  
 For Love doth love the thing belov'd to see,  
 That like it selfe in lovely shape may bee,

But man, forgetfull of his Makers grace 120  
 No lesse than angels, whom he did enfew,  
 Fell from the hope of promist heavenly place,  
 Into the mouth of Death, to finners dew,  
 And all his off-spring into thraldome threw,  
 Where they for ever should in bonds remaine  
 Of never-dead yet ever-dying paine. 126

Till that great Lord of Love, which him at first  
 Made of meere love, and after liked well,  
 Seeing him he like creature long accurst

Ver. 112. ———— *wisedomes riches,*] The modern editions read and point inaccurately “wisdom, riches, &c.” TODD.

In that deep horror of despeyred hell, 136  
 Him, wretch, in doole would let no lenger dwell,  
 But cast out of that bondage to redeeme,  
 And pay the price, all were his debt extreeme.

Out of the bosome of eternall blisse,  
 In which He reigned with His glorious Syre,  
 He downe descended, like a most demisse 136  
 And abiect thrall, in fleshes fraile attyre,  
 That He for him might pay sinnes deadly hyre,  
 And him restore unto that happie state  
 In which he stood before his haplesse fate. 140

In flesh at first the guilt committed was,  
 Therefore in flesh it must be satisfyde ;  
 Nor spirit, nor angel, though they man surpas,  
 Could make amends to God for mans misguyde,  
 But onely man himselfe, who selfe did flyde:  
 So, taking flesh of sacred virgins wombe, 146  
 For mans deare sake He did a man become.

And that most blessed bodie, which was borne  
 Without all blemish or reprochfull blame,  
 He freely gave to be both rent and torne 150  
 Of cruell hands, who with despightfull shame  
 Revyling Him, that them most vile became,

Ver. 136. ————— demisse] *Humble. Lat.*  
*demissus. TODD.*

At length Him nayled on a gallow-tree,  
And flew the Iust by most uniuſt decree.

O huge and moſt unſpeakeable impreſſion 155  
Of Loves deep wound, that pierſt the piteous  
hart

Of that deare Lord with ſo entyre affection,  
And, ſharply launcing every inner part,  
Dolours of death into His foule did dart,  
Doing him die that never it deſerued, 160  
To free His foes, that from His heaſt had ſwerved!

What hart can feel leaſt touch of ſo fore launch,  
Or thought can think the depth of ſo deare  
wound?

Whoſe bleeding ſourſe their ſtreames yet never  
ſtaunch,

But ſtil do flow, and freſhly ſtill redownd, 165  
To heale the fores of ſinfull foules unſound,  
And clenſe the guilt of that infected cryme  
Which was enrooted in all fleſhly flyme.

O bleſſed Well of Love! O Floure of Grace!  
O glorious Morning-Starre! O Lampe of  
Light! 170

Moſt lively image of thy Fathers face,  
Eternal King of Glorie, Lord of Might,  
Meeke Lambe of God, before all worlds be-  
hight,

How can we Thee requite for all this good ?  
Or what can prize that Thy most precious blood ?

Yet nought Thou ask'st in lieu of all this love, 176  
But love of us, for guerdon of thy paine :  
Ay me ! what can us lesse than that behove ?  
Had He required life for us againe,  
Had it beene wrong to ask His owne with gaine ?  
He gave us life, He it restored lost ; 181  
Then life were least, that us so little cost.

But He our life hath left unto us free,  
Free that was thrall, and blessed that was  
band ;

Ne ought demaunds but that we loving bee, 185  
As He Himselfe hath lov'd us afore-hand,  
And bound therto with an eternall band,  
Him first to love that was so dearely bought,  
And next our brethren, to his image wrought.

Him first to love great right and reason is, 190  
Who first to us our life and being gave,  
And after, when we fared had amisse,  
Us wretches from the second death did save ;  
And last, the food of life, which now we have,  
Even He Himselfe, in his dear sacrament, 195  
To feede our hungry foules, unto us lent.

Ver. 184. ————— band ;] *Curfed.*  
See Mr. Upton's note, F. Q. v. xi. 12. TODD.

Then next, to love our brethren, that were made  
Of that selfe mould, and that self Maker's  
hand,

That we, and to the same againe shall fade,  
Where they shall have like heritage of land, 200  
However here on higher steps we stand,  
Which also were with selfe-same price redeemed  
That we, however of us light esteemed.

And were they not, yet since that loving Lord  
Commaunded us to love them for His sake, 205  
Even for His sake, and for His sacred word,  
Which in His last bequest He to us spake,  
We should them love, and with their needs  
partake ;

Knowing that, whatsoere to them we give,  
We give to Him by whom we all doe live. 210

Such mercy He by His most holy reede  
Unto us taught, and to approve it trew,  
Ensampled it by His most righteous deede,  
Shewing us mercie (miserable crew !)  
That we the like should to the wretches shew, 215  
And love our brethren ; thereby to approve  
How much, Himselfe that loved us, we love.

Ver. 211. \_\_\_\_\_ reede] *Precept or advice.* Used by Chaucer. See the *Milleres Tale*, edit. Tyrwhitt, ver. 3527.

“ If thou wolt werken after lore and *rede*.” TODD. :

Then rouze thy felfe, O Earth! out of thy foyle,  
 In which thou wallowest like to filthy fwyne,  
 And doest thy mynd in durty pleasures moyle;  
 Unmindfull of that dearest Lord of thyne; 221  
 Lift up to Him thy heavie clouded eyne,  
 That thou this soveraine bountie mayst behold,  
 And read, through love, His mercies manifold.

Beginne from first, where He encradled was 225  
 In simple cratch, wrapt in a wad of hay,  
 Betweene the toylfull ox and humble affe,  
 And in what rags, and in how base aray,  
 The glory of our heavenly riches lay,  
 When Him the silly shepherds came to see, 230  
 Whom greatest princes fought on lowest knee.

From thence reade on the storie of His life,  
 His humble carriage, His unfaulty wayes,  
 His cancred foes, His fights, His toyle, His strife,  
 His paines, His povertie, His sharpe assayes, 235  
 Through which He past His miserable dayes,  
 Offending none, and doing good to all,  
 Yet being malist both by great and small.

Ver. 220. ————— moyle;] *Defile.*  
 See Cotgrave in V. "To moyle, *soiiller*, &c. to foyle, to  
 defile." Hence the expression, to which Spenser here alludes,  
 "*Se soiiller*, of a swine, i. e. to take foyle, or wallow in the  
 mire." TODD.

Ver. 226. ————— *cratch*,] See Cotgrave in V. "*Creciche*,  
 a CRATCH, racke, ox-stall, or crib, &c." TODD.

Ver. 238. ————— malist] *Regarded with*  
*ill will.* Compare F. Q. vi. ix. 39. "From *malicing*, &c.  
 And *Muiopotmos*, ver. 257. TODD.

And look at last, how of most wretched wights  
 He taken was, betrayd, and false accused, 240  
 How with most scornfull taunts, and fell de-  
     spights  
 He was revyld, disgraft, and foule abused ;  
 How scourgd, how crownd, how buffeted, how  
     brused ;  
 And, lastly, how twixt robbers crucifyde,  
 With bitter wounds through hands, through  
     feet, and syde ! 245

Then let thy flinty hart, that feeles no paine,  
 Empierced be with pittifull remorse,  
 And let thy bowels bleede in every vaine,  
 At sight of His most sacred heavenly corse,  
 So torne and mangled with malicious forse ; 250  
 And let thy soule, whose sins His sorrows  
     wrought,  
 Melt into teares, and grone in grieved thought.

With sence whereof, whilest so thy softened  
     spirit  
 Is inly toucht, and humbled with meeke zeale  
 Through meditation of His endlesse merit, 255  
 Lift up thy mind to th' Author of thy weale,  
 And to His soveraine mercie doe appeale ;  
 Learne Him to love that loved thee so deare,  
 And in thy brest His blessed image beare.



With all thy hart, with all thy soule and mind, 260  
 Thou must Him love, and His beheasts embrace ;  
 All other loves, with which the world doth blind  
 Weake fancies, and stirre up affections base,  
 Thou must renounce and utterly displace,  
 And give thy selfe unto Him full and free, 265  
 That full and freely gave Himselfe to thee.

Then shalt thou feele thy spirit so posselt,  
 And ravisht with devouring great desire  
 Of His dear selfe, that shall thy feeble brest  
 In flame with love, and set thee all on fire 270  
 With burning zeale, through every part entire,  
 That in no earthly thing thou shalt delight,  
 But in His sweet and amiable sight.

Thenceforth all worlds desire will in thee dye,  
 And all earthes glorie, on which men do gaze, 275  
 Seeme durt and droffe in thy pure-sighted eye,  
 Compar'd to that celestially beauties blaze,  
 Whose glorious beames all fleshly sense doth  
 daze

Ver. 276. *Seeme durt and droffe &c.*] So, in the next Hymne ;

“ And all that pompe &c.

“ Seemes to them basenesse, and all riches droffe,

“ And all mirth sadnes, and all lucre losse.” TODD.

Ibid. ————— *thy pure-sighted eye,*] Probably from Scripture, “ God is of *purer eyes* than to behold iniquity.” And, not less probably, Milton hence borrowed his “ *pure-eyed Faith,*” *Com.* ver. 213. TODD.

With admiration of their passing light,  
Blinding the eyes, and lumining the spright. 280

Then shall thy ravisht soul inspired bee  
With heavenly thoughts, farré above humane  
    skil,

And thy bright radiant eyes shall plainely see  
Th' idee of His pure glorie present still  
Before thy face, that all thy spirits shall fill 285  
With sweete enragement of celestiall love,  
Kindled through sight of those faire things  
    above.

## AN HYMNE

OF HEAVENLY BEAUTIE.

RAPT with the rage of mine own ravisht  
thought,  
Through contemplation of those goodly sights,  
And glorious images in heaven wrought,  
Whose wondrous beauty, breathing sweet de-  
lights,  
Do kindle love in high conceived sprights ; 5  
I faine to tell the things that I behold,  
But feele my wits to faile, and tongue to fold.

Vouchsafe then, O Thou most Almighty Spright!  
From whom all guifts of wit and knowledge flow,  
To shed into my breast some sparkling light 10  
Of Thine eternall truth, that I may show  
Some little beames to mortall eyes below  
Of that immortall Beautie, there with Thee,  
Which in my weake diftraughted mynd I see ;

Ver. 1. *Rapt* &c.] So he exclaims, in he *Faer. Queene* ;  
“ I, nigh ravisht with rare thoughts delights.” TODD.

Ver. 14. ————— diftraughted] *Distracted*.  
So, in Chaucer’s *Lament. Marie Magd.* ver. 149, edit. Urr.

“ Whiche rufull sight when that I gan beholde,

“ Out of my witte I almost tho *diftraught*,

“ I tare my here, &c.” TODD.

That with the glorie of so goodly sight 15  
 The hearts of men, which fondly here admyre  
 Faire seeming shewes, and feed on vaine delight,  
 Transported with celestially desyre  
 Of those faire formes, may lift themselves up  
                   hyer, 19  
 And learne to love, with zealous humble dewty,  
 'Th' Eternall Fountaine of that heavenly Beauty.

Beginning then below, with th' easie vew  
 Of this base world, subiect to fleshly eye,  
 From thence to mount aloft, by order dew,  
 To contemplation of th' immortal sky; 25  
 Of the soare faulcon so I learne to flye,  
 That flaps a while her fluttering wings beneath,  
 Till she her selfe for stronger flight can breath

Then looke, who list thy gazefull eyes to feed  
 With sight of that is faire, looke on the frame 30  
 Of this wyde universe, and therein reed  
 The endlesse kinds of creatures which by name  
 Thou canst not count, much less their natures  
                   aime;

All which are made with wondrous wise respect,  
 And all with admirable beautie deckt. 35

First, th' Earth, on adamantine pillers founded  
 Amid the Sea, engirt with brazen bands;

Then th' Aire still flitting, but yet firmly  
bounded

On everie side, with pyles of flaming brands,  
Never consum'd, nor quencht with mortall  
hands; 40

And, last, that mightie shining cristall wall,  
Wherewith he hath encompassed this all.

By view whereof it plainly may appeare,  
That still as every thing doth upward tend,  
And further is from earth, so still more cleare 45  
And faire it growes, till to his perfect end  
Of purest Beautie it at last ascend ;  
Ayre more then water, fire much more then ayre,  
And heaven then fire, appeares more pure and  
fayre.

Looke thou no further, but affixe thine eye 50  
On that bright shynie round still moving masse,  
The house of Blessèd God, which men call Skye,  
All fowd with gliftring stars more thicke then  
grasse,  
Whereof each other doth in brightnesse passe,  
But those two most, which, ruling night and  
day, 55  
As king and queene, the heavens empire sway ;

Ver. 53. *All fowd &c.*] See the notes on the same expression, Milton's *Par. L. B.* vii. 358, edit. 1801. TODD.

And tell me then, what hast thou ever seene  
 That to their beautie may compared bee,  
 Or can the sight that is most sharpe and keene  
 Endure their captains flaming head to see? 60  
 How much lesse those, much higher in degree,  
 And so much fairer, and much more then these,  
 As these are fairer then the land and seas?

For farre above these heavens, which here we see,  
 Be others farre exceeding these in light, 65  
 Not bounded, not corrupt, as these same bee,  
 But infinite in largeness and in hight,  
 Unmoving, uncorrupt, and spotlesse bright,  
 That need no funne t' illuminate their spheres,  
 But their owne native light farre passing theirs. 70

And as these heavens still by degrees arize,  
 Until they come to their first Movers bound,  
 That in his mightie compasse doth comprize,  
 And carrie all the rest with him around;  
 So those likewise doe by degrees redound, 75  
 And rise more faire, till they at last arive,  
 To the most faire, whereto they all do strive.

Faire is the heaven where happy foules have  
     place,  
 In full enioyment of felicitie,

Whence they doe still behold the glorious face  
 Of the Divine Eternall Maiestie ; 81  
 More faire is that, where those Ideas on hie  
 Enraunged be, which Plato so admyred,  
 And pure Intelligences from God inspyred.

Yet fairer is that heaven, in which do raine 85  
 The soveraigne Powres and mightie Potentates,  
 Which in their high protections doe containe  
 All mortall princes and imperiall states ;  
 And fayrer yet, whereas the royall Seates  
 And heavenly Dominations are fet, 90  
 From whom all earthly governance is fet.

Yet farre more faire be those bright Cherubins,  
 Which all with golden wings are overdight,  
 And those eternall burning Seraphins,  
 Which from their faces dart out fierie light ; 95  
 Yet fairer then they both, and much more bright,  
 Be th' Angels and Archangels, which attend  
 On Gods owne person, without rest or end.

These thus in faire each other farre excelling,  
 As to the Higheft they approach more near, 100  
 Yet is that Higheft farre beyond all telling,  
 Fairer then all the rest which there appeare,  
 Though all their beauties ioyn'd together were ;

Ver. 82. ————— *Idees*] So, in the  
 close of the preceding Hymn, he writes it *Idee* :

“ Th' *Idee* of his pure glory.” T. WARTON.

How then can mortall tongue hope to expresse  
The image of such endlesse perfectnesse? 105

Cease then, my tongue! and lend unto my  
mynd

Leave to bethinke how great that Beautie is,  
Whose utmost parts so beautifull I fynd;  
How much more those essentiall parts of His,  
His truth, His love, His wisedome, and His blis,  
His grace, His doome, His mercy, and His  
might, 111

By which He lends us of Himselfe a sight!

Those unto all He daily doth display,  
And shew himselfe in th' image of His grace,  
As in a looking-glasse, through which He may  
Be seene of all His creatures vile and base, 116  
That are unable else to see His face,  
His glorious face! which glistereth else so bright,  
That th' angels selves can not endure His sight.

But we, fraile wights! whose sight cannot sus-  
taine 120

The suns bright beames when he on us doth  
shyne,

But that their points rebutted backe againe  
Are duld, how can we see with feeble eyne

Ver. 118. *His glorious face &c.*] Compare Milton, *Par. L.*  
B. iii. 380, and the notes there, edit. 1801. See also ver. 178.  
"And is in his own brightnesse &c." TODD.



The glorie of that Maiestie Divine,  
 In fight of whom both sun and moone are darke,  
 Compared to His least resplendent sparke? 126

The meanes, therefore, which unto us is lent  
 Him to behold, is on His workes to looke,  
 Which He hath made in beauty excellent,  
 And in the same, as in a brasen booke, 130  
 To read enregistred in every nooke  
 His goodnesse, which His Beautie doth declare;  
 For all thats good is beautifull and faire.

Thence gathering plumes of perfect speculation,  
 To impe the wings of thy high flying mynd, 135  
 Mount up aloft through heavenly contem-  
 plation,  
 From this darke world, whose damps the soule  
 do blynd,  
 And, like the native brood of eagles kynd,  
 On that bright Sunne of Glorie fixe thine eyes,  
 Clear'd from grosse mists of fraile infirmities. 140

Humbled with feare and awfull reverence,  
 Before the footestoole of His Maiestie  
 Throw thy selfe downe, with trembling inno-  
 cence,

Ver. 136. *Mount up aloft &c.*] Compare Petrarch, *Son.*  
 lxxxiii.

“Volo con l'ali de pensieri al cielo.” TODD.

Ne dare looke up with cõrruptible eye  
 On the dred face of that Great Deity, 145  
 For feare, lest if He chaunce to look on thee,  
 Thou turne to nought, and quite confounded be.

But lowly fall before His mercie seate,  
 Clofe covered with the Lambes integrity  
 From the iust wrath of His avengefull threate 150  
 That fits upon the righteous throne on hy ;  
 His throne is built upon Eternity,  
 More firme and durable then steele or brasse,  
 Or the hard diamond, which them both doth  
 passe.

His sceptor is the rod of Righteousnesse, 155  
 With which He bruseth all His foes to dust,  
 And the great Dragon strongly doth repressè,  
 Under the rigour of His iudgment iust ;  
 His seate is Truth, to which the faithfull trust,  
 From whence proceed her beames so pure and  
 bright, 160  
 That all about Him sheddeth glorious light :

Light, farre exceeding that bright blazing  
 sparke  
 Which darted is from Titans flaming head,  
 That with his beames enlumineth the darke  
 And dampish air, wherby al things are red ; 165

Whose nature yet so much is marvelled  
 Of mortall wits, that it doth much amaze  
 The greatest wifards which thereon do gaze.

But that immortall light, which there doth shine,  
 Is many thousand times more bright, more cleare,  
 More excellent, more glorious, more divine, 171  
 Through which to God all mortall actions here,  
 And even the thoughts of men, do plaine appeare;  
 For from th' Eternall Truth it doth proceed,  
 Through heavenly vertue which her beames doe  
 breed. 175

With the great glorie of that wondrous light  
 His throne is all encompassed around,  
 And hid in His owne brightnesse from the sight  
 Of all that looke thereon with eyes unfound;  
 And underneath His feet are to be found 180  
 Thunder, and lightning, and tempestuous fyre,  
 The instruments of His avenging yre.

There in His bosome Sapience doth sit,  
 The foveraine dearling of the Deity,  
 Clad like a queene in royall robes, most fit 185

Ver. 168. ——— wifards] *Wise men*. So the coun-  
 sellers of Lucifera's dominion are stiled, F. Q. i. iv. 12, &c.  
 And so the ancient philofopers are called, F. Q. iv. xii. 2.  
 And Milton employs the word in the same way, *Ode Nativ.*  
 ver. 23, where see my note. T. WARTON.

For so great powre and peerelesse majesty,  
 And all with gemmes and iewels gorgeously  
 Adornd, that brighter then the starres appeare,  
 And make her native brightnes seem more cleare.

And on her head a crown of purest gold 190  
 Is set, in signe of highest soverainty ;  
 And in her hand a scepter she doth hold,  
 With which she rules the house of God on hy,  
 And menageth the ever-moving sky,  
 And in the same these lower creatures all 195  
 Subiected to her powre imperiall.

Both heaven and earth obey unto her will,  
 And all the creatures which they both containe ;  
 For of her fulnesse which the world doth fill  
 They all partake, and do in state remaine 200  
 As their great Maker did at first ordaine,  
 Through observation of her high behest,  
 By which they first were made, and still increast.

The fairnesse of her face no tongue can tell ;  
 For she the daughters of all wemens race, 205  
 And angels eke, in beautie doth excell,  
 Sparkled on her from Gods owne glorious face,  
 And more increast by her owne goodly grace,  
 That it doth farre exceed all humane thought,  
 Ne can on earth compared be to ought. 210

Ne could that Painter (had he lived yet)  
 Which pictured Venus with so curious quill,  
 That all posteritie admyred it,  
 Have purtray'd this, for all his maistring skill ;  
 Ne she her selfe, had she remained still, 215  
 And were as faire as fabling wits do fayne,  
 Could once come neare this Beauty soverayne.

But had those wits, the wonders of their dayes,  
 Or that sweete Teian poet, which did spend  
 His plenteous vaine in setting forth her praise,  
 Seen but a glims of this which I pretend, 221  
 How wondrously would he her face commend,  
 Above that idole of his fayning thought,  
 That all the world should with his rimes be  
 fraught !

How then dare I, the novice of his art, 225  
 Presume to picture so divine a wight,  
 Or hope t' expresse her least perfections part,  
 Whose beautie filles the heavens with her light,  
 And darkes the earth with shadow of her sight?  
 Ah, gentle Muse ! thou art too weake and faint  
 The pourtraict of so heavenly hew to paint. 231

Let angels, which her goodly face behold  
 And see at will, her soveraigne praises sing,

Ver. 219. ——— *that sweete Teian poet,*] ANACREON.  
 T. WARTON.

And those most sacred mysteries unfold  
 Of that faire love of Mightie Heavens King ;  
 Enough is me t' admyre so heavenly thing, 236  
 And, being thus with her huge love possesst,  
 In th' only wonder of her selfe to rest.

But whofo may, thrife happie man him hold,  
 Of all on earth whom God so much doth grace,  
 And lets his owne Beloved to behold ;  
 For in the view of her celestiaall face  
 All ioy, all blisse, all happinesse, have place ;  
 Ne ought on earth can want unto the wight  
 Who of her selfe can win the wishfull sight. 245

For shee, out of her secret threasury,  
 Plentie of riches forth on him will powre,  
 Even heavenly riches, which there hidden ly  
 Within the closet of her chastest bowre,  
 Th' eternall portion of her precious dowre, 250  
 Which Mighty God hath given to her free,  
 And to all those which thereof worthy bee.

None thereof worthy be, but those whom shee  
 Vouchsafeth to her presence to receive,  
 And letteth them her lovely face to see, 255  
 Wherof such wondrous pleasures they conceave,  
 And sweete contentment, that it doth bereave  
 Their soul of sense, through infinite delight,  
 And them transport from flesh into the spright.

In which they see such admirable things, 260  
 As carries them into an extasy,  
 And heare such heavenly notes and carolings  
 Of Gods high praise, that filles the brazen sky;  
 And feele such ioy and pleasure inwardly,  
 That maketh them all worldly cares forget, 265  
 And onely thinke on that before them set.

Ne from thenceforth doth any fleshly sense,  
 Or idle thought of earthly things, remaine;  
 But all that earst seemd sweet seemes now  
 offense, 269  
 And all that pleased earst now seemes to paine:  
 Their ioy, their comfort, their desire, their gaine,  
 Is fixed all on that which now they see;  
 All other sights but fayned shadowes bee.

And that faire lampe which useth to enflame  
 The hearts of men with selfe-consuming fyre, 275  
 Thenceforth seemes fowle, and full of sinfull  
 blame;  
 And all that pompe to which proud minds aspyre  
 By name of Honor, and so much desyre,  
 Seemes to them basenesse, and all riches droffe,  
 And all mirth sadnesse, and all lucre losse. 280

So full their eyes are of that glorious sight,  
 And senses fraught with such fatietie,  
 That in nought else on earth they can delight,

But in th' aspect of that felicitie, 284  
 Which they have written in theyr inward ey ;  
 On which they feed, and in theyr fastened mynd  
 All happie ioy and full contentment fynd.

Ah, then, my hungry Soule! which long hast fed  
 On idle fancies of thy foolish thought,  
 And, with false Beauties flattring bait misled,  
 Hast after vaine deceitfull shadowes fought, 291  
 Which all are fled, and now have left thee  
 nought

But late repentance through thy follies prief ;  
 Ah! ceasse to gaze on matter of thy grief :

And looke at last up to that Soveraine Light, 295  
 From whose pure beams al perfect Beauty  
 springs,

That kindleth love in every godly spright,  
 Even the love of God ; which loathing brings  
 Of this vile world and these gay-seeming things ;  
 With whose sweet pleasures being so possesst,  
 Thy straying thoughts henceforth for ever  
 rest. 301



“ BRITAIN'S IDA.

WRITTEN BY THAT RENOWNED POËT,

EDMOND SPENCER.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THOMAS WALKLEY, AND ARE TO BE SOLD  
AT HIS SHOP AT THE EAGLE AND CHILD IN BRITTAINES  
BURSSE. 1628.” 12mo.



THE EPISTLE.

TO THE RIGHT NOBLE LADY,

MARY,

Daughter to the most illustrious Prince,

GEORGE, DUKE OF *Buckingham*.

MOST noble Lady! I have presumed to present this Poëm to your honourable hand, encouraged onely by the worth of the famous Author, (for I am certainly assured, by the ablest and most knowing men, that it must be a worke of *Spencers*, of whom it were pittie that any thing should bee lost,) and doubting not but your Lady-ship will graciously accept, though from a meane hand, this humble present, since the man that offers it is a true honourer and observer of your selfe and your princely family, and shall ever remaine

The humblest of your devoted servants,

*Thomas Walkley.*

## MARTIAL.

*Accipe facundi Culicem studiose Maronè,  
Ne nugis positis, arma virúmque canas.*

*SEE here that stately Muse, that erst could raise  
In lasting numbers great Elizæes praise,  
And dresse fair Vertue in so rich attire,  
That even her foes were forced to admire  
And court her heauenly beauty! Shee that taught  
The Graces grace, and made the Vertues thought  
More vertuous than before, is pleased here  
To slacke her serious flight, and feed your eare  
With love's delightfome toys: doe not refuse  
These harmlesse sports; 'tis learned Spencer's Muse;  
But think his loosest poëms worthier then  
The serious follies of vnskillfull men.*

# BRITTAİN'S IDA \*.

## CANTO I.

### THE ARGUMENT.

*The youthly Shepheards winning here,  
And Beauties rare displayd, appeare ;  
What exercise hee chiefe affects,  
His name and scornefull love neglects.*

### I.

**I**N Ida vale (who knowes not Ida vale ?)  
When harmlesse Troy yet felt not Græcian spite,  
An hundred shepheards wonn'd, and in the dale,  
While their faire flockes the three-leav'd pastures  
bite,  
The shepheards boyes with hundred sportings light,  
Gave winges unto the times too speedy hast :  
Ah, foolish Lads ! that strove with lavish wast  
So fast to spend the time that spends your time  
as fast.

\* The printer's assertion is the only authority on which this Poem has been admitted into the editions of Spenser's Works, since its first publication in 1628. The critics agree in believing that it was not written by Spenser. See Mr. Warton's arguments, deduced from a consideration of the Poem, in the second volume of this edition, p. cxxxii, cxxxiii. It is rather remarkable also that the Poem, if it had been Spenser's, should have been unknown to the editor of his Works in 1611, whom I believe to be Gabriel Harvey, his particular friend. TODD.

## II.

Among the rest, that all the rest excel'd,  
 A dainty boy there wonn'd, whose harmlesse yeares  
 Now in their freshest budding gently sweld;  
 His nymph-like face nere felt the nimble sheeres,  
 Youth's downy blossome through his cheeke ap-  
 peares;

His lovely limbes (but love he quite discarded)  
 Were made for play (but he no play regarded)  
 And fit love to reward, and with love be re-  
 warded:

## III.

High was his fore-head, arch't with silver mould,  
 (Where never anger churlish rinkle dighted,)  
 His auburne lockes hung like darke threds of gold,  
 That wanton aires (with their faire length incited)  
 To play among their wanton curls delighted;

His smiling eyes with simple truth were stor'd:  
 Ah! how should truth in those thiefe eyes be  
 stor'd,

Which thousand loves had stol'n, and never one  
 restor'd?

## IV.

His lilly-cheeke might seeme an ivory plaine,  
 More purely white than frozen Apenine,  
 Where lovely Bashfulness did sweetly raine,  
 In blushing scarlet cloth'd and purple fine.  
 A hundred hearts had this delightfull shrine,  
 (Still cold it selfe) inflam'd with hot desire,  
 That well the face might seem, in divers tire,  
 To be a burning snow, or else a freezing fire.

## V.

His cheerfull lookes and merry face would proove  
 (If eyes the index be where thoughts are read)  
 A dainty play-fellow for naked Love;  
 Of all the other parts enough is fed,  
 That they were fit twins for so fayre a head:  
 Thousand boyes for him, thousand maidens dy'de;  
 Dye they that list, for such his rigorous pride,  
 He thousand boyes (ah, Foole!) and thousand  
 maids deni'd.

## VI.

His ioy was not in musiques sweete delight,  
 (Though well his hand had learnt that cunning arte,)  
 Or dainty songs to daintier eares indite,  
 But through the plaines to chace the nible hart  
 With well-tun'd hounds; or with his certaine dart  
 The tusked boare or savage beare to wound;  
 Meane time his heart with monsters doth abound;  
 Ah, Foole! to seeke so farre what neerer might  
 be found!

## VII.

His name (well knowne unto those woody shades,  
 Where unrewarded lovers oft complaine them,)  
 Anchises was; Anchises oft the glades  
 And mountains heard, Anchises had disdain'd them;  
 Not all their love one gentle looke had gain'd them,  
 That rocky hills, with ecchoing noyse consenting,  
 Anchises plain'd; but he no whit relenting,  
 Harder then rocky hills, laught at their vaine la-  
 menting.

## CANTO II.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*Diones Garden of Delight  
 With wonder holds Anchises fight ;  
 While from the bower such musique sounds,  
 As all his senses neere confounds.*

## I.

ONE day it chanc't as hee the deere perfude,  
 Tyred with sport, and faint with weary play,  
 Faire Venus grove not farre away he view'd,  
 Whose trembling leaves invite him there to stay,  
 And in their shades his sweating limbes display ;  
     There in the cooling glade he softly paces,  
     And much delighted with their even spaces,  
     What in himselfe he scorn'd, hee prais'd their kind  
     imbraces.

## II.

The woode with Paphian myrtles peöpled,  
 (Whose springing youth felt never winters spiting.)  
 To laurels sweete were sweetely married,  
 Doubling their pleasing smells in their uniting ;  
 When single much, much more when mixt, de-  
     lighting :  
 No foot of beaste durst touch this hallowed place,  
 And many a boy that long'd the woods to trace,  
 Entred with feare, but soone turn'd back his  
     frighted face.



## III.

The thicke-lockt boughs shut out the tell-tale Sunne,  
 (For Venus hated his all-blabbing light,  
 Since her knowne fault, which oft she wisht undon,)  
 And scattered rayes did make a doubtfull sight,  
 Like to the first of day or last of night :

The fittest light for lovers gentle play :  
 Such light best shewes the wandring lovers way,  
 And guides his erring hand : night is Love's  
 hollyday.

## IV.

So farre in this sweet labyrinth he stray'd  
 That now he views the Garden of Delight,  
 Whose breast, with thousand painted flowers ar-  
 ray'd,  
 With divers ioy captiv'd his wandring sight ;  
 But soon the eyes rendred the eares their right ;  
 For such strange harmony he seem'd to heare,  
 That all his senses flockt into his eare,  
 And every faculty wisht to be seated there.

## V.

From a close bower this dainty musique flow'd,  
 A bower appareld round with divers roses,  
 Both red and white, which by their liveries show'd  
 Their mistress faire, that there her selfe reposes ;  
 Seem'd that would strive with those rare musique  
 clozes,  
 By spreading their faire bosomes to the light,  
 Which the distracted sense should most delight ;  
 That, raps the melted care ; this, both the smell  
 and sight.

## VI.

The boy 'twixt fearefull hope, and wishing feare,  
 Crept all along (for much he long'd to see  
 The bower, much more the guest so lodged there;)   
 And, as he goes, he marks how well agree  
 Nature and Arte in discord unity,

Each striving who should best performe his part,  
 Yet Arte now helping Nature, Nature Arte;  
 While from his eares a voyce thus stole his heart.

## VII.

*“ Fond Men! whose wretched care the life soone  
 ending,*

*By striving to increase your ioy, do spend it;  
 And, spending ioy, yet find no ioy in spending;  
 You hurt your life by striving to amend it;  
 And, seeking to prolong it, soonest end it:*

*Then, while fit time affords thee time and leasure,  
 Enjoy while yet thou mayst thy lifes sweet  
 pleasure:*

*Too foolish is the man that starves to feed his  
 treasure.*

## VIII.

*“ Love is lifes end; (an end, but never ending;)  
 All ioyes, all sweetes, all happinesse, awarding;  
 Love is life's wealth (nere spent, but ever spending,)  
 More rich by giving, taking by discarding;  
 Love's lifes reward, rewarded in rewarding:*

*Then from thy wretched heart fond care remoove;  
 Ah! shouldst thou live but once loves sweetes to  
 proove,*

*Thou wilt not love to live, unlesse thou live to  
 love.”*

## IX.

To this sweet voyce a dainty musique fitted  
 It's well-tun'd strings, and to her notes conformed,  
 And while with skilfull voyce the song she dittied,  
 The blabbing Echo had her words retorted;  
 That now the boy, beyond his soule transported,  
 Through all his limbes feeles run a pleasant  
 shaking,  
 And, twixt a hope and feare, suspects mistaking,  
 And doubts he sleeping dreames, and broad awake  
 feares waking.

## CANTO III.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*Faire Cythereas limbes beheld,  
 The straying lads heart so inthral'd,  
 That in a trance his melted spright  
 Leaves th' fences slumbring in delight.*

## I.

NOW to the bower hee sent his theevish eyes  
 To steale a happy sight; there doe they finde  
 Faire Venus, that within halfe naked lyes;  
 And fraight amaz'd (so glorious beauty shin'd)  
 Would not returne the message to the minde;  
 But, full of feare and superstitious awe,  
 Could not retire, or backe their beams with-  
 draw,  
 So fixt on too much seeing made they nothing saw.

## II.

Her goodly length stretcht on a lilly-bed,  
 (A bright foyle of a beauty farre more bright,)  
 Few roses round about were scattered,  
 As if the lillies learnt to blush, for spight  
 To see a skinne much more then lilly-white :  
 The bed fanke with delight so to be pressed,  
 And knew not which to thinke a chance more  
 blessed,  
 Both blessed so to kisse, and so agayne be kissed.

## III.

Her spacious fore-head, like the clearest moone,  
 Whose full-growne orbe begins now to be spent,  
 Largely display'd in native silver shone,  
 Giving wide room to Beauty's regiment,  
 Which on the plaine with Love tryumphing went ;  
 Her golden haire a rope of pearle inbraced,  
 Which, with their dainty threds oft-times enlaced,  
 Made the eie think the pearle was there in gold  
 inchafed.

## IV.

Her full large eye, in ietty-blacke array'd,  
 Prov'd beauty not confin'd to red and white,  
 But oft her selfe in blacke more rich display'd ;  
 Both contraries did yet themselves unite,  
 To make one beauty in different delight ;  
 A thousand Loves fate playing in each eye ;  
 And smiling Mirth, kissing fair Courtesie,  
 By sweete perswasion wan a bloodlesse victory.

## V.

The whitest white, set by her silver cheeke,  
 Grew pale and wan, like unto heavy lead ;

The freshest purple fresher dyes must seeke,  
 That dares compare with them his fainting red :  
 On these Cupido winged armies led  
 Of little Loves that, with bold wanton traine  
 Under those colours, marching on the plaine,  
 Force every heart, and to low vasselage con-  
 fraine.

## VI.

Her lips, most happy each in other's kisses,  
 From their so wisht imbracements seldome parted,  
 Yet seem'd to blush at such their wanton blisses ;  
 But, when sweet words their ioyning sweet dis-  
 parted,  
 To th' eare a dainty musique they imparted :  
 Upon them fitly fate, delightfull smiling,  
 A thousand soules with pleasing stealth' beguiling :  
 Ah ! that such shews of ioyes should be all ioyes  
 exiling.

## VII.

The breath came slowly thence, unwilling leaving  
 So sweet a lodge ; but when she once intended  
 To feast the aire with words, the heart deceiving,  
 More fast it thronged so to be expended ;  
 And at each word a hundred Loves attended,  
 Playing i' th' breath, more swéete than is that  
 firing  
 Where that Arabian onely bird, expiring,  
 Lives by her death, by losse of breath more fresh  
 respiring.

## VIII.

Her chin, like to a stone in gold inchased,  
 Seem'd a fair iewell wrought with cunning hand,

And, being double, doubly the face graced :  
 This goodly frame on her round necke did stand ;  
 Such pillar well such curious work sustain'd ;  
 And, on his top the heavenly spheare up-rearing,  
 Might well present, with daintier appearing,  
 A lesse but better Atlas, that faire heaven bearing.

## IX.

Lower two breasts stand, all their beauties bearing,  
 Two breasts as smooth and soft ; but, ah, alas !  
 Their smoothest softnes farre exceeds comparing ;  
 More smooth and soft, but naught that ever was,  
 Where they are first, deserves the second place ;  
 Yet each as soft and each as smooth as other ;  
 And when thou first tri'st one, and then the  
 other,  
 Each softer seemes then each, and each then each  
 seemes smother.

## X.

Lowly betweene their dainty hemisphæres,  
 (Their hemisphæres the heav'nly globes excelling,)  
 A path more white than is the name it beares,  
 The Lactéal Path, conducts to the sweet dwelling  
 Where best Delight all ioyes fits freely dealing ;  
 Where hundred sweetes, and still fresh ioyes at-  
 tending,  
 Receive in giving ; and, still love dispending,  
 Grow richer by their losse, and wealthy by ex-  
 pending.

## XI.

But stay, bold Shepheard ! here thy footing stay,  
 Nor trust too much unto thy new-borne quill,  
 As farther to those dainty limbs to fray,

Or hope to paint that vale or beautious hill  
 Which past the finest hand or choyceft skill :  
 But were thy verse and song' as finely fram'd  
 As are those parts, yet should it soone be blam'd,  
 For now the shameles world of best things is  
 asham'd.

## XII.

That cunning artist, that old Greece admir'd,  
 Thus farre his Venus fitly portrayed,  
 But there he left, nor farther ere aspir'd ;  
 His dædale hand, that Nature perfected  
 By Arte, felt Arte by Nature limited.  
 Ah ! well he knew, though his fit hand could give  
 Breath to dead colours, teaching marble live,  
 Yet would these lively parts his hand of skill  
 deprive.

## XIII.

Such when this gentle boy her closly view'd,  
 Onely with thinnest filken vaile o'er-layd,  
 Whose snowy colour much more snowy shew'd  
 By being next that skin, and all betray'd,  
 Which best in naked beauties are array'd,  
 His spirits, melted with so glorious sight,  
 Ran from their worke to see so splendid light,  
 And left the fainting limbes sweet slumbring in  
 delight.

## CANTO IV.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*The swonding swaine recovered is  
By th' goddesse ; his soule-raptng blisse :  
Their mutual conference, and how  
Her service she doth him allow.*

## I.

SOFT-SLEEPING Venus, waked with the fall,  
Looking behind, the sinking boy espies ;  
With all she starts, and wondereth withall ;  
She thinks that there her faire Adonis dyes,  
And more she thinks the more the boy she eyes :  
So, stepping neerer, up begins to reare him ;  
And now with Love himselfe she will confer him,  
And now before her Love himselfe she will prefer  
him.

## II.

The lad, soone with that dainty touch reviv'd,  
Feeling himselfe so well, so sweetly feated,  
Begins to doubt whether he yet here liv'd,  
Or else his flitting soul, to heav'n translated,  
Was there in starry throne and blisse instated ;  
Oft would he dye, so to be often saved ;  
And now with happy wish he closely craved  
For ever to be dead, to be so sweet ingraved.



## III.

The Paphian princeſſe (in whoſe lovely breaſt  
 Spiteful diſdaine could never find a place)  
 When now ſhe ſaw him from his fit releaſt,  
 (To Juno leaving wrath and ſcolding baſe,)  
 Comforts the trembling boy with ſmiling grace:  
 But oh! thoſe ſmiles (too full of ſweete de-  
 light)  
 Surfeit his heart, full of the former fight;  
 So, ſeeking to revive, more wounds his feeble  
 ſprite.

## IV.

“ Tell me, fair Boy! (ſayd ſhe) what erring chance  
 Hither directed thy unwary pace?  
 For ſure Contempt or Pride durſt not advance  
 Their foule aſpéct in thy ſo pleaſant face:  
 Tell me, what brought thee to this hidden place?  
 Or lacke of love, or mutuall anſwering fire?  
 Or hindred by ill chance in thy deſire?  
 Tell me, what iſt thy faire and wiſhing eyes  
 require?”

## V.

The boy, (whoſe ſence was never yet acquainted  
 With ſuch a muſique,) ſtood with eares arected,  
 And, ſweetly with that pleaſant ſpell enchanted,  
 More of thoſe ſugred ſtraines long time expected;  
 Till ſeeing ſhe his ſpeeches not reiected,  
 Firſt fighes ariſing from his heart's low center,  
 Thus gan reply, when each word bold would  
 venter,  
 And ſtrive the firſt that dainty labyrinth to  
 enter.

## VI.

“ Fair Cyprian Queene, (for well that heavenly face  
 Prooves thee the mother of all-conquering Love,)  
 Pardon, I pray thee, my unweeting pace ;  
 For no presumptuous thoughts did hither moove  
 My daring feete to this thy holy grove ;  
 But lucklesse chance (which, if you not gaine-say,  
 I still must rue,) hath caus'd me here to stray,  
 And lose my selfe (alas !) in losing of my way.

## VII.

“ Nor did I come to right my wronged fire ;  
 Never till now I saw what ought be loved ;  
 And now I see, but never dare aspire  
 To moove my hope, where yet my love is mooved ;  
 Whence though I would, I would it not remooved ;  
 Only since I have plac't my love so high,  
 Which sure thou must, or sure thou wilt, deny,  
 Grant me yet still to love, though in my love to  
 dye.”

## VIII.

But shee that in his eyes Loves face had seen,  
 And flaming heart, did not such suite disdain,  
 (For cruelty fits not sweete Beauties queene,)  
 But gently could his passion entertain,  
 Though she Loves princeesse, he a lowly swain :  
 First of his bold intrusion she acquites him,  
 Then to her service (happy Boy!) admits him,  
 And, like another Love, with bow and quiver fits  
 him.

## IX.

And now with all the Loves he grew acquainted,  
 And Cupids selfe, with his like face delighted,

Taught him a hundred wayes with which he daunted  
 The prouder hearts, and wronged lovers righted,  
 Forcing to love that most his love despited :

And now the practique boy did so approve him,  
 And with such grace and cunning arte did move  
 him,

That all the pritty Loves and all the Graces love  
 him.

## CANTO V.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*The lovers sad despairing plaints  
 Bright Venus with his love acquaints ;  
 Sweetly importun'd, he doth shew  
 From whom proceedeth this his woe.*

## I.

YET never durst his faint and coward heart  
 (Ah, Foole ! faint heart faire lady ne're could win !)  
 Assault faire Venus with his new-learnt arte,  
 But kept his love and burning flame within,  
 Which more flam'd out, the more he prest it in ;  
 And thinking oft how iust shee might disdain him,  
 While some cool mirtle shade did entertain him,  
 Thus sighing would he fit, and sadly would he  
 plain him :

## II.

“ Ah, fond and haplesse Boy ! nor know I whether  
 More fond or haplesse more, that all so high

Haſt plac't thy heart, where love and fate together  
 May never hope to end thy miſery,  
 Nor yet thy ſelf dare wiſh a remedy :

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

## III.

“ Ah, farre too fond, but much more hapleſſe  
 Swaine !

Seeing thy love can be forgotten never,  
 Serve and obſerve thy love with willing paine ;  
 And though in vaine thy love thou doe perſever,  
 Yet all in vaine doe thou adore her ever.

No hope can crowne thy thoughts ſo farre aſpiring,  
 Nor dares thy ſelfe deſire thine owne deſiring,  
 Yet live thou in her love, and dye in her ad-  
 miring.”

## IV.

Thus oft the hopeleſſe boy complayning lyes ;  
 But ſhe, that well could gueſſe his ſad lamenting,  
 (Who can conceal love from Loves mothers eyes?)  
 Did not diſdaine to give his love contenting ;  
 Cruel the foule that feeds on foules tormenting :

Nor did ſhe ſcorne him, though not nobly borne,  
 (Love is nobility) nor could ſhe ſcorne  
 That with ſo noble ſkill her title did adorne.

## V.

One day it chanc't, thrice happy day and chance !  
 While Loves were with the Graces ſweetly ſporting,  
 And to freſh muſique founding play and dance,  
 And Cupids ſelfe, with ſhepherds boyes conſorting,  
 Laugh'd at their pritty ſport and ſimple courting,

Faire Venus feats the fearfull boy cloſe by her,  
 Where never Phœbus jealous lookes might eye  
     her,  
 And bids the boy his miſtris and her name deſcry  
     her.

## VI.

Long time the youth bound up in ſilence ſtood,  
 While hope and feare with hundred thoughts  
     begun  
 Fit prologue to his ſpeech ; and fearefull blood  
 From heart and face with theſe poſt-tydings  
     runne,  
 That eyther now he's made, or now undon ;  
     At length his trembling words, with feare made  
     weake,  
 Began his too long ſilence thus to breake,  
 While from his humble eies firſt reverence ſeem'd  
     to ſpeake.

## VII.

“ Faire Queene of Love ! my life thou maiſt com-  
     mand,  
 Too ſlender price for all thy former grace,  
 Which I receive at thy ſo bounteous hand ;  
 But never dare I ſpeak her name and face ;  
 My life is much leſſe-priz'd than her diſgrace :  
     And, for I know if I her name relate  
     I purchaſe anger, I muſt hide her ſtate,  
     Unleſſe thou ſweare by Stix I purchaſe not her  
     hate.”

## VIII.

Faire Venus well perceiv'd his ſubtile ſhift,  
 And, ſwearing gentle patience, gently ſmil'd,

While thus the boy persu'd his former drift :  
 " No tongue was ever yet so sweetly skil'd,  
 Nor greatest orator so highly stil'd,  
 Though helpt with all the choicest artes direction,  
 But when he durst describe her heaven's perfec-  
 tion,  
 By his imperfect praise disprais'd his imperfec-  
 tion.

## IX.

" Her forme is as her selfe, perfect cœlestriall,  
 No mortall spot her heavenly frame disgraces :  
 Beyond compare such nothing is terrestriall ?  
 More sweete than thought or pow'rfull with em-  
 braces ;  
 The map of heaven, the summe of all her graces :  
 But if you wish more truly limb'd to eye her,  
 Than fainting speech or words can well desery  
 her,  
 Look in a glasse, and there more perfect you may  
 spy her."

## CANTO VI.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*The boyes short wish, her larger grant,  
 That doth his soule with blisse enchant ;  
 Whereof impatient uttering all,  
 Inraged Jove contrives his thrall.*

## I.

" THY crafty arte," reply'd the siniling queene,  
 " Hath well my chiding and not rage prevented,

Yet might'st thou thinke that yet 'twas never feene  
 That angry rage and gentle love consented;  
 But if to me thy true love is presented,  
     What wages for thy service must I owe thee?  
 For by the selfe-fame vow I here avow thee,  
 Whatever thou require I frankly will allow thee."

## II.

"Pardon," replies the boy, "for so affecting  
 Beyond mortallity, and not discarding  
 Thy service, was much more than my expecting;  
 But if thou (more thy bounty-hood regarding)  
 Wilt needs heap up reward upon rewarding,  
     Thy love I dare not aske, or mutual fixing,  
 One kisse is all my love and prides aspiring,  
 And after starve my heart, for my too much de-  
     firing."

## III.

"Fond Boy!" (sayd she) "too fond, that askt no  
     more;  
 Thy want by taking is no whit decreased,  
 And giving spends not our increasing store:"—  
 Thus with a kisse his lips she sweetly pressed;  
 Most blessed kisse! but hope more than most blessed.  
     The boy did thinke heaven fell while thus he  
     ioy'd,  
 And while ioy he so greedily enioy'd,  
 He felt not halfe his ioy by being over-ioy'd.

## IV.

"Why fight? faire Boy!" (sayd she) "dost thou  
     repent thee  
 Thy narrow wish in such straight bonds to stay?"

“ Well may I sigh” (sayd he) “ and well lament me,  
That never such a debt may hope to pay.”

“ A kisse,” (sayd she) “ a kisse will back repay.”

“ Wilt thou” (reply'd the boy, too much de-  
lighted,)

Content thee with such pay to be requited?”

She grants; and he his lips, heart, soule, to pay-  
ment cited.

## V.

Look as a ward, long from his lands detain'd,  
And subiect to his guardians cruel lore,  
Now spends the more, the more he was restrain'd ;  
So he ; yet though in laying out his store  
He doubly takes, yet finds himself grow poore ;

With that he markes, and tels her out a score,  
And doubles them, and trebles all before.

Fond boy ! the more thou paist, thy debt still  
grows the more.

## VI.

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

But yet though that hee knoweth so she gave,  
That he presents himselfe her bounden slave,  
Still his more wishing face seem'd somewhat else  
to crave.

## VII.

And, boldned with successe and many graces,  
His hand, chain'd up in feare, he now releast,



And asking leave, courag'd with her embraces,  
 Againe it prison'd in her tender breast:  
 Ah, blessed prison! prisoners too much blest!  
 There with those sisters long time doth he play,  
 And now full boldly enters loves highway,  
 While downe the pleafant vale his creeping hand  
 doth stray.

## VIII.

She, not displeas'd with this his wanton play,  
 Hiding his blushing with a sugred kisse,  
 With such sweete heat his rudeneffe doth allay,  
 That now he perfect knowes whatever blisse  
 Elder Love taught, and he before did misse;  
 That moult with ioy, in such untri'd ioyes  
 trying,  
 He gladly dies; and, death new life applying,  
 Gladly againe he dyes, that oft he may be  
 dying.

## IX.

Long thus he liv'd, flumbring in sweete delight,  
 Free from sad care and fickle worlds annoy,  
 Bathing in liquid ioyes his melted sprite;  
 And longer mought, but he (ah, foolish Boy!)  
 Too proud, and too impatient of his ioy,  
 To woods, and heav'n, and earth, his blisse im-  
 parted,  
 That Jove upon him downe his thunder darted,  
 Blasting his splendent face, and all his beauty  
 swarted.

## X.

Such be his chance that to his love doth wrong;  
 Unworthy he to have so worthy place,

That cannot hold his peace and blabbing tongue ;  
Light ioyes float on his lips, but rightly grace  
Sinckes deepe, and th' heart's low center doth im-  
brace.

Might I enioy my love till I unfold it,  
I'd lose all favours when I blabbing told it :  
He is not fit for love that is not fit to hold it.

A  
VIEW  
OF THE  
STATE OF IRELAND.

WRITTEN DIALOGUE-WISE BETWEEN EUDOXUS AND  
IRENEUS.



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IRENEUS.

*Eudox.* **B**UT if that countrey of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soyl, as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.

*Iren.* Marry so there have bin divers good plottes devised, and wise counsels cast already about reformation of that realme; but they say, it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, wil prosper or take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soyle, or influence of the starres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

*Eudox.* Surely I suppose this but a vaine conceipt of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather thinke the cause of this evill, which hangeth upon that countrey, to proceed rather of the unsoundnes

of the counsels, and plots, which you say have bin oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintnes in following and effecting the same, then of any such fatall course appointed of God, as you misdeem; but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions succede not as they would, they are alwayes readie to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their owne follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also, (even of some whose great wisdomes in opinion should seeme to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration) that all that land were a sea-poole; which kinde of speech, is the manner rather of desperate men farre driven, to wish the utter ruine of that which they cannot redress, then of grave councillors, which ought to think nothing so hard, but that thorough wisdom, it may be mastered and subdued, since the Poet saith, that "the wise man shall rule even over the starres," much more over the earth; for were it not the part of a desperate phisitian to wish his diseased patient dead, rather then to apply the best indeavour of his skill for his recovery. But since we are so farre entred, let us, I pray you, a little devise of those evils, by which that country is held in this wretched case, that it cannot (as you say) be recured. And if it be not painefull to you, tell us what things, during your late continuance there, you observed to bee most offensive, and greatest impeachment to the good rule and government thereof.

*Iren.* Surely Eudox. The evils which you desire to be recounted are very many, and almost countable with those which were hidden in the basket of Pandora. But since you please, I will out of that infinite number, reckon but some that are most capitall, and commonly occurrant both in the life

and conditions of private men, as also in the managing of publicke affaires and pollicy, the which you shall understand to be of divers natures, as I observed them: for some of them are of verie great antiquitie and continuance; others more late and of lesse indurance; others dayly growing and increasing continuallie by their evill occasions, which are every day offered.

*Eudox.* Tell them then, I pray you, in the same order that you have now rehearsed them; for there can be no better method then this which the very matter it selfe offereth. And when you have reckoned all the evils, let us heare your opinion for the redressing of them: after which there will perhaps of it selfe appeare some reasonable way to fettle a sound and perfect rule of government, by shunning the former evils, and following the offered good. The which method we may learne of the wise Physicians, which first require that the malady be knowne throughly, and discovered: afterwards to teach how to cure and redresse it: and lastly doe prescribe a dyet, with straight rule and orders to be dayly observed, for feare of relapse into the former disease, or falling into some other more dangerous then it.

*Iren.* I will then according to your advisement begin to declare the evils, which seeme to me most hurtfull to the common-weale of that land; and first, those (I say) which were most auncient and long growne. And they also are of three sorts: The first in the Lawes, the second in Customes, and the last in Religion.

*Eudox.* Why, Irenæus, can there be any evill in the Lawes; can things, which are ordained for the good and safety of all, turne to the evill and hurt of them? This well I wote both in that state, and in all other, that were they not contained in duty

with feare of law, which restraineth offences, and inflicteth sharpe punishment to misdoers, no man should enjoy any thing; every mans hand would be against another. Therefore, in finding fault with the lawes, I doubt me, you shall much over-shoote your selfe, and make me the more dislike your other dislikes of that government.

*Iren.* The lawes Eudox. I doe not blame for themselves, knowing right well that all lawes are ordained for the good of the common-weale, and for repressing of licentiousness and vice; but it falleth out in lawes, no otherwise then it doth in phyfick, which was at first devised, and is yet daylie ment, and ministred for the health of the patient. But neverthelesse we often see, that either thorough ignorance of the disease, or thorough unseasonableness of the time, or other accidents comming betweene, in stead of good, it worketh hurt, and, out of one evill, throweth the patient into many miseries. So the lawes were at first intended for the reformation of abuses, and peaceable continuance of the subiect; but are sithence either disannulled, or quite prevaricated thorough change and alteration of times, yet are they good still in themselves; but, in that commonwealth which is ruled by them, they worke not that good which they should, and sometimes also that evill which they would not.

*Eudox.* Whether doe you mean this by the common-lawes of that realme, or by the Statute Lawes, and Acts of Parliaments?

*Iren.* Surely by them both; for even the common law being that which William of Normandy brought in with his conquest, and laid upon the neck of England, though perhaps it fitted well with the state of England then being, and was readily obeyed thorough the power of the commander, which had before subdued the people unto him, and made



eaſie way to the ſetting of his will, yet with the ſtate of Ireland peradventure it doth not ſo well agree, being a people very ſtubborne, and untamed, or if it were ever tamed, yet now lately having quite ſhooke off their yoake, and broken the bonds of their obedience. For England (before the entrance of the Conqueror) was a peaceable kingdome, and but lately inured to the milde and goodly government of Edward, furnamed the Confefſor; beſides now lately growne into a loathing and deteſtation of the unjuſt and tyrannous rule of Harold an uſurper, which made them the more willing to accept of any reaſonable conditions and order of the new victor, thinking ſurely that it could be no worſe then the latter, and hoping well it would be as good as the former; yet what the prooffe of firſt bringing in and eſta bliſhing of thoſe lawes was, was to many full bitterly made knowne. But with Ireland it is farre otherwiſe; for it is a nation ever acquainted with warres, though but amongſt themſelves, and in their owne kinde of military diſcipline, trayned up ever from their youthes, which they have never yet beene taught to lay aſide, nor made to learne obedience unto lawes, ſcarcely to know the name of law, but in ſtead thereof have alwayes preſerved and kept their owne law, which is the Brehon law.

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

*Iren.* It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great ſhew of equity, in determining the right betweene party and party, but in many things repugning quite both to Gods law, and mans: As for example in the caſe of Murder, the Brehon, that is their judge, will compound betweene the murderer, and the friends of the party

murdered, which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child, or wife of him that is slain a recompence, which they call an *Eriach*: By which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongst them are made up, and smothered. And this judge being as hee is called the Lords Brehon, adjudgeth for the most part, a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the foyle, or <sup>a</sup> the head of that sept, and also unto himselfe for his judgement a greater portion, then unto the plaintiffes or parties greived.

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

*Iren.* Yes truly; for there be many wide countries in Ireland, which the lawes of England were never established in, nor any acknowledgment of subjection made, and also even in those which are subdued, and seeme to acknowledge subjection; yet the same Brehon law is practised among themselves, by reason, that, dwelling as they doe, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, they may doe what they list, and compound or altogether conceale amongst themselves their owne crimes, of which no notice can be had, by them which would and might amend the same, by the rule of the lawes of England.]

*Eudox.* What is this which you say? And is there any part of that realme, or any nation therein, which have not yet beene subdued to the crowne of England? Did not the whole realme universally

<sup>a</sup> the head of that sept,] *Sept* is *family*. So, in Moryson's *Itinerary*, fol. 1617. Part second, p. 1. "The Oneale, a fatall name to the chiefe of the SEPT or *family* of the Oneales, &c." See also Percy's *Reliques of Anc. Poetry*, 4th edit. vol. i. p. 119. And the *Hist. of the Gwedir Family*, note in p. 66. Todd.

accept and acknowledge our late Prince of famous memory Henry the viiith for their onely King and Liege Lord?

*Iren.* Yes verily: in a Parliament holden in the time of Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, then Lord Deputy, all the Irish Lords and principall men came in, and being by faire meanes wrought thereunto, acknowledged King Henry for their Sovereigne Lord, reserving yet (as some say) unto themselves all their owne former priviledges and feignories inviolate.

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

*Iren.* True it is that thereby they bound themselves to his lawes and obedience, and in case it had beene followed upon them, as it should have beene, and a government thereupon setled among them agreeable thereunto, they should have beene reduced to perpetuall civilitie, and contained in continuall duty. But what bootes it to break a colte, and to let him straight runne loose at randome. So were these people at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledge allegiance to the Kings of England: but, being straight left unto themselves and their owne inordinate life and manners, they estfoones forgot what before they were taught, and so soone as they were out of sight, by themselves shook off their bridles, and beganne to colte anew, more licentiously then before.

*Eudox.* It is a great pittie, that so good an opportunity was omitted, and <sup>b</sup> so happie an occasion fore-slacked, that might have beene the eternall good of the land. But doe they not still acknowledge that submission?

<sup>b</sup> *so happy an occasion fore-slacked,*] *Delayed.* See F. Q. v. xii. 3. TOPP.

*Iren.* No, they doe not: for now the heires and posterity of them which yeelded the same, are (as they say) either ignorant thereof, or do wilfully deny, or stedfastly disavow it.

*Eudox.* How can they so doe justly? Doth not the act of the parent in any lawfull graunt or conveyance, bind their heires for ever thereunto? Sith then the auncestors of those that now live, yeelded themselves then subjects and liegemen, shall it not tye their children to the same subjection?

*Iren.* They say no: for their auncestours had no estate in any their lands, seigniories, or hereditaments, longer then during their own lives, as they alledge, for all the Irish doe hold their land by Tanistrie; which is (say they) no more but a personall estate for his life time, that is, Tanist, by reason that he is admitted thereunto by election of the country.

*Eudox.* What is this which you call Tanist and Tanistry? They be names and termes never heard of nor knowne to us.

*Iren.* It is a custome amongst all the Irish, that presently after the death of any of their chiefe Lords or Captaines; they doe presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and knowne unto them to choose another in his steed, where they doe nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest sonne, nor any of the children of the Lord deceas'd, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that kinred or sept; and then next to him doe they choose the next of the blood to be Tanist, who shall next succeed him in the said Captainry, if he live thereunto.

*Eudox.* Doe they not use any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly

great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites.

*Iren.* They use to place him that shalbe their Captaine, upon a stone alwayes reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill: In some of which I have seen formed and ingraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captaines foot, whereon hee standing, receives an oath to preserve all the auncient former customes of the countrey inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is: after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himselfe round, thrice forward, and thrice backward.

*Eudox.* But how is the Tanist chosen?

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

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

*Iren.* I have heard that the beginning and cause of this ordinance amongst the Irish, was specially for the defence and maintenance of their lands in their posteritie, and for excluding all innovation or alienation thereof unto strangers, and specially to the English. For when their Captaine dieth, if the signorie should descend to his child, and he perhaps an infant, another might peradventure step in between, or thrust him out by strong hand, being then unable to defend his right, or to withstand the force of a forreiner; and therefore they doe appoint the eldest of the kinne to have the signorie, for that he commonly is a man of stronger yeares, and better ex-

perience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the countrey, either against the next bordering Lords, which use commonly to inroach one upon another, as one is stronger, or against the English, which they thinke lye still in waite to wype them out of their lands and territories. And to this end the Tanist is alwayes ready knowne, if it should happen the Captaine suddenly to dye, or to be slaine in battell, or to be out of the countrey, to defend and keepe it from all such doubts and dangers. For which cause the Tanist hath also a share of the countrey allotted unto him, and certaine cuttings and spendings upon all the inhabitants under the Lord.

*Eudox.* When I hear this word Tanist, it bringeth to my remembrance what I have read of Tania, that it should signifie a province or seignorie, as Aquitania, Lusitania, and Britania, the which some thinke to be derived of Dania, that is, from the Danes, but, I thinke, amisse. But sure it seemeth, that it came anciently from those barbarous nations that over-ranne the world, which possessed those dominions, whereof they are now so called. And so it may well be that from thence <sup>c</sup> the first originall of this word Tanist and Tanistry came, and the custome thereof hath sithence, as many others else, beene continued. But to that generall subjection of the land, whereof wee formerly spake, me seemes that this custome or tenure can be no barre nor impeachment, seeing that in open Parliament by their said acknowledgement they waved the be-

<sup>c</sup> *the first originall of this word Tanist and Tanistry came,]*  
See whether it may not be more fitly derived from Thane, which word was commonly used among the Danes, and also among the Saxons in England, for a noble man, and a principall officer. SIR JAMES WARE.

nesite thereof, and submitted themselves to the benefite of their new Sovereigne.

*Iren.* Yea, but they say, as I earst tolde you, that they reserved their titles, tenures, and seigniories whole and found to themselves, and for proof alledge, that they have ever sithence remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them, should (say they) be a great wrong.

*Eudox.* What remedie is there then, or meanes to avoide this inconvenience? for, without first cutting of this dangerous custome, it seemeth hard to plant any found ordinance, or reduce them to a civill government, since all their ill customes are permitted unto them.

*Iren.* Surely nothing hard: for by this Act of Parliament whereof wee speake, nothing was given to King Henry which he had not before from his auncestors, but onely the bare name of a King; for all other absolute power of principality he had in himselfe before derived from many former Kings, his famous progenitours and worthy conquerours of that land. The which, sithence they first conquered and by force subdued unto them, what needed afterwards to enter into any such idle termes with them to be called their King, when it is in the power of the conqueror to take upon himself what title he will, over his dominions conquered. For all is the conquerours, as Tully to Brutus saith. Therefore (me seemes) instead of so great and meritorious a service as they boast they performed to the King, in bringing all the Irish to acknowledge him for their Liege, they did great hurt unto his title, and have left a perpetuall gall in the minde of the people, who before being absolutely bound to his obedience, are now tyed but with termes, whereas else both their lives, their lands, and their liberties were in his free power to appoint what

tenures, what lawes, what conditions hee would over them, which were all his: againſt which there could be no rightfull reſiſtance, or if there were, he might, when he would, eſtabliſh them with a ſtronger hand.

*Eudox.* Yea, but perhaps it ſeemed better unto that noble King to bring them by their owne accord to his obedience, and to plant a peaceable government amongſt them, then by ſuch violent means to pluck them under. Neither yet hath he thereby loſt any thing that he formerly had; for, having all before abſolutely in his owne power, it remaineth ſo ſtill unto him, he having thereby neither forgiven nor forgone any thing thereby unto them, but having received ſomthing from them, that is, a more voluntary and loyall ſubjection. So as her Maieſty may yet, when it ſhall pleaſe her, alter any thing of thoſe former ordinances, or appoint other lawes, that may be more both for her own behoofe, and for the good of that people.

*Iren.* Not ſo: for it is not ſo eaſie, now that things are growne unto an habit, and have their certaine courſe to change the channell, and turne their ſtreames another way, for they may have now a colorable pretence to withſtand ſuch innovations, having accepted of other lawes and rules already.

*Eudox.* But you ſay they do not accept of them, but delight rather to leane to their old cuſtomes and Brehon lawes, though they be more unjuſt and alſo more inconvenient for the common people, as by your late relation of them I have gathered. As for the lawes of England they are ſurely moſt juſt and moſt agreeable, both with the government and with the nature of the people. How falls it then that you ſeeme to diſlike of them, as not ſo meeete for that realme of Ireland, and not onely the Common Law, but alſo the Statutes and Actes of Parliament,



which were specially provided and intended for the onlie benefit thereof?

*Iren.* I was about to have told you my reason therein, but that your selfe drew me away with other questions, for I was shewing you by what meanes, and by what sort, the positive lawes were first brought in and established by the Norman Conquerour: which were not by him devised nor applied to the state of the realme then being, nor as yet might best be, (as should by lawgivers principally be regarded) but were indeed the very lawes of his owne countrey of Normandie. The condition whereof, how farre it differeth from this of England, is apparent to every least judgement. But to transferre the same lawes for the governing of the realme of Ireland, was much more inconvenient and unmeet; for he found a better advantage of the time, then was in the planting of them in Ireland, and followed the execution of them with more severity, and was also present in person to overlooke the Magistrates, and to overawe these subjects with the terrour of his sword, and countenance of his Majesty. But not so in Ireland, for they were otherwise affected, and yet doe so remaine, so as the same lawes (me seemes) can ill fit with their disposition, or worke that reformation that is wished. For lawes ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right, for then (as I said) in stead of good they may worke ill, and pervert iustice to extreame iniustice. For hee that transferres the lawes of the Lacedemonians to the people of Athens, should finde a great absurditie and inconvenience. For those lawes of Lacedemon were devised by Licurgus as most proper and best agreeing with that people, whom hee knew to be enclined

altogether to warres, and therefore wholly trained them up even from their cradles in armes and military exercifes, cleane contrary to the institution of Solon, who, in his lawes to the Athenians, laboured by all meanes to temper their warlike courages with sweet delightes of learning and sciences, so that asmuch as the one excelled in armes, the other exceeded in knowledge. The like regard and moderation ought to be had in tempering, and managing, this stubborne nation of the Irish to bring them from their delight of licentious barbarisme unto the love of goodnes and civilitie.

*Eudox.* I cannot see how that may better be then by the discipline of the lawes of England: for the English were, at first, as stoute and warlike a people as ever the Irish, and yet you see are now brought unto that civillity, that no nation in the world excelleth them in all goodly conversation, and all the studies of knowledge and humanitie.

*Iren.* What they now be, both you and I see very well, but by how many thornie and hard wayes they are come thereunto, by how many civill broiles, by how many tumultuous rebellions, that even hazzarded oftentimes the whole safety of the kingdome, may easily be considered: all which they neverthelesse fairely overcame, by reason of the continuall presence of their King; whose onely person is oftentimes in stead of an army, to containe the unrulie people from a thousand evill occasions, which this wretched kingdome, for want thereof, is dayly carried into. The which, whensoever they make head, no lawes, no penalties, can restraine, but that they doe, in the violence of that furie, tread downe and trample under foote all both divine and humane things, and the lawes themselves they doe specially rage at, and rend in peeces, as most re-

pugnant to their libertie and naturall freedome, which in their madnes they affect.

*Eudox.* It is then a very unseasonable time to plead law, when swords are in the hands of the vulgar, or to thinke to retaine them with feare of punishments, when they looke after liberty, and shake off all government.

*Iren.* Then so it is with Ireland continually, Eudoxus; for the sword was never yet out of their hand, but when they are weary of warres, and brought downe to extreame wretchednesse; then they creepe a little perhaps and sue for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered their strength againe. So as it is in vaine to speake of planting lawes, and plotting pollicie, till they be altogether subdued.

*Eudox.* Were they not so at the first conquering of them by Strongbowe, in the time of King Henry the second? was there not a thorough way then made by the sword, for the imposing of the lawes upon them? and were they not then executed with such a mightie hand as you said was used by the Norman Conquerour? What oddes is there then in this case? why should not the same lawes take as good effect in that people as they did here, being in like sort prepared by the sword, and brought under by extremity? and why should they not continue in as good force and vigour for the containing of the people?

*Iren.* The case yet is not like, but there appeareth great oddes betweene them: for, by the conquest of Henry the second, true it is that the Irish were utterly vanquished and subdued, so as no enemy was able to hold up head against his power, in which their weaknes hee brought in his lawes, and settled them as now they there remaine; like as William the Conquerour did; so as in thus much

they agree; but in the rest, that is the chiefest, they varie: for to whom did King Henry the second impose those lawes? not to the Irish, for the most part of them fled from his power, into deserts and mountaines, leaving the wyde countrey to the conquerour: who in their stead estioones placed English men, who possessed all their lands and did quite shut out the Irish, or the most part of them. And to those new inhabitants and colonies he gave his lawes, to wit, the same lawes under which they were borne and bred, the which it was no difficultie to place amongst them, being formerly well inured thereunto; unto whom afterwards there repaired diverse of the poore distressed people of the Irish, for succour and reliefe; of whom, such as they thought fit for labour, and industriously disposed, as the most part of their baser sort are, they received unto them as their vassalls, but scarcely vouchsafed to impart unto them the benefit of those lawes, under which themselves lived, but every one made his will and commandement a law unto his owne vassall: thus was not the law of England ever properly applyed unto the Irish nation, as by a purposed plot of government, but as they could insinuate and steale themselves under the same, by their humble carriage and submission.

*Eudox.* How comes it then to passe, that having beene once so low brought, and thoroughly subjected, they afterwards lifted up themselves so strongly againe, and sithence doe stand so stiffely against all rule and government?

*Iren.* They say that they continued in that lowliness, untill the time that the division between the two houses of Lancaster and York arose for the crowne of England: at which time all the great English Lords and Gentlemen, which had great possessions in Ireland, repaired over hither into Eng-

land, some to succour their friends here, and to strengthen their partie for to obtain the crowne; others to defend their lands and possessions here against such as hovered after the same upon hope of the alteration of the kingdome, and successe of that side which they favoured and affected. Then the Irish whom before they had banished into the mountaines, where they lived onely upon white meates, as it is recorded, seeing now their lands so dispeopled, and weakened, came downe into all the plaines adjoining, and thence expelling those few English that remained, repossessed them againe, since which they have remained in them, and, growing greater, have brought under them many of the English, which were before their Lords. This was one of the occasions by which all those countreyes, which lying neere unto any mountaines or Irish desarts, had beene planted with English, were shortly displanted and lost. As namely in Mounster all the lands adjoining unto Slewlogher, Arlo, and the bog of Allon. In Connaght all the Countries bordering upon the Curlues, Mointerolis, and Orourkes country. In Leinster all the lands bordering unto the mountaines of Glanmalour, unto Shillelah, unto the Brackenah, and Polmonte. In Ulster, all the countreyes near unto Tirconnel, Tyrone, and the Scottes.

*Eudox.* Surely this was a great violence: but yet by your speach it seemeth that onely the countreyes and valleyes neere adjoining unto those mountaines and desarts, were thus recovered by the Irish: but how comes it now that we see almost all that realme repossessed of them? Was there any more such evill occasions growing by the troubles of England? Or did the Irish, out of those places so by them gotten, break further and stretch themselves out thorough the whole land? for now, for ought that I can

understand, there is no part but the bare English Pale, in which the Irish have not the greatest footing.

*Iren.* Both out of these small beginnings by them gotten neare to the mountaines, did they spread themselves into the inland; and also, to their further advantage, there did other like unhappy accidents happen out of England; which gave heart and good opportunity to them to regaine their old possessions: For, in the raigue of King Edward the fourth, things remained yet in the same state that they were after the late breaking out of the Irish, which I spake of; and that noble Prince began to cast an eye unto Ireland, and to minde the reformation of things there runne amisse: for he sent over his brother the worthy <sup>d</sup> Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster, and by her having all the Earledome of Ulster, and much in Meath and in Mounster, very carefully went about the redressing of all those late evils, and though he could not beate out the Irish againe, by reason of his short continuance, yet hee did shut them up within those narrow corners and glennes under the mountaines foote, in which they lurked, and so kept them from breaking any further, by

<sup>d</sup> *Duke of Clarence, who having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster, &c.]* It was not George Duke of Clarence here spoken of by the author, but \* Lionell Duke of Clarence, third sonne of King Edw. the 3. who married the earle of Ulsters daughter, and by her had the earledome of Ulster; and although Edw. the 4. made his brother the duke of Clarence, Lo. Lieutenant of Ireland, yet the place was still executed by his Deputyes (which were at severall times) Thomas earle of Desmond, John Earle of Worcester, Tho. Earle of Kildare, and William Shirwood Bishop of Meth, the Duke himselfe never comming into Ireland to governe there in person. SIR JAMES WARE.

\* De hac re vide C. md. Britan. p. 336. & Annal. Hib. ab eo edit. ad an. 1361.

building strong holdes upon every border, and fortifying all passages. Amongst the which hee repaired the castle of Clare in Thomond, of which countrey he had the inheritance, and of Mortimers lands adjoining, which is now (by the Irish) called Killaloe. But the times of that good King growing also troublesome, did lett the thorough reformation of all things. And thereunto soone after was added another fatall mischeife, which wrought a greater calamity then all the former. ¶ For the said Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was, by practise of evill persons about the King, his brother, called thence away: and soone after, by sinister meanes, was cleane made away. Presently after whose death, all the North revolting, did set up Oneale for their Captaine, being before that of small power and regard: and there arose in that part of Thomond, one of the O-Briens, called Murrough en-Ranagh, that is, Morrice of the Ferne, or wast wilde places, who, gathering unto him all the reliques of the discontented Irish, estsoones surpris'd the said castle of Clare, burnt, and spoyled all the English there dwelling, and in short space possessed all that countrey beyond the river of Shanan and neere adjoining: whence shortly breaking forth like a suddaine tempest he over-ran all Mounster and Connaght; breaking downe all the holds and fortresses of the English, defacing and utterly subverting all corporate townes, that were not strongly walled: for those he had no meanes nor engines to overthrow, neither indeed would hee stay at all about them, but speedily ran forward, counting his suddenneffe his most advantage, that he might overtake the English before they could fortifie or gather themselves together. So in short space hee cleane wyped out many great townes, as first Inchequin, then Killalow, before called Clariford, also Thurles,

Mourne, Buttevant, and many others, whose names I cannot remember, and of some of which there is now no memory nor signe remaining. Upon report whereof there flocked unto him all the scumme of the Irish out of all places, that ere long he had a mighty army, and thence marched forth into Leinster, where he wrought great out-rages, wasting all the countrey where he went; for it was his policie to leave no hold behinde him, but to make all plaine and waste. In which he soone after created himselfe King, and was called King of all Ireland; which before him I doe not reade that any did so generally, but onely Edward le Bruce.

*Eudox.* What? was there ever any generall King of all Ireland? I never heard it before, but that it was alwayes (whilst it was under the Irish) divided into foure, and sometimes into five kingdomes or dominions. But this Edward le Bruce, what was hee, that could make himselfe King of all Ireland?

*Iren.* I would tell you, in case you would not challenge me anon for forgetting the matter which I had in hand, that is, the inconveniencie and unfitnesse which I supposed to be in the lawes of the land.

*Eudox.* No surely, I have no cause, for neither is this impertinent thereunto; for sithence you did set your course (as I remember in your first part) to treat of the evils which hindered the peace and good ordering of that land, amongst which, that of the inconveniencie in the lawes, was the first which you had in hand, this discourse of the over-running and wasting of the realme, is very materiall thereunto, for that it was the begining of al the other evils, which sithence have afflicted that land, and opened a way unto the Irish to recover their possession, and to beat out the English which had formerly wonne the same. And besides, it will give a great light



both unto the second and third part, which is the redressing of those evils, and planting of some good forme or policy therein, by renewing the remembrance of these occasions and accidents, by which those ruines hapned, and laying before us the examples of those times, to be compared to ours, and to be warned by those which shall have to doe in the like. Therefore I pray you tell them unto us, and as for the point where you left, I will not forget afterwards to call you backe againe thereunto.

*Iren.* This Edw. le Bruce was brother of Robert le Bruce, who was King of Scotland, at such time as King Edward the second raigned here in England, and bare a most malicious and spightfull minde against King Edward, doing him all the scathe that hee could, and annoying his territoryes of England, whilest he was troubled with civill warres of his Barous at home. Hee also, to worke him the more mischiefe, sent over his said brother Edward with a power of Scottes and Red-shankes into Ireland, where, by the meanes of the Lacies, and of the Irish with whom they combined, they gave footing, and gathering unto him all the \* scatterlings and out-lawes out of all the woods and mountaines, in which they long had lurked, marched forth into the English Pale, which then was chiefly in the North, from the point of Donluce, and beyond unto Dublin: having in the middest of her Knockfergus, Belfast, Armagh, and Carlingford, which are now the most out-bounds and abandoned places in the English Pale, and indeede not counted of the English Pale at all: for it stretcheth now no further then Dundalke towards the North. There

\* scatterlings and outlaws] See the note on F. Q. ii. x. 63. He uses *scatterlings* for *ravagers* again in this View of the State of Ireland. TODD.

the said Edward le Bruce spoyled and burnt all the olde English Pale inhabitants, and sacked and rased all citties and corporate townes, no lesse then Murrough en Ranagh, of whom I earst tolde you: For hee wasted Belfast, Green-Castle, Kelles, Bellturbut, Castletowne, Newton, and many other very good townes and strong holdes: he rooted out the noble families of the Audlics, Talbotts, Tuchets, Chamberlaines, Maundevills, and the Savages out of Ardes, though of the Lo. Savage there remaineth yet an heire, that is now a poore gentleman of very meane condition, yet dwelling in the Ardes. And coming lastly to Dundalke, hee there made himselfe King, and raigned the space of one whole yeare, untill that Edward King of England, having set some quiet in his affaires at home, sent over the Lord Iohn Birmingham to be Generall of the warres against him, who, incountring him neere to Dundalke, over-threw his army, and slew him. Also hee presently followed the victory so hotly upon the Scottes, that hee suffered them not to breathe, or gather themselves together againe, untill they came to the sea-coast. Notwithstanding all the way that they fledde, for very rancor and despight, in their returne, they utterly consumed and wasted whatsoever they had before left unspoyled, so as of all townes, castles, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not any sticke standing, nor any people remaining; for those few, which yet survived, fledde from their fury further into the English Pale that now is. Thus was all that goodly countrey utterly wasted. And sure it is yet a most beautifull and sweet countrey as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet ilands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even shippes upon their

waters, adorned with goodly woods even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some Princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world: also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford, besides the soyle it selfe most fertile, fit to yeeld all kinde of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most milde and temperate, though somewhat more moist then the parts towards the West.

*Eudox.* Truly Iren. what with your praises of the country, and what with your discourse of the lamentable desolation thereof, made by those Scottes, you have filled mee with a great compassion of their calamities, that I doe much pity that sweet land, to be subject to so many evils as I see more and more to be layde upon her, and doe halfe beginne to thinke, that it is (as you said at the beginning) her fatall misfortune above all other countreyes that I know, to bee thus miserably tossed and turmoyled with these variable stormes of affliction. But since wee are thus far entred into the consideration of her mishaps, tell mee, have there beene any more such tempests, as you term them, wherein she hath thus wretchedly beene wracked?

*Iren.* Many more, God wot, have there beene, in which principall parts have beene rent and torne asunder, but none (as I can remember) so universall as this. And yet the rebellion of Thomas Fitz Garret did well-nye stretch it selfe into all parts of Ireland. But that, which was in the time of the government of the Lord Grey, was surely no lesse generall then all those; for there was no part free from the contagion, but all conspired in one, to cast off their subiection to the crowne of England. Neverthelesse

thorough the most wise and valiant handling of that right noble Lord, it got not the head which the former evils found; for in them the realme was left like a ship in a storm, amidst all the raging surges, unruled, and undirected of any: for they to whom she was committed, either fainted in their labour, or forsooke their charge. But hee (like a most wise pilote,) kept her course carefully, and held her most strongly even against those roaring billowes, that he safely brought her out of all; so as long after, even by the space of 12 or 13 whole yeares, she roade at peace, thorough his onely paines and excellent indurance, <sup>f</sup> how ever Envy list to blatter against him. But of this wee shall have more occasion to speak in another place. Now (if you please) let us returne againe unto our first course.

*Eudox.* Truely I am very glad to heare your iudgement of the government of that honourable man so soundly; for I have heard it oftentimes maligned, and his doings depraved of some, who (I perceiv) did rather of malicious minde, or private grievance, seeke to detract from the honour of his deeds and counsels, then of any iust cause: but he was neverthelssie, in the iudgements of all good and wise men, defended and maintained. And now that he is dead, his immortall fame surviveth, and flourisheth in the mouthes of all people, that even those which did backbite him, are checked with their owne venome, and breake their galls to heare his so honourable report. But let him rest in peace; and turne we to our more troublesome matters of discourse, of which I am right sorry that

<sup>f</sup> *however Envy list to blatter against him.*] To blatter is to rail or rage. Thus the *Blatant Beast* is described with various barking tongues, F. Q. vi. xii. 27. TODD.

you make so short an end, and covet to passe over to your former purposes; for there be many other parts of Ireland, which I have heard have bin no lesse vexed with the like stormes, then these which you have treated of, as the countreyes of the Birnes and Tooles near Dublin, with the insolent out-rages and spoyles of Feagh mac Hugh, the countreyes of Catherlagh, Wexford, and Waterford, by the Cavenaghes. The countreyes of Leix, Kilkenny, and Kildare by the O Moores. The countreyes of Ofaly and Longford by the Connors. The countreyes of Westmeath, Cavan, and Lowth, by the O Relyes, the Kellyes, and many others, so as the discourfing of them, besides the pleasure which would redound out of their history, be also very profitable for matters of policy.

*Iren.* All this which you have named, and many more besides, often times have I right well knowne, and yet often doe kindle great fires of tumultuous broyles in the countreyes bordering upon them. All which to rehearse, should rather bee to chronicle times, then to search into reformation of abuses in that realme; and yet very needfull it will bee to consider them, and the evils which they have often stirred up, that some redresse thereof, and prevention of the evils to come, may thereby rather be devised. But I suppose wee shall have a fitter opportunity for the same, when wee shall speake of the particular abuses and enormities of the government, which will be next after these generall defects and inconveniences which I faide were in the lawes, customes, and religion.

*Eudox.* Goe to them a Gods name, and follow the course which you have promised to your selfe, for it fitteth best, I must confesse, with the purpose of our discourse. Declare your opinion as you began about the lawes of the realme, what in-

commoditie you have conceived to bee in them, chiefly in the Common Law, which I would have thought most free from all such dislike.

*Iren.* The Common Law is (as I saide before) of it selfe most rightfull and very convenient (I suppose) for the kingdome, for which it was first devised: for this (I thinke) as it seemes reasonable, that out of your manners of your people, and abuses of your countrey, for which they were invented, they take their first beginning, or else they should bee most uniuert; for no lawes of man (according to the straight rule of right) are iust, but as in regard of the evils which they prevent, and the safety of the common-weale which they provide for. As for example, in your true ballancing of iustice, it is a flat wrong to punish the thought or purpose of any before it bee enacted; for true iustice punisheth nothing but the euill act or wicked word, that by the lawes of all kingdomes it is a capitall crime to devise or purpose the death of your King: the reason is, for that when such a purpose is effected, it should then bee too late to devise thereof, and should turne the common-wealth to more losse by the death of their Prince, then such punishment of the malefactors. And therefore the law in that case punisheth the thought; for better is a mischiese, then an inconvenience. So that *ius politicum*, though it bee not of it selfe iust, yet by application, or rather necessity, it is made iust; and this onely respect maketh all lawes iust. Now then, if these lawes of Ireland bee not likewise applyed and fitted for that realme, they are sure very inconvenient.

*Eudox.* You reason strongly: but what unfitnesse doe you finde in them for that realme? shew us some particulars.

*Iren.* The Common Law appointeth, that all tryalls, as well of crimes, as titles and rights, shall bee made by verdict of a iury, chosen out of the honest and most substantiall free-holders. Now, most of the free-holders of that realme are Irish, which when the cause shall fall betwixt an Englishman and an Irish, or betweene the Queene and any free-holder of that countrey, they make no more scruple to passe against an Englishman, and the Queene, though it bee to strayn their oathes, then to drinke milke unstrayned. So that before the iury goe together, it is all to nothing what the verdict shall be. The tryall have I so often seene, that I dare confidently avouch the abuse thereof. Yet is the law, of itselſe, (as I said) good; and the first institution thereof being given to all Englishmen very rightfully, but now that the Irish have stepped into the very roomes of our English, wee are now to become heedfull and provident in iuries.

*Eudox.* In sooth, *Iren.* you have discovered a pointworthy the consideration; for heereby not onely the English subiect findeth no indifferencie in deciding of his cause, bee it never so iust; but the Queene, aswell in all pleas of the crowne, as also in inquiries for escheates, lands attainted, wardshippes, concealments, and all such like, is abused and exceedingly damaged.

*Iren.* You say very true; for I dare undertake, that at this day there are more attainted lands, concealed from her Majesty, then shee hath now possessions in all Ireland; and it is no small inconvenience: for, besides that shee looseth so much land as should turne to her great profite, shee besides looseth so many good subiects, which might bee assured unto her, as those landes would yeeld inhabitants and living unto.

*Eudox.* But doth many of that people (say you) make no more conscience to perjure themselves in their verdicts, and damne their soules?

*Iren.* Not onely so in their verdicts, but also in all other their dealings; especially with the English, they are most willfully bent: for though they will not seeme manifestly to doe it, yet will some one or other subtle-headed fellow amongst them put some quirke, or devise some evasion, whereof the rest will likely take hold, and suffer themselves easily to be led by him to that themselves desired. For in the most apparent matter that may bee, the least question or doubt that may bee mooved, will make a stoppe unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides, that of themselves (for the most part) <sup>s</sup> they are so cautelous and wylie-headed, especially being men of so small experience and practice in law matters, that you would wonder whence they borrow such subtiltyes and slye shifts.

*Eudox.* But mee thinkes this inconvenience might bee much helped in the Iudges and Chiefe Magistrates which have the choosing and nominating of those iurors, if they would have dared to appoint either most Englishmen, and such Irishmen as were of the foundest judgment and disposition; for no doubt but some there bee incorruptible.

*Iren.* Some there bee indeede as you say; but then would the Irish partie crye out of partialitie, and complaine hee hath no iustice, hee is not used as a subject; hee is not suffered to have the free benefite of the law; and these outcries the Magistrates there doe much shunne, as they have cause, since they are readily hearkened unto heere; neither

<sup>s</sup> they are so cautelous] *Cautious.* See the Gloss. Urry's Chaucer, in V. *Cautele.* TODD.



can it bee indeede, although the Irish party would bee so contented to be so compassed, that such English freeholders which are but few, and such faithful Irish-men, which are indeede as few, shall alwayes bee chosen for tryalls; for being so few, they should bee made weary of their free-houldes. And therefore a good care is to bee had by all good occasions, to encrease their number, and to plant more by them. But were it so, that the iurors could bee picked out of such choyce men as you desire, this would neverthelesse bee as bad a corruption in the tryall; for the evidence being brought in by the baser Irish people, will bee as deceitfull as the verdict; for they care much lesse then the others, what they sweare, and sure their Lordes may compell them to say any thing; for I my selfe have heard; when one of the baser fort<sup>h</sup> (which they call churles) being challenged, and reprooved for his false oath, hath answered confidently, That his Lord commaunded him, and it was the least thing that hee could doe for his Lord to sweare for him; so inconfonable are their common people, and so little feeling have they of God, or their owne soules good.

*Eudox.* It is a most miserable case, but what helpe can there bee in this? for though the manner of the trialls should bee altered, yet the prooffe of every thing must needes bee by the testimony of such persons as the parties shall produce, which if they shall bee corrupt, how can there ever any light of the truth appeare, what remedy is there for this evill, but to make heavy lawes and penalties against iurors?

*Iren.* I thinke sure that will doe small good; for when a people be inclined to any vice, or have no

<sup>h</sup> (which they call churles)] “Hinds, which they call churls,” as he presently explains the word. TORD.

touch of conscience, nor fence of their evill doings; it is bootefle to thinke to reſtraine them by any penalties or feare of puniſhment, but either the occaſion is to be taken away, or a more underſtanding of the right, and ſhame of the fault to be imprinted. For if that Licurgus ſhould have made it death for the Lacedemonians to ſteale, they being a people which naturally delighted in ſtealth; or if it ſhould bee made a capitall crime for the Flemmings to be taken in drunkenneſſe; there ſhould have beene few Lacedemonians then left, and few Flemmings now. So unpoſſible it is, to remove any fault ſo generall in a people, with terrour of lawes or moſt ſharpe reſtraints.

*Eudox.* What meanes may there be then to avoyde this inconvenience? for the caſe ſeemes very hard.

*Iren.* We are not yet come to the point to deviſe remedies for the evils, but only have now to recount them; of the which, this which I have told you is one defect in the Common Law.

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

*Iren.* By reheariſall of this, I remember alſo of an other like, which I have often obſerved in trialls, to have wrought great hurt and hinderance, and that is, the exceptions which the Common Law alloweth a fellow in his tryall; for he may have (as you know) fifty-fix exceptions peremptory againſt the iurors, of which he ſhal ſhew no cauſe. By which ſhift there being (as I have ſhewed you) ſo ſmall ſtore of honeſt iury-men, he will either put off his tryall, or drive it to ſuch men as (perhaps) are not of the ſoundeſt ſort, by whoſe meanes, if he can acquite himſelfe of the crime, as he is likely, then will he plague ſuch as were brought firſt to bee of his iurie, and all ſuch as made any party againſt

him. And when he comes forth, he will make their <sup>i</sup> coves and garrons to walke, if he doe no other harme to their persons.

*Eudox.* This is a flye devise, but I thinke might soone bee remedied, but we must leave it a while to the rest. In the meane-while doe you goe forwards with others.

*Iren.* There is an other no lesse inconvenience then this, which is, the tryall of accessaries to felony; for, by the Common Law, the accessaries cannot be proceeded against, till the principall have received his tryall. Now to the case, how it often falleth out in Ireland, that a stealth being made by a rebel, or an outlawe, the stolne goods are conveyed to some husbandman or gentleman, which hath well to take to, and yet liveth most by the receipt of such stealthes, where they are found by the owner, and handled: whereupon the partie is perhaps apprehended and committed to goal, or put upon sureties, till the sessions, at which time the owner preferring a bill of indictment, proveth sufficiently the stealth to have beene committed upon him, by such an outlaw, and to have beene found in the possession of the prisoner, against whom, nevertheless, no course of law can proceede, nor tryall can be had, for that the principall theife is not to be gotten, notwithstanding that he likewise, standing perhaps indicted at once, with the receiver, being in rebellion, or in the woods: where peradventure he is slaine before he can be gotten, and so the receiver cleane acquitted and discharged of the crime. By which meanes the theeves are greatly encouraged to sicale, and their maintainers imboldened

<sup>i</sup> coves and garrons] *Garran* is an Erse word; still retained in Scotland, says Dr. Johnson. It means a *strong* or *hackney horse*: See Shaw's Galic Dictionary. TODD.

to receive their fealthes, knowing how hardly they can be brought to any tryall of law.

*Eudox.* Truly this is a great inconvenience, and a great cause (as you say) of the maintenance of theeves, knowing their receivers alwayes ready; for, were there no receivers, there would be no theeves: but this (me seemes) might easily be provided for, by some Act of Parliament, that the receiver being convicted by good proofes might receive his tryall without the principall.

*Iren.* You say very true Eudox. but that is almost impossible to be compassed: And herein also you discover another imperfection, in the course of the Common Law, and first ordinance of the realme: for you know that the said Parliament must consist of the peeres, gentlemen, freeholders, and burgessees of that realme it selfe. Now these being perhaps themselves, or the most part of them (as may seeme by their stiffe with-standing of this Act) culpable of this crime, or favourers of their friends, which are such, by whom their kitchins are sometimes amended, will not suffer any such Statute to passe. Yet hath it oftentimes beene attempted, and in the time of Sir Iohn Parrot very earnestly (I remember) laboured, but could by no meanes be effected. And not onely this, but many other like, which are as needefull for the reformation of that realme.

*Eudox.* This also is surely a great defect, but wee may not talke (you say) of the redressing of this, untill our second part come, which is purposely appointed thereunto. Therefore proceed to the recounting of more such evils, if at least, you have any more.

*Iren.* There is also a great inconvenience, which hath wrought great dammage, both to her Majesty, and to that common wealth, thorough close and colourable conveyances of the lands and goods of

traytors, fellows, and fugitives. As when one of them mindeth to goe into rebellion, hee will convey away all his lands and lordships to feoffees in trust, wherby he reserveth to himselfe but a state for terme of life, which being determined either by the sword or by the halter, their lands fraight cometh to their heire, and the Queen is defrauded of the intent of the law, which laide that grievous punishment upon traytors, to forfeite all their lands to the Prince; to the end that men might the rather be terrified from committing treasons; for many which would little esteeme of their owne lives, yet for remorse of their wives and children would bee withheld from that haynous crime. This appeared plainly in the late Earle of Desmond. For, before his breaking forth into open rebellion, hee had conveyed secretly all his lands to feoffees of trust, in hope to have cut off her Maiestie from the estate of his lands.

*Eudox.* Yea, but that was well enough avoided; for the Act of Parliament, which gave all his lands to the Queene, did (as I have heard) cut off and frustrate all such conveyances, as had at any time by the space of twelve yeares before his rebellion, beene made; within the compasse whereof, the fraudulent feoffement, and many the like of others his accomplices and fellow-traytors, were contained.

*Iren.* Very true, but how hardly that Act of Parliament was wrought out of them, I can witness; and, were it to be passed againe, I dare undertake it would never be compassed. But were it also that such Acts might be easily brought to passe against traytors and fellows, yet were it not an endless trouble, that no traytour or fellow should be attainted, but a Parliament must be called for

bringing of his lands to the Queene, which the Common-Law giveth her.

*Eudox.* Then this is no fault of the Common Law, but of the persons which worke this fraud to her Majestie.

*Iren.* Yes, marry; for the Common-Law hath left them this benefite, whereof they make advantage, and wrest it to their bad purposes. So as thereby they are the bolder to enter into evill actions, knowing that if the worst befall them, they shall lose nothing but themselves, whereof they seeme surely very carelesse.

*Eudox.* But what meant you of fugitives herein? Or how doth this concerne them?

*Iren.* Yes, very greatly, for you shall understand that there bee many ill disposed and undutifull persons of that realme, like as in this point there are also in this realme of England too many, which being men of good inheritance, are for dislike of religion, or danger of the law, into which they are run, or discontent of the present government, fled beyond the seas, where they live under Princes, which are her Maiesties professed enemies, and converse and are confederat with other traitors and fugitives which are there abiding. The which nevertheless have the benefits and profits of their lands here, by pretence of such colourable conveyances thereof, formerly made by them unto their privie friends heere in trust, who privily doe send over unto them the said revenues wherewith they are there maintained and enabled against her Majestie.

*Eudox.* I doe not thinke that there be any such fugitives, which are relieved by the profite of their lands in England, for there is a straighter order taken. And if there bee any such in Ireland, it were good it were likewise looked unto; for this evill may easily be remedied. But proceede.

*Iren.* It is also inconvenient in the realme of Ireland, that the wards and marriages of gentlemen children should be in the disposition of any of those Irish Lords, as now they are, by reason that their lands bee held by knights service of those Lords. By which means it comes to passe that those gentlemen being thus in the ward of those Lords, are not onely thereby <sup>k</sup> brought up lewdly, and Irish-like, but also for ever after so bound to their services, they will runne with them into any disloyall action.

*Eudor.* This greivance *Iren.* is also complained of in England, but how can it be remedied? since the service must follow the tenure of the lands, and the lands were given away by the Kings of England to those Lords, when they first conquered that realme, and, to say troth, this also would be some prejudice to the Prince in her wardshipps.

*Iren.* I doe not meane this by the Princes wards, but by such as fall into the hands of Irish Lords; for I could wish, and this I could enforce, that all those wardshipps were in the Princes disposition, for then it might be hoped, that she, for the universall reformation of that realme, would take better order for bringing up those wards in good nurture, and not suffer them to come into so bad hands. And although these things be already passed away, by her progenitours former grants unto those said Lords; yet I could finde a way to remedie a great part thereof, as hereafter, when fit time serves, shall appeare. And since we are entred into speech of such grants of former Princes, to sundry persons of this realme of Ireland, I will mention unto you

<sup>k</sup> brought up lewdly,] *Ignorantly.* The word is repeatedly used by Spenser in this sense; as it had been by Chaucer. And thus, in our translation of the Acts of the Apostles, Ch. xvii. 5. we have "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort." Todd.

some other, of like nature to this, and of like inconvenience, by which the former Kings of England passed unto them a great part of their prerogatives, which though then it was well intended, and perhaps well deserved of them which received the same, yet now such a gapp of mischeife lyes open thereby, that I could wish it were well stopped. Of this sort are the graunts of Counties Palatines in Ireland, which though at first were granted upon good consideration when they were first conquered, for that those lands lay then as a very border to the wild Irish, subject to continuall invasion, so as it was needfull to give them great priviledges for the defence of the inhabitants thereof: yet now that it is no more a border, nor frontired with enemies, why should such priviledges bee any more continued?

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

*Iren.* It was (I suppose) first named Palatine of a pale, as it were a pale and defense to their inward lands, so as it is called the English Pale, and therefore is a Palgrave named an Earle Palatine. Others thinke of the Latine, *palare*, that is, to forrage or out-run, because those marchers and borderers use commonly so to doe. So as to have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a priviledge to spoyle the enemies borders adjoyning. And surely so it is used at this day, as a priviledge place of spoiles and stealthes; for the County of Tipperary, which is now the onely Countie Palatine in Ireland, is, by abuse of some bad ones, made a receptacle to rob the rest of the Counties about it, by meanes of whose priviledges none will follow their stealthes, so as it being situate in the very lap of all the land, is made now a border, which how inconvenient it is, let every man judge. And though



that right noble man, that is the Lord of the liberty, do paine himfelfe, all he may, to yeeld equall justice unto all, yet can there not but great abuses lurke in fo inward and absolute a priviledge, the consideration whereof is to be respected carefully, for the next fuceffion. And much like unto this graunt, there are other priviledges granted unto most of the corporations there: that they shal not be bound to any other government then their owne, that they shall not be charged with garrisons, that they shall not be travailed forth of their owne franchises, that they may buy and sell with theeves and rebels, that all ameracements and fines that shal be imposed upon them, shall come unto themselves. All which, though at the time of their first graunt they were tollerable, and perhaps reasonable, yet now are most unreasonable and inconvenient, but all these will easily be cut off with the superiour power of her Majesties prerogative, against which her own graunts are not to be pleaded or enforced.

*Iren.* Now truely Irenæus you have (me seemes) very well handled this point, touching inconveniences in the Common Law there, by you observed; and it seemeth that you have had a mindefull regard unto the things that may concerne the good of that realme. And if you can aswell goe thorough with the Statute Lawes of that land, I will thinke you have not lost all your time there. Therefore I pray you, now take them in hand, and tell us, what you thinke to bee amisse in them.

*Iren.* The Statutes of that realme are not many, and therefore we shall the sooner runne thorough them. And yet of those few there are [some] impertinent and unnecessary: the which though perhaps at the time of the making of them, were very needfull, yet now thorough change of time are cleane antiquated, and altogether idle: As that which forbiddeth any

to weare their beards all on the upper lippe, and none under the chinne. And that which putteth away <sup>1</sup> saffron shirts and smockes. And that which restraineth the use of guilt bridles and <sup>m</sup> petronels. And that which is appointed for the recorders and clerks of Dublin and Tredagh, to take but ijd. for the copy of a plainte. And that which commaunds bowes and arrowes. And that which makes, that all Irishmen which shall converse among the English, shall be taken for spyes, and so punished. And that which forbids persons amefnable to law, to enter and distraine in the lands in which they have title; and many other the like, I could rehearse.

*Eudox.* These truely, which yee have repeated, seeme very frivolous and fruitelesse; for, by the breach of them, little damage or inconvenience, can come to the Common-wealth: Neither indeed, if any transgresse them, shall he seeme worthy of punishment, scarce of blame, saving but for that they abide by that name of lawes. But lawes ought to be such, as that the keeping of them should be greatly for the behoofe of the Common-weale, and the violating of them should be very haynous, and sharply punishable. But tell us of some more weighty dislikes in the Statutes then these, and that may more behoofully import the reformation of them.

*Iren.* There is one or two Statutes which make the wrongfull distraining of any mans goods against

<sup>1</sup> *saffron shirts*] He presently explains the reason of their wearing saffron shirts &c. TODD.

<sup>m</sup> *petronels.*] See Cotgrave's Fr. Dict. "*Petrial*, a horse-mans peece, a *petronell*." Hence the soldier, who served with a *petronell*, was called *poitrialier*. It appears to have been much the same as our *blunderbuss*. See the Fr. *Encyclopedie*, in V. TODD.

the forme of Common Law, to be felony. The which Statutes seeme surely to have beene at first meant for the good of that realme, and for restraining of a foule abuse, which then raigned commonly amongst that people, and yet is not altogether laide aside: That when any one was indebted to another, he would first demand his debt, and, if he were not payed, hee would straight goe and take a distresse of his goods or cattell, where he could finde them, to the value; which he would keepe till he were satisfied, and this the simple churle (as they call him) doth commonly use to doe; yet thorough ignorance of his misdoing, or evill use, that hath long settled amongst them. But this, though it bee sure most unlawfull, yet surely (me seemes) too hard to make it death, since there is no purpose in the party to steale the others goods, or to conceale the distresse, but doth it openly, for the most part, before witnesses. And againe, the same Statutes are so slackely penned (besides the later of them is so unsensibly contrived, that it scarce carryeth any reason in it) that they are often and very easily wrested to the fraude of the subject, as if one going to distrayne upon his own land or tenement, where lawfully he may, yet if in doing therof he transgresse the least point of the Common Law, hee straight committeth felony. Or if one by any other occasion take any thing from another, as boyes use sometimes to cap one another, the same is straight felony. This a very hard law.

*Eudox.* Nevertheles that evill use of distrayning of another mans goods yee will not deny but it is to be abolished and taken away.

*Iren.* It is so, but not by taking away the subject withall, for that is too violent a medecine, especially this use being permitted, and made lawfull

to some; and to other some death. As to most of the corporate townes there, it is graunted by their charter, that they may, every man by himselfe, without an officer (for that were more tolerable) for any debt, to distraine the goods of any Irish, being found within their liberty, or but passing thorough their townes. And the first permission of this, was for that in those times when that graunt was made, the Irish were not amesuable to law, so as it was not safety for the townes-man to goe to him forth to demaund his debt, nor possible to draw him into law, so that he had leave to bee his owne bayliffe, to arrest his said debtors goods, within his owne franchise. The which the Irish seeing, thought it as lawfull for them to distrayne the townes-mans goods in the countrey, where they found it. And so by ensample of that graunt to townes-men, they thought it lawfull, and made it a use to distrayne on anothers goods for small debts. And to say truth, mee thinkes it is hard for every trifling debt, of two or three shil. to be driven to law, which is so farre from them sometimes to be sought, for which me thinketh it too heavy an ordinance to give death, especially to a rude man that is ignorant of law, and thinketh, that a common use or graunt to other men, is a law for himselfe.

*Eudox.* Yea, but the iudge, when it commeth before him to triall, may easily decide this doubt, and lay open the intent of the law, by his better discretion.

*Iren.* Yea, but it is dangerous to leave the fence of the law unto the reason or will of the iudge, who are men and may bee miscaried by affections, and many other meanes. But the lawes ought to bee like stony tables, plaine, stedfast, and unmovcable. There is also such another Statute or two, which make Coigny and Livery to bee treason, no lesse

inconvenient then the former, being as it is penned, how ever the first purpose thereof were expedient ; for thereby now no man can goe into another mans house for lodging, nor to his owne tennants house to take victuall by the way, notwithstanding that there is no other meanes for him to have lodging, nor horse meate, nor mans meate, there being no innes, nor none otherwise to bee bought for money, but that he is endangered by that Statute for treason, whensoever he shall happen to fall out with his tennant, or that his said hoste list to complaine of greivance, as oftentimes I have seene them very malitiously doe thorough the least provocation.

*Eudox.* I doe not well know, but by ghesse, what you doe meane by these termes of Coigny and Livery, therefore I pray you explaine them.

*Iren.* I know not whether the words bee English or Irish, but I suppose them to bee rather auncient English, for the Irishmen can make no derivation of them. What Livery is, wee by common use in England know well enough, namely, that it is allowance of horse-meate, as they commonly use the word in stabling, as to keepe horses at livery, the which word, I guesse, is derived of livering or delivering forth their nightly foode. So in great houses, the livery is said to be served up for all night, that is their evenings allowance for drinke: And Livery is also called, the upper weede which a serving man weareth, so called (as I suppose) for that it was delivered and taken from him at pleasure: so it is apparent, that, by the word Livery, is there meant horse-meate, like as, by the word Coigny, is understood mans meate ; but whence the word is derived is hard to tell : some say of coine, for that they used commonly in their Coignies, not onely to take meate, but coine also ; and that taking of money was speciallie meant to be prohi-

bited by that Statute: but I thinke rather this word Coigny is derived of the Irish. The which is a common use amongst land-lords of the Irish, to have a common spending upon their tennants: for all their tennants, being commonly but tennants at will, they use to take of them what victuals they list: for of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning: neither in this was the tennant wronged, for it was an ordinary and knowne custome, and his Lord commonly used so to covenant with him, which if at any time the tennant disliked, hee might freely depart at his pleasure. But now by this Statute, the said Irish Lord is wronged, for that hee is cut off from his customary services, of the which this was one, besides many other of the like, as Cuddy, Coshery, Bonnaght, Shrah, Sorehin, and such others: the which (I thinke) were customes at first brought in by the English upon the Irish, for they were never wont, and yet are loath to yeeld any certaine rent, but only such spendings: for their common saying is, "Spend me and defend me."

*Eudox.* Surely I take it as you say, that therein the Irish Lord hath wrong, since it was an auncient custome, and nothing contrary to law, for to the willing there is no wrong done. And this right well I wot, that even heere in England, there are in many places as large customes, as that of Coignie and Livery. But I suppose by your speech, that it was the first meaning of the Statute, to forbid the violent taking of victualls upon other mens tenants against their wills, which surely is a great out-rage, and yet not so great (me seemes) as that it should be made treason: for considering that the nature of treason is concerning the royall estate or person of the Prince, or practizing with his enemies, to the derogation and danger of his crowne and dignitie,

it is hardly wrested to make this treason. But (as you earst said) “better a mischief than an inconvenience.”

*Iren.* Another Statute I remember, which having beene an auncient Irish custome, is now upon advisement made a law, and that is called the Custome of Kin-cogish, which is, that every head of every sept, and every chiefe of every kindred or family, should be answereable and bound to bring foorth every one of that sept and kindred under it, at all times to be iustified, when he should be required or charged with any treason, felony, or other haynous crime.

*Eudox.* Why? surely this seemes a very necessary law. For considering that many of them bee such losells and scatterlings, as that they cannot easily by any sheriffe, constable, bayliffe, or other ordinary officer bee gotten, when they are challenged for any such fact; this is a very good meanes to get them to bee brought in by him, that is, the head of that sept, or chiefe of that house; wherfore I wonder what just exception you can make against the same.

*Iren.* Truly Eudoxus, in the pretence of the good of this Statute, you have nothing erred, for it seemeth very expedient and necessary; but the hurt which commeth thereby is greater then the good. For, whilest every chiefe of a sept standeth so bound to the law for every man of his blood or sept that is under him, he is made great by the commaunding of them all. For if hee may not commaund them, then that law doth wrong, that bindeth him to bring them foorth to bee iustified. And if hee may commaund them, then hee may commaund them aswell to ill as to good. Hereby the lords and captaines of countreyes, the principall and heades of septs are made stronger, whome it should bee a most speciall

care in policie to weaken, and to fet up and strengthen diverſe of his underlings againſt him, which whenſoever hee ſhall ſwarve from duty, may bee able to beard him; for it is very dangerous to leave the commaund of ſo many as ſome ſepts are, being five or ſixe thouſand perſons, to the will of one man, who may leade them to what he will, as he himſelfe ſhall be inclined.

*Eudox.* In very deepe Iren. it is very dangerous, ſeeing the diſpoſition of thoſe people is not alwayes inclineable to the beſt. And therefore I holde it no wiſedome to leave unto them too much commaund over their kindred, but rather to withdrawe their followers from them asmuch as may bee, and to gather them under the commaund of law, by ſome better meane then this cuſtom of Kin-cogith. The which word I would bee glad to know what it namely ſignifieth, for the meaning thereof I ſeeme to underſtand reaſonably well.

*Iren.* It is a word mingled of Engliſh and Iriſh together, ſo as I am partly ledde to thinke, that the cuſtome thereof was firſt Engliſh, and afterwarde made Iriſh; for ſuch an other law they had heere in England, as I remember, made by King Alured, that every gentleman ſhould bring forth his kinred and followers to the law. So <sup>n</sup> Kin is Engliſh, and Congiſh affinitie in Iriſh.

*Eudox.* Sith then wee that have thus reaſonably handled the inconveniences in the lawes, let us now paſſe unto the ſecond part, which was, I remember, of the abuſes of cuſtomes; in which, mee ſeemes, you have a faire champion layde open unto you, in which you may at large ſtretch out your diſcourſe into many ſweete remembrances of antiquities,

<sup>n</sup> *Kin is Engliſh, and Congiſh affinitie in Iriſh.*] I conceive the word to be rather altogether Iriſh. Kin ſignifying in Iriſh, the head or chiefe of any ſepts. SIR JAMES WARE.



from whence it seemeth that the customes of that nation proceeded.

*Iren.* Indeede Eudox. you say very true; for all the customes of the Irish which I have often noted and compared with that I have read, would minister occasion of a most ample discourse of the originall of them, and the antiquity of that people, which in truth I thinke to bee more auncient then most that I know in this end of the world, ° so as if it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement and plentiful reading, it would bee most pleasant and profitable. But it may bee wee may, at some other time of meeting, take occasion to treate thereof more at large. Heere onely it shall suffice to touch such customes of the Irish as seeme offensive and repugnant to the good government of the realme.

*Eudox.* Follow then your owne course; for I shall the better content my selfe to forbear my desire now, in hope that you will, as you say, some other time more abundantly satisfie it.

*Iren.* Before we enter into the treatie of their customes, it is first needfull to consider from whence they first sprung; for from the sundry manners of the nations, from whence that people which now is

° so as if it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement &c.] Since Spenser wrote this View of Ireland, the Antiquities of the Country have been explored and elucidated, by men “ of sound judgement and plentiful reading,” with so much patience and precision, as to afford the curious “ most pleasant and profitable” information indeed. When I mention the extremely valuable and important researches of the Royal Irish Academy; the labours of an Usher, a Ware, a Leland, a Walker, a Vallancey, a Ledwich, a Beaufort, an O’ Halloran, an Ouseley, an Archdall; (to which might be added the ingenious disquisitions of many others;) I point out to the reader the true sources of elegant gratification in regard to the knowledge of Irish history, and topography, customs, and manners. TODD.

called Irish, were derived, some of the customes which now remain amongst them, have been first fetcht, and sithence there continued amongst them; for not of one nation was it peopled, as it is, but of fundry people of different conditions and manners. But the chiefest which have first possessed and inhabited it, I suppose to bee <sup>p</sup> Scythians.

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

*Iren.* They doe indeed, but (I conceive) without any good ground. For if there were any such notable transmission of a colony hether out of Spaine, or any such famous conquest of this kingdome by Gathelus a Spaniard, as they would faine believe, it is not unlikely, but the very Chronicles of Spaine (had Spaine then beene in so high regard, as they now have it) would not have omitted so memorable a thing, as the subduing of so noble a realme to the Spaniard, no more then they doe now neglect to memorize their conquest of the Indians, especially in those times, in which the fame was supposed, being nearer unto the flourishing

<sup>p</sup> *Scythians.*] This discourse, from the word Scythians, unto the words in p. 345. “of whom I earst spoke,” is directed by Sir J. Ware wholly to be crossed out, as being then agreeable to the best MS. copy; which passage is also omitted in the Manuscript of this View belonging to the Marquis of Stafford; in which likewise is added after “to bee Scythians” the word *which*, thus connecting the words “at such time as &c.” in p. 345. TODD.

*Scythians.*] Touching the Scythians\* or Scotts arrivall in Ireland, see Nennius an ancient British author (who lived in the yeare of Christ 858.) where among other things we have the time of their arrivall. Brittones (saith he) venerunt in 3. ætate mundi in Britanniam, Scythæ autem in 4. obtinuerunt Hiberniam. SIR JAMES WARE.

\* A regione quadam quæ dicitur Scythia: dicitur Scita, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia. Tho. Walsingham, in Hypodigmate Neustria, ad an. 1125.

age of learning and writers under the Romanes. But the Irish doe heerein no otherwise, then our vaine English-men doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to proove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England, as it is, that there was any such Gathelus of Spaine. But surely the Scythians (of whom I earst spoke) at such time as the Northerne Nations overflowed all Christendome, came downe to the sea-coast, where inquiring for other countries abroad, and getting intelligence of this countrey of Ireland, finding shipping convenient, passed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called Ulster, which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the land, as their numbers increased, named it all of themselves Scuttenland, which more briefly is called Scutland, or Scotland.

*Eudox.* I wonder (Irenaeus) whether you runne so farre astray; for whilest wee talke of Ireland, mee thinks you rippe up the originall of Scotland, but what is that to this?

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

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

*Iren.* Never the more are there two Scotlands, but two kindes of Scots were indeed (as you may gather out of Buchanan) the one Irin, or Irish Scots, the other Albin-Scots; for those Scots are Scythians, arrived (as I said) in the North parts of Ireland, where some of them after passed into the next coast of Albine, now called Scotland, which (after much trouble) they possessed, and of themselves

named Scotland; but in proceſſe of time (as it is commonly ſeene) the dominion of the part prevaileth in the whole, for the Iriſh Scots putting away the name of Scots, were called only Iriſh, and the Albine Scots, leaving the name of Albine, were called only Scots. Therefore it commeth thence that of ſome writers, Ireland is called Scotia-major, and that which now is called Scotland, Scotia-minor.

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

*Iren.* After this people thus planted in the North, (or before,) for the certaintie of times in things ſo farre from all knowledge cannot be juſtly avouched, another nation coming out of Spaine, arrived in the Weſt part of Ireland, and finding it waſte, or weakely inhabited, poſſeſſed it: who whether they were native Spaniards, or Gaules, or Africans, or Gothes, or ſome other of thoſe Northerne Nations which did over-ſpread all Chriſtendome, it is impoſſible to affirme, only ſome naked conjectures may be gathered, but that out of Spaine certainly they came, that do all the Iriſh Chronicles agree.

*Eudox.* You doe very boldly Iren. adventure upon the hiſtories of auncient times, and leane too confidently on thoſe Iriſh Chronicles which are moſt fabulous and forged, in that out of them you dare take in hand to lay open the originall of ſuch a nation ſo antique, as that no monument remaines of her beginning and firſt inhabiting; eſpecially having been in thoſe times without letters, but only bare

traditions of times and <sup>a</sup> remembrances of Bardes, which use to forge and falsifie every thing as they list, to please or displease any man.

*Iren.* Truly I must confesse I doe so, but yet not so absolutely as you suppose. I do herein rely upon those Bardes or Irish Chroniclers, though the Irish themselves through their ignorance in matters of learning and deepe judgement, doe most constantly beleeve and avouch them, but unto them besides I adde mine owne reading; and out of them both together, with comparison of times, likewise of manners and customes, affinity of words and names, properties of natures, and uses, resemblances of rites and ceremonies, monuments of churches and tombes, and many other like circumstances, I doe gather a likelihood of truth, not certainly affirming any thing, but by conferring of times, language, monuments, and such like, I doe hunt out a probability of things, which I leave to your judgement to believe or refuse. Neverthelesse there be some very auncient authors that make mention of these things, and some moderne, which by comparing

<sup>a</sup> *Remembrances of Bardes,*] Of the ancient Bards or Poets, Lucan makes this mention in the first booke of his *Pharsalia*.

“ Vos quoque qui fortes anima, belloque peremptas

“ Landibus in longum vates dimittis ævum,

“ Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.”

The word signified among the Gaules a finger, as it is noted by Mr. Camden, and Mr. Selden, out of Festus Pompeius, and it had the same signification among the Brittish. Sir Iohn Price in the description of Wales, expounds it to bee one that had knowledge of things to come, and so (saith he) it signifieth at this day, taking his ground (anisse) out of Lucan's verses. Doctour Powell, in his notes upon Caradoc of Lhancarvan, saith, that in Wales they preserved gentlemens armes and pedigrees. At this time in Ireland the Bard, by common acceptation, is counted a rayling rimer, and distinguished from the poet. SIR JAMES WARE.

them with present times, experience, and their owne reason, doe open a window of great light unto the rest that is yet unseene, as namely, of the elder times, Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolomie, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Berofus: of the later, Vincentius, Æneas Sylvius, Luidus, Buchanan, for that hee himselve, being † an Irish Scot or Piçt by nation, and being very excellently learned, and industrious to seeke out the truth of all things concerning the originall of his owne people, hath both set downe the testimony of the auncients truely, and his owne opinion together withall very reasonably, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the Bardes and Irish Chroniclers themselves, though through desire of pleasing perhappes too much, and ignorances of arts, and purer learning, they have clauded the truth of those lines; yet there appears among them some reliques of the true antiquitie, though disguised, which a well eyed man may happily discover and finde out.

*Eudox.* How can here be any truth in them at all, since the auncient nations which first inhabited Ireland, were altogether destitute of letters, much more of learning, by which they might leave the verity of things written. And those Bardes, coming also so many hundred yeares after, could not know what was done in former ages, nor deliver certainty of any thing, but what they fayned out of their unlearned heads.

† *an Irish Scot or Piçt by nation.*] Bede tells us that the Piçts were a colony of Scythians, who first comming into Ireland, and being denyed residence there by the Scots, were perswaded by them to inhabit the North parts of Britaine. But Mr. Camden, out of Dio, Herodian, Tacitus, &c. and upon consideration of the customes, name and language of the Piçts, conceives not improbably, that they were naturall Britons, although distinguished by name. SIR JAMES WARE.

*Iren.* Those Bardes indeed, Cæſar writeth, delivered no certaine truth of any thing, neither is there any certaine hold to be taken of any antiquity which is received by tradition, ſince all men be lyars, and many lye when they wil; yet for the antiquities of the written Chronicles of Ireland, give me leave to ſay ſomething, not to juſtifie them, but to ſhew that ſome of them might ſay truth. For where you ſay the Iriſh have alwayes bin without letters, you are therein much deceived; for it is certaine, that Ireland hath had the uſe of letters very anciently, and long before England.]

*Eudox.* Is it poſſible? how comes it then that they are ſo unlearned ſtill, being ſo old ſchollers? For learning (as the Poet ſaith) “*Emollit mores, nec finit eſſe feros:*” whence then (I pray you) could they have thoſe letters?

*Iren.* It is hard to ſay: for whether they at their firſt comming into the land, or afterwards by trading with other nations which had letters, learned them of them, or deviſed them amongſt themſelves, is very doubtful; but that they had letters aunciently, is nothing doubtfull, for the Saxons of England are ſaid to have their letters, and learning, and learned men from the Iriſh, and that alſo appeareth by the likeneſſe of the character, for the Saxons character is the ſame with the Iriſh. Now the Scythians, never,

\* *Thoſe Bardes indeed, Cæſar writeth,*] Concerning them I finde no mention in Cæſar’s Commentaries, but much touching the Druides, which were the prieſts and philoſophers, (or Magi as \* Pliny calls them) of the Gaules and Britiſh. “*Illi rebus divinis interſunt, († ſaith he) ſacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adoleſcentium numerus diſciplinæ cauſâ concurrit, magnoque ii ſunt apud eos honore, &c.*” The word *δρῶν* [Sax. *Dry.*] had anciently the ſame ſignification (as I am informed) among the Iriſh. SIR JAMES WARE.

\* Hiſt. nat. lib. 16. cap. 44.

† De bello Gallic. lib. 2.

as I can reade, of old had letters amongst them; therefore it seemeth that they had them from the nation which came out of Spaine, for in Spaine there was (as Strabo writeth) letters anciently used, whether brought unto them by the Phenicians, or the Persians, which (as it appeareth by him) had some footing there, or from Marsellis, which is said to have bin inhabited by the Greekes, and from them to have had the Greeke character, of which Marsilians it is said, that the Gaules learned them first, and used them only for the furtherance of their trades and privat business; for the Gaules (as is strongly to be proved by many ancient and authenticall writers) did first inhabite all the sea coast of Spaine, even unto Cales, and the mouth of the Straights, and peopled also a great part of Italy, which appeareth by fundry havens and cities in Spaine called from them, as Portugallia, Gallecia, Galdunum, and also by fundry nations therein dwelling, which yet have received their own names of the Gaules, as the Rhegni, Presamarei, Tamari, Cineri, and divers others. All which Pomponius Mela, being himselfe a Spaniard, yet saith to have descended from the Celts of France, whereby it is to be gathered, that that nation which came out of Spaine into Ireland, were anciently Gaules, and that they brought with them those letters which they had anciently learned in Spaine, first into Ireland, which some also say, doe much resemble the old Phenician character, being likewise distinguished with pricke and accent, as theirs aunciently, but the further enquire hereof needeth a place of longer discourse then this our short conference.

*Eudox.* Surely you have shewed a great probability of that which I had thought impossible to have bin proved; but that which you now say, that Ireland should have bin peopled with the Gaules,



feemeth much more strange, for all the Chronicles doe say, that the west and south was possessed and inhabited of Spaniards: and Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same, all which you must overthrow and falsifie, or else renounce your opinion.

[and Cornelius Tacitus doth also strongly affirme the same,] Cornelius Tacitus in the Life of Iulius Agricola saith thus. "Silurum colorati vultus, & torti plerumque crines, & positus contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt." This he speaketh touching the Silures which inhabited that part of South-Wales, which now we call Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire. And although the like reason may be given for that part of Ireland which lyeth next unto Spaine, yet in Tacitus we find no such inference. \* Buchanan indeed upon the conjecture of Tacitus hath these words. "Verisimile autem non est Hispanos relicta à tergo Hiberniâ, terra propiore, & coeli & soli mitioris, in Albium primùm descendisse, sed primùm in Hiberniam appulisse, atque inde in Britanniâ colonos missos." Which was observed unto me by the most learned bishop of Meth, Dr. Anth. Martin, upon conference with his Lordship about this point. One passage in Tacitus touching Ireland (in the same booke) I may not heere omit, although it be extra oleas. "Quinto expeditionum anno (saith he) nave primâ transgressus, ignotas ad tempus gentes, crebris simul ac prosperis præliis domuit, eamque partem Britannia quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem. Siquidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam aque Hispaniam sita, & Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperij partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus si Britannia comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum cælumque & ingenia, cultusq; hominum haut multùm à Britannia differunt, meliùs aditus portusq; per commercia & negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domesticâ unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitia in occasionem retinebat. Sæpè ex eo audiivi Legionem unâ & modicis auxilijs debellari, obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque adversùs Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, & velut è conspectu libertas tolleretur."

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\* Rer. Scot. Lib. 1.

*Iren.* Neither so, nor so; for the Irish Chronicles (as I shewed you) being made by unlearned men, and writing things according to the appearance of the truth which they conceived, doe erre in the circumstances, not in the matter. For all that came out of Spaine (they being no diligent searchers into the differences of the nations) supposed to be Spaniards, and so called them; but the ground-work thereof is neverthelesse true and certain, however they through ignorance disguise the same, or through vanity, whilst they would not seem to be ignorant, doe thereupon build and enlarge many forged histories of their owne antiquity, which they deliver to fooles, and make them believe for true; as for example, That first of one Gathelus the sonne of Cecrops or Argos, who having married the King of Egypt his daughter, thence sailed with her into Spaine, and there inhabited: Then that of Nemedus and his sonnes, who comming out of Scythia, peopled Ireland, and inhabited it with his sonnes 250 yeares, until he was overcome of the Giants dwelling then in Ireland, and at the last quite banished and rooted out, after whom 200 yeares, the sonnes of one Dela, being Scythians, arrived there againe, and possessed the whole land, of which the youngest called "Slanius, in the end made himselfe Monarch. Lastly, of the 4 sonnes of Milesius King of Spaine, which conquered the land from the Scythians, and inhabited it with Spaniards, and called it of the name of the youngest Hiberus, Hibernia: all which are in truth fables,

<sup>u</sup> *Slanius, in the end made himselfe Monarch.*] The Irish stories have a continued succession of the Kings of Ireland from this Slanius, untill the conquest by King Henry the second, but very uncertaine, especially untill the planting of religion by S. Patrick, at which time Lægarius, or Lagirius was monarch.

<sup>b</sup> SIR JAMES WARE.

and very Milesian lyes, as the later proverbe is: for never was there such a King of Spaine, called Milesius, nor any such colonie seated with his sonnes, as they saie, that can ever be proved; but yet under these tales you may in a manner see the truth lurke. For Scythians here inhabiting, they name and put Spaniards, whereby appeareth that both these nations here inhabited, but whether very Spaniards, as the Irish greatly affect, is no wayes to be proved.

*Eudor.* Whence cometh it then that the Irish doe so greatly covet to fetch themselves from the Spaniards, since the old Gauls are a more auncient and much more honorable nation?

*Iren.* Even of a very desire of new fanglenes and vanity, for they derive themselves from the Spaniards, as seeing them to be a very honorable people, and neere bordering unto them: but all that is most vaine; for from the Spaniards that now are, or that people that now inhabite Spaine, they no wayes can prove themselves to descend; neither should it be greatly glorious unto them; for the Spaniard that now is, is come from as rude and savage nations as they, there being, as there may be gathered by course of ages, and view of their owne history, (though they therein labour much to enoble themselves) scarce any drop of the old Spanish blood left in them; for all Spaine was first conquered by the Romans, and filled with colonies from them, which were still increased, and the native Spaniard still cut off. Afterwards the Carthaginians in all the long Punick Warres (having spoiled all Spaine, and in the end subdued it wholly unto themselves) did, as it is likely, root out all that were affected to the Romans. And lastly the Romans having againe recovered that countrey, and beate out Hannibal, did doubtlesse cut off all that favored the Cartha-

ginians, so that betwixt them both, to and fro, there was scarce a native Spaniard left, but all inhabited of Romans. All which tempests of troubles being over-blowne, there long after arose a new storme, more dreadful then all the former, which over-ran all Spaine, and made an infinite confusion of all things; that was, the comming downe of the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Vandals: And lastly all the nations of Scythia, which, like a mountaine flood, did over-flowe all Spaine, and quite drowned and waht away whatsoever reliques there was left of the land-bred people, yea, and of all the Romans too. The which Northern Nations finding the nature of the soyle, and the vehement heat thereof farre differing from their constitutions, tooke no felicity in that countrey, but from thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all countreyes of Christendome, of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprinckling, if not throughly peopling of them. And yet after all these the Moores and the Barbarians, breaking over out of Africa, did finally possessè all Spaine, or the most part thereof, and did tread, under their heathenish feete, whatever little they found yet there standing. The which, though after they were beaten out by Ferdinando of Arragon and Elizabeth his wife, yet they were not so cleansed, but that through the marriages which they had made, and mixture with the people of the land, during their long continuance there, they had left no pure drop of Spanish blood, no more than of Roman or of Scythian. So that of all nations under heaven (I suppose) the Spaniard is the most mingled, and most uncertaine; wherefore most foolishly doe the Irish thinke to enoble themselves by wresting their auncientry from the Spaniard, who is unable to derive himselfe from any certaine.

*Eudox.* You speake very sharply Iren. in dispraise of the Spaniard, whom some others boast to be the onely brave nation under the skie.

*Iren.* So surely he is a very brave man, neither is that any thing which I speake to his derogation; for in that I said he is a mingled people, it is no dispraise, for I thinke there is no nation now in Christendome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others: for it was a singular providence of God, and a most admirable purpose of his wisdom, to draw those Northerne Heathen Nations downe into those Christian parts, where they might receive Christianity, and to mingle nations so remote miraculously, to make as it were one blood and kindred of all people, and each to have knowledge of him.

*Eudox.* Neither have you sure any more dishonoured the Irish, for you have brought them from very great and ancient nations, as any were in the world, how ever fondly they affect the Spanish. For both Scythians and Gaules were two as mighty nations as ever the world brought forth. But is there any token, denomination or monument of the Gaules yet remaining in Ireland, as there is of the Scythians?

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

*Eudox.* What was the Gaulish speech, is there any part of it still used among any nation?

*Iren.* The Gaulish speech is the very British, the which was very generally used here in all Brittain, before the coming of the Saxons: and yet is retained of the Welchmen, Cornishmen, and the Brittaines of France, though time working the alteration of all things, and the trading and interdeale with other nations round about, have changed and greatly altered the dialect thereof; but yet the

originall words appeare to be the same, as who hath list to read in Camden and Buchanan, may see at large. Besides, there be many places, as havens, hills, townes, and castles, which yet beare the names from the Gaules, of the which Buchanan rehearseth above 500 in Scotland, and I can (I thinke) recount neere as many in Ireland which retaine the old denomination of the Gaules, as the Menapii, Cauci, Venti, and others; by all which and many other reasonable probabilities (which this short course will not suffer to be laid forth) it appeareth that the cheife inhabitants in Ireland were Gaules, comming thither first out of Spaine, and after from besides Tanais, where the Gothes, the Hunnes, and the Getes fate down; they also being (as it is said of some) ancient Gaules; and lastly passing out of Gallia it selfe, from all the sea-coast of Belgia and Celtica, into al the southerne coasts of Ireland, which they possessed and inhabited, whereupon it is at this day, amongst the Irish a common use, to call any stranger inhabitant there amongst them, Gald, that is, descended from the Gaules.

*Eudox.* This is very likely, for even so did those Gaules anciently possess all the southerne coasts of our Brittain, which yet retaine their old names, as the Belgæ in Somersetshire, Wilshire, and part of Hamshire, Attrebatii in Berkehire, Regni in Suffex and Surry, and many others. LNow thus farre then, I understand your opinion, that the Seythians planted in the North part of Ireland; the Spaniards (for so we call them, what ever they were that came from Spaine) in the West; the Gaules in V the South; J so that there now remaineth the East parts towards England, which I would be glad to understand from whence you doe think them to be peopled.

*Iren.* Mary I thinke of the Brittaines themselves, of which though there be little footing now remaining, by reason that the Saxons afterwards, and lastly the English, driving out the inhabitants thereof, did possess and people it themselves. Yet amongst the Tooles, the Birns, or Brins, the Cavenaghes, and other nations in Leinster, there is some memory of the Britans remayning. As the Tooles are called of the old British word Tol, that is, a Hill Countrey, the Brins of the British word Brin, that is, Woods, and the Cavenaghes of the word Caune, that is, strong; so that in these three people the very denomination of the old Britons doe still remaine. Besides, when any flieth under the succour and protection of any against an enemy, he cryeth unto him, Comericke, that is in the Brittainish Helpe, for the Brittainie is called in their owne language, Comeroy. Furthermore to prove the same, \* Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus, and by Strabo, called Britannia, and a part of Great Brittainie. Finally it appeareth by good record yet extant, that <sup>y</sup> King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt, had all that island under their alleagiance and subjection; hereunto I could add many probabilities of the names of places, persons, and speeches, as I did in the former, but

\* *Ireland is by Diodorus Siculus and by Strabo, called Britannia,*] Iris is by Diodorus called a part of Brittainie: but Ireland by neither of them Britannia. SIR JAMES WARE.

<sup>y</sup> *King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt,*] Concerning King Arthur's conquest of Ireland, see Geffry of Monmouth, and Matthew of Westminster, at the yeare 525, where he is said to have landed in Ireland with a great army, and in a battle to have taken King Gilla-Mury prisoner, and forced the other princes to subjection. In our Annals it appeares that Mori-ertach (the sonne of Ercæ) was at that time King of Ireland, of which name some reliques seeme to be in Gilla-Mury, Gilla being but an addition used with many names, as Gilla-Patrick, &c. But in the country writers (which I have seene) I find not the least touch of this conquest. SIR JAMES WARE.

they should be too long for this, and I reserve them for another. And thus you have had my opinion, how all that realme of Ireland was first peopled, and by what nations. After all which the Saxons succeeding, subdued it wholly to themselves. For first Egfrid, King of Northumberland, did utterly waite and subdue it, as appeareth out of Beda's complaint against him; and after him, King Edgar brought it under his obedience, as appeareth by an ancient Record, in which it is found written, that he subdued all the islands of the North, even unto Norway, and brought them into his subjection.

*Eudox.* <sup>2</sup> This ripping of auncestors, is very pleasing unto me, and indeede favoureth of good conceipt, and some reading withall. I see hereby how profitable travaile, and experience of forraine nations, is to him that will apply them to good purpose. Neither indeede would I have thought, that any such antiquities could have beene avouched for the Irish, that maketh me the more to long to see some other of your observations, which you have gathered out of that country, and have earst half promised to put forth: and sure in this mingling of nations appeareth (as you earst well noted) a wonderfull providence and purpose of Almighty God, that stirred up the people in the furthest parts of the world, to seeke out their regions so remote from them, and by that meanes both to restore their decayed habitations, and to make himselfe knowne to the Heathen. But was there I pray you no more generall employing of that iland, then first by the Scythians, which you say were the Scottes, and afterwards by the Spaniards, besides the Gaules, Brittaines, and Saxons?

<sup>2</sup> *This ripping of auncestors,*] This *discovery* of ancestors &c. *Ripping* is metaphorically used. To *rip*, is to break open stitched things. TODD.



*Iren.* Yes, there was another, and that last and greatest, which was by the English, when the Earle Strangbowe, having conquered that land, delivered up the same into the hands of Henry the second, then King, who sent over thither great store of gentlemen, and other warlike people, <sup>a</sup> amongst whom he distributed the land, and settled such a

<sup>a</sup> amongst whom he distributed the land,] King Henry the 2. gave to \* Richard Strongbow Earle of Striguil or Penbroke, all Leinster, excepting the city of Dublin, and the cantreds adjoining with the maritime townes and castles. Unto † Robert fitz Stephen, and Miles de Cogan he granted the kingdome of Corke, excepting the city of Corke, and the Ostmans cantred. And unto ‡ Philip de Bruse the kingdome of Limericke. But in a confirmation of King Iohn to William de Bruse (or Braos) nephew to this Philip, wee finde that hee gave to him onely § honorem de Limerick, retentis in dominico nostro (as the words of the charter are) civitate de Limerick & donationibus episcopatum & abbatiarum, & retentis in manu nostrâ cantredo Ostmannorum & S. insulâ. Among other large graunts (remembred by Hoveden) which this King Henry gave to the first adventurers, that of Meth to Sir Hugh de Lacy is of speciall note. The grant was in these words.

“ Henricus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, & Dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andegaviæ. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iustitiarijs, & omnibus ministris & fidelibus suis Francis, Anglis & Hiberniensibus totius terræ suæ, Salutem. Sciatis me dedisse & concessisse, & præsentî chartâ meâ confirmâsse Hugoni de Lacy pro servitio suo, terram de Middiâ cum omnibus pertinentijs suis per servitium quinquaginta militum sibi & hæredibus suis, tenendum & habendum à me & hæredibus meis, sicut Murchardus Hu-melathlin eam tennit, vel aliquis alius ante illum vel postea. Et de incremento illi dono omnia feoda quæ præbuit, vel quæ præbebit circa Duveliniam, dum Balivus meus est, ad faciendum mihi servitium apud civitatem meam Duveliniæ. Quare volo & firmiter præcipio, ut ipse Hugo & hæredes sui post eum prædictam terram habeant, & teneant omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines, quas ibi habeo vel habere possum per prænominatum servitium, à me

\* Gir. Camb. Hib. expugn. lib. 1. cap. 28.

† Vid. Rog. de Hoveden, pag. 567. edit. Franc. & Camd. Brit. p. 379.

‡ Rog. de Hoveden, ibid.

§ Chart. an. 2. Io. in arce Lond.

strong colonie therein, as never since could with all the subtle practices of the Irish be rooted out, but

& hæredibus meis, benè & in pace, liberè, & quietè, & honoricè, in bosco & plano, in pratis & pascuis, in aquis & molèdinis, in vivarijs & stagnis, & piscationibus & venationibus, in vijs, & femitis, & portubus maris, & in omnibus alijs locis, & alijs rebus ad eam pertinentibus cum omnibus libertatibus, quas ibi habeo, vel illi dare possum, & hæc meâ chartâ confirmare. Test. comite Richardo filio Gilberti, Willielmo de Braosa, &c. Apud Weisford.”

But above all other graunts made by K. Henry the 2. that to his soune Iohn is most memorable. “Deinde (saith \* Hoveden) venit rex Oxenford, & in generali concilio ibidem celebrato constituit Iohannem filium suum Regem in Hiberniâ, concessione & confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis.” By virtue of this graunt both in the life time of his father, and in the raigne of his brother King Richard, he was filed in all his charters Dominus Hiberniæ, and directed them thus, “Ioannes Dominus Hiberniæ, & comes Morton. Archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, Iustitiarijs, vice comitibus, constabularijs, & omnibus ballivis & ministris suis totius Hiberniæ, salutem.” Thus we have it frequently (although sometimes with a little variation) in the Registers of St. Mary abbey, and Thomascourt by Dublin. How the Earle in Leinster, and Lacy in Meth, distributed their lands, (besides what they retained in their owne hands,) is delivered by Maurice Regan, (interpreter to Dermot Mac Murrough King of Leinster) who wrote the historie of those times in French verse. The booke was translated into English by Sir George Carew Lo. President of Mounster, afterwards Earle of Totnes, and communicated to me, by our most reverend and excellently learned primate. There wee finde that the Earle gave to Reymond le Grose in † marriage with his sifter Fotherd, Odrone, and Glasfarrig; unto Hery de Mount-marish, hee gave Obarthy; unto Maurice de Prindergraft, Fernegenall, which was afterwards conferred upon Robert fitz Godobert, but by what meanes he obtained it (saith Regan) I know not. Unto Meiler Fitz Henry he gave Carbry; unto ‡ Maurice Fitz Gerald the Naas Ofelin (which

\* In Hen. 2. pag. 566.

† Consul. Gir. Camb. Hib. expugn. lib. 2. cap. 4.

‡ This Maurice soone after deceasing at Wexford, King Iohn then Earle of Morcton confirmed to his soune William Fitz Maurice cantredum terræ quem Makelanus tenuit, illum sc. in quo villa de Naas sita est, quam comes Richardus dedit Maurio patri ipsius Willielmi. Thus the charter, habetur in ros. com. placit. an. 10. Hen. 6. in turri Birminghamiano,

abide still a mighty people, of so many as remaine English of them.

had bene possessed by Mackelan) and Wickloe; unto Walter de Ridelesford he gave the lands of Omorthy; unto Iohn de Clahul the Marshallship of Leinster, and the land betweene Aghabo and Legblin; unto Robert de Birmingham Ofaly; and unto Adam de Hereford large possessions. What these possessions were, are thus noted in the Register of Thomascourt abbey, where speaking of the Earle, "*Postea Lagenia perquisita, erat quidam juvenis cum eo quem multum dilexit, & dedit eidem pro servitio suo terras & tenementa subscripta, viz. tenementum de saltu Salmonis, Cloncoury, Kill, Houterard, & tenementum de Donning cum omnibus suis pertinentijs.*" Thus the Register. This Adam de Hereford was founder of St. Wulstan's Priory neere Leixlip in the county of Kildare. But we proceed with Regan. Unto Miles Fitz David who was one of his chiefe favorites, he gave Overk in Ossory; to Thomas de Flemming, Arde; to Gilbert de Borard, Ofelmith; to a Knight called Reinand he gave 15 knight's fees adioyning to the sea; and to one Robert (who was afterwards slaine in Connaught) the Norragh. What partition Lacy made in Meth, he thus delivers. Unto his speciall friend Hugh Tirrell he gave Castleknock: and unto William Petit Castlebreck. I have seene an ancient deede made by Sir Hugh de Lacy to this William Petit wherein among other things he graunts unto him Matherethirnan "*cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, exceptis Lacu & villa quæ dicitur Distert, &c.*" Unto the valiant Meiler fitz Henry (sayth Regan) he gave Magherneran, the lands of Rathkenin, and the cantred of Athnorker. Unto Gilbert de Nangle all Magherigallen; unto Iocelin the sonne of Gilbert de Nangle, the Navan and the land of Ardraccan: unto Richard de Tuite he gave faire possessions; unto Robert de Lacy Rathwer, unto Richard de la Chappell he gave much land; unto Geffry de Constantine Kilbisky and Rathmarthy; unto Adam de Feipo, Gilbert de Nugent, William de Missét, and Hugh de Hofe, he gave large inheritances. In Lacyes graunt to Feipo, we finde that he gave him Skrine, "*et præterea (sayth the \* deede) feodum unius militis circa Duvelinam, scil. Clantorht & Santref. &c.*" In his graunt to Gilbert de Nugent, (the originall whereof I have seene, with an impression upon the seale, of a Knight armed and mounted,) he gave to him Delvin, "*quam in tempore Hibernicorum tenu-*

\* Magn. regist. mon. B. Mariæ iuxta Dublin. fol. 76.

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

*Iren.* No, for some of them are degenerated and growne almost mere Irish, yea and more malicious to the English then the Irish themselves.

*Eudox.* What heare I? And is it possible that an Englishman, brought up in such sweet civility as England affords, should find such likeing in that barbarous rudenes, that he should forget his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation! how may this bee, or what (I pray you) may be the cause thereof?

*Iren.* Surely, nothing but the first evill ordinance and institution of that Common-wealth. But thereof here is no fit place to speake, least by the occasion thereof, offering matter of a long discourse, we might be drawne from this, that we had in hand, namely, the handling of abuses in the customes of Ireland.

*Eudox.* In truth *Iren.* you doe well remember the plot of your first purpose; but yet from that (me seemes) ye have much swarved in all this long discourse, of the first inhabiting of Ireland; for what is that to your purpose?

*Iren.* Truly very materiall, for if you marked the course of all that speech well, it was to shew, by what meanes the customes, that now are in Ireland, being some of them indeede very strange and

erunt O-Finelans, cum omnibus pertinentijs & villis, quæ infra prædictam Delvin continentur, exceptâ quadam villâ Abbatis Fouræ nomine Torrochelafch pro servitio 5. militum." Thus the charter. To Misset hee gave Luin, and to Hussyey or Hofe Galtrim. Regan proceeds. Unto Adam Dullard hee gave the lands of Dullenvarthy, unto one Thomas he gave Cramly: Timlath began north east from Kenlis, Lathrachalim; and Sendevonath; and unto Richard le Flemming he gave Craudon at twenty Knights fees. SIR JAMES WARE.

almost heathenish, were first brought in: and that was, as I said, by those nations from whom that countrey was first peopled; for the difference in manners and customes, doth follow the difference of nations and people. The which I have declared to you, to have beene three especially which seated themselves here: to wit, first the Scythian, then the Gaules, and lastly the English. Notwithstanding that I am not ignorant, that there were fundry nations which got footing in that land, of the which there yet remaine divers great families and sects, of whom I will also in their proper places make mention.

*Eudox.* You bring your selfe Iren. very well into the way againe, notwithstanding that it seemeth that you were never out of the way, but now that you have passed thorough those antiquities, which I could have wished not so soone ended, begin when you please, to declare what customes and manners have beene derived from those nations to the Irish, and which of them you finde fault withall.

*Iren.* I will begin then to count their customes in the same order that I counted their nations, and first with the Scythian or Scottish manners. Of the which there is one use, amongst them, to keepe their cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the yeare in boolies, pasturing upon the mountaine, and waste wilde places; and removing still to fresh land, as they have depastured the former. The which appeareth plaine to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus, and Io. Bohemus, and yet is used amongst all the Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heards as they call them, being the very same, that the Irish boolies are, driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding onely on their milke and white meats.

*Eudox.* What fault can you finde with this custome? for though it be an old Scythian use, yet it is very behoofefull in this country of Ireland, where there are great mountaines, and waste deserts full of grasse, that the same should be eaten downe, and nourish many thousands of cattle, for the good of the whole realme, which cannot (me thinks) well be any other way, then by keeping those boolies there, as yee have shewed.

*Iren.* But by this custome of boolying, there grow in the meane time many great enormities unto that Common-wealth. For first if there be any out-lawes, or loose people, (as they are never without some) which live upon stealthes and spoyles, they are evermore succoured and finde releife only in these boolies, being upon the waste places, whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come downe to the townes to seeke releife, where by one meanes or other, they would soone be caught. Besides, such stealthes of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to those boolies, being upon those waste places, where they are readily received, and the theife harboured from danger of law, or such officers as might light upon him. Moreover the people that thus live in those boolies, grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licentiously than they could in townes, using what manners they list, and practizing what mischeifes and villainies they will, either against the government there, by their combynations, or against private men, whom they maligne, by stealing their goods, or murdering themselves. For there they thinke themselves halfe exempted from law and obedience, and having once tasted freedome, doe like a steere, that hath bene long out of his yoke, grudge and repyne ever after, to come under rule again.

*Eudox.* By your speech *Iren.* I perceive more evill come by this use of boolies, then good by their

graving; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that must be in his due course: do you proceed to the next.

*Iren.* They have another custome from the Scythians, that is the wearing of Mantles, <sup>b</sup> and long glibbes, which is a thicke curled bush of haire, hanging downe over their eyes, and monstrosly disguising them, which are both very bad and hurtfull.

*Eudox.* Doe you thinke that the mantle commeth from the Scythians? I would surely think otherwise, for by that which I have read, it appeareth that most nations of the world aunciently used the mantle. For the Iewes used it, as you may read of Elyas mantle, &c. The Chaldees also used it, as yee may read in Diodorus. The Egyptians likewise used it, as yee may read in Herodotus, and may be gathered by the description of Berenice, in the Greeke Commentary upon Callimachus. The Greekes also used it aunciently, as appeareth by Venus mantle lyned with starrs, though afterwards \* they changed the form thereof into their cloakes, called Pallia, as some of the Irish also use. And

<sup>b</sup> and long glibbes, &c.] “ In Terconnell the haire of their head growes so long and curled, that they goe bare-headed, and are called *Glibs*; the women, *Glibbins*.” Gainsford’s *Glory of England*, 4to. Lond. 1618, p. 151. TODD.

<sup>c</sup> they changed the form thereof into their cloakes called Pallia,] As the Romans had their gowne called toga, so the ancient outward vestiment of the Grecians was called Pallium, by some translated a mantle, although it be now commonly taken for a cloake, which doth indeed somewhat resemble a mantle. By these different kinds of habit, the one was so certainly distinguished from the other, that the word *togatus* was often used to signifie a Roman, and *Palliatus* a Grecian, as it is observed by \* Mr. Tho. Godwin out of † Sigonius. “ *Togati* (saith he) *pro Romanis dicti, ut Palliati pro Græcis*.” But that the

\* Romanæ histor. antholog. lib. 2. sect. 3. cap. 7.

† De ind. l. 3. cap. 19.

the auncient Latines and Romans used it, as you may read in Virgil, who was a very great antiquary: That Evander, when Æneās came to him at his feast, did entertaine and feast him, sitting on the ground, and lying on mantles. Infomuch as he useth the very word mantile for a mantle.

<sup>d</sup> “ ——— Humi mantilia sternunt.”

So that it seemeth that the mantle was a generall habite to most nations, and not proper to the Scythians onely, as you suppose.

*Iren.* I cannot deny but that aunciently it was common to most, and yet sithence difused and laide away. But in this later age of the world, since the decay of the Romane empire, it was renewed and brought in againe by those Northerne Nations, when breaking out of their cold caves and frozen habitations, into the sweet soyle of Europe, they brought with them their usual weedes, fit to sheild

ancient Latines and Romans used it, as the author alledgeth, (out of I know not what place in Virgil) appeareth no way unto mee. That the gowne was their usuall outward garment, is most certaine, and that commonly of wooll, finer or courser, according to the dignity of the person that wore it. Whence Horace, *Satyr.* 3. lib. 1.

——— “ Sit mihi mensa tripes, et

“ Concha falis puri, et toga quæ defendere frigus,

“ Quamvis crassa, queat.”—

And from this difference betweene the ancient Roman and Grecian habit, grew the proverbs, “ modò palliatus, modò togatus, and de togâ ad pallium,” to denote an unconstant person. SIR JAMES WARE.

<sup>d</sup> “ ——— *Humi mantilia sternunt.*”] Evanders entertainment of Æneās, is set out in the 8. booke of Virgils Æneis, but there we have no such word as mantile. In his entertainment by Dido we have it, but in another sence. *Æneid.* lib. 1.

“ Iam pater Æneās, & jam Troiana iuventus

“ Conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro,

“ Dant famuli manibus lymphas, Cereremque canistris

“ Expediunt, tonsisq; ferunt mantilia villis.”

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the cold, and that continual frost, to which they had at home beene inured: the which yet they left not off, by reason that they were in perpetual warres, with the nations whom they had invaded, but, still removing from place to place, carried always with them that weed, as their house, their bed, and their garment; and, comming lastly into Ireland, they found there more speciall use thereof, by reason of the raw cold climate, from whom it is now growne into that general use, in which that people now have it. After whom the Gaules succeeding, yet finding the like necessitie of that garment, continued the like use thereof.

*Eudox.* Since then the necessity thereof is so commodious, as you alledge, that it is instead of housing, bedding, and cloathing, what reason have you then to wish so necessarie a thing cast off?

*Iren.* Because the commoditie doth not counter-vaile the discommoditie; for the inconveniencies which thereby doe arise, are much more many; for it is a fit house for an out-law, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a thiefe. First the out-law being for his many crimes and villanyes banished from the townes and houses of honest men, and wandring in waste places, far from danger of law, maketh his mantle his house, and under it covereth himselfe from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men. When it raineth it is his pent-house; when it bloweth it is his tent; when it freezeth it is his tabernacle. In Sommer he can wear it loose, in winter he can wrap it close; at all times he can use it; never heavy, never cumbersome. Likewise for a rebell it is as serviceable. For in his warre that he maketh (if at least it deserve the name of warre) when he still flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thicke woods and fraite passages, waiting for ad-

vantages, it is his bed, yea and almost his household stuff. For the wood is his house against all weathers, and his mantle is his couch to sleep in. Therein he wrappeth himself round, and coucheth himself strongly against the gnats, which in that countrey doe more annoy the naked rebels, whilst they keepe the woods, and doe more sharply wound them then all their enemies swords, or spears, which can seldome come nigh them: yea and oftentimes their mantle serveth them, when they are neere driven, being wrapped about their left arme in stead of a target, for it is hard to cut thorough with a sword, besides it is light to beare, light to throw away, and, being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly for a theife it is so handsome, as it may seem it was first invented for him, for under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that commeth handsomly in his way, and when he goeth abroad in the night in free-booting, it is his best and surest friend; for lying, as they often do, 2 or 3 nights together abroad to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a bush or a bank side, till they may conveniently do their errand: and when all is over, he can, in his mantle passe thorough any town or company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledge of any to whom he is indangered. Besides this, he, or any man els that is disposed to mischief or villany, may under his mantle goe privily armed without suspicion of any, carry his head-peece, <sup>c</sup> his skean, or pistol if he please, to be alwayes in readiness. Thus necessary and fitting is a mantle, for a bad man, and surely for a bad hufwife it is no lesse

<sup>c</sup> *his skean,*] “*Sword; skian, or skeine.*” See Walker’s *Memoir &c.* (mentioned in the note on *arms and weapons* below,) p. 115. TODD.

convenient, for some of them that bee wandring woemen, called of them Mona-shul, it is halfe a wardrobe; for in Summer you shal find her arrayed commonly but in her smock and mantle to be more ready for her light services: in Winter, and in her travaile, it is her cloake and safeguard, and also a coverlet for her lewde exercise. And when she hath filled her vessell, under it she can hide both her burden, and her blame; yea, and when her bastard is borne, it serves instead of swadling clouts. And as for all other good women which love to doe but little worke, how handsome it is to lye in and sleepe, or to loufe themselves in the sun-shine, they that have beene but a while in Ireland can well witnes. Sure I am that you will thinke it very unfit for a good hufwife to stirre in, or to busie her selfe about her hufwifry in such sort as she should. These be some of the abuses for which I would thinke it meet to forbid all mantles.

*Eudox.* O evill minded man, that having reckoned up so many uses of a mantle, will yet wish it to be abandoned! Sure I thinke Diogenes dish did never serve his master for more turnes, notwithstanding that he made it his dish, his cup, his cap, his measure, his water-pot, then a mantle doth an Irish man. But I see they be most to bad intents, and therefore I will joyne with you in abolishing it. But what blame lay you to the glibbe? take heed (I pray you) that you be not too busie therewith for feare of your owne blame, seeing our Englishmen take it up in such a generall fashion to weare their haire so immeasurably long, that some of them exceed the longest Irish glibb's.

*Iren.* I feare not the blame of any undeserved dislikes: but for the Irish glibbes, they are as fit maskes as a mantle is for a thiefe. For whensoever he hath run himselfe into that perill of law,

that he will not be knowne, he either cutteth off his glibbe quite, by which he becommeth nothing like himfelfe, or pulleth it fo low downe over his eyes, that it is very hard to difcerne his theevifh countenance. And therefore fit to be truffed up with the mantle.

*Eudox.* Truly thefe three Scythian abufes, I hold moft fit to bee taken away with fharp penalties, and fure I wonder how they have beene kept thus long, notwithstanding fo many good provifions and orders, as have beene devifed for that people.

*Iren.* The caufe thereof fhall appeare to you hereafter: but let us now go forward with our Scythian cuftomes. Of which the next that I have to treat of, is the manner of raifing the cry in their conflicts, and at other troublefome times of uproare: the which is very natural Scythian, as you may read in Diodorus Siculus, and in Herodotus, defcribing the maner of the Scythians and Parthians comming to give the charge at battles: at which it is faid, that they came running with a terrible yell as if heaven and earth would have gone together, which is the very image of the Irifh hubub, <sup>f</sup> which their kerne ufe at their firft encounter. Befides, the fame Herodotus writeth, that they ufed in their battles to call upon the names of their captains or generals, and fomtimes upon their greateft kings deceafed, <sup>z</sup> as in that battle of Thomyris

<sup>f</sup> *which their kerne ufe &c.*] The *kern* is the Irifh *foot-foldier*; and is alfo employed in this fenfe by Shakspeare. See likewife Gainsford's *Glory of England*, 4to. 1618, p. 149. "The name of *Galliglas* is in a manner extinct, but of *KERN*, in great reputation, as ferving them [the Irifh] in their revolts; and proving fufficient fouldiers; but excellent for skirmifh." Again, p. 150. "They [the Irifh] are desperate in revenge; and their *kerne* thinke no man dead, untill his head be off." TODD.

<sup>z</sup> *as in that battle of Thomyris againft Cyrus:*] Herodotus in the defcription of that battle hath no fuch thing.

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against Cyrus: which custome to this day manifestly appeareth amongst the Irish. For at their joyning of battle, they lykewise call upon their captaines name, or the word of his auncestours. As they under Oneale cry Laundarg-abo, that is, the bloody hand, which is Oneales badge. They under O Brien call Laun-laidir, that is, the strong hand. And to their ensample, the old English also which there remayneth, have gotten up their cries Scythian-like, as Crom-abo, and Butler-abo. And here also lyeth open an other manifest prooffe, that the Irish bee Scythes or Scots, for in all their in-counters they use one very common word, crying Ferragh, Ferragh, which is a Scottish word, to wit, the name of one of the first Kings of Scotland, called Feragus, or Fergus, which fought against the Piétes, as you may reade in Buchanan, .de rebus Scoticis; but as others write, it was long before that, the name of their chiefe Captaine, under whom they fought against the Africans, the which was then so fortunate unto them, that ever sithence they have used to call upon his name in their battailes.

*Eudox.* Believe me, this observation of yours, Irenæus, is very good and delightfull; far beyond the blinde conceit of some, who (I remember) have upon the same word Ferragh, made a very blunt conjecture, as namely Mr. Stanihurst, who though he be the same countrey man borne, that should search more neerly into the secret of these things; yet hath strayed from the truth all the heavens wyde, (as they say,) for he thereupon groundeth a very grosse imagination, that the Irish should descend from the Egyptians which came into that Island, first under the leading of one Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, whereupon they use (saith

he) in all their battailes <sup>h</sup> to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh, Ferragh. Surely he shootes wyde on the bow hand, and very far from the marke. For I would first know of him what auncient ground of authority he hath for such a senselesse fable, and if he have any of the rude Irish bookes, as it may be hee hath, yet (me seemes) that a man of his learning should not so lightly have bin carried away with old wives tales, from approvance of his owne reason; for whether it be a smack of any learned iudgment, to say, that Scota is like an Egyptian word, let the learned iudge. But his Scota rather comes of the Greek σκοτία, that is, darknes, which hath not let him see the light of the truth.

*Iren.* You know not Eudoxus, how well M. Stan. could see in the darke; perhaps he hath owles or cats eyes: but well I wot he seeth not well the very light in matters of more weight. But as for Ferragh I have told my coniecture only, and yet thus much I have more to prove a likelyhood, that there be yet at this day in Ireland, many Irish men (chiefly in the Northerne parts) called by the name of Ferragh. But let that now be: this only for this place suffiseth, that it is a word used in their common hububs, the which (with all the rest) is to be abolished, for that it discovereth an affectation to Irish captainry, which in this platform I indeavour specially to beat down. There be other sorts of

<sup>b</sup> to call upon the name of Pharaoh, crying Ferragh.] The vulgar Irish suppose the subject of this war-song to have been *Forroch* or *Ferragh*, (an easy corruption of *Pharroh*, which Selden, in his notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion*, says was the name of the war-song once in use amongst the Irish kerns,) a terrible giant, of whom they tell many a marvellous tale. See Mr. Walker's *Hist. Mem. of the Irish Bards*, notes, p. 96; and Mr. Warton's note on *Sir Ferragh*, F. Q. iv. ii. 4. TODD.

cries also used among the Irish, which favour greatly of the Scythian barbarisme, as their lamentations at their buryals, with dispairfull out-cries, and immoderate waylings, the which M. Stanliurft might also have used for an argument to proove them Egyptians. For so in Scripture it is mentioned, that the Egyptians lamented for the death of Ioseph. Others thinke this custome to come from the Spaniards, for that they doe immeasurably likewise beweale their dead. But the same is not proper Spanish, but altogether heathenish, brought in thither first either by the Scythians, or the Moores that were Africans, and long possessed that countrey. For it is the manner of all Pagans and Infidels to be intemperate in their waylings of their dead, for that they had no faith nor hope of salvation. And this ill custome also is specially noted by Diodorus Siculus, to have beene in the Scythians, and is yet amongst the Northerne Scots at this day, as you may reade in their chronicles.

*Eudox.* This is sure an ill custome also, but yet doth not so much concerne civill reformation, as abuse in religion.

*Iren.* I did not rehearse it as one of the abuses which I thought most worthie of reformation; but having made mention of Irish cries I thought this manner of lewd crying and howling, not impertinent to be noted as uncivill and Scythian-like: for by these old customes, and other like coniecturall circumstances, the descents of nations can only be proved, where other monuments of writings are not remaying.

*Eudox.* Then (I pray you) whensoever in your discourse you meet with them by the way, doe not shun, but boldly touch them: for besides their great pleasure and delight for their antiquity, they bring also great profit and helpe unto civility.

*Iren.* Then sith you will have it so, I will heere take occasion, since I lately spake of their manner of cryes in ioyning of battaile, to speake also somewhat of the manner of their armes, and array in battell, with other customes perhappes worthy the noting. <sup>i</sup> And first of their armes and weapons, amongst which their broad swordes are proper Scythian, for such the Scythes used commonly, as you may read in Olaus Magnus. And the same also the old Scots used, as you may read in Buchanan, and in Solinus, where the pictures of them are in the same forme expressed. Also their short bowes, and little quivers with short bearded arrowes, are very <sup>k</sup> Scythian, as you may reade in the same Olaus. And the same sort both of bowes, quivers, and arrowes, are at this day to bee seene commonly amongst the Northerne Irish-Scots, whose Scottish bowes are not past three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hempe slackely bent, and whose arrowes are not much above halfe an ell long, tipped with steele heads, made like common broad arrow heades, but much more sharpe and slender, that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakely. Moreover their long broad shields, made but with wicker rodde, which are commonly used amongst the said Northerne Irish, but especially of the Scots, are brought from the Scythians, as you

<sup>i</sup> *And first of their armes and weapons,*] This subject is illustrated, with great care, in the following work: "An Historical Essay on the Dress of the ancient and modern Irish; to which is subjoined a Memoir on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish. By Joseph Corper Walker, Esq. M. R. I. A." Dublin, 1788. TODD.

<sup>k</sup> *Scythian,*] The originall of the very name Scythians seemeth to come from shooting. Vide Selden, Annot. in Poly-olb. (ex Gorop. Becan. Beccescl. et Aluredi leg.) p. 133.



may read in Olaus Magnus, Solinus, and others: likewise their going to battle without armor on their bodies or heads, but trusting to the thicknes of their glibbs, the which (they say) will sometimes beare off a good stroke, is meere Scythian, as you may see in the said images of the old Scythes or Scots, set forth by Herodianus and others. Besides, their confused kinde of march in heapes, without any order or array, their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and their manner of fight, resembleth altogether that which is read in histories to have beene used of the Scythians. By which it may almost infallibly be gathered together, with other circumstances, that the Irish are very Scots or Scythes originally, though sithence intermingled with many other nations repairing and joyning unto them. And to these I may also adde another strong conjecture which commeth to my mind, that I have often observed there amongst them, that is, certain religious ceremonies, which are very superstitiously yet used amongst them, the which are also written by fundry authours, to have bin observed amongst the Scythians, by which it may very vehemently be presumed that the nations were anciently all one. For <sup>1</sup>Plutarch (as I remember) in his Treatise of Homer, indeavouring to search out the truth, what countryman Homer was, prooveth it most strongly (as he thinketh) that he was an Æolian borne, for that in describing a sacrifice of the Greekes, he omitted the loyne, the which all the other Grecians (saving the Æolians) use to burne in their sacrifices: also for that he makes the intralls to be roasted on five spits, which was the proper manner

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch] Not he, but Herodotus, in the Life of Homer.  
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of the Æolians, who onely, of all the nations of Grecia, used to facrifize in that sort. By which he inferreth necessarily, that Homer was an Æolian. And by the same reason may I as reasonably conclude, that the Irish are descended from the Scythians; for that they use (even to this day) some of the same ceremonies which the Scythians anciently used. As for example, you may reade in Lucian in that sweet dialogue, which is intituled Toxaris, or of friendship, that the common oath of the Scythians was <sup>m</sup> by the sword, and by the fire, for that they accounted those two speciall divine powers, which should worke vengeance on the perjurers. So doe the Irish at this day, when they goe to battaile, say certaine prayers or charmes to their swords, making a crosse therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the points of their blades into the ground; thinking thereby to have the better successie in fight. Also they use commonly to sweare by their swords. Also the Scythians used, when they would binde any solemne vow or combination amongst them, <sup>n</sup> to drink a bowle of blood together, vowing thereby to spend their last blood in that quarrell: and even so do the wild Scots, as you may read in Buchanan: and some of the Northerne Irish. Likewise at the kindling of the fire, and lighting of candles, they say certaine prayers, and use some other superstitious rites, which shew that

<sup>m</sup> *by the sword, and by the fire.*] Lucian hath it, *by the sword, and by the wind.* Somewhat may be gathered to this purpose out of the \* Ulster Annals, where Lægarius (or Lagerius) a heathen King of Ireland, being taken prisoner by the Leinster men, is said to have bin released upon an oath, which was *per solem & ventum.* SIR JAMES WARE.

<sup>n</sup> *to drink a bowl of blood together, &c.*] See Mela, lib. 11. cap. 1. Other nations also observed this custom. See Herodotus, l. 1. c. 74. TODD.

\* An. 458.

they honour the fire and the light: for all those Northerne nations, having beene used to be annoyed with much colde and darkenesse, are wont therefore to have the fire and the funne in great veneration; like as contrarywise the Moores and Egyptians, which are much offended and grieved with extreame heat of the funne, doe every morning, when the funne ariseth, fall to cursing and banning of him as their plague. You may also reade in the same booke, in the Tale of Arfacomas, that it was the manner of the Scythians, when any one of them was heavily wronged, and would assemble unto him any forces of people to joyne with him in his revenge, to sit in some publicke place for certaine dayes upon an oxe hide, to which there would resort all such persons as being disposed to take armes, would enter into his pay, or joyne with him in his quarrel. And the same you may likewise reade to have beene the ancient manner of the wilde Scotts, which are indeed the very naturall Irish. Moreover the Scythians used to sweare by their Kings hand, as Olaus sheweth. And so do the Irish use now to sweare by their Lords hand, and, to forswear it, holde it more criminall than to sweare by God. Also the Scythians said, That they were once a yeare turned into wolves, and so is it written of the Irish: Though Master Camden in a better sense doth suppose it was ° a disease, called *Lycanthropia*, so

° *a disease, called Lycanthropia,*] “ Among these humors of Melancholy, the phisitions place a kinde of madnes, by the Greeks called *Lycanthropia*, termed by the Latines *Insania Lupina*, or *Wolves furie*: which bringeth a man to this point, (as Attomare affirmeth) that in Februarie he will goe out of the house in the night like a wolfe, hunting about the graves of the dead with great howling; and plucke the dead mens bones out of the sepulchers, carrying them about the streets, to the greate feare and astonishment of all them that meete

named of the wolfe. And yet fome of the Irish doe use to make the wolfe their gossip. The Scythians used also to scethe the flesh in the hide: and so doe the Northerne Irish. The Scythians used to draw the blood of the beast living, and to make meat thereof: and so do the Irish in the North still. Many such customes I could recount unto you, as of their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of singing, of feasting, of cursing, though Christians have wyped out the most part of them, by resemblance, whereof it might plainly appeare to you, that the nations are the same, but that by the reckoning of these few, which I have told unto you, I finde my speech drawne out to a greater length then I purposed. Thus much onely for this time I hope shall suffice you, to thinke that the Irish are anciently deduced from the Scythians.

*Eudor.* Surely Iren. I have heard, in these few words, that from you which I would have thought had bin impossible to have bin spoken of times so remote, and customes so ancient: with delight whereof I was all that while as it were intranced, and carried so farre from my selfe, as that I am now right sorry that you ended so soone. But I marvaile much how it cometh to passe, that in so long continuance of time, and so many ages come betweene, yet any jot of those olde rites and superstitious customes should remaine amongst them.

*Iren.* It is no cause of wonder at all; for it is the maner of many nations to be very superstitious, and diligent observers of old customes and antiquities, which they receive by continuall tradition

him: And the foresaide author affirmeth, that melancholike persons of this kinde have pale faces, soaked and hollow eies, with a weak sight, never shedding one tear to the view of the world, &c." *The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles*, (a translation from the Italian,) 4to. 1600, p. 19. TODD.

from their parents, by recording of their Bards and Chronicles, in their songs, and by daylie use and ensample of their elders.

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

*Iren.* Some perhaps I have; and who that will by this occasion more diligently marke and compare their customes, shall finde many more. But there are fewer remayning of the Gaules or Spaniards, then of the Scythians, by reason that the partes, which they then possessed, lying upon the coast of the Westerne and Southerne Sea, were sithence visited with strangers and forraine people, repaying thither for trafficke, and for fishing, which is very plentifull upon those coasts: for the trade and interdeale of sea-coast nations one with another, worketh more civilitie and good fashions, (all sea men being naturally desirous of new fashions,) then amongst the inland folke, which are seldome seene of forrainers; yet some of such as I have noted, I will recount unto you. And first I will, for the better credit of the rest, shew you one out of their Statutes, among which it is enacted, that no man shall weare his beard onely on the upper lip, shaving all his chinne. And this was the auncient manner of the Spaniards, as yet it is of all the Mahometans to cut off all their beards close, save onelie their Muschachios, which they weare long. And the cause of this use, was for that they, being bred in a hot countrey, found much haire on their faces and other parts to be noyous unto them: for which cause they did cut it most away, like as contrarily all other nations, brought up in cold countreys, do use to nourish their haire,

to keepe them the warmer, which was the cause that the Scythians and Scottes wore Glibbes (as I shewed you) to keepe their heads warme, and long beards to defend their faces from cold. From them also (I thinke) came saffron shirts and smocks, which was devised by them in those hot countryes, where saffron is very common and rife, for avoyding that evill which commeth by much sweating, and long wearing of linnen: also the woemen amongst the old Spaniards had the charge of all household affaires, both at home and abroad, (as Boemus writeth,) though now the Spaniards use it quite otherwise. And so have the Irish woemen the trust and care of all things, both at home, and in the field. Likewise round leather targets is the Spanish fashion, who used it (for the most part) painted, which in Ireland they use also, in many places, coloured after their rude fashion. [Moreover the manner of their woemens riding on the wrong side of the horse, I meane with their faces towards the right side, as the Irish use, is (as they say) old Spanish, and some say African, for amongst them the woemen (they say) use so to ride.] Also the deepe smocke sleive, which the Irish woemen use, they say, was old Spanish, and is used yet in Barbary: and yet that should seeme rather to be an old English fashion; for in armory the fashion of the Manche, which is given in armes by many, being indeede nothing else but a sleive, is fashioned much like to that sleive. And that Knights in aun-cient times <sup>p</sup> used to weare their mistresses or loves sleive, upon their armes, as appeareth by that which is written of Sir Launcelot, that he wore the sleive of the faire Maide of Asteloth in a tourney, whereat Queene Gueneuer was much displeased.

<sup>p</sup> used to weare their mistresses or loves sleive, upon their armes,]. See the note on this custom in Colin Clouts come home again.

*Eudox.* Your conceipt is good, and well fitting for things so far growne from certainty of knowledge and learning, onely upon likelyhoods and conjectures. But have you any customes remaining from the Gaules or Brittaines?

*Iren.* I have observed a few of either; and who will better search into them, may finde more. And first the profession of their Bardes was (as Cæsar writeth) usuall amongst the Gaules, and the same was also common amongst the Brittans, and is not yet altogether left off with the Welsh which are their posterity. For all the fashions of the Gaules and Brittaines, as he testifieth, were much like. The long darts came also from the Gaules, as you may read in the same Cæsar, and in Io. Boemus. Likewise the said Io. Boemus writeth, that the Gaules used swords a handfull broad, and so doe the Irish now. Also they used long wicker shields in battaile that should cover their whole bodies, and so doe the Northerne Irish. But I have not seene such fashioned targets used in the Southerne parts, but onely amongst the Northerne people, and Irish-Scottes, I doe thinke that they were brought in rather by the Scythians, then by the Gaules. ¶ Also the Gaules used to drinke their enemyes blood, and painte themselves therewith. So also they write, that the old Irish were wont, and so have I seene some of the Irish doe, but not their enemyes but freinds blood. As namely at the execution of a notable traytor at Limericke, called Murrough O-Brien, I saw an old woman, which was his foster mother, take up his head, whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood that runne thereout, saying, that the earth was not worthy to drinke it, and therewith also steeped her face and breast, and tore her haire, crying out and shrieking most terribly. ¶

*Eudox.* You have very well runne through such customes as the Irish have derived from the first old nations which inhabited the land; namely, the Seythians, the Spaniards, the Gaules, and the Brittaines. It now remaineth that you take in hand the customes of the old English which are amongst the Irish: of which I doe not thinke that you shall have much cause to finde fault with, considering that, by the English, most of the old bad Irish customes were abolished, and more civill fashions brought in their stead.

*Iren.* You think otherwise, Eudox. then I doe, for the cheifest abuses which are now in that realme, are growne from the English, and some of them are now much more lawlesse and licentious then the very wilde Irish: so that as much care as was by them had to reforme the Irish, so and much more must now bee used to reforme them; so much time doth alter the manners of men.

*Eudox.* That seemeth very strange which you say, that men should so much degenerate from their first natures, as to growe wilde.

*Iren.* So much can liberty and ill examples doe.

*Eudox.* What liberty had the English there, more then they had here at home? Were not the lawes planted amongst them at the first, and had they not governours to curbe and keepe them still in awe and obedience?

*Iren.* They had, but it was, for the most part, such as did more hurt then good; for they had governours for the most part of themselves, and commonly out of the two families of the Geraldines and Butlers, both adversaries and corrivales one against the other. Who though for the most part they were but deputies under some of the Kings of Englands sonnes, brethren, or other neare kinmen, who were the Kings lieutenants, yet they swayed



fo much, as they had all the rule, and the others but the title. Of which Butlers and Geraldynes, albeit (I muſt confeſſe) there were very brave and worthy men, as alſo of other the Peeres of that realme, made Lo: Deputies, and Lo: Juſtices at fundry times, yet thorough greatnes of their late conqueſts and feignories they grew insolent, and bent both that regall authority, and alſo their private powers, one againſt another, to the utter ſubverſion of themſelves, and ſtrengthening of the Iriſh againe. This you may read plainly diſcovered by a letter written from the citizens of Cork out of Ireland, to the Earle of Shrewſbury then in England, and remaining yet upon record, both in the Towre of London, and alſo among the Chronicles of Ireland. Wherein it is by them complained, that the Engliſh Lords and Gentlemen, who then had great poſſeſſions in Ireland, began, through pride and insolency, to make private warres one againſt another, and, when either part was weak, they would wage and draw in the Iriſh to take their part, by which meanes they both greatly encouraged and inabled the Iriſh, which till that time had bene ſhut up within the Mountaines of Slewlogher, and weakened and diſabled themſelves, inſomuch that their revenues were wonderfully impaired, and ſome of them which are there reckoned to have been able to have ſpent 12 or 1300 pounds per annum, of old rent, (that I may ſay no more) beſides their commodities of creekes and havens, were now ſcarce able to diſpend the third part. From which diſorder, and through other huge calamities which have come upon them thereby, they are almoſt now growne like the Iriſh; I meane of ſuch Engliſh, as were planted above towards the Weſt; for the Engliſh Pale hath preſerved it ſelfe, thorough nearenes of the ſiate in reasonable civi-

litie, but the rest which dwelt in Connaght and in Mounster, which is the sweetest soyle of Ireland, and some in Leinster and Ulster, are degenerate, yea, and some of them have quite shaken off their English names, and put on Irish that they might bee altogether Irish.

*Eudox.* Is it possible that any should so farre growe out of frame that they should in so short space, quite forget their countrey and their owne names! that is a most dangerous lethargie, much worse then that of Messala Corvinus, who, being a most learned man, thorough sickenesse forgat his owne name. But can you count us any of this kinde?

*Iren.* I cannot but by report of the Irish themselves, who report, that the <sup>a</sup> Mac-mahons in the North, were aunciently English, to wit, descended from the Fitz Ursulas, which was a noble family in England, and that the same appeareth by the signification of their Irish names: Likewise that the Mac-swynes, now in Ulster, were aunciently of the Veres in England, but that they themselves, for hatred of English, so disguised their names.

*Eudox.* Could they ever conceive any such dislike of their owne natural countreyes, as that they would bee ashamed of their name, and byte at the dugges from which they sucked life?

*Iren.* I wote well there should be none; but proud hearts doe oftentimes (like wanton colts) kicke at their mothers, as we read Alcibiades and Themistocles did, who, being banished out of Athens, fled unto the Kings of Asia, and there stirred them up to warre against their country, in which

<sup>a</sup> *Mac-mahons* &c.] These families of Mac-mahones and Mac-swines are by others held to be of the ancient Irish.

warres they themselves were cheiftaines. So they say did these Mac-swines and Mac-mahons, or rather Veres and Fitz-Urfulaes, for private despight, turne themselves against England. For at such time as Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, was in the Barons warres against King Richard the Second, through the mallice of the Peeres, banished the realme and proscribed, he with his kinsman Fitz Urfula fled into Ireland, where being prosecuted, and afterwards in England put to death, his kinsman there remaining behinde in Ireland rebelled, and, conspiring with the Irish, did quite cast off both their English name and alleagiance, since which time they have so remained still, and have since beene counted meere Irish. The very like is also reported of the Mac-swines, Mac-mahones, and Mac-shehies of Mounster, how they likewise were aunciently English, and old followers to the Earle of Desmond, untill the raigne of King Edward the Fourth: at which time the Earle of Desmond that then was, called Thomas, being through false subornation (as they say) of the Queene for some offence by her against him conceived, brought to his death at <sup>s</sup> Tredagh most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound subject to the King: Thereupon all his kinsmen of the Geraldines, which then was a mighty family in Mounster, in revenge of that huge wrong, rose into armes against the King, and utterly renounced and forsooke all obedience to the Crowne of England, to whom the said Mac-swines, Mac-shehies, and Mac-mahones, being then servants and followers,

<sup>s</sup> *Tredagh*] Others hold that he was beheaded at Tredagh, 15. Febr. 1467, by (the command of) Iohn Tiptoft Earle of Worcester, then Lo: Deputy of Ireland, for exacting of Coyne and Livery. Vid. Camden. Britan. pag. 738. edit. Londin. an. 1607. SIR JAMES WARE.

did the like, and have ever since so continued. And with them (they say) all the people of Mounster went out, and many other of them, which were meere English, thenceforth joyned with the Irish against the King, and termed themselves very Irish, taking on them Irish habits and customes, which could never since be cleane wyped away, but the contagion hath remained still amongst their posterities. Of which sort (they say) be most of the surnames which end in an, as Hernan, Shinan, Mungan, &c. the which now account themselves naturall Irish. Other great houses there bee of the English in Ireland, which thorough licentious conversing with the Irish, or marrying, or fostering with them, or lacke of meete nurture, or other such unhappy occasions, have <sup>1</sup>degendred from their auncient dignities, and are now growne as Irish, as O-hanlans breech, "as the proverbe there is.

*Eudox.* In truth this which you tell is a most shamefull hearing, and to be reformed with most sharpe censures, in so great personages to the terrour of the meaner: for if the lords and cheife men degenerate, what shall be hoped of the peasants, and baser people? And hereby sure you have made a faire way unto your selfe to lay open the abuses of their evill customes, which you have now next to declare, the which, no doubt, but are very bad, being borrowed from the Irish, as their apparell, their language, their riding, and many other the like.

<sup>1</sup> *degendred*] This is the manuscript reading, and confirms the use of the word by Spenser on another occasion. See vol. vi. p. 2. The printed copies read *degenerated*. TODD.

"*as the proverbe there is.*] The Manuscripts belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Stafford add three "most pittifull examples of this sort," then existing; and the mention of them is made in very severe terms. They are "the Lord Bretingham, the great Mortimer, and the old Lord Courcie." TODD.

*Iren.* You cannot but hold them sure to be very uncivill; for were they at the best that they were of old, when they were brought in, they should in so long an alteration of time seeme very uncouth and strange. For it is to be thought, that the use of all England was in the raigne of Henry the Second, when Ireland was planted with English, very rude and barbarous, so as if the same should be now used in England by any, it would seeme worthy of sharpe correction, and of new lawes for reformation, for it is but even the other day since England grew civill: Therefore in counting the evill customes of the English there, I will not have regard, whether the beginning thereof were English or Irish, but will have respect onely to the inconvenience thereof. And first I have to finde fault with the abuse of language, that is, for the speaking of Irish among the English, which as it is unnaturall that any people should love anothers language more then their owne, so it is very inconvenient, and the cause of many other evils.

*Eudox.* It seemeth strange to me that the English should take more delight to speake that language, then their owne, whereas they should (mee thinkes) rather take scorne to acquaint their tongues thereto. For it hath ever beene the use of the conquerour, to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all meanes to learne his. So did the Romans alwayes use, insonuch that there is almost no nation in the world, but is sprinckled with their language. It were good therefore (me seemes) to search out the originall cause of this evill; for, the same being discovered, a redresse thereof will the more easily be provided: For I thinke it very strange, that the English being so many, and the Irish so few, as they then were left, the fewer should draw the more unto their use.

*L'Iren.* I suppose that the cheife cause of bringing in the Irish language, amongst them, was specially their fostering, and marrying with the Irish, the which are two most dangerous infections; for first the childe that sucketh the milke of the nurse, must of necessity learne his first speech of her, the which being the first inured to his tongue, is ever after most pleasing unto him, insomuch as though hee afterwards be taught English, yet the smacke of the first will allwayes abide with him; and not onely of the speech, but also of the manners and conditions. For besides that yong children be like apes, which will affect and imitate what they see done before them, especially by their nurses, whom they love so well, they moreover drawe into themselves, together with their sucke, even the nature and disposition of their nurses: for the minde followeth much the temperature of the body: and also the words are the image of the minde, so as they proceeding from the minde, the minde must needs be affected with the words. So that the speech being Irish, the heart must needs bee Irish: for out of the abundance of the heart, the tongue speaketh. The next is the marrying with the Irish, which how dangerous a thing it is in all common-wealthes, appeareth to every simplest sence, and though some great ones have perhaps used such matches with their vassals, and have of them neverthelesse raised worthy issue, as Telamon did with Tecmessa, Alexander the Great with Roxana, and Iulius Cæsar with Cleopatra, yet the example is so perillous, as it is not to be adventured: for in stead of those few good, I could count unto them infinite many evill. And indeed how can such matching succede well, seeing that commonly the childe taketh most of his nature of the mother, besides speech, manners, and inclynation, which are (for the most part) agreeable to the conditions of their mothers: for

by them they are first framed and fashioned, so as what they receive once from them, they will hardly ever after forgoe. Therefore are these evill customes of fostering and marrying with the Irish, most carefully to be restrayned: for of them two, the third evill that is the custome of language, (which I spake of,) cheifly proceedeth.

*Eudor.* But are there not lawes already provided, for avoyding of this evill?

*Iren.* Yes, I thinke there be, but as good never a whit as never the better. For what doe statutes availe without penalties, or lawes without charge of execution? for so there is another like law enacted against wearing of the Irish apparell, but neverthemore is it observed by any, or executed by them that have the charge: for they in their private discretions thinke it not fit to bee forced upon the poore wretches of that country, which are not worth the price of English apparell, nor expedient to be practised against the abler sort, by reason that the country (say they) doth yeeld no better, and were there better to be had, yet these were fitter to be used, as namely, the mantle in travalling, because there be no Innes where meete bedding may be had, so that his mantle serves him then for a bed; the leather quilted iacke in iourneying and in camping, for that is fittest to be under his shirt of mayle, and for any occasion of suddaine service, as there happen may, to cover his trouse on horsebacke; the great linnen roll, which the women weare, to keepe their heads warme, after cutting their haire, which they use in sicknesse; besides their thicke folded linnen shirts, their long-sleived smocks, their halfe-sleived coates, their silken fillets, and all the rest; they will devise some colour for, either of necessity, or of antiquity, or of comelynesse.

*Eudor.* But what colour soever they alledge,

mee thinkes it is not expedient, that the execution of a law once ordayned should be left to the discretion of the iudge, or officer, but that, without partialitie or regard, it should be fulfilled as well on English, as Irish.

*Iren.* But they thinke this precisenes in reformation of apparell not to be so materiall, or greatly pertinent.

*Eudox.* Yes surely but it is: for mens apparell is commonly made according to their conditions, and their conditions are oftentimes governed by their garments: for the person that is gowned, is by his gowne put in minde of gravitie, and also restrained from lightnes, by the very unaptnesse of his weed. Therefore it is written by Aristotle, that when Cyrus had overcome the Lydians that were a warlike nation, and devised to bring them to a more peaceable life, hee changed their apparell and musick, and, in stead of their short warlike coat, cloathed them in long garments like women, and, in stead of their warlike musick, appointed to them certaine lascivious layes, and loose jiggs, by which in short space their mindes were so mollified and abated, that they forgot their former fiercenesse, and became most tender and effeminate; whereby it appeareth, that there is not a little in the garment to the fashioning of the minde and conditions. But be these, which you have described, the fashions of the Irish weedes?

*Iren.* No: all these which I have rehearsed to you, be not Irish garments, but English; for the quilted leather iack is old English: for it was the proper weed of the horseman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he describeth Sir Thopas apparell and armour, as hee went to fight against the gyant, in his robe of shecklaton, which is that kind of gilded leather with which they use to imbroyder their Irish iackets. And there likewise by all that



description, you may see the very fashion and manner of the Irish horseman most truly set forth, in his long hose, his riding shoes of costly cordwaine, his hacqueton, and his haberjeon, with all the rest thereunto belonging.

*Eudox.* I surely thought that the manner had beene Irish, for it is farre differing from that we have now, as also all the furniture of his horse, his strong brassè bit, his sliding reynes, his shanke pillion without stirrappes, his manner of mounting, his fashion of riding, his charging of his speare aloft above head, the forme of his speare.

*Iren.* No sure; they be native English, and brought in by the Englishmen first into Ireland: neither is the same accounted an uncomely manner of riding; for I have heard some great warriors say, that, in all the services which they had seene abroad in forraigne countreyes, they never saw a more comely man then the Irish man, nor that commeth on more bravely in his charge; neither is his manner of mounting unseemely, though hee lacke stirrappes, but more ready then with stirrappes; for, in his getting up, his horse is still going, whereby hee gaigneth way. And therefore the stirrup was called so in scorne, as it were a stay to get up, being derived of the old English word sty, which is, to get up, or mounte.

*Eudox.* It seemeth then that you finde no fault with this manner of riding; why then would you have the quilted iacke laid away?

*Iren.* I doe not wish it to be laide away, but the abuse thereof to be put away; for being used to the end that it was framed, that is, to be worne in warre under a shirt of mayle, it is allowable, as also the shirt of mayle, and all his other furniture: but to be worne daylie at home, and in townes and civile places, is a rude habite and most uncomely seeming like a players painted coate.

*Eudox.* But it is worne (they say) likewise of Irish footmen; how doe you allow of that? for I should thinke it very unseemely.

*Iren.* No, not as it is used in warre, for it is worne then likewise of footmen under their shirts of mayle, the \* which footmen they call Galloglasses, the which name doth discover them also to be auncient English: for *Gall-ogla* signifies an English fervitour or yeoman. And he being so armed in a long shirt of mayle downe to the calfe of his leg, with a long broad axe in his hand, was then *pedes gravis armatura*, and was instead of the armed footeman that now weareth a corslet, before the corslet was used, or almost invented.

*Eudox.* Then him belike you likewise allow in your straite reformation of old customes.

*Iren.* Both him and the kerne also, (whom onely I take to bee the proper Irish souldier,) can I allow, so that they use that habite and custome of theirs in the warres onely, when they are led forth to the service of their Prince, and not usuallly at home, and in civile places, and besides doe laye aside the evill and wilde uses which the galloglasse and kerne do use in their common trade of life.

*Eudox.* What be those?

*Iren.* Marrie those bee the most barbarous and loathly conditions of any people (I thinke) under heaven: for, from the time that they enter into that course, they doe use all the beastly behaviour that may bee; they oppresse all men, they spoile aswell the subject, as the enemy; they steale, they are cruell and bloodie, full of revenge and delighting in deadly execution, licentious, swearers, and blasphemers, common ravishers of woemen, and murderers of children.

\* which footmen they call Galloglasses,] See the note on kern, p. 370. TODD.

*Eudox.* These bee most villainous conditions; I marvaile then that they be ever used or employed, or almost suffered to live; what good can there then be in them?

*Iren.* Yet sure they are very valiaunt, and hardie, for the most part great indurers of colde, labour, hunger, and all hardnesse, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scornors of death.

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

*Iren.* Yea surely, in that rude kinde of service, hee beareth himselfe very couragiously. But when hee commeth to experience of service abroad, or is put to a peece, or a pike, hee maketh as worthe a souldiour as any nation hee meeteth with. But let us (I pray you) turne againe to our discourse of evill customes among the Irish.

*Eudox.* Me thinkes, all this which you speake of, concerneth the customes of the Irish very materially, for their uses in warre are of no finall importance to bee considered, aswell to reforme those which are evill as to confirme and continue those which are good. But follow you your owne course, and shew what other their customes you have to dislike of.

*Iren.* There is amongst the Irish a certaine kind of people, called Bardes, <sup>y</sup> which are to them insteed

*y Bardes, which are to them insteed of poets,]* The reader, who would wish for all possible information on this point, cannot attain his object sooner than by consulting "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, interspersed with anecdotes of, and occasional observations on, the Music of Ireland: By Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. M. R. I. A." Dublin, 1786. I recommend also, as a proper accompaniment to this ingenious work, the *Reliques of Ancient Irish Poetry* by Miss Brooke.

of poets, whose profession is to set forth the praises or dispraises of men in their poems or rymes, the which are had in so high regard and estimation amongst them, that none dare displeafe them for feare to runne into reproach thorough their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouthes of all men. For their verses are taken up with a generall applausse, and usuallly sung at all feasts and meetings, by certaine other persons, whose proper function that is, who also receive for the same great rewards and reputation amongst them.

*Eudox.* Doe you blame this in them which I would otherwise have thought to have bene worthy of good accompt, and rather to have bene maintained and augmented amongst them, then to have bene disliked? for I have reade that in all ages Poets have bene had in speciall reputation, and that (me thinkes) not without great cause; for besides their sweete inventions, and most wittie layes, they have alwayes used to set forth the praises of the good and vertuous, and to beate downe and disgrace the bad and vitious. So that many brave yong mindes, have oftentimes thorough hearing the praises and famous eulogies of worthe men sung and reported unto them, bene firred up to affect the like commendations, and so to strive to the like deserts. So they say that the Lacedemonians were more excited to desire of honour, with the excellent verses of the Poet Tirtæus, then with all the exhortations of their Captaines, or authority of their Rulers and Magistrates.

*Iren.* It is most true, that such Poets as in their writings doe labour to better the manners of men, and thorough the sweete baite of their numbers, to steale into the young spirits a desire of honour and vertue, are worthy to bee had in great respect. But these Irish Bardes are for the most part of another

minde, and ſo farre from inſtructing yong men in morall diſcipline, that they themſelves doe more deſerve to bee ſharply diſciplined; for they ſeldome uſe to chooſe unto themſelves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems, but whomſoever they finde to be moſt licentious of life, moſt bolde and lawleſſe in his doings, moſt dangerous and deſperate in all parts of diſobedience and rebellious diſpoſition, him they ſet up and glorifie in their rithmes, him they praife to the people, and to yong men make an example to follow.

*Eudox.* I marvaile what kinde of ſpeeches they can finde, or what face they can put on, to praife ſuch bad perſons as live ſo lawleſſie and licentiouſlie upon ſtealthes and ſpoyles, as moſt of them doe, or how can they thinke that any good mind will applaude or approve the ſame.

*Iren.* There is none ſo bad, Eudoxus, but ſhall finde ſome to favour his doings; but ſuch licentious partes as theſe, tending for the moſt part to the hurt of the Engliſh, or maintenance of their owne lewde libertie, they themſelves being moſt deſirous therof, doe moſt allow. Beſides this, evill things being decked and attired with the gay attire of goodly words, may eaſily deceive and carry away the affection of a yong mind, that is not well ſtayed, but deſirous by ſome bolde adventures to make prooffe of himſelfe; for being (as they all be brought up idly) without awe of parents, without precepts of maſters, and without feare of offence, not being directed, nor imployed in any courſe of life, which may carry them to vertue, will eaſily be drawne to follow ſuch as any ſhall ſet before them; for a yong minde cannot reſt; if he be not ſtill buſied in ſome goodneſſe, he will finde himſelfe ſuch buſineſſe, as ſhall ſoone buſie all about him. In which if he ſhall finde any to praife him, and to give him en-

couragement, as those Bardes and rythmers doe for little reward, or a share of a stolne cow, then waxeth he most insolent and halfe madde with the love of himselfe, and his owne lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdnes, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to vertue it selfe. As of a most notorious thiefe and wicked out-law, which had lived all his life-time of spoyles and robberies, one of their Bardes in his praise will say, That he was none of the idle milke-sops that was brought up by the fire side, but that most of his dayes he spent in armes and valiant enterprises, that he did never eat his meat, before he had won it with his sword, that he lay not all night flugging in a cabbin under his mantle, but used commonly to keepe others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses, to leade him in the darknesse; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yeeld to him, but where he came he tooke by force the spoyle of other mens love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his musick was not the harpe, nor layes of love, but the cryes of people, and clashing of armor; and finally, that he died not bewayled of many, but made many waile when he died, that dearly bought his death. Doe you not thinke (Eudoxus) that many of these praises might be applyed to men of best deserts? yet are they all yeelded to a most notable traytor, and amongst some of the Irish not smally accounted of. For the song, when it was first made and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for fourty crownes.

*Eudox.* And well worthy sure. But tell me (I pray you) have they any art in their compositions?

or bee they any thing wittie or well favoured, as poemes should be?

*Iren.* [Yea truly, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they favoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowres of their naturall device, which gave good grace and comlineffe unto them, the which it is great pittie to see abused, to the gracing of wickednes and vice, which with good usage would serve to adorne and beautifie vertue.] This evill custome therfore needeth reformation. And now next after the Irish Kerne, me thinks the Irish Hors-boyes would come well in order, the use of which, though necessity (as times now be) do enforce, yet in the thorough reformation of that realme they should be cut off. For the cause why they are now to be permitted, is want of convenient innes for lodging of travailers on horfback, and of hostlers to tend their horses by the way. But when things shalbe reduced to a better passe, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the fry of these <sup>z</sup> rakehell horse-boyes, growing up in knavery and villainy, are their kerne continually supplied and maintained. For having been once brought up an idle horse-boy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made fit for the halter. And these also (the which is one foule over-sight) are for the most part bred up amongst the Englishmen, of whom learning to shoote in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the English, they

<sup>z</sup> these rakehell horse-boyes,] These base or outcast horse-boys. Fr. *racaille*. See also F. Q. v. xi. 44. Gabriel Harvey calls Greene "a rakehell, a makehiff, &c." *Four Letters, &c.* 1592. Sign. A. 2. b. TODD.

are afterwards when they become kerne, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this, there is another much like, but much more lewde and dishonest, and that is, of their Carrows, which is a kinde of people that wander up and downe to Gentle-mens houses, living onely upon cardes and dice, the which, though they have little or nothing of their owne, yet will they play for much money, which if they winne, they waste most lightly, and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make recompence with one stealth or another, whose onely hurt is not, that they themselves are idle loffells, but that thorough gaming they draw others to like lewdnesse and idlenesse. And to these may be added another sort of like loose fellows, which doe passe up and downe amongst gentlemen by the name of Iesters, but are (indeed) notable rogues, and partakers not onely of many stealthes, by setting forth other mens goods to be stolne, but also privy to many traitrous practices, and common carryers of newes, with desire whereof you would wonder how much the Irish are fed; for they use commonly to send up and downe to knowe newes, and if any meet with another, his second word is, What news? Infomuch that hereof is tolde a prettie jest of a French-man, who having beene sometimes in Ireland, where he marked their great inquirie for newes, and meeting afterwards in France an Irishman, whom hee knew in Ireland, first saluted him, and afterwards said thus merrily: O Sir, I pray you tell me of curtesie, have you heard any thing of the news, that you so much inquired for in your countrey?

*Eudox.* This argueth sure in them a great desire of innovation, and therefore these occasions which nourish the same must be taken away, as namely,



those Iesters, Carrowes, <sup>a</sup> Mona-shules, and all such fraglers, for whom (me thinkes) the short riddance of a Marshall were meeter then an ordinance or prohibition to restrain them. Therefore (I pray you) leave all this rabblement of runnagates, and passe to other customes.

*Iren.* There is a great use amongst the Irish, to make great assemblies together upon a rath or hill, there to parlie (as they say) about matters and wrongs betweene township and township, or one privat person and another. But well I wot, and true it hath beene oftentimes proved, that in their meetings many mischiefes have beene both practised and wrought; for to them doe commonly resort all the scumme of the people, where they may meete and conferre of what they list, which else they could not doe without suspition or knowledge of others. Besides at these meetings I have knowne divers times, that many Englishmen, and good Irish subjects, have bin villanously murdered by moving one quarrell or another against them. For the Irish never come to those raths but armed, whether on horse or on foot, which the English nothing suspecting, are then commonly taken at advantage like sheep in the pin-folde.

*Eudor.* It may be (Iræneus) that abuse may be in those meetings. But <sup>b</sup> these round hills and square bawnes, which you see so strongly trenched and throwne up, were (they say) at first ordained for the same purpose, that people might assemble them-

<sup>a</sup> *Mona-shules,*] This is the manuscript reading, and is correct. See *Mona-shul* in p. 369. The printed copies read *Mona-shutes*. *Shuler*, I am told, is a common name for a wandering beggar in Ireland. TODD.

<sup>b</sup> *these round hills, and square bawnes,*] *Bawn* is evidently used by Spenser for an *eminence*. Of its etymology our lexicographers give no account. TODD.

felves therein, and therefore aunciently they were called <sup>c</sup> Folk-motes, that is, a place of people, to meete or talke of any thing that concerned any difference betweene parties and towneships, which seemeth yet to me very requisite.

*Iren.* You say very true, Eudoxus, the first making of these high hills, were at first indeed to very good purpose for people to meet; but howsoever the times when they were first made, might well serve to good occasions, as perhaps they did then in England, yet things being since altered, and now Ireland much differing from the state of England, the good use that then was of them, is now turned to abuse; for those hills wherof you speak, were (as you may gather by reading) appointed for 2 special uses, and built by 2 severall nations. The one is that which you call Folk-motes, which were built by the Saxons, as the word bewraith, for it signifieth in Saxon, a meeting of folk, and these are for the most part in forme foure square, well intrenched; the others that were round, were cast up by the Danes, as the name of them doth betoken, for they are called Danes-raths, that is, hills of the Danes, the which were by them devised, not for treaties and parlies, but appointed as fortes for them to gather unto, in troublesome time, when any trouble arose; for the Danes being but a few in comparifon of the <sup>d</sup> Saxons (in England) used this, for their safety; they made those finall round hills, so strongly fenced, in every quarter of the hundred, to the end that if in the night, or any other time, any troublous cry or

<sup>c</sup> *Folk-motes,*] Vid. Hen. Spelmanni Glossarium.

SIR JAMES WARE.

<sup>d</sup> *Saxons*] The like reason may be given for the making of such raths in Ireland, by the Danes or Norwegians. Vid, Gir. Cambr. topog. Hib. distinct. 3. cap. 37. SIR J. WARE.

uproare should happen, they might repaire with all speed unto their owne fort, which was appointed for their quarter, and there remaine safe, till they could assemble themselves in greater strength; for they were made so strong with one small entrance, that whosoever came thither first, were he one or two, or like few, he or they might there rest safe, and defend themselves against many, till more succour came unto them: and when they were gathered to a sufficient number, they marched to the next fort, and so forward till they met with the perill, or knew the occasions thereof. But besides these two forts of hills, there were anciently divers others; for some were raised, where there had been a great battle fought, as a memory or trophie thereof; others, as monuments of burials, of the carcasses of all those that were slaine in any field, upon whom they did throwe such round mounts, as memorialls of them, and sometimes did cast up great heapes of stones, (as you may read the like in many places of the Scripture,) and other whiles they did throw up many round heapes of earth in a circle, like a garland, or pitch many long stones on end in compasse, every of which (they say) betokened some person of note there slaine and buried; for this was their auncient custome, before Christianity came in amongst them, that church-yards were inclosed.

*Eudox.* You have very well declared the originall of their mounts and great stones incompassed, which some vainely terme the ould Gyants Trevetts, and thinke that those huge stones would not else be brought into order or reared up, without the strength of gyants. And others vainely thinke that they were never placed there by mans hand or art, but onely remained there so since the beginning, and were afterwards discovered by the deluge, and laide open as then by the washing of the waters, or

other like casualty. But let them dreame their owne imaginations to please themselves, you have satisfied me much better, both for that I see some confirmation thereof in the Holy Writt, and also remember that I have read, in many Historyes and Chronicles, the like mounts and stons oftentimes mentioned.

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

*Eudox.* But yet it is very needefull (me thinkes) for many other purposes, as for the countreyes to gather together, when there is any imposition to be laide upon them, to the which they then may all agree at such meetings to devide upon themselves, according to their holdings and abilities. So as if at these assemblies, there be any officers, as Constables, Bayliffes, or such like amongst them, there can be no perill, or doubt of such bad practises.

*Iren.* Neverthelesse, dangerous are such assemblies, whether for cesse or ought else, the Constables and Officers being also of the Irish; and if any of the English happen to be there, even to them they may prove perillous. Therefore for avoyding of all such evill occasions, they were best to be abolished.

*Eudox.* But what is that which you call cesse? it is a word sure unused among us here, therefore (I pray you) expound the same.

*Iren.* Cesse is none other then that which your selfe called imposition, but it is in a kinde unacquainted perhaps unto you. For there are cesses of sundry sorts; one is, the cessing of souldiours upon the countrey: For Ireland being a countrey of warre (as it is handled) and alwayes full of souldiours, they which have the government, whether they finde it the most ease to the Queenes purse, or

the most ready meanes at hand for victualling of the souldiour, or that necessity inforceth them thereunto, do scatter the army abroad in the countrey, and place them in villages to take their victuals of them, at such vacant times as they lye not in campe, nor are otherwise imployed in service. Another kinde of cesse, is the imposing of provision for the Governours house-keeping, which though it be most necessary, and be also (for avoyding of all the evils formerly therein used) lately brought to a composition, yet it is not without great inconveniences, no lesse then here in England, or rather much more. The like cesse is also charged upon the countrey sometimes for victualling of the souldiours, when they lye in garrison, at such times as there is none remayning in the Queenes store, or that the same cannot be conveniently conveyed to their place of garrison. But these two are not easily to be redressed when necessity thereto compelleth; but as for the former, as it is not necessary, so it is most hurtfull and offensive to the poore country, and nothing convenient for the souldiers themselves, who, during their lying at cesse, use all kinde of outrageous disorder and villany, both towards the poore men, which victuall and lodge them, as also to all the country round about them, whom they abuse, oppresse, spoyle, and afflict by all the meanes they can invent, for they will not onely not content themselves with such victuals as their hostes nor yet as the place perhaps affords, but they will have other meate provided for them, and *aqua vita* sent for, yea and money besides laide at their trenchers, which if they want, then about the house they walk with the wretched poore man and his silly wife, who are glad to purchase their peace with any thing. By which vile manner of abuse, the countrey people, yea and the very English which dwell abroad and

fee, and sometimes feele this outrage, growe into great detestation of the souldiours, and thereby into hatred of the very government, which draweth upon them such evils: And therefore this you may also ioyne unto the former evill customes, which we have to reprove in Ireland.

*Eudox.* Truly this is one not the least, and though the persons, by whom it is used, be of better note then the former roguish sort, which you reckoned, yet the fault (me thinkes) is no lesse worthy of a Marshall.

*Iren.* That were a harder course, Eudoxus, to redresse every abuse by a Marshall: it would seeme to you very evill surgery to cut off every unsound or sicke part of the body, which, being by other due meanes recovered, might afterwards doe very good service to the body againe, and haply helpe to save the whole: Therefore I thinke better that some good salve for the redresse of the evill bee sought forth, then the least part suffered to perish: but hereof wee have to speake in another place. Now we will proceede to other like defects, amongst which there is one generall inconvenience, which raigneth almost throughout all Ireland: that is, the Lords of land and Free-holders, doe not there use to set out their land in farme, or for tearme of yeares, to their tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure, neither indeede will the Irish tennant or husbandman otherwise take his land, then so long as he list himselfe. The reason hereof in the tennant is, for that the land-lords there use most shamefully to racke their tennants, laying upon them coigny and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe to him for longer tearme, or thinketh, by his continuall liberty of change, to

keepe his land-lord the rather in awe from wronging of him. And the reason why the land-lord will no longer covenant with him, is, for that he dayly looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds.

*Eudox.* But what evill commeth hereby to the common-wealth, or what reason is it that any land-lord should not set nor any tennant take his land, as himselfe list?

*Iren.* Marry, the evils which commeth hereby are great, for by this meanes both the land-lord thinketh that he hath his tennant more at commaund, to follow him into what action soever hee shall enter, and also the tennant being left at his liberty is fit for every occasion of change that shall be offered by time: and so much also the more ready and willing is he to runne into the same, for that hee hath no such state in any his holding, no such building upon any farme, no such coste employed in fencing or husbanding the same, as might withhold him from any such wilfull course, as his lords cause, or his owne lewde disposition may carry him unto. All which hee hath forborne, and spared so much expence, for that he had no firme estate in his tenement, but was onely a tennant at will or little more, and so at will may leave it. And this inconvenience may be reason enough to ground any ordinance for the good of the common-wealth, against the private behoofe or will of any landlord that shall refuse to graunt any such terme or estate unto his tennant, as may tende to the good of the whole realme.

*Eudox.* Indeede (me thinkes) it is a great willfullnes in any such land-lord to refuse to make any longer farmes unto their tennants, as may, besides the generall good of the realme, be also greatly for their owne profit and availe: For what reasonable

man will not thinke that the tenement shalbe made much better for the lords behoofe, if the tennant may by such good meanes bee drawne to build himselfe some handsome habitation thereon, to ditch and inclose his ground, to manure and husband it as good farmours use? For when his tenants terme shal be expired, it will yeeld him, in the renewing his lease, both a good fine, and also a better rent. And also it shall be for the good of the tennant likewise, who by such buildings and inclosures shall receive many benefits: first, by the handfomenesse of his house, he shall take more comfort of his life, more safe dwelling, and a delight to keepe his said house neate and cleanly, which now being, as they commonly are, rather swynetyes then houses, is the cheifest cause of his so beastly manner of life, and savage condition, lying and living together with his beast in one house, in one roome, in one bed, that is, cleane strawe, or rather a foul dunghill. And to all these other commodities hee shall in short time find a greater added, that is his owne wealth and riches increased, and wonderfully enlarged, by keeping his cattle in inclosures, where they shall alwayes have fresh pasture, that now is all trampled and over-runne; warme covert, that now lyeth open to all weather; safe being, that now are continually filched and stolne.

*Iren.* You have, Eudoxus, well accompted the commodities of this one good ordinance, amongst which, this that you named last is not the least; for, all the other being most beneficiall to the land-lord and tennant, this cheifly redoundeth to the good of the common-wealth, to have the land thus inclosed, and well fenced. For it is both a principall barre and impeachment unto theeves from stealing of cattle in the night, and also a gaule



againſt all rebels, and outlawes, that ſhall riſe up in any numbers againſt the governement; for the theife thereby ſhall have much adoe, firſt to bring forth and afterwards to drive away his ſtolne prey, but thorough the common high wayes, where he ſhall ſoone bee deſcryed and met withall: And the rebell or open enemy, if any ſuch ſhall happen, either at home, or from abroad, ſhall eaſily be found when he commeth forth, and alſo be well incountered withall by a few, in ſo ſtraight paſſages and ſtrong incloſures. This therefore, when we come to the reforming of all thoſe evill cuſtomes before mentioned, is needefull to be remembred. But now by this time me thinkes that I have well run thorough the evill uſes which I have obſerved in Ireland. Nevertheleſſe I well wote that there be many more, and infinitely many more in the private abuſes of men. But theſe that are moſt generall, and tending to the hurt of the common-weale, (as they have come to my remembrance) I have as breifly as I could rehearſed unto you. And therefore now I thinke beſt that we paſſe unto our third part, in which we noted inconveniences that are in religion.

*Eudox.* Surely you have very well handled theſe two former, and if yee ſhall as well goe thorough the third likewise, you ſhall merit a very good meed.

*Iren.* Little have I to ſay of religion, both becauſe the parts thereof be not many, (it ſelſe being but one,) and my ſelſe have not much beene converſant in that calling: but as lightly paſſing by I have ſeene or heard: Therefore the fault which I finde in religion is but one, but the ſame is univerſall, thoroughout all that country, that is, that they be all Papifts by their profeſſion, but in the ſame ſo blindly and brutiſhly informed, (for the

most part) that not one amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith, but can perhaps say his Pater noster, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth.

*Eudox.* Is it not then a little blot to them that now hold the place of government, that they which now are in the light themselves, suffer a people under their charge to wallow in such deadly darkeness?

*Iren.* That which you blame, Eudox. is not (I suppose) any fault of will in those godly fathers which have charge thereof, but the inconvenience of the time and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched realme hath continually bene turmoyled; for instruction in religion needeth quiet times, and ere we seeke to settle a sound discipline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity, for it is ill time to preach among swords, and most hard or rather impossible it is to settle a good opinion in the mindes of men for matters of religion doubtful, which have doubtlesse an evill opinion of us. For ere a new be brought in, the old must be removed.

*Eudox.* Then belike it is meete that some fitter time be attended, that God send peace and quietnesse there in civill matters, before it be attempted in ecclesiasticall. I would rather have thought that (as it is said) correction must first begin at the house of God, and that the care of the soule should have bene preferred before the care of the body.

*Iren.* Most true, Eudoxus, the care of the soule and soule matters is to be preferred before the care of the body, in consideration of the worthynesse thereof, but not till the time of reformation; for if you should know a wicked person dangerously

sicke, having now both soule and body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable, would you not thinke it evill advertizement to bring the preacher before the phisitian? for if his body were neglected, it is like that his languishing soule being disquieted by his diseasfull body, would utterly refuse and loath all spirituall comfort; but if his body were first cured, and broght to good frame, should there not then be found best time, to recover the soule also? So it is in the state of a realme: Therefore (as I said) it is expedient, first to settle such a course of government there, as thereby both civill disorders and ecclesiasticall abuses may be reformed and amended, whereto needeth not any such great distance of times, as (you suppose) I require, but one joynt resolution for both, that each might second and confirm the other.

*Eudox.* That we shall see when we come thereunto; in the meane time I conceive thus much, as you have delivered, touching the generall fault, which you suppose in religion, to wit, that it is popish; but doe you finde no particular abuses therein, nor in the ministers thereof?

*Iren.* Yes verily; for what ever disorders you see in the Church of England, yee may finde there, and many more: Namely, grosse simony, greedy covetousnesse, fleshly incontineny, carelesse sloath, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman: And besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish priests, which now injoy the church livings, they are in a manner meere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwise they doe goe and live like lay men, follow all kinde of husbandry, and other worldly affaires, as other Irish men doe. They neither read scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion, but baptisme they

doe, for they christen yet after the popish fashion, onely they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruite else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly and some of them (they say) pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their Bishops, (I speake of those which are Irish,) as they receive them duely.

*Eudor.* But is that suffered amongst them? It is wonder but that the governours doe redresse such shamefull abuses.

*Iren.* How can they, since they know them not? for the Irish bishops have their clergy in such awe and subjection under them, that they dare not complaine of them, so as they may doe to them what they please, for they knowing their owne unworthynesse and incapacity, and that they are therefore still removeable at their bishops will, yeeld what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth: yea, and some of them whose diocesses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the worlds eye, doe not at all bestow the benefices, which are in their owne donation, upon any, but keep them in their owne hands, and set their owne servants and horse-boys to take up the tithes and fruites of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build faire castles upon the same. Of which abuse if any question be moved they have a very seemely colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon, but keepe them so bestowed for any such sufficient person as any shall bring unto them.

*Eudor.* But is there no law nor ordinance to meet with this mischief? nor hath it never before bene looked into?

*Iren.* Yes, it seemes it hath, for there is a statute there enacted in Ireland, which seemes to have bene grounded upon a good meaning, That what

foever Englishman of good conversation and sufficiencie, shall bee brought unto any of the bishoppes, and nominated unto any living, within their diocesse that is presently voyde, that he shall (without contradiction) be admitted thereunto before any Irish.

*Eudox.* This is surely a very good law, and well provided for this evill, whereof you speake; but why is not the same observed?

*Iren.* I thinke it is well observed, and that none of the bishops transgresse the same, but yet it worketh no reformation thereof for many defects. First there are no such sufficient English ministers sent over as might be presented to any bishop for any living, but the most part of such English as come over thither of themselves, are either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England. So as the bishop, to whom they shalbe presented, may justly reject them as incapable and insufficient. Secondly, the bishop himselfe is perhappes an Irish man, who being made iudge, by that law, of the sufficiencie of the ministers, may at his owne will, dislike of the Englishman, as unworthy in his opinion, and admit of any Irish, whom hee shall thinke more for his turne. And if hee shall at the instance of any Englishman of countenance there, whom hee will not displease, accept of any such English minister as shall bee tendred unto him, yet hee will under hand carry such a hard hand over him, or by his officers wring him so fore, that hee will soone make him weary of his poore living. Lastly, the benefices themselves are so meane, and of so small profite in those Irish countreyes, thorough the ill husbandrie of the Irish people which doe inhabite them, that they will not yeelde any competent maintainance for any honest minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a gowne. And were all this redressed (as haply it might bee)

yet what good should any English minister doe amongst them, by teaching or preaching to them, which either cannot understand him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of life shall he have, where his parishioners are so insatiable, so intractable, so ill-affected to him, as they usuall bee to all the English; or finally, how dare almost any honest minister, that are peaceable civill men, commit his safetie to the handes of such neighbours, as the boldest captaines dare scarcely dwell by?

*Eudox.* Little good then (I see) was by that statute wrought, how ever well intended; but the reformation thereof must grow higher, and be brought from a stronger ordinance, then the commandement, or penaltie of a law, which none dare informe or complain of when it is broken; but have you any more of those abuses in the clergy?

*Iren.* I could perhappes reckon more, but I perceive my speech to grow too long, and these may suffice to judge of the generall disorders which raigne amongst them; as for the particulars, they are too many to be reckoned. For the clergy there (excepting the grave fathers which are in high place about the state, and some few others which are lately planted in their <sup>e</sup> new Colledge,) are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.

*Eudox.* You have then (as I suppose) gone thorough those three first parts which you proposed unto your selfe, to wit, The inconveniences which you observed in the lawes, in the customes, and in the religion of that land. The which (me thinkes)

<sup>e</sup> *new Colledge*] Trinity Colledge by Dublin, which was founded by Queene Eliz. 3 Martij 1591. The 13. of the same moneth, its first stone was laide by Thomas Smyth, then Mayor of Dublin, and the 9. of Jan. 1593. it first admitted students.

you have ſo thoroughly touched, as that nothing more remaineth to be ſpoken thereof.

*Iren.* Not ſo thoroughly as you ſuppoſe, that nothing can remaine, but ſo generally as I purpoſed, that is, to lay open the generall evils of that realme, which doe hinder the good reformation thereof; for, to count the particular faults of private men, ſhould be a worke too infinite; yet ſome there be of that nature, that though they be in private men, yet their evill reacheth to a generall hurt, as the extortion of ſheriffs, and their ſub-ſheriffs, and bayliſſes, the corruption of victuallers, ceſſors, and purveyors, the diſorders of <sup>f</sup> ſeneſchalls, captaines, and their ſouldiers, and many ſuch like: All which I will onely name here, that their reformation may bee mended in place where it moſt concerneth. But there is one very foule abuſe, which by the way I may not omit, and that is in captaines, who notwithstanding that they are ſpecially employed to make peace thorough ſtrong execution of warre, yet they doe ſo dandle their doings, and dallie in the ſervice to them committed, as if they would not have the enemy ſubdued, or utterly beaten downe, for feare left afterwardes they ſhould need imployment, and ſo be diſcharged of pay: for which cauſe ſome of them that are layde in garriſon, doe ſo handle the matter, that they will doe no great hurt to the enemyes, yet for colour ſake ſome men they will kill, even halfe with the conſent of the enemy, being perſons either of baſe regard, or enemies to the enemy, whoſe heads eſtfoones they ſend to the governor for a commendation of their great endeavour, telling how weighty a ſervice they performed, by cutting off ſuch and ſuch dangerous rebels.

<sup>f</sup> *the diſorders of ſeneſchalls,*] *Governours.* See F. Q. iv. i. 12, v. x. 30, vi. i. 15, 25. *TODD.*

*Eudox.* Truly this is a prettie mockerie, and not to be permitted by the governours.

*Iren.* But how can the governour know readily what persons those were, and what the purpose of their killing was? yea and what will you say, if the captaines do iustifie this their course by ensample of some of their governours, which (under Benedicite, I doe tell it to you,) doe practise the like sleight in their governments?

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

*Iren.* To you onely, Eudoxus, I doe tell it, and that even with great hearts grieffe, and inward trouble of mind to see her Majestie so much abused by some who are put in speciall trust of those great affaires: of which, some being martiall men, will not doe alwayes what they may for quieting of things, but will rather winke at some faults, and will suffer them unpunished, lest that (having put all things in that assurance of peace that they might) they should seeme afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their governments with so great a charge to her Maiestie. And therefore they doe cunningly carry their course of government, and from one hand to another doe bandie the service like a tennis-ball, which they will never strike quite away, for feare lest afterwards they should want.

*Eudox.* Doe you speake of under magistrates, Irenæus, or principall governours?

*Iren.* I doe speake of no particulars, but the truth may be found out by tryall and reasonable insight into some of their doings. And if I should say, there is some blame thereof in the principall governours, I thinke I might also shew some reasonable prooffe of my speech. As for example, some of them seeing the end of their government to



draw nigh, and some mischiefs and troublous practice growing up, which afterwarde may worke trouble to the next succeeding governour, will not attempt the redresse or cutting off thereof, either for feare they should leave the realme unquiet at the end of their government, or that the next that commeth, should receive the same too quiet, and so happily winne more prayse thereof then they before. And therefore they will not (as I said) seeke at all to repress that evill, but will either by graunting protection for a time, or holding some emparlance with the rebell, or by treatie of commissioners, or by other like devices, onely smother and keepe downe the flame of the mischiefe, so as it may not breake out in their time of government: what comes afterwards, they care not, or rather wish the worst. This course hath bene noted in some governors.

*Eudox.* Surely (Irenæus) this, if it were true, should bee worthy of an heavy iudgment: but it is hardly to bee thought, that any governour should so much either envie the good of that realme which is put into his hand, or defraude her Maiestie who trusteth him so much, or maligne his successour which shall possesse his place, as to suffer an evill to grow up, which he might timely have kept under, or perhaps to nourish it with coloured countenance, or such sinister meanes.

*Iren.* I doe not certainly avouch so much, (Eudoxus) but the sequelle of things doth in a manner prove, and plainly speake so much, that the governours usually are envious one of anothers greater glory, which if they would seeke to excell by better governing, it should be a most laudable emulation. But they doe quite otherwise. For this (as you may marke) is the common order of them, that who commeth next in place, will not follow that course

of government, how ever good, which his predecessors held, either for disdaine of himselfe, or doubt to have his doings drowned in another mans praise, but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the Irish) to reforme them: the next, by discountenancing the English, will curry favour with the Irish, and so make his government seeme plausible, as having all the Irish at his commaund: but he that comes after, will perhappes follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such fort, as hee will sucke sweete out of them both, and leave bitternesse to the poore countrey, which if he that comes after shall seeke to redresse, he shall perhappes find such crosses, as hee shall hardly bee able to beare, or doe any good that might worke the disgrace of his predecessors. Examples you may see hereof in the governours of late times sufficiently, and in others of former times more manifestly, when the government of that realme was committed sometimes to the Geraldines, as when the House of Yorke had the Crowne of England; sometimes to the Butlers, as when the House of Lancaster got the same. And other whiles, when an English governour was appointed, hee perhappes found enemies of both.

*Eudox.* I am sorry to heare so much as you report, and now I begin to conceive somewhat more of the cause of her continuall wretchednes then heeretofore I found, and wish that this inconvenience were well looked into; for sure (me thinkes) it is more weightie then all the former, and more hardly to be redressed in the governor then in the governed; as a malady in a vitall part is more incurable then in an externall.

*Iren.* You say very true; but now that we have thus ended all the abuses and inconveniences of

that government which was our first part. It followeth now, that we passe unto the second part, which was of the meanes to cure and redresse the same, which wee must labour to reduce to the first beginning thereof.

*Eudox.* Right so, Irenæus: for by that which I have noted in all this your discourse, you suppose, that the whole ordinance and institution of that realmes government, was both at first, when it was placed, evill plotted, and also since, thorough other over-sights, came more out of square to that disorder which it is now come unto, like as two indirect lines, the further that they are drawne out, the further they goe asunder.

*Iren.* I doe see, Eudoxus, and as you say, so thinke, that the longer that government thus continueth, in the worse course will the realme be; for it is all in vaine that they now strive and endeavour by faire meanes and peaceable plotts to redresse the same, without first remmoving all those inconveniences, and new framing (as it were) in the forge, all that is worne out of fashion: For all other meanes will be but as lost labour, by patching up one hole to make many; for the Irish doe strongly hate and abhorre all reformation and subjection to the English, by reason that having beene once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions. So as now they feare, that if they were againe brought under, they should be likewise expelled out of all, which is the cause that they hate the English government, according to the saying, "Quem metuunt oderunt." Therefore the reformation must now bee the strength of a greater power.

*Eudox.* But me thinkes that might be by making of good lawes, and establisshing of new statutes, with sharpe penalties and punishments, for amending of

all that is presently amisse, and not (as you suppose) to beginne all as it were anew, and to alter the whole forme of the government, which how dangerous a thing it is to attempt, you your selfe must needs confesse, and they which have the managing of the realmes whole policy, cannot, without great cause, feare and refraine; for all innovation is perillous, insomuch as though it bee meant for the better, yet so many accidents and fearefull events may come betweene, as that it may hazard the losse of the whole.

*Iren.* Very true, Eudoxus; all change is to be shunned, where the affaires stand in such sort, as that they may continue in quietnes, or be assured at all to abide as they are. But that in the realme of Ireland we see much otherwise, for every day wee perceive the troubles growing more upon us, and one evill growing upon another, insomuch as there is no part now found or ascertained, but all have their cares upright, wayting when the watch-word shall come, that they should all arise generally into rebellion, and cast away the English subjection. To which there now little wanteth; for I thinke the word be already given, and there wanteth nothing but opportunitie, which truly is the death <sup>z</sup> of one noble person, who being himselfe most stedfast to his soveraigne Queene, and his countrey, coasting upon the South-Sea. <sup>h</sup> stoppeth the ingate of all that evill which is looked for, and holdeth in all those which are at his becke, with the terrour of his greatnesse, and the assurance of his most immovable loyaltie: And therefore where you thinke,

<sup>z</sup> of one noble person,] Meaning Sir Walter Raleigh.

TODD.

<sup>h</sup> stoppeth the ingate] Entrance. Again; "Those two cities do offer an *ingate* to the Spaniard most fitly." See also F. Q. iv. x. 12. TODD.

that good and sound lawes might amend, and reforme things there amisse, you think surely amisse. For it is vaine to prescribe lawes, where no man careth for keeping of them, nor feareth the daunger for breaking of them. But all the realme is first to be reformed, and lawes are afterwards to be made for keeping and continuing it in that reformed estate.

*Eudox.* How then doe you think is the reformation thereof to be begunne, if not by lawes and ordinances?

*Iren.* Even by the sword; for all these evils must first be cut away by a strong hand, before any good can be planted, like as the corrupt braunches and unwholesome boughs are first to be pruned, and the foule mosse cleansed and scraped away, before the tree can bring forth any good fruite.

*Eudox.* Did you blame me even now, for wishing of Kerne, Horse-boyes, and Carrowes to be cleane cut off, as too violent a meanes, and doe you your selfe now prescribe the same medicine? Is not the sword the most violent redresse that may be used for any evil?

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

*Eudox.* Is not your way all one with the former in effect, which you found fault with, save onely this odds, that I said by the halter, and you say by the sword? what difference is there?

*Iren.* There is surely great, when you shall understand it; for by the sword which I named, I did not meane the cutting off all that nation with the sword,

which farre bee it from mee, that I should ever thinke so desperately, or wish so uncharitably, but by the sword I meane the royall power of the Prince, which ought to stretch it selfe forth in the chiefest strength to the redressing and cutting off those evils, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill. For evill people, by good ordinances and government, may be made good; but the evill that is of it selfe evill, will never become good.

*Eudox.* I pray you then declare your minde at large, how you would wish that sword, which you mean, to be used to the reformation of all those evils.

*Iren.* The first thing must be to send over into that realme, such a strong power of men, as should perforce bring in all that rebellious route and loose people, which either doe now stand out in open armes, or in wandring companies doe keepe the woods, spoyling the good subjects.

*Eudox.* You speake now, Irenæus, of an infinite charge to her Majestie, to send over such an army, as should tread downe all that standeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of that land, for there is now but one outlaw of any great reckoning, to wit, the Earle of Tyrone, abroad in armes, against whom, you see what huge charges shee hath bene at this last yeare, in sending of men, providing of victualls, and making head against him; yet there is little or nothing at all done, but the Queenes treasure spent, her people wasted, the poor countrey troubled, and the enemy neverthelesse brought into no more subjection then he was, or list outwardly to shew, which in effect is none, but rather a scorne of her power, and emboldening of a proud rebell, and an encouragement to all like lewdlie disposed traytors, that shall

dare to lift up their heele against their Sovereigne Lady. Therefore it were hard counsell to drawe such an exceeding great charge upon her, whose event should be so uncertaine.

*Iren.* True indeede, if the event should bee uncertaine, but the certainty of the effect hereof shall be so infallible, as that no reason can gaine say it, neither shall the charge of all this army (the which I demaund) be much greater, then so much as in these last two yeares warres, hath vainely been expended. For I dare undertake, that it hath coste the Queene above 200000 pounds already, and for the present charge, that she is now at there, amounteth to very neere 12000 pounds a moneth, whereof cast you the accompt; yet nothing is done. The which summe, had it beene employed as it should bee, would have effected all this which now I goe about.

*Eudor.* How meane you to have it imployed, but to bee spent in the pay of fouldiours, and provision of victualls?

*Iren.* Right so, but it is now not disbursed at once, as it might be, but drawne out into a long length, by sending over now 20000 pounds, and next halfe yeare 10000 pounds; so as the fouldiour in the meane time for want of due provision of victual, and good payment of his due, is starved and consumed; that of a 1000 which came over lusty able men, in halfe a yeare there are not left 500. And yet is the Queenes charge never a whit the lesse, but what is not payd in present mony, is accounted in debt, which will not be long unpayd; for the Captaine, halfe of whose fouldiours are dead, and the other quarter never mustered, nor scene, comes shortly to demand payment of his whole accompt, where by good meanes of some great ones, and privy shareings with the officers and

fervants of other some, hee receiveth his debt, much lesse perhaps then was due, yet much more indeede then he justly deserved.

*Eudox.* I take this sure to be no good husbandry; for what must needs be spent, as good spend it at once, where is enough, as to have it drawne out into long delayes, seeing that thereby both the service is much hindred, and yet nothing saved: but it may be, Irenæus, that the Queenes treasure in so great occasions of disbursements (as it is well knowne she hath beene at lately) is not alwayes so ready, nor so plentifull, as it can spare so great a summe together, but being payed as it is, now some, and then some, it is no great burthen unto her, nor any great impoverishment to her coffers, seeing by such delay of time, it dailie cometh in, as fast as she parteth it out.

*Iren.* It may be as you say, but for the going thorough of so honorable a course I doubt not but if the Queenes coffers be not so well stored, (which we are not to looke into) but that the whole realme which now, as things are used, doe feele a continuall burthen of that wretched realme hanging upon their backes, would, for a small riddance of all that trouble, be once troubled for all; and put to all their shoulders, and helping hands, and hearts also, to the defraying of that charge, most gladly and willingly; and surely the charge in effect, is nothing to the infinite great good, which should come thereby, both to the Queene, and all this realme generally, as when time serveth shall be shewed.

*Eudox.* How many men would you require to the furnishing of this which yee take in hand? and how long space would you have them entertained?

*Iren.* Verily not above 10000. footemen, and a 1000. horse, and all these not above the space of a



yeare and a halfe, for I would still, as the heate of the service abateth, abate the number in pay, and make other provision for them, as I will shew.

*Eudox.* Surely it seemeth not much which you require, nor no long time; but how would you have them used? would you leade forth your army against the enemy, and seeke him where he is to fight?

*Iren.* No, Eudoxus; that would not be, for it is well knowne that he is a flying enemy, hiding himselfe in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not drawe forth, but into some straight passage or perillous foord, where he knowes the army must needes passe; there will he lye in waite, and, if hee finde advantage fit, will dangerously hazard the troubled fouldiour. Therefore to seeke him out that still flitteth, and follow him that can hardly bee found, were vaine and bootlesse; but I would divide my men in garrison upon his countrey, in such places as I should thinke might most annoy him.

*Eudox.* But how can that be, Irenæus, with so few men? for the enemy, as you now see, is not all in one countrey, but some in Ulster, some in Connaught, and others in Leinster. So as to plant strong garrisons in all those places should need manye more men then you speake of, or to plant all in one, and to leave the rest naked, should be but to leave them to the spoyle.

*Iren.* I would wish the cheife power of the army to be garrisoned in one countrey that is strongest, and the other upon the rest that is weakest: As for example, the Earle of Tyrone is now accompted the strongest, upon him would I lay 8000 men in garrison, 1000 upon Pheagh Mac-Hugh and the Cavanaghes, and 1000 upon some parts of Connaught, to be at the direction of the Governour.

*Eudox.* I see now all your men bestowed, but what places would you set their garrison that they

might rise out most conveniently to service? and though perhaps I am ignorant of the places, yet I will take the mappe of Ireland, and lay it before me, and make mine eyes (in the meane time) my schoole-masters, to guide my understanding to judge of your plot.

*Iren.* Those eight thousand in Ulster I would devide likewise into foure parts, so as there should be 2000 footemen in every garrison; the which I would thus place. Upon the Blacke water, in some convenient place, as high upon the river as might be, I would lay one garrison. Another would I put at Castle-liffer, or thereabouts, so as they should have all the passages upon the river to Loughfoyle. The third I would place about Fermanagh or Bundroife, so as they might lye betweene Connaught and Ulster, to serve upon both sides, as occasion shall be offered, and this therefore would I have stronger than any of the rest, because it should be most enforced, and most employed, and that they might put wardes at Balls-shanon and Belick, and all those passages. The last would I set about Monaghan or Balturbut, so as it should fronte both upon the enemy that way, and also keepe the countreys of Cavan and Meath in awe, from passage of straglers from those parts, whence they use to come forth, and oftentimes use to worke much mischeife. And to every of these garrisons of 2000. footemen, I would have 200. horsemen added, for the one without the other can doe but little service. The 4 garrisons, thus being placed, I would have to bee victualled before hand for halfe a yeare, which you will say to be hard, considering the corruption and usuall waste of victualls. But why should not they be aswell victualled for so long time, as the ships are usuall for a yeare, and sometimes two, seeing it is easier to keepe victual on

land then water? Their bread I would have in flower, so as it might be baked still to serve their necessary want. Their beere there also brewed within them, from time to time, and their beefe before hand bared, the which may be used but as it is needed: For I make no doubt but fresh victualls they will sometimes purvey for themselves, amongst their enemies. Hereunto likewise would I have them have a store of hose and shoes, with such other necessaries as may be needfull for soldiers, so as they shall have no occasion to looke for reliefe from abroad, or occasion of such trouble, for their continuall supply, as I see and have often proved in Ireland to be more cumbeous to the Deputy, and dangerous to them that relieve them, then halfe the leading of an army; for the enemy, knowing the ordinary wayes thorough the which their reliefe must be brought them, useth commonly to draw himselfe into the straight passages thitherward, and oftentimes doth dangerously distresse them; besides the pay of such force as should be sent for their convoy, the charge of the carriages, the exactions of the countrey shall be spared. But onely every halfe yeare the supply brought by the Deputy himselfe, and his power, who shall then visite and overlooke all those garrisons, to see what is needfull to change, what is expedient, and to direct what hee shall best advise. And those 4 garrisons issuing forth, at such convenient times as they shall have intelligence or espiall upon the enemy, will so drive him from one side to another, and tennis him amongst them, that he shall finde no where safe to keepe his creete in, nor hide himselfe, but flying from the fire shall fall into the water, and out of one danger into another, that in short space his creete, which is his cheife sustenance, shall be wasted with preying, or killed with driving, or starved

for want of pasture in the woods, and he himselfe brought so lowe, that he shall have no heart nor ability to indure his wretchedness, the which will surely come to passe in very short time; for one winter well followed upon him will so plucke him on his knees, that he will never be able to stand up againe.

*Eudor.* Doe you then thinke the winter time fittest for the services of Ireland? how falls it then that our most employments bee in summer, and the armies then led commonly forth?

*Iren.* It is surely misconceived; for it is not with Ireland as it is with other countryes, where the warres flame most in summer, and the helmets glister brightest in the fairest sunshine: But in Ireland the winter yeeldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to cloath and house the kerne; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the aire is sharpe and bitter, to blowe thorough his naked sides and legges; the kyne are barren and without milke, which useth to be his onely foode, neither if he kill them, will they yeeld him flesh, nor if he keepe them, will they give him food, besides being all with calfe (for the most part) they will, thorough much chafing and driving, cast all their calves, and lose their milke, which should relieve him the next summer.

*Eudor.* I doe well understand your reason; but by your leave, I have heard it otherwise said, of some that were outlawes: That in summer they kept themselves quiet, but in winter they would play their parts, and when the nights were longest, then burne and spoyle most, so that they might safely returne before day.

*Iren.* I have likewise heard, and also scene prooffe thereof true: But that was of such outlawes as were either abiding in well inhabited countryes, as

in Mounster, or bordering on the English pale, as Feagh Mac Hugh, the Cavanaghes, the Moors, the Dempfies, or such like: For, for them the winter indeede is the fittest time for spoyling and robbing, because the nights are then (as you said) longest and darkest, and also the countreyes round about are then most full of corne, and good provision to be gotten every where by them, but it is farre otherwise with a strong peopled enemy, that possesse a whole countrey; for the other being but a few, and indeede privily lodged, and kept in out villages, and corners nigh to the woodes and mountaines, by some of their privy friends, to whom they bring their spoyles and stealthes, and of whom they continually receive secret releife; but the open enemy having all his countrey wasted, what by himselfe, and what by the souldiours, findeth them succour in no place: Townes there are none, of which he may get spoyle, they are all burnt: bread he hath none, he ploweth not in summer: Flesh he hath, but if he kill it in winter, he shall want milke in summer, and shortly want life. Therefore if they bee well followed but one winter, you shall have little worke with them the next summer.

*Eudox.* I doe now well perceive the difference, and doe verily thinke that the winter time is there fittest for service; withall I conceive the manner of your handling of the service, by drawing suddaine draughts upon the enemy, when he looketh not for you, and to watch advantages upon him, as hee doth upon you. By which straight keeping of them in, and not suffering them at any time long to rest, I must needs thinke that they will soone be brought lowe, and driven to great extreanities. All which when you have performed, and brought them to the very last cast, suppose that they will offer, either to come to you and submit themselves, or that some

of them will seeke to withdraw themselves, what is your advice to doe? will you have them received?

*Iren.* No, but at the beginning of those warres, and when the garrisons are well planted, and fortified, I would wish a proclamation were made generally, to come to their knowledge: That what persons soever would within twenty dayes absolutely submit themselves, (excepting onely the very principalls and ring-leaders,) should finde grace: I doubt not, but upon the settling of these garrisons, such a terrour and neere consideration of their perillous state, would be stricken into most of them, that they will covet to drawe away from their leaders. And againe I well know that the rebels themselves (as I saw by prooffe in Desmond's warre) will turne away all their rascall people, whom they thinke unserviceable, as old men, women, children, and hyndes, (which they call churles,) which would onely waste their victualls, and yeeld them no ayde; but their cattle they will surely keepe away: These therefore, though policy would turne them backe againe, that they might the rather consume and afflict the other rebels, yet in a pittifull commiseration I would wish them to be received; the rather for that this sort of base people doth not for the most part rebell of themselves, having no heart thereunto, but are by force drawne by the grand rebels into their action, and carryed away with the violence of the streame, else they should be sure to loose all that they have, and perhaps their lives too: The which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the strong rebels themselves, soone turned out of all, so that the constraint hereof may in them deserve pardon. Likewise if any of their able men or gentlemen shall then offer to come away, and to bring their cattle with them, as some no doubt may steale them

away privily, I wish them also to be received, for the disabling of the enemy, but withall, that good assurance may be taken for their true behaviour and absolute submission, and that then they be not suffered to remaine any longer in those parts, no nor about the garrisons, but sent away into the inner parts of the realme, and dispersed in such sort as they may not come together, nor easily returne if they would: For if they might bee suffered to remaine about the garrisons, and there inhabite, as they will offer to till the ground, and yeeld a great part of the profit thereof, and of their cattle, to the Coronell, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many, they would (as I have by experience knowne) bee ever after such a gaule and inconvenience to them, as that their profit shall not recompence their hurt; for they will privily relieve their friends that are forth; they will send the enemy secret advertizements of all their purposes and journeyes, which they meane to make upon them; they will not also sticke to drawe the enemy privily upon them, yea and to betray the forte it selfe, by discovery of all her defects and disadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their throates. For avoiding whereof and many other inconveniences, I wish that they should be carried farre from thence into some other parts, so that (as I say) they come in and submit themselves, upon the first summons: But afterwards I would have none received, but left to their fortune and miserable end: my reason is, for that those which will afterwards remaine without, are stout and obstinate rebels, such as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to labour or civill conversation, having once tasted that licentious life, and being acquainted with spoyle and out-rages, will ever after be ready for the like occasions, so as

there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and therefore needfull to be cut off.

*Eudox.* Surely of such desperate persons, as will follow the courſe of their owne folly, there is no compaſſion to be had, and for others you have propoſed a mercifull meanes, much more then they have deſerved, but what then ſhall be the concluſion of this warre? for you have prefixed a ſhort time of its continuance.

*Iren.* The end will (I aſſure me) be very ſhort and much ſooner then can be in ſo great a trouble, as it ſeemeth hoped for, although there ſhould none of them fall by the ſword, nor be ſlaine by the ſouldiour, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard reſtraint they would quickly conſume themſelves, and devoure one another. The prooffe whereof, I ſaw ſufficiently exampled in theſe late warres of Mounſter; for notwithstanding that the ſame was a moſt rich and plentifull countrey, full of corne and cattle, that you would have thought they ſhould have beene able to ſtand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to ſuch wretchedneſſe, as that any ſtony heart would have rued the ſame. Out of every corner <sup>i</sup> of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; <sup>k</sup> they looked

<sup>i</sup> of the woods and glynnes] *Glens*, that is, dales or vallies; here ſpelt in the original edition *glynnes* perhaps in conformity to the Iriſh pronunciation. So *pen* was accuſtomed, in the ſame country, to be pronounced *pin*. See *Caſtle Rack-Rent, an Hibernian Tale*, &c. p. 77. TODD.

<sup>k</sup> they looked like anatomies of death,] Thus Shakspeare, in his Comedy of Errors:

“ They brought one Pinch, a hungry lean-faced villain,

“ A mere *anatomy*, a mountebank, &c.

“ A needy, hollow-eyed, ſharp-looking wretch,

“ A *living dead man*.” TODD.



like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and, if they found a plot of water-creffes or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrey suddenly left voyde of man and beast; yet sure in all that warre, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremitie of famine, which they themselves had wrought.

*Eudor.* It is a wonder that you tell, and more to bee wondred how it should so shortly come to passe.

*Iren.* It is most true, and the reason also very ready; for you must conceive that the strength of all that nation, is the Kerne, Galloglasie, Stocah, Horseman, and Horseboy, the which having beene never used to have any thing of their owne, and now being upon spoyle of others, make no spare of any thing, but havocke and confusion of all they meet with, whether it bee their owne friends goods, or their foes. And if they happen to get never so great spoyle at any time, the same they waste and consume in a tryce, as naturally delighting in spoyle, though it doe themselves no good. On the other side, whatsoever they leave unspent, the souldier when hee commeth there, spoyleth and havocketh likewise, so that betweene both nothing is very shortly left. And yet this is very necessary to bee done for the soone finishing of the warre, and not onely this in this wise, but also those subiects which doe border upon those parts, are either to bee removed and drawne away, or likewise to bee spoiled,

that the enemy may find no succour thereby. For what the souldier spares, the rebell will surely spoyle.

*Eudor.* I doe now well understand you. But now when all things are brought to this passe, and all filled with these ruefull spectacles of so many wretched carcasses starving, goodly countreys wasted, so huge desolation and confusion, that even I that doe but heare it from you, and do picture it in my minde, doe greatly pittie and commiserate it. If it shall happen, that the state of this miserie and lamentable image of things shall bee tolde, and feelingly presented to her Sacred Maiestie, being by nature full of mercy and clemency, who is most inclinable to such pittifull complaints, and will not endure to heare such tragedies made of her poore people and subiects, as some about her may insinuate; then she perhappes, for very compassion of such calamities, will not onely stoppe the streame of such violences, and returne to her wonted mildnesse, but also conne them little thankes which have bene the authours and counsellours of such bloodie platformes. So I remember that in the late government of that good Lord Grey, when after long travell, and many perillous assaies, he had brought things almost to this passe that you speake of, that it was even made ready for reformation, and might have bene brought to what her Maiestie would, like complaint was made against him, that he was a bloodie man, and regarded not the life of her subiects no more then dogges, but had wasted and consumed all, so as now she had nothing almost left, but to raigue in their ashes; care was soon lent therunto, and all suddenly turned topside-turvy; the noble Lord est-soones was blamed; the wretched people pittied; and new counsells plotted, in which it was concluded that a general pardon should be

fent over to all that would accept of it, upon which<sup>1</sup> all former purposes were blancked, the Governour at a bay, and not only all that great and long charge which shee had before beene at quite lost and cancelled, but also that hope of good which was even at the doore put back, and cleane frustrated. All which, whether it be true, or no, your selfe can well tell.

*Iren.* Too true, Eudoxus, the more the pittie, for I may not forget so memorable a thing: neither can I bee ignorant of that perillous device, and of the whole meanes by which it was compassed, and very cunningly contrived by sowing first diffention betweene him, and an other Noble Personage; wherein they both at length found how notably they had beene abused, and how thereby under hand this univerrall alteration of things was brought about, but then too late to stay the same; for in the meane time all that was formerly done with long labor, and great toyle, was (as you say) in a moment undone, and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom, who that well knew, knew to be most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate; but that the necessitie of that present state of things inforced him to that violence, and almost changed his naturall disposition. But otherwise he was so farre from delighting in blood, that oftentimes he suffered not just vengeance to fall where it was deserved: and even some of them which were afterwarde his accusers, had tasted too much of his mercy, and were from the gallowes brought to bee his accusers. But his course indeede was this, that hee spared not the heades and principalls of any mischievous practises or rebellion, but shewed sharpe

<sup>1</sup> all former purposes were blancked,] *Confounded or disappointed.* So Shakspere, in *Hamlet*:

“ Each opposite that *blanks* the face of joy.” TODD.

iudgement on them, chiefly for enfamples fake, that all the meaner fort, which alfo were generally then infected with that evill, might by terrour thereof bee reclaymed, and faved, if it were poffible. For in the laft confpiracy of <sup>m</sup> fome of the Englifh Pale, thinke you not that there were many more guiltie then they that felt the punifhment? yet hee touched only a few of fpecial note; and in the tryall of them alfo even to prevent the blame of cruelty and partiall proceeding, and feeking their blood, which he, as in his great wifedome (as it feemeth) did fore-fee would bee objected againft him; hee, for the avoyding thereof, did ufe a fingular difcretion and regard. For the Iury that went upon their tryall, hee made to bee chofen out of their neareft kinfmen, and their Iudges he made of fome of their owne fathers, of others their uncles and deareft friends, who when they could not but juftly condemne them, yet hee uttered their judgment in abundance of teares, and yet hee even herein was called bloody and cruell.

*Eudox.* Indeed fo have I heard it heere often fpoken, but I perceive (as I alwayes verily thought) that it was moft unjuftly, for hee was alwayes knowne to bee a moft iuft, fincere, godly, and right noble man, farre from fuch fterneneffe, farre from fuch unrighteousneffe. But in that fharp execution of the Spaniards, at the Fort of Smerwicke, I heard it fpecially noted, and if it were true as fome reported, furely it was a great touch to him in honour, for fome fay that he promifed them life; others at leaft hee did put them in hope thereof.

*Iren.* Both the one and the other is moft untrue; for this I can affure you, my felfe being as neare them as any, that hee was fo farre either from pro-

<sup>m</sup> *fone of the Englifh Pale,*] Confulas (fi placet) Camden. annal. rerum Anglic. & Hiber. ad an. 1580. SIR J. WARE.

ming, or putting them in hope, that when first their Secretarie (called, as I remember) Signior Jeffrey an Italian, being sent to treat with the Lord Deputie for grace, was flatly refused; and afterwards their <sup>n</sup> Coronell named Don Sebastian, came forth to intreat that they might part with their armes like souldiers, at least with their lives according to the custome of warre, and law of nations; it was strongly denyed him, and tolde him by the Lord Deputie himselfe, that they could not iustly pleade either custome of warre, or law of nations, for that they were not any lawfull enemies, and if they were, hee willed them to shew by what commission they came thither into another Princes dominions to warre, whether from the Pope or the King of Spaine, or any other; the which when they said they had not, but were onely adventurers that came to seeke fortune abroad, and to serve in warre amongst the Irish, who desired to entertaine them; it was then tolde them, that the Irish themselves, as the Earle and Iohn of Desmond, with the rest, were no lawfull enemies; but rebels and traytours; and therefore they that came to succour them, no better then rogues and runnagates, specially comming with no licence, nor commission from their owne King: So as it should bee dishonourable for him in the name of his Queene, to condition or make any tearmes with such rascalls, but left them to their choyce, to yeeld and submit themselves, or no: Whereupon the said Colonell did absolutely yeeld himselfe and the fort, with all therein, and craved onely mercy, which it being not thought good to shew them, for daunger of them, if, being saved, they should afterwarde ioyne

<sup>n</sup>. Coronell] The old word for *Colonel*. See Cotgrave in V.  
 “A coronell or colonell.” TODD.

with the Irish; and also for terrour to the Irish, who are much imboldened by those forraigne succours, and also put in hope of more ere long: there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made. Therefore most untruely and maliciously doe these evill tongues backbite and slander the sacred ashes of that most iust and honourable personage, whose least virtue of many most excellent that abounded in his heroicke spirit, they were never able to aspire unto.

*Eudox.* Truely, Irenæus, I am right glad to be thus satisfied by you, in that I have often heard questioned, and yet was never able till now, to choake the mouth of such detraçtours, with the certaine knowledge of their slanderous untruthes, neither is the knowledge hercof impertinent to that which wee formerly had in hand, I meane for the thorough prosecuting of that sharpe course which you have set downe for the bringing under of those rebels of Ulster and Connaght, and preparing a way for their perpetuall reformation, least haply, by any such sinister suggestions of crueltie and too much blood-shed, all the plot might be overthrowne, and all the coste and labour therein employed bee utterly lost and cast away.

*Iren.* You say most true; for, after that Lords calling away from thence, the two Lords Iustices continued but a while: of which the one was of minde (as it seemed) to have continued in the footing of his predecessors, but that he was curbed and retrayned. But the other was more mildly disposed, as was meete for his profession, and willing to have all the wounds of that commonwealth healed and recured, but not with that heede as they should bee. After, when Sir Iohn Perrot succeeding (as it were) into another mans harvest, found an open way to what course hee list, the

which hee bent not to that point which the former governours intended, but rather quite contrary, as it were in scorne of the former, and in vaine vaunt of his owne counsell, with the which hee was too willfully carryed; for hee did treade downe and disgrace all the English, and set up and countenance the Irish all that hee could, whether thinking thereby to make them more tractable and buxome to his government, (wherein hee thought much amisse,) or privily plotting some other purposes of his owne, as it partly afterwards appeared; but surely his manner of government could not be found nor wholesome for that realme, it being so contrary to the former. For it was even as two physicians should take one sicke body in hand, at two sundry times: of which the former would minister all things meete to purge and keepe under the bodie, the other to pamper and strengthen it suddenly againe, whereof what is to bee looked for but a most daungerous relapse? That which wee now see thorough his rule, and the next after him, happened thereunto, being now more daungerously sicke then ever before. Therefore by all meanes it must bee fore-seene and assured, that after once entering into this course of reformation, there bee afterwarde no remorse nor drawing backe for the sight of any such ruefull objects, as must thereupon followe, nor for compassion of their calamities, seeing that by no other meanes it is possible to cure them, and that these are not of will, but of very urgent necessitie.

*Eudox.* Thus farre then you have now proceeded to plant your garrisons, and to direct their services, of the which neverthelesse I must needs conceive that there cannot be any certaine direction set downe, so that they must follow the occasions which shall bee daylic offered, and diligently awayted.

But by your leave (*Irenæus*) notwithstanding all this your carefull fore-sight and provision (*in*e thinkes) I see an evill lurke unespied, and that may chance to hazard all the hope of this great service, if it bee not very well looked into, and that is, the corruption of their captaines; for though they be placed never so carefully, and their companies filled never so sufficiently, yet may they, if they list, discarde whom they please, and send away such as will perhappes willingly bee ridde of that dangerous and hard service, the which (well I wote) is their common custome to doe, when they are layde in garrison, for then they may better hide their defaults, then when they are in campe, where they are continually eyed and noted of all men. Besides, when their pay commeth, they will (as they say) detaine the greatest portions thereof at their pleasure, by a hundred shifts that need not here be named, through which they oftentimes deceive the souldier, and abuse the Queene, and greatly hinder the service. So that let the Queene pay never so fully, let the muster-master view them never so diligently, let the deputy or generall looke to them never so exactly, yet they can cozen them all. Therefore me-thinkes it were good, if it be possible, to make provision for this inconvenience.

*Iren.* It will surely be very hard; but the chiefeſt helpe for prevention hereof muſt be the care of the coronell that hath the government of all his garrison, to have an eye to their alterations, to know the numbers and names of the sick souldiers, and the flaine, to marke and observe their rankes in their daylie rising forth to service, by which he cannot easily bee abused, so that hee himselfe bee a man of speciall assurance and integritie. And therefore great regard is to bee had in the choosing and appointing of them. Besides, I would not by



any meanes, that the captaines should have the paying of their souldiers, but that there should bee a pay-master appointed, of speciall trust, which should pay every man according to his captaines ticket, and the accompt of the clerke of his band, for by this meanes the captaine will never seeke to falsifie his alterations, nor to diminish his company, nor to deceive his souldiers, when nothing thereof shall be sure to come unto himselfe, but what is his owne bare pay. And this is the manner of the Spaniards captaine, who never hath to meddle with his souldiers pay, and indeed scorneth the name as base, to be counted <sup>n</sup> his souldiers pagadore; whereas the contrary amongst us hath brought things to so bad a passe, that there is no captaine, but thinkes his band very sufficient, if hee can muster 60: and stickes not to say openly, that he is unworthy to have a captainship, that cannot make it worth 500*l.* by the yeare, the which they right well verifie by the prooffe.

*Eudox.* Truly I thinke this is a very good meanes to avoid that inconvenience of captaines abuses. But what say you to the coronell? what authority thinke you meete to be given him? whether will you allow him to protect or safe conduct, and to have martiall lawes as they are accustomed?

*Iren.* Yea verily, but all these to bee limited with very strait instructions. As first for protections, that hee shall have authority after the first proclamation, for the space of twentie dayes, to protect all that shall come in, and them to send to the Lord Deputy, with their safe conduct or passe, to bee at his disposition, but so as none of them returne backe againe, being once come in, but be

<sup>n</sup> his souldiers pagadore;] *Pagador*, Spanish; a paymaster or treasurer. TODD.

presently sent away out of the countrey, to the next sheriffe, and so conveyed in safetie. And likewise for martiall lawe, that to the souldier it bee not extended, but by tryall formerly of his cryme, by a iury of his fellow souldiers as it ought to bee, and not rashly, at the will or displeasure of the coronell, as I have sometimes seene too lightly. And as for other of the rebels that shall light into their handes, that they bee well aware of what condition they bee, and what holding they have. For, in the last generall warres there, I knew many good freeholders executed by martiall law, whose landes were thereby saved to their heires, which should have otherwise escheated to her Majestie. In all which, the great discretion and uprightnesse of the coronell himselfe is to bee the cheifest stay both for all those doubts, and for many other difficulties that may in the service happen.

*Eudox.* Your caution is very good; but now touching the arch-rebell himselfe, I meane the Earle of Tyrone, if he, in all the time of these warres, should offer to come in and submit himselfe to her Majestie, would you not have him received, giving good hostages, and sufficient assurance of himselfe?

*Iren.* No, marrie; for there is no doubt, but hee will offer to come in, as hee hath done divers times already, but it is without any intent of true submission, as the effect hath well shewed, neither indeed can hee now, if hee would, come in at all, nor give that assurance of himselfe that should bee meete: for being as hee is very subtle headed, seeing himselfe now so farre engaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his submission, hee can purchase to himselfe any safetie, but that heereafter, when things shall bee quieted, these his villanies will be ever remembered? and whensoever

hee shall treade awry, (as needes the most righteous must sometimes) advantage will bee taken thereof, as a breach of his pardon, and hee brought to a reckoning for all former matters; besides, how hard it is now for him to frame himselfe to subjection, that having once set before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath therunto not onely found encouragement from the greatest King in Christendome, but also found great faintnes in her Maiesties withstanding him, whereby he is animated to think that his power is able to defend him, and offend further then he hath done, whensoever he please, let every reasonable man iudge. But if hee himselfe should come and leave all other, his accomplices without, as O Donel, Mac Mahone, Maguire, and the rest, he must needs thinke that then even they will ere long cut his throate, which having drawne them all into this occasion, now in the midst of their trouble giveth them the slip; whereby hee must needes perceive how impossible it is for him to submit himselfe. But yet if hee would so doe, can he give any good assurance of his obedience? For how weake hold is there by hostages, hath too often beene proved, and that which is spoken of taking Shane O-Neales sonnes from him, and setting them up against him as a very perillous counsaile, and not by any meanes to be put in prooffe; for were they let forth and could overthrowe him, who should afterwards overthrow them, or what assurance can be had of them? It will be like the tale in Æsop, of the wild horse, who, having enmity with the stagge, came to a man to desire his ayde against his foe, who yeelding thereunto mounted upon his backe, and so following the stagge, ere long slew him, but then when the horse would have him alight he refused, but ever after kept him in his subjection and service. Such

I doubt would bee the prooffe of Shane O-Neales fonnes. Therefore it is moft dangerous to attempt any fuch plot; for even that very manner of plot, was the meanes by which this trayterous Earle is now made great: For when the laft O-Neale, called Terlagh Leinagh, began to ftand upon fome tickle termes, this fellow then, called Baron of Dunganon, ° was fet up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and ftrengthened by the Queene fo far, as that he is now able to keepe her felfe play: much like unto a gamefter that having loft all, borroweth of his next fellow-gamefter fomewhat to maintaine play, which he fetting unto him againe, fhortly thereby winneth all from the winner.

*Eudox.* Was this rebell then fet up at firft by the Queene (as you fay) and now become fo undutifull?

*Iren.* He was (I affure you) the moft outcaft of all the O-Neales then, and lifted up by her Ma-jesty out of the duft, to that he hath now wrought himfelfe unto, and now hee playeth like the frozen fnake, who being for compaffion releived by the hufbandman, foone after he was warme began to hiffe, and threaten danger even to him and his.

*Eudox.* He furely then deferveth the punifhment of that fnake, and fhould worthily be hewed to peeces. But if you like not the letting forth of Shane O-Neales fonnes againft him, what fay you then of that advice which (I heard) was given by fome, to draw in Scotts, to ferve againft him? how like you that advice?

*Iren.* Much worfe then the former; for who that is experienced in thofe parts knoweth not that the O-Neales are nearely allyed unto the Mac-Neiles

° was fet up as it were to beard him,] To affront him. See F. Q. vi. v. 12, and the note there. TODD.

of Scotland, and to the Earle of Argyle, from whence they use to have all succours of those Scottes and Redshankes: Besides all these Scottes are, through long continuance, intermingled and allyed to all the inhabitants of the North? <sup>p</sup> so as there is no hope that they will ever be wrought to serve faithfully against their old friends and kinsmen: And though they would, how when they have overthrowne him, and the warres are finished, shall they themselves be put out? Doe we not all know, that the Scottes were the first inhabitants of all the North, and that those which now are called the North Irish, are indeed <sup>a</sup> very Scottes, which challenge the ancient inheritance and dominion of that countrey, to be their owne aunciently: This then were but to leap out of the pan into the fire: For the cheifest caveat and provision in reformation of the North, must be to keep out those Scottes.

*Eudor.* Indeede I remember, that in your discourse of the first peopling of Ireland, you shewed that the Scythians or Scottes were the first that fate downe in the North, whereby it seemes that they may challenge some right therein. How comes it then that O-Neale claimes the dominion thereof, and this Earle of Tyrone saith that the right is in him? I pray you resolve me herein? for it is very needefull to be knowne, and maketh unto the right of the warre against him, whose successe useth commonly to be according to the justnes of the cause, for which it is made: For if Tyrone have any right in that seigniory (me thinkes) it should be wrong to thrust him out: Or if (as I remember) you said in

<sup>p</sup> so that there is no hope &c.] The causes of these feares have been amputated, since the happy union of England and Scotland, established by his late Majesty. SIR JAMES WARE.

<sup>a</sup> very Scottes,] Vide Bed. Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 1.

the beginning, that O-Neale, when he acknowledged the King of England for his leige Lord and Sovereigne, did (as he alleadgeth) reserve in the same submission his feignories and rights unto himselfe, what should it be accounted to thrust him out of the same?

*Iren.* For the right of O-Neale in the feignory of the North, it is surely none at all: For besides that the Kings of England conquered all the realme, and thereby assumed and invested all the right of that land to themselves and their heires and successors for ever, so as nothing was left in O-Neale but what he received backe from them, O-Neale himselfe never had any ancient feignory over that country, but what by usurpation and incroachment after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he got upon the English, whose lands and possessions being formerly wasted by the Scottes, under the leading of Edward le Bruce, (as I formerly declared unto you) he est-soones entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other occupations and great affaires which the Kings of England (soone after) fell into here at home, so as they could not intend to the recovery of that countrey of the North, nor restrain the insolency of O-Neale; who, finding none now to withstand him, raigned in that desolation, and made himselfe Lord of those few people that remained there, upon whom ever sithence he hath continued his first usurped power, and now exacteth and extorteth upon all men what he list; so that now to subdue or expell an usurper, should bee no unjust enterprise or wrongfull warre, but a restitution of auncient right unto the crowne of England, from whence they were most unjustly expelled and long kept out.

*Eudox.* I am very glad herein to be thus satisfied by you, that I may the better fatisfie them, whom

I have often heard to object these doubts, and slanderously to barke at the courses which are held against that trayterous Earle and his adherents. But now that you have thus settled your service for Ulster and Connaght, I would bee glad to heare your opinion for the prosecuting of Feagh Mac Hugh, who being but a base villaine, and of himselfe of no power, yet so continually troubleth the state, notwithstanding that he lyeth under their nose, that I disdain his bold arrogancy, and thinke it to be the greatest indignity to the Queene that may be, to suffer such a caytiffe to play such *Rex*, and by his ensample not onely to give heart and incoragement to all such bad rebels, but also to yeeld them succour and refuge against her Majesty, whensoever they fly unto his Comericke, whereof I would first wish before you enter into your plot of service against him, that you should lay open by what meanes he, being so base, first lifted himselfe up to this dangerous greatnes, and how he maintaineth his part against the Queene and her power, notwithstanding all that hath beene done and attempted against him. And whether also hee have any pretence of right in the lands which he holdeth, or in the warres that he maketh for the same?

*Iren.* I will so, at your pleasure, and will further declare, not only the first beginning of his private house, but also the originall of the Sept of the Birnes and Toolles, so farre as I have learned the same from some of themselves, and gathered the rest by reading: The people of the Birnes and Toolles (as before I shewed unto you my conjecture) descended from the auncient Brittaines, which first inhabited all those easterne parts of Ireland, as their names doe betoken; for <sup>r</sup> Brin in the brittish

<sup>r</sup> *Brin in the Brittish language signifieth woody,*] In Richard Creagh's booke *De Lingua Hibernica*, there is a very plentiful

language signifieth woody, and Toole hilly, which names it seemeth they tooke of the countryes which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody. In the which it seemeth that ever since the coming in of the English with <sup>s</sup> Dermot ni-Gall, they have continued: Whether that their country being so rude and mountainous was of them despised, and thought unworthy the inhabiting, or that they were received to grace by them, and suffered to enjoy their lands, as unfit for any other, yet it seemeth that in some places of the same they have put foote, and fortified with fundry castles, of which the ruines onely doe there now remaine, since which time they are growne to that strength, that they are able to lift up hand against all that state; and now lately through the boldnes and late good successe of this Feagh Mac Hugh, they are so farre imboldened, that they threaten perill even to Dublin, over whose necke they continually hang. But touching your demand of this Feaghes right unto that country which he claimes, or the seigniory therein, it is most vaine and arrogant. For this you cannot be ignorant, that it was part of that which was given in inheritance by Dermot Mac Morrough, King of Leinster, unto Strongbowe with his daughter, and which Strongbowe gave over unto the King and his heires, so as the right is absolutely now in her Majesty, and if it were not, yet could it not be in this Feagh, but in

collection of Irish words, derived from the Brittainish or Welch tongue, which doth much strengthen the authors opinion, in holding that the Birnes, Tooles, and Cavenaghs, with other the ancient inhabitants of the easterne parts, were originally British colonies. SIR JAMES WARE.

<sup>s</sup> *Dermot ni-Gall,*] Dermot Mac Morrough, King of Leinster, who was surnamed ni-Gall, as being a friend to the English, and chiefe instrument in inciting them to the conquest of Ireland.

SIR JAMES WARE.



\* O Brin, which is the ancient Lord of all that countrey; for he and his auncestours were but followers unto O Brin; and his grandfather Shane Mac Terlagh, was a man of meanest regard amongst them, neither having wealth nor power. But his sonne Hugh Mac Shane, the father of this Feagh, first began to lift up his head, and through the strength and great fastnes of Glan-Malor, which adjoyneth unto his house of Ballinecor, drew unto him many theeves and out-lawes, which fled unto the succour of that glynne, as to a sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the spoyle of all the countrey, through which he grew strong, and in short space got unto himselfe a great name thereby amongst the Irish, in whose footing this his sonne continuing, hath, through many unhappy occasions, increased his said name, and the opinion of his greatnes, infomuch that now he is become a dangerous enemy to deale withall.

*Eudox.* Surely I can commend him, that being of himselfe of so meane condition, hath through his owne hardinesse lifted himselfe up to the height, that he dare now front princes, and make tearmes with great potentates; the which as it is to him honourable, so it is to them most disgracefull, to be bearded of such a base varlet, that being but of late growne out of the dunghill, beginneth now to over-crow so high mountaines, and make himselfe great protectour of all outlawes and rebels that will repaire unto him. But doe you thinke he is now so dangerous an enemy as he is counted, or that it is so hard to take him downe as some suppose?

*Iren.* No verily, there is no great reckoning to bee made of him; for had he ever beene taken in hand, when the rest of the realme (or at least the

parts adjoining) had ben quiet, as the honourable gent. that now governeth there (I meane Sir William Russell) <sup>u</sup> gave a notable attempt thereunto, and had worthily performed it, if his course had not beene crossed unhappily, he could not have stood 3. moneths, nor ever have looked up against a very meane power: but now all the parts about him being up in a madding moode, as the Moores in Leix, the Cavenaghes in the county of Wexford, and some of the Butlers in the county of Kilkenny, they all flocke unto him, and drawe into his countrey, as to a strong hould, where they thinke to be safe from all that profecute them: And from thence they doe at their pleasures breake out into all the borders adjoining, which are well peopled countreyes, as the counties of Dublin, of Kildare, of Catherlagh, of Kilkenny, of Wexford, with the spoiles whereof they victuall and strengthen themselves, which otherwise should in short time be starved, and fore pined; so that what he is of himselfe, you may hereby perceive.

*Eudox.* Then by so much as I gather out of your speech, the next way to end the warres with him, and to roote him out quite, should be to keepe him from invading of those countreyes adjoining, which (as I suppose) is to be done, either by drawing all the inhabitants of those next borders away, and leaving them utterly waste, or by planting garrisons upon all those frontiers about him, that, when he shall breake forth, may set upon him and shorten his returne.

*Iren.* You conceive very rightly, Eudoxus, but for that the dispeopling and driving away all the inhabitants from the countrey about him, which

<sup>u</sup> gave a notable attempt thereunto,] Vide Camdeni annales, sub finem anni 1594. SIR JAMES WARE.

you speake of, should bee a great confusion and trouble, aswell for the unwillingnesse of them to leave their possessions, as also for placing and providing for them in other countryes, (me thinkes) the better course should be by planting of garrisons about him, which whensoever he shall looke forth, or be drawne out with the desire of the spoyle of those borders, or for necessity of victuall, shall be alwayes ready to intercept his going or comming.

*Eudox.* Where then doe you wish those garrisons to be planted that they may serve best against him, and how many in every garrison?

*Iren.* I my selfe, by reason that (as I told you) I am no martiall man, will not take upon me to direct so dangerous affaires, but onely as I understood by the purposes and plots, which the Lord Gray who was well experienced in that service, against him did lay downe: To the performance whereof he onely required 1000. men to be laid in 6. garrisons, that is, at Ballinecor 200. footemen and 50. horsemen, which should shut him out of his great glynne, whereto he so much trusteth; at Knockelough 200. footemen and 50. horsemen, to answer the county of Catherlagh; at Arcló or Wicklow 200. footemen and 50. horsemen to defend all that side towards the sea. In Shillelagh 100. footemen which should cut him from the Cavanaghes, and the county of Wexford; and about the three castles 50. horsemen, which should defend all the county of Dublin; and 100. footemen at Talbots Towne, which should keepe him from breaking out into the county of Kildare, and be alwayes on his necke on that side: The which garrisons so laide, will so busie him, that he shall never rest at home, nor stirre forth abroad but he shall be had; as for his creete they cannot be above ground, but they must needs fall into their hands or starve,

for he hath no fastnes nor refuge for them. And as for his partakers of the Moores, Butlers, and Cavanaghes, they will soone leave him, when they see his fastnes and strong places thus taken from him.

*Eudox.* Surely this seemeth a plot of great reason, and small difficulty, which promiseth hope of a short end. But what speciall directions will you set downe for the services and risings out of these garrisons?

*Iren.* None other then the present occasions shall minister unto them, and as by good espialls, whereof there they cannot want store, they shall be drawne continually upon him, so as one of them shall be still upon him, and sometimes all at one instant, bayting him. And this (I assure my selfe) will demaund no long time, but will be all finished in the space of one yeare, which how small a thing it is, unto the eternall quietnesse which shall thereby be purchas'd to that realme, and the great good which should growe to her Majesty, should (me thinkes) readily drawe on her Highnesse to the undertaking of the enterprife.

*Eudox.* You have very well (me thinkes), Ireneus, plotted a course for the atchieving of those warres now in Ireland, which seemes to ask no long time, nor great charge, so as the effecting thereof bee committed to men of sure trust, and sound experience, aswell in that country, as in the manner of those services; for if it bee left in the hands of such rawe captaines, as are usually sent out of England, being thereunto onely preferred by friendship, and not chosen by sufficiency, it will soone fall to the ground.

*Iren.* Therefore it were meete (me thinkes) that such captaines onely were thereunto employed, as have formerly served in that country, and been

at least lieutenants unto other captaines there. For otherwise being brought and transferred from other services abroad, as in France, in Spain, and in the Low-countrys, though they be of good experience in those, and have never so well deserved, yet in these they will be new to seeke, and, before they have gathered experience, they shall buy it with great losse to her Majesty, either by hazarding of their companies, through ignorance of the places, and manner of the Irish services, or by loosing a great part of the time which is required hereunto, being but short, in which it might be finished, almost before they have taken out a new lesson, or can tell what is to be done.

*Eudox.* You are no good friend to new captaines; it seemes Iren. that you barre them from the credit of this service: but (to say truth) me thinkes it were meete, that any one before he came to be a captaine, should have bene a fouldiour; for, "Parere qui nescit, nescit imperare." And besides there is great wrong done to the old fouldiour, from whom all meanes of advancement which is due unto him, is cut off, by shuffling in these new cutting captaines, into the place for which he hath long served, and perhaps better deserved. But now that you have thus (as I suppose) finished all the warre, and brought all things to that low ebbe which you speake of, what course will you take for the bringing in of that reformation which you intend, and recovering all things from this desolate estate, in which (mee thinkes) I behold them now left, unto that perfect establishment and new common-wealth which you have conceived of, by which so great good may redound unto her Majesty, and an assured peace bee confirmed? for that is it whereunto wee are now to looke, and doe greatly long for, being long sithence made weary

with the huge charge which you have laide upon us, and with the strong indurance of so many complaints, so many delays, so many doubts and dangers, as will hereof (I know well) arise; unto the which before wee come, it were meete (me thinkes) that you should take some order for the souldiour, which is now first to bee discharged and disposed of, some way: the which if you doe not well fore-see, may growe to as great inconvenience as all this that I suppose you have quit us from, by the loose leaving of so many thousand souldiours, which from thence forth will be unfit for any labour or other trade, but must either seeke service and employment abroad, which may be dangerous, or else employ themselves heere at home, as may bee commodious.

*Iren.* You say very true, and it is a thing much mislyked in this our common-wealth, that no better course is taken for such as have been employed in service, but that returning, whether maymed, and so unable to labour, or otherwise whole and sound, yet afterwards unwilling to worke, or rather willing to set the hang-man on work. But that needeth another consideration; but to this which wee have now in hand, it is farre from my meaning to leave the souldiour so at randome, or to leave that waste realme so weake and destitute of strength, which may both defend it against others that might seeke then to set upon it, and also keepe it from that relapse which I before did fore-cast. For it is one speciall good of this plot, which I would devise, that 6000. souldiers of these whom I have now employed in this service, and made throughly acquainted both with the state of the countrey, and manners of the people, should henceforth bee still continued, and for ever maintayned of the countrey, without any charge to her Majestie; and the rest

that are either olde, and unable to ferve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have feene many fouldiers after the fervice to prove very good hufbands, fhould bee placed in part of the landes by them wonne, at fuch rate, or rather better, then others, to whome the fame fhall be fet out.

*Eudox.* Is it poffible, Irenæus? can there be any fuch meanes devifed, that fo many men fhould be kept ftill in her Majefties fervice, without any charge to her at all? Surely this were an exceeding great good, both to her Highnes to have fo many olde fouldiers alwayes ready at call, to what purpofe foever ſhe liſt to imploy them, and alfo to have that land thereby fo ſtrengthened, that it fhall neither feare any forraine invaſion, nor praetiſe, which the Iriſh ſhall ever attempt, but fhall keepe them under in continuall awe and firme obedience.

*Iren.* It is fo indeed. And yet this truely I doe not take to be any matter of great difficultie, as I thinke it will alfo ſoone appeare unto you. And firſt we will ſpeake of the North part, for that the ſame is of more weight and importance. So ſoone as it ſhall appeare that the enemy is brought downe, and the ſtout rebell either cut off, or driven to that wretchedneſſe, that hee is no longer able to holde up his head, but will come in to any conditions, which I aſſure my ſelfe will bee before the end of the ſecond Winter, I wiſh that there bee a generall proclamation made, that whatſoever out-lawes will freely come in, and ſubmit themſelves to her Majeſties mercy, ſhall have liberty ſo to doe, where they ſhall either finde that grace they deſire, or have leave to returne againe in ſafety; upon which it is likely that ſo many as ſurvive, will come in to ſue for grace, of which who ſo are thought meet for ſubjection, and fit to be brought to good, may be received, or elſe all of them; (for I thinke that

all wilbe but a very few;) upon condition and assurance that they will submit themselves absolutely to her Maiesties ordinance for them, by which they shall be assured of life and libertie, and be onely tyed to such conditions as shall bee thought by her meet for containing them ever after in due obedience. To the which conditions I nothing doubt, but they will all most readily, and upon their knees submit themselves, by the prooffe of that which I have seene in Mounster. For upon the like proclamation there, they all came in both tagg and ragg, and when as afterwardes many of them were denyed to be received, they bade them doe with them what they would, for they would not by any meanes returne againe, nor goe forth. For in that case who will not accept almost of any conditions, rather than dye of hunger and miserie?

*Eudox.* It is very likely so. But what then is the ordinance, and what bee the conditions which you will propose unto them, which shall reserve unto them an assurance of life and liberty?

*Iren.* So soone then as they have given the best assurance of themselves which may be required, which must be (I suppose) some of their principall men to remaine in hostage one for another, and some other for the rest, for other surety I reckon of none that may binde them, neither of wife, nor of children, since then perhappes they would gladly be ridde of both from the famine; I would have them first unarmed utterly, and stripped quite of all their warrelike weapons, and then, these conditions set downe and made knowne unto them, that they shall bee placed in Leinster, and have land given them to occupy and to live upon, in such sort as shall become good subjects, to labour thenceforth for their living, and to apply themselves to honest trades of civility, as they shall every one be found meeete and able for.



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

*Iren.* No, I will place them all in the countrey of the Birnes and Tooles, which Pheagh Mac Hugh hath, and in all the lands of the Cavanaghes, which are now in rebellion, and all the lands which will fall to her Maiestie thereabouts, which I know to be very spacious and large enough to containe them, being <sup>x</sup> very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.

*Eudox.* But then what will you doe with all the Birnes, the Tooles, and the Cavanaghes, and all those that now are joyned with them?

*Iren.* At the same very time, and in the same very manner that I make that proclamation to them of Ulster, will I have it also made to these, and upon their submission thereunto, I will take like assurance of them as of the other. After which, I will translate all that remaine of them unto the places of the other in Ulster, with all their creete, and what else they have left them, the which I will cause to be divided amongst them in some meete sort, as each may thereby have somewhat to sustaine himselfe a while withall, untill, by his further travaile and labour of the earth, he shalbe able to provide himselfe better.

*Eudox.* But will you give the land then freely unto them, and make them heires of the former rebels? so may you perhaps make them also heires of all their former villainies and disorders; or how else will you dispose of them?

<sup>x</sup> *very neere twenty or thirty miles wyde.*] This carrieth no fit proportion for the transplantation intended by the author, considering the large extent of Ulster, and the narrow bounds heere limited. SIR JAMES WARE.

*Iren.* Not so : but all the lands will I give unto Englishmen, whom I will have drawne thither, who shall have the same with such estates as shall bee thought meete, and for such rent as shall est-soones bee rated ; under every of those Englishmen will I place some of those Irish to bee tennants for a certaine rent, according to the quantity of such land, as every man shall have allotted unto him, and shalbe found able to wield, wherein this speciall regard shall be had, that in no place under any land-lord there shall bee many of them placed together, but dispersed wide from their acquaintance, and scattered farre abroad thorough all the country : For that is the evill which now I finde in all Ireland, that the Irish dwell altogether by their septs, and severall nations, so as they may practise or conspire what they will ; whereas if there were English well placed among them, they should not bee able once to stirre or to murmore, but that it should be knowne, and they shortened according to their demerites.

*Eudox.* You have good reason ; but what rating of rents meane you ? to what end doe you purpose the same ?

*Iren.* My purpose is to rate the rent of all those lands of her Maiestie, in such sort unto those Englishmen which shall take them, as they shall be well able to live thereupon, <sup>y</sup> to yeeld her Maiefty reasonable chiefrie, and also give a competent maintenance unto the garrisons, which shall be there left amongst them ; for those souldiours (as I tolde you) remaining of the former garrisons, I cast to maintaine upon the rent of those landes, which shall bee escheated, and to have them divided thorough

<sup>y</sup> to yeeld her Maiefty reasonable chiefrie.] Chiefrie is a small rent paid to the Lord paramount. JOHNSON.

all Ireland, in such places as shalbe thought most convenient, and occasion may require. And this was the course which the Romanes observed in the conquest of England, for they planted some of their legions in all places convenient, the which they caused the countrey to maintaine, cutting upon every portion of land a reasonable rent, which they called Romefcot, the which might not surcharge the tennant or free-holder, and might defray the pay of the garrison: and this hath bene always observed by all princes in all countries to them newly subdued, to set garrisons amongst them, to containe them in dutie whose burthen they made them to beare; and the want of this ordinance in the first conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second, was the cause of the so short decay of that government, and the quicke recovery againe of the Irish. Therefore by all meanes it is to bee provided for. And this is that I would blame, if it should not misbecome mee, in the late planting of Mounster, that no care was had of this ordinance, nor any strength of garrison provided for, by a certaine allowance out of all the saide landes, but onely the present profite looked into, and the safe continuance thereof for ever hereafter neglected.

*Eudox.* But there is a band of fouldiours layde in Mounster, to the maintenance of which, what oddes is there whether the Queene, receiving the rent of the countrey, doe give pay at her pleasure, or that there be a settled allowance appointed unto them out of her lands there?

*Iren.* There is great oddes: for now that said rent of the countrey is not appointed to the pay of the fouldiers, but it is, by every other occasion comming betweene, converted to other uses, and the fouldiours in time of peace discharged and neglected as unnecessary; whereas if the said rent were

appointed and ordained by an establishment to this end onely, it should not bee turned to any other; nor in troublous times, upon every occasion, her Majestie bee so troubled with sending over new souldiours as shee is now, nor the countrie ever should dare to mutinie, having still the souldiour in their neck, nor any forraine enemy dare to invade knowing there so strong and great a garrison, allwayes ready to receive them.

*Eudox.* Sith then you thinke that this Romefcot of the pay of the souldiours upon the land, to be both the readiest way to the souldiours, and least troublesome to her Majestie; tell us (I pray you) how would you have the said lands rated, that both a rent may rise thereout unto the Queene, and also the souldiours receive pay, which (me thinkes) wilbe hard?

*Iren.* First we are to consider, how much land there is in all Ulster, that according to the quantity thereof we may cesse the said rent and allowance issuing thereout. Ulster (as the ancient records of that realme doe testifie) doth containe 9000. plow-lands, every of which plow-lands containeth 120. acres, after the rate of 21. foote to every perch of the acre, every of which plow-lands I will rate at 40s. by the yeare; the which yearly rent amounteth in the whole to 18000l. besides 6s. 8d. chieffie out of every plow-land. But because the countie of Louth, being a part of Ulster, and containing in it 712. plow-lands is not wholly to escheate to her Majestie, as the rest, they having in all their warres continued for the most part dutifull, though otherwise a great part thereof is now under the rebels, there is an abatement to be made thereout of 400. or 500. plow-lands, as I estimate the same, the which are not to pay the whole yearly rent of 40s. out of every plow-land, like as the escheated lands

doe, but yet shall pay for their composition of cefse towards the keeping of foldiers, 20s. out of every plow-land, fo as there is to bee deducted out of the former fumme 200 or 300l. yearly, the which may nevertheleffe be fupplied by the rent of the fifhings, which are exceeding great in Ulfter, and alfo by an increafe of rent in the beft lands, and thofe that lye in the beft places neere the fea-coaft. The which eighteen thoufand pounds will defray the entertainment of 1500. fouldiers, with fome over-plus towards the pay of the victuallers, which are to bee employed in the victualling of thefe garrifons.

*Eudox.* So then belike you meane to leave 1500. fouldiers in garrifon for Ulfter, to bee payde principally out of the rent of thofe lands, which fhall be there efcheated unto her Majeftie. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garrifoned?

*Iren.* I will have them divided into three parts, that is, 500. in every garrifon, the which I will have to remaine in three of the fame places, where they were before appointed, to wit, 500. at Strabane and about Loughfoile, fo as they may holde all the paffages of that part of the countrey, and fome of them bee put in wardes, upon all the fraights thereabouts, which I know to be fuch, as may itoppe all paffages into the countrey on that fide; and fome of them alfo upon the Ban, up towards Lough-Sidney, as I formerly directed. Alfo other 500, at the fort upon Lough-Earne, and wardes taken out of them, which fhall bee layde at Fermannagh, at Bealick, at Ballyshannon, and all the freights towards Connaght, the which I know doe fo ftrongly command all the paffages that way, as that none can paffe from Ulfter into Connaght, without their leave. The laft 500. fhall alfo remaine in their fort at Monaghan, and fome of them bee drawne into wardes, to keepe the kaies of all that countrey,

both downwards, and also towards O Relies countrie, and the pale; and some at Eniskillin, some at Belturbut, some at the Blacke Fort, and so along that river, as I formerly shewed in the first planting of them. And moreover at every of these forts, I would have the seate of a towne layde forth and incompassed, in the which I would wish that there should inhabitants of all fortes, as merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, bee placed, to whom there should charters and fraunchises be graunted to incorporate them. The which, as it wilbe no matter of difficultie to draw out of England persons which would very gladly be so placed, so would it in short space turne those parts to great commodity, and bring ere long to her Majestie much profit; for those places are fit for trade and trafficke, having most convenient out-gates by divers to the sea, and in-gates to the richest parts of the land, that they would soone be enriched, and mightily enlarged, for the very seating of the garrisons by them; besides the safetic and assurance which they shall worke unto them, will also draw thither store of people and trade, as I have seene ensample at Mariborough and Philipstowne in Leinster, where by reason of these two fortes, though there be but small wardes left in them, there are two good townes now growne, which are the greatest stay of both those two countries.

*Eudox.* Indeed (me thinkes) three such townes as you say, would do very well in those places with the garrisons, and in short space would be so augmented, as they would bee able with little to in-wall themselves strongly; but, for the planting of all the rest of the country, what order would you take?

*Iren.* What other then (as I said) to bring people out of England, which should inhabite the same;

whereunto though I doubt not but great troopes would be readie to runne, yet for that in such cases, the worst and most decayed men are most ready to remove, I would wish them rather to bee chosen out of all partes of this realme, either by discretion of wise men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by the drumme, as was the old use in sending forth of Colonies, or such other good meanes as shall in their wisdome bee thought meetest. Amongst the chiefe of which, I would have the land sett into feignories, in such sort as it is now in Mounster, and divided into hundreds and parishes, or wardes, as it is in England, and layde out into shires, as it was aunciently, *viz.* The countie of Downe, the countie of Antrim, the countie of Louth, the countie of Armaghe, the countie of Cavan, the countie of Colerane, <sup>2</sup> the countie of Monaghan, the countie of Tyrone, the countie of Fermannagh, the countie of Donnegall, being in all tenne. Over all which I wish a Lord President and a Councill to bee placed, which may keepe them afterwards in awe and obedience, and minister unto them iustice and equity.

*Eudox.* Thus I see the whole purpose of your plot for Ulster, and now I desire to heare your like opinion for Connaght.

*Iren.* By that which I have already said of Ulster, you may gather my opinion for Connaght, being very answerable to the former. But for that the lands, which shal therein escheat unto her Maiety, are not so intirely together, as that they can be accounted in one summe, it needeth that they be considered severally. The province of Connaght in the whole containeth (as appeareth by the Re-

<sup>2</sup> *the county of Monaghan,*] This is now part of the countie of London-derry, SIR JAMES WARE.

cords of Dublin) 7200 plow-lands of the former measure, and is of late divided into six shires or counties: The countie of <sup>a</sup> Clare, the countie of Leytrim, the countie of Roscoman, the countie of Galway, the countie of Maio, and the countie of Sligo. Of the which all the countie of Sligo, all the countie of Maio, the most part of the countie of Roscoman, the most part of the countie of Letrim, a great part of the countie of Galway, and some of the countie of Clare, is like to escheat to her Maiestie for the rebellion of their present possessors. The which two counties of Sligo and Maio are supposed to containe almost 3000. plow-lands, the rent whereof rateably to the former, I valew almost at 6000 l. *per annum*. The countie of Roscoman, saving that which pertaineth to the house of Roscoman, and some few other English there lately seated, is all one, and therefore it is wholly likewise to escheate to her Majesty, saving those portions of English inhabitants, and even those English doe (as I understand by them) pay as much rent to her Majesty, as is set upon those in Ulster, counting their composition money therewithall, so as it may all run into one reckoning with the former two counties: So that this county of Roscoman containing 1200. plow-lands, as it is accompted, amounteth to 2400 li. by the yeare, which with the former two counties rent, maketh about 8300 l. for the former wanted somewhat. But what the escheated lands of the county of Gallway and Letrim will rise unto, is yet uncertaine to define, till

<sup>a</sup> *The countie of Clare,*] The county of Clare was anciently accounted part of the province of Mounster, whence it hath the name of Tucdmuan, or Thomond, which signifieth North Mounster, and hath at this day its peculiar governour, as being exempted from the presidences of Mounster and Connaught. SIR JAMES WARE.



survey thereof be made, for that those lands are intermingled with the Earle of Clanricardes, and others lands, but it is thought they be the one halfe of both those counties, so as they may be counted to the value of one whole county, which containeth above 1000. plough-lands; for so many the least county of them all comprehendeth, which maketh 2000 li. more, that is in all ten or eleven thousand pounds. The other 2 counties must remaine till their escheates appeare, the which letting passe yet, as unknowne, yet this much is knowne to be accounted for certaine, that the composition of these two counties, being rated at 20. shil. every plowland, will amount to above 2000 pounds more, all which being laide together to the former, may be reasonably estimated to rise unto 13000 pounds, the which summe, together with the rent of the escheated lands in the two last countyes, which cannot yet be valued, being, as I doubt not, no lesse then a thousand pounds more, will yeeld pay largely unto 1000 men and their victuallers, and 1000 pounds over towards the Governour.

*Eudox.* You have (me thinkes) made but an estimate of those lands of Connaght, even at a very venture, so as it should be hard to build any certainty of charge to be raised upon the same.

*Iren.* Not altogether upon uncertainties; for this much may easily appeare unto you to be certaine, as the composition money of every plowland amounteth unto; for this I would have you principally to understand, that my purpose is to rate all the lands in Ireland at 20 shil. every plowland, for their composition towards the garrison. The which I know, in regard of being freed from all other charges whatsoever, will be readily and most gladly yeelded unto. So that there being in all Ireland (as appeareth by their old Records) 43920 plowlands,

the fame fhall amount to the fumme likewise of 43920 pounds, and the reft to be reared of the efcheated lands which fall to her Majefty in the faid provinces of Ulfter, Connaght, and that part of Leinfter under the rebels; for Mounfter wee deale not yet withall.

*Eudor.* But tell me this, by the way, doe you then lay compofition upon the efcheated lands as you doe upon the reft? for fo (mee thinkes) you reckon alltogether. And that fure were too much to pay 7. nobles out of every plow land, and compofition money befides, that is 20 fhil: out of every plow land.

*Iren.* No, you miftake me; I doe put onely 7 nobles rent and compofition both upon every plow land efcheated, that is 40. fhil: for compofition, and 6. fhil: 8. pence for cheifrie to her Majeftie.

*Eudor.* I doe now conceive you; proceede then (I pray you) to the appointing of your garrifons in Connaght, and fhew us both how many and where you would have them placed.

*Iren.* I would have 1000 laide in Connaght, in 2 garrifons; namely, 500 in the county of Maio, about Clan Mac Coftilagh, which fhall keepe all Mayo and the Bourkes of Mac William Eighter: The other 500. in the county of Galway, about Garrandough, that they may containe the Conhors and the Bourkes there, the Kellies and Murries, with all them thereabouts; for that garrifon which I formerly placed at Loughearne will ferve for all occafions in the county of Sligo, being neere adjoining thereunto, fo as in one nights march they maye be almoft in any place thereof, when neede fhall require them. And like as in the former places of garrifons in Ulfter, I wifhed three corporate townes to be planted, which under the fage-guard of that ftrengh fhould dwell and trade fafely

with all the countrey about them; so would I also wish to be in this of Connaght: and that besides, there were another established at Athlone, with a convenient ward in the castle there for their defence.

*Iren.* What should that neede, seeing the Governour of Connaght useth to lye there alwayes, whose presence will bee a defence to all that towneship?

*Iren.* I know he doth so, but that is much to be disliked, that the Governour should lye so farre of, in the remotest place of all the province, whereas it were meeter that he should be continually abiding in the midst of the charge, that he might bothe looke out alike unto all places of his government, and also be soone at hand in any place, where occasion shall demand him; for the presence of the Governour is (as you sayd) a great stay and bridle unto those that are ill disposed: like as I see it is well observed in Mounster, where the dayly good thereof is continually apparant: and, for this cause also, doe I greatly mislike the Lord Deputies seating at Dublin, being the outest corner of the realme, and least needing the awe of his presence; whereas (me thinkes) it were fitter, since his proper care is of Leinster, though he have care of all besides generally, that he should seate himselfe at Athie, or thereabouts, upon the skirt of that unquiet countrey, so that he might sit as it were at the very maine masse of his ship, whence he might easily over looke and sometimes over-reach the Moores, the Dempfies, the Connors, O-Carroll, O-Molloy, and all that heape of Irish nations which there lye hudled together, without any to over-awe them, or containe them in dutie. For the Irishman (I assure you) feares the Government no longer then he is within sight or reach.

*Eudox.* Surely (me thinkes) herein you observe

a matter of much importance more then I have heard ever noted, but sure that seemes so expedient, as that I wonder that heretofore it hath beene overseene or omitted; but I suppose the instance of the citizens of Dublin is the greatest lett thereof.

*Iren.* Truly then it ought not so to be; for no cause have they to feare that it will be any hinderance to them; for Dublin will bee still, as it is the key of all passages and transportations out of England thitherto. no lesse profit of those citizens then it now is, and besides other places will hereby receive some benefit: But let us now (I pray you) come to Leinster, in the which I would wish the same course to be observed, that was in Ulster.

*Eudox.* You meane for the leaving of the garri-sons in their forts, and for planting of English in all those countreyes, betweene the county of Dublin and the county of Wexford; but those waste wilde places I thinke when they are won unto her Majesty, that there is none which will be hasty to seeke to inhabite.

*Iren.* Yes enough, (I warrant you;) for though the whole tracke of the countrey be mountanous and woody, yet there are many goodly valleyes amongst them, fit for faire habitations, to which those mountaines adjoynd will be a great increase of pasturage; for that countrey is a great foyle of cattle, and very fit for breed: as for corne it is nothing naturall, save onely for barley and oates, and some places for rye, and therefore the larger penny-worthes may be allowed to them, though otherwise the wildnes of the mountaine pasturage doe recompence the badnes of the foyle, so as I doubt not but it will find inhabitants and undertakers enough.

*Eudox.* How much doe you thinke that all those lands, which Feagh Mac Hugh houldeth under him, may amount unto, and what rent may be reared

thereout, to the maintenance of the garrisons that shall be laide there?

*Iren.* Truly it is impossible by ayme to tell it, and for experience and knowledge thereof, I doe not thinke that there was every any of the particulars thereof, but yet I will (if it please you) guesse thereat, upon ground onely of their judgement which have formerly devided all that country into 2 theires or countyes, namely the countie of Wicklow, and the <sup>b</sup> county of Fernes; the which 2 I see no cause but that they should wholly escheate to her Majesty, all save the barony of Arclo which is the Earle of Ormond's auncient inheritance, and hath ever been in his possession; for all the whole land is the Queenes, unlesse there be some grant of any part thereof, to bee shewed from her Majesty: as I thinke there is onely of New Castle to Sir Henry Harrington, and of the castle of Fernes to Sir Thomas Masterfon, the rest, being almost 30 miles over, I doe suppose, can containe no lesse then 2000 plowlands, which I will estimate at 4000. pounds rent, by the yeare. The rest of Leinster being 7. counties, to wit, the county of Dublin, Kildare, Catherlagh, Wexford, Kilkenny, the Kings and the Queenes county, doe contain in them 7400. plowlands, which amounteth to so many pounds for composition to the garrison, that makes in the whole 11400. pounds, which summe will yeeld pay unto 1000 fouldiours, little wanting, which may be supplied out of other lands of the Cavenaghes, which are to be escheated to her Majesty for the rebellion of their possessors, though otherwise indeede they bee of her owne ancient demesne.

*Eudox.* It is great reason. But tell us now where

<sup>b</sup>County of Fernes,] This is part of the county of Wexford.  
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you will wish those garrisons to be laide; whether altogether, or to bee disperfed in fundry places of the country?

*Iren.* Marry, in fundry places, *viz.* in this fort, or much the like as may be better advifed, for 200. in a place I doe thinke to bee enough for the fafe-guard of that country, and keeping under all fud-daine upstarts, that fhall feeke to trouble the peace thereof; therefore I wish 200. to be laide at Bal-linecor for the keeping of all bad perfons from Glan-malor, and all the faftnes there-about, and alfo to containe all that fhall be planted in thofe lands thenceforth. Another 200. at Knockelough in their former place of garrifon, to keepe the Bracknagh and all thofe mountaines of the Cavenaghes; 200. more to lie at Fernes and upwards, inward upon the Slane; 200. to be placed at the fort of Leix, to reftaine the Moores, Upper-Offory, and O-Carrol; other 200. at the fort of Ofaly, to curbe the O-Connors, O-Molloyes, Mac-Coghlan, Mageoghegan, and all thofe Irish nations bordering there-about.

*Eudox.* Thus I fee all your men beftowed in Leinfter; what fay you then of Meath?

*Iren.* Meath which containeth both Eaft Meath and Weft Meath, and of late the Annaly, now called the county of Longford, is counted therunto: But Meath it felfe according to the old Records, containeth 4320. plowlands, and the county of Longford 947. which in the whole makes 5267 plowlands, of which the compofition money will amount likewise to 5267 pounds to the maintenance of the garrifon: But becaufe all Meath, lying in the bofome of that kingdome is alwayes quiet enough, it is needeleffe to put any garrifon there, fo as all that charge may be fpared. But in the county of Longford I wish 200. footinen and 50. horfemen to

bee placed in some convenient feate, betweene the Annaly and the Breny, as about Lough Sillon, or some like place of that river, so as they might keepe both the O-Relies, and also the O-Ferrals, and all that out-skirt of Meath, in awe, the which use upon every light occasion to be furring, and, having continuall enmity amongst themselves, doe thereby oftentimes trouble all those parts, the charge whereof being 3400. and odde pounds is to be cut out of that composition money for Meath and Longford, the over-plus being almost 2000. pounds by the yeare, will come in clearly to her Majesty.

*Eudox.* It is worth the hearkening unto: But now that you have done with Meath, proceede (I pray you) to Mounster, that wee may see how it will rise there for the maintenance of the garrison.

*Iren.* Mounster containeth by Record at Dublin 16000. plow-lands, the composition whereof, as the rest, will make 16000. pounds by the yeare, out of the which I would have 1000. fouldiours to be maintained for the defence of that province, the charge whereof with the victuallers wages, will amount to 1200. pounds by the yeare; the other 4000. pounds will defray the charge of the Presidency and the Council of that province.

*Eudox.* The reckoning is easie, but in this accompt, by your leave, (me thinkes) you are deceived; for, in this summe of the composition money, you accompt the lands of the undertakers of that province, who are, by their graunt from the Queene, to be free from all such impositions whatsoever, excepting their onlie rent, which is surely enough.

*Iren.* You say true, I did so, but the same 20. shil. for every plowland, I meant to have deducted out of that rent due upon them to her Majesty, which is no hinderance, nor charge at all more to her Majesty then it now is; for all that rent which

ſhe receives of them, ſhee putteth forth againe to the maintenance of the Prefidency there, the charge whereof it doth ſcarcely defray; whereas in this accompt both that charge of the Prefidency, and alſo of a thouſand ſouldiours more, ſhall be maintained.

*Eudox.* It ſhould be well if it could be brought to that: But now where will you have your thouſand men garrifoned?

*Iren.* I would have a hundred of them placed at the Bantry where is a moſt fit place, not onely to defend all that ſide of the weſt part from forraine invaſion, but alſo to anſwere all occaſions of troubles, to which that countrey being ſo remote is very ſubject. And ſurely there alſo would be planted a good towne, having both a good haven and a plentifull fiſhing, and the land being already eſcheated to her Majeſty, but being forcibly kept from her, by one that proclaimes himſelfe the baſtard ſon of the Earle of Clancar, being called Donell Mac Carty, whom it is meeete to foreſee to: For whenſoever the Earle ſhall die, all thoſe lands (after him) are to come unto her Majeſty, he is like to make a ſoule ſtirre there, though of himſelfe no power, yet through ſupportance of ſome others who lye in the wind, and looke after the fall of that inheritance. Another hundred I would have placed at Caſtle Mayne, which ſhould keepe all Deſmond and Kerry; for it anſwereth them both moſt conveniently: Alſo about Kilmore in the county of Corke would I have 2. hundred placed, the which ſhould breake that neſt of theives there, and anſwere equally both to the county of Limericke, and alſo the county of Corke: Another hundred would I have lye at Corke, aſwell to command the towne, as alſo to be ready for any forraine occaſion: Likewiſe at Waterford, would I place 2. hundred, for the ſame rea-



sons, and also for other privy causes, that are no lesse important: Moreover on this side of Arlo, near to Muskery Quirke, which is the countrey of the Burkes, about Kill-Patricke, I would have two hundred more to be garrifond, which should skoure both the White Knights country and Arlo, and Muskery Quirk, by which places all the passages of theives doe lye, which convey their stealth from all Mounster downewards towards Tipperary, and the English Pale, and from the English Pale also up unto Mounster, whereof they use to make a common trade: Besides that, ere long I doubt that the county of Tipperary it selfe will neede such a strength in it, which were good to be there ready before the evill fall, that is dayly of some expected: And thus you see all your garrifons placed.

*Eudor.* I see it right well, but let me (I pray you) by the way aske you the reason, why in those citties of Mounster, namely Waterford and Corke, you rather placed garifons, then in all others in Ireland? For they may thinke themselves to have great wrong to bee so charged above all the rest.

*Iren.* I will tell you; those two citties above all the rest, do offer an in-gate to the Spaniard most fitly: But yet because they shall not take exceptions to this, that they are charged above all the rest, I will also lay a charge upon the others likewise; for indeed it is no reason that the corporate townes enjoying great franchizes and priviledges from her Majesty, and living thereby not onely safe, but drawing to them the wealth of all the land, should live so free, as not to be partakers of the burthen of this garrifon for their owne safety, specially in this time of trouble, and seeing all the rest burthened; (and therefore) I will thus charge them all ratably, according to their abilities, towards their maintenance, the which her Majesty may (if

the please) spare out of the charge of the rest, and reserve towards her other costes, or else adde to the charge of the Presidency in the North.

Waterford	C.	Clonmell	X.	Dundalke	X.
Corke	L.	Cashell	X.	Mollingare	X.
Limericke	L.	Fedard	X.	Newrie	X.
Galway	L.	Kilkenny	XXV.	Trim	X.
Dinglecush	X.	Wexford	XXV.	Ardee	X.
Kiniale	X.	Tredah	XXV.	Kells	X.
Yoghall	X.	Rofs	XXV.	Dublin	C.
Kilmallock	X.				

In all 580.

*Eudox.* It is easie, Irenæus, to lay a charge upon any towne, but to foresee how the same may be answered and defrayed, is the cheife part of good advisement.

*Iren.* Surely this charge which I put upon them, I know to bee so reasonable, as that it will not much be felt; for the port townes that have benefit of shipping may cut it easily off their trading, and inland townes of their corne and cattle; neither do I see, but since to them especially the benefit of peace doth redound, that they especially should beare the burthen of their safeguard and defence, as wee see all the townes of the Low-Countryes, doe cut upon themselves an excise of all things towards the maintenance of the warre that is made in their behalfe, to which though these are not to be compared in richesse, yet are they to bee charged according to their povertie.

*Eudox.* But now that you have thus set up these forces of soldiers, and provided well (as you suppose) for their pay, yet there remaineth to fore-cast how they may bee victualled, and where purveyance thereof may bee made; for, in Ireland it selfe, I

cannot see almost how any thing is to bee had for them, being already so pitifully wasted, as it is with this short time of warre.

*Iren.* For the first two yeares, it is needfull indeede that they bee victualled out of England thoroughly, from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, aforehand. All which time the English Pale shall not bee burdened at all, but shall have time to recover themselves; and Mounster also, being reasonably well stored, will by that time, (if God send seasonable weather,) bee thoroughly well furnished to supply a great part of that charge, for I knowe there is a great plenty of corne sent over sea from thence, the which if they might have sale for at home, they would bee glad to have money so neere hand, specially if they were freightly refrayned from transporting of it. Thereunto also there will bee a great helpe and furtherance given, in the putting forward of husbandrie in all meete places, as heereafter shall in due place appeare. But heereafter when things shall growe unto a better strength, and the countrey be replenished with corne, as in short space it will, if it bee well followed, for the countrey people themselves are great plowers, and small spenders of corne, then would I wish that there should bee good store of houses and magazins erected in all those great places of garrison, and in all great townes, as well for the victualling of souldiers, and shippes, as for all occasions of suddaine services, as also for preventing of all times of dearth and scarcitie; and this want is much to bee complained of in England, above all other countreys, who, trusting too much to the usuall blessing of the earth, doe never fore-cast any such hard seasons, nor any such suddaine occasions as these troublous times may every day bring forth, when it will bee too late to gather provision from

abroad, and to bringe it perhappes from farre for the furnishing of shippes or souldiers, which peradventure may neede to bee presently employed, and whose want may (which God forbid) hap to hazard a kingdome,

*Eudox.* Indeede the want of those magazins of victualls, I have oftentimes complayned of in England, and wondered at in other countreyes, but that is nothing now to our purpose; but as for these garrisons which you have now so strongly planted throughout all Ireland, and every place swarming with souldiers, shall there bee no end of them? For now thus being (me thinkes) I doe see rather a countrey of warre, then of peace and quiet, which you earst pretended to worke in Ireland; for if you bring all things to that quietnesse that you said, what then needeth to maintaine so great forces, as you have charged upon it?

*Iren.* I will unto you Eudox. in privitie discover the drift of my purpose: I meane (as I tolde you) and doe well hope thereby both to settle an eternall peace in that countrey, and also to make it very profitable to her Majestie, the which I see must bee brought in with a strong hand, and so continued, till it runne in a steadfast course of government, which in this sort will neither bee difficult nor dangerous; for the souldier being once brought in for the service into Ulster, and having subdued it and Connaght, I will not have him to lay downe his armes any more, till hee have effected that which I purpose, that is, first to have this generall composition for maintenance of these thoroughout all the realme, in regard of the troublous times, and daylie danger which is threatned to this realme by the King of Spaine: And thereupon to bestow all my souldiers in such sort as I have done, that no part of all that realme shall be able to dare to

<sup>b</sup> quinch: Then will I eftfoones bring in my reformation, and thereupon eftablifh fuch a forme of government, as I may thinke meeteft for the good of that realme, which being once fettled, and all things put into a right way, I doubt not but they will runne on fairely. And though they would ever feeke to fwerve afide, yet fhall they not bee able without forreine violence, once to remoove, as you your felfe fhall foone (I hope) in your own reafon readily conceive; which if it fhall ever appeare, then may her Majeftie at pleasure with-draw fome of the garrifons, and turne their pay into her purfe, or if fhee will never please fo to doe (which I would rather wifh) then fhall fhee have a number of brave olde fouldiers alwayes ready for any occafion that fhee will imploy them unto, fupplying their garrifons with frefh ones in their fteed; the maintenance of whome, fhall bee no more charge to her Majeftie then now that realme is for all the revenue thereof; and much more fhee fpendeth, even in the moft peaceable times, that are there, as things now ftand. And in time of warre, which is now furely every feventh yeare, fhee fpendeth infinite treasure befides, to fmall purpofe.

*Eudox.* I perceive your purpofe; but now that you have thus ftrongly made way unto your reformation, and that I fee the people fo humbled and prepared, that they will and muft yeeld to any ordinance that fhall bee given them, I doe much defire to underftand the fame; for in the beginning you promifed to fhewe a meanes how to redrefie all thofe inconveniences and abufes, which you fhewed to bee in that ftate of government, which now ftands there, as in the lawes, cuftoms, and religion, wherein I would gladly know firft, whether, in fteed

<sup>b</sup> quinch:] Stir. JOHNSON.

of those lawes, you would have new lawes made; for now, for ought that I see, you may doe what you please.

*Iren.* I see Eudox. that you well remember our first purpose, and doe rightly continue the course thereof. First therefore to speake of lawes, since wee first beganne with them, I doe not thinke it now convenient, though it bee in the power of the Prince to change all the lawes and make new; for that should breede a great trouble and confusion, aswell in the English there dwelling, and to be planted, as also in the Irish. For the English having bene alwayes trayned up in the English government, will hardly bee inured to any other, and the Irish will better be drawne to the English then the English to the Irish government. Therefore sithence wee cannot now apply lawes fit to the people, as in the first institutions of common-wealths it ought to bee, wee will apply the people, and fit them unto the lawes, as it most conveniently may bee. The lawes therefore wee resolve shall abide in the same sort that they doe, both Common Law and Statutes, onely such defects in the Common-law, and inconveniences in the Statutes, as in the beginning wee noted, and as men of deeper insight shall advise, may be changed by some other new acts and ordinances to bee by Parliament there confirmed: As those for tryalls of Pleas of the Crowne, and private rights betweene parties, colourable conveyances, and accessaries.

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

*Iren.* That may well now be avoyded: For now that so many Free-holders of English shall bee established, they together with Burgesies of townes, and such other loyall Irish-men, as may bee preferred to bee Knights of the shire, and such like, will bee able to beard and to counter-poise the

rest, who also, being now more brought in awe, will the more easily submit to any such ordinances as shall bee for the good of themselves, and that realme generally.

*Eudox.* You say well, for by the increase of Freeholders their numbers hereby will be greatly augmented; but how should it passe through the higher house, which still must consist all of Irish?

*Iren.* Marry, that also may bee redressed by example of that which I have heard was done in the like case by King Edward the Third (as I remember) who being greatly bearded and crossed by the Lords of the Cleargie, they being there by reason of the Lords Abbots, and others, too many and too strong for him, so as hee could not for their frowardnesse order and reforme things as hee desired, was advised to direct out his writts to certaine Gentlemen of the best ability and trust, entitling them therein Barons, to serve and sitt as Barons in the next Parliament. By which meanes hee had so many Barons in his Parliament, as were able to weigh downe the Cleargy and their friends: The which Barons they say, were not afterwarde Lords, but onely Baronets, as fundry of them doe yet retayne the name. And by the like device her Maiestie may now likewise curbe and cut short those Irish and unruly Lords, that hinder all good proceedings.

*Eudox.* It seemes no lesse then for reforming of all those inconvenient statutes that you noted in the beginning, and redressing of all those evill customes; and lastly, for settling of sound religion amongst them, me thinkes you shall not neede any more to over-goe those particulars againe, which you mentioned, nor any other which might besides be remembered, but to leave all to the reformation of such a Parliament, in which, by the good care of the Lord Deputie and Councill they may all be

amended. Therefore now you may come unto that generall reformation which you spake of, and bringing in of that establishment, by which you said all men should be contained in duty ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violent wresting of things by sharpe punishments.

*Iren.* I will so at your pleasure, the which (me thinkes) can by no meanes be better plotted then by ensample of such other realmes as have beene annoyed with like evils, that Ireland now is, and useth still to bee. And first in this our realme of England, it is manifest by report of the Chronicles, and auncient writers, that it was greatly infested with robbers and out-lawes, which, lurking in woods and fast places, used often to breake forth into the highwayes, and sometimes into small villages to rob and spoyle. For redresse whereof it is written, that King Alured, or Aldred, did <sup>c</sup> divide the realme into shires, and the shires into hundreds, and the hundreds into lathes or wapentackes, and the wapentackes into tythings: So that tenne tythings make an hundred, and five made a lathe or wapentake, of which tenne, each one was bound for another, and the eldest or best of them, whom they called the Tythingman or Borfolder, that is, the eldest pledge became surety for all the rest. So that if any one of them did start into any undutiful action, the Borfolder was bound to bring him forth, when, joyning est-soones with all his tything, would follow that loose person thorough all places, till they brought him in. And if all that tything fayled, then all that lathe was charged for that tything, and if that lathe fayled, then all that hundred was de-

<sup>c</sup> *divide the realm into shires,*] De his qui plura scire avet, consulat D. Hen. Spelmanni eq. aur. Archeologum, in Borfolder & Hundred. SIR JAMES WARE.



maunded for them; and if the hundred, then the shire, who, joyning est-soones together, would not rest till they had found out and delivered in that undutifull fellow, which was not amefnable to law. And herein it seemes, that that good Saxon King followed the Counfell of Iethro to Moyfes, who advised him to divide the people into hundreds, and to set Captaines and wise men of trust over them, who should take the charge of them, and ease of that burthen. And so did Romulus (as you may read) <sup>d</sup> divide the Romanes into tribes, and the tribes into centuries or hundreths. By this ordinance, this King brought this realme of England, (which before was most troublesome,) unto that quiet state, that no one bad person could stirre but he was straight taken holde of by those of his owne tything, and their Borsholder, who being his neighbor or next kinsman were privie to all his wayes, and looked narrowly into his life. The which institution (if it were observed in Ireland) would worke that effect which it did in England, and keep all men within the compasse of dutie and obedience.

*Eudox.* This is contrary to that you said before; for as I remember, you said, that there was a great disproportion betweene England and Ireland, so as the lawes which were fitting for one, would not fit the other. How comes it now then, that you would transferre a principall institution from England to Ireland?

<sup>d</sup> *divide the Romanes into tribes,*] Livie speaking of Romulus hath it thus, Populum in curias 30. divisit, &c. Eodem tempore & centuriæ tres equitum conscriptæ sunt. And so we have it in Sextus Aurel. Victor's booke, de viris illustribus urbis Romæ. Tres equitum centurias instituit (saith he) Plebem in triginta curias distribuit. SIR JAMES WARE.

*Iren.* This law was not made by the Norman Conqueror, but by a Saxon King, at what time England was very like to Ireland, as now it stands: for it was (as I tolde you) annoyed greatly with robbers and out-lawes, which troubled the whole state of the realme, every corner having a Robin Hood in it, that kept the woods, that spoyled all passengers and inhabitants, as Ireland now hath; so as, me thinkes, this ordinance would fit very well, and bring them all into awe.

*Eudor.* Then when you have thus tythed the communalty, as you say, and set Borfolders over them all, what would you doe when you came to the gentlemen? would you holde the same course?

*Iren.* Yea, marry, most especially; for this you must know, that all the Irish almost boast themselves to be gentlemen, no lesse then the Welsh; for if he can derive himselfe from the head of any sept, (as most of them can, they are so expert by their Bardes,) then hee holdeth himselfe a gentleman, and thereupon scorneth to worke, or use any hard labour, which hee saith, is the life of a peasant or churle; but thenceforth becommeth either an horse-boy, ° or a stocah to some kerne, inuring himselfe to his weapon, and to the gentlemanly trade of stealing, (as they count it.) So that if a gentleman, or any wealthy man yeoman of them, have any children, the eldest of them perhaps shall be kept in some order, but all the rest shall shift for themselves,

° or a stocah to some kerne.] The word *stocah*, as Dr. Johnson observes, is probably from the Erse *stochk*; but it is hardly used by Spenser in the sense of "one who runs at a horseman's foot, or of a horseboy," as the context clearly proves; it may be in that of "an attendant or wallet-boy." So before: "The strength of all that nation, is the kerne, galloglassie, *stocah*, horseman, and horseboy, &c." Where the distinction is again preserved. TODD.

and fall to this occupation. And moreover it is a common use amongst some of their gentlemens sonnes, that so soone as they are able to use their weapons, they straight gather to themselves three or foure straglers, or kearne, with whom wandring a while up and downe idley the countrey, taking onely meate, hee at last falleth unto some bad occasion that shall be offered, which being once made known, hee is thenceforth counted a man of worth, in whome there is courage; whereupon there draw to him many other like loose young men, which, stirring him up with incouragement, provoke him shortly to flat rebellion; and this happens not onely sometimes in the sonnes of their gentle-men, but also of their noble-men, specially of them who have base sonnes. For they are not onely not ashamed to acknowledge them, but also boaste of them, and use them to such secret services, as they themselves will not be seene in, as to plague their enemyes, to spoyle their neighbours, to oppresse and crush some of their owne too stubburne free-holders, which are not tractable to their wills.

*Eudox.* Then it seemeth that this ordinance of tithing them by the pole, is not onely fit for the gentle-men, but also for the noble-men, whom I would have thought to be of so honourable a mind, as that they should not neede such a kinde of being bound to their allegiance, who should rather have held in and stayde all the other from undutifulnesse, then neede to bee forced thereunto themselves.

*Iren.* Yet so it is, Eudoxus; but because that noble-men cannot be tythed, there being not many tythings of them, and also because a Horsfolder over them should be not onely a great indignitie, but also a danger to adde more power to them then they have, or to make one the commander of

tenne, I holde it meeter that there were onely sureties taken of them, and one bound for another, whereby, if any shall swerve, his sureties shall for safeguard of their bonds either bring him in, or seeke to serve upon him; and besides this, I would wish them all to bee sworne to her Majestie, which they never yet were, but at the first creation; and that oath would sure contayne them greatly, or the breach of it bring them to shorter vengeance, for God useth to punish perjurie sharply: So I reade, that there was a corporall oath taken in the raignes of <sup>f</sup> Edward the Second, and of <sup>z</sup> Henry the Seventh, (when the times were very broken) of all the lords and best gentle-men, of fealtie to the Kings, which now is no lesse needfull, because many of them are suspected to have taken an other oath privily to some bad purposes, and thereupon to have received the Sacrament, and beene sworne to a priest, which they thinke bindeth them more then their allegiance to their Prince, or love of their cuntry.

*Eudox.* This tything to the common-people, and taking sureties of lords and gentlemen, I like very well, but that it wilbe very troublesome; should it not be as well for to have them all booked, and the lords and gentle-men to take all the meaner sort upon themselves? for they are best able to bring them in, whensoever any of them starteth out.

*Iren.* This indeed (*Eudoxus*) hath beene hitherto, and yet is a common order amongst them, to have

<sup>f</sup> *Edward the Second,*] Richard the Second. SIR J. WARE.

<sup>z</sup> *Henry the Seventh,*] The service was performed by Sir Richard Edgecombe, being appointed thereunto by a speciall commission from K. Henry the Seventh. There is yet extant an exact diary of all his proceedings therein, from his first landing at Kinsale the 27th of June 1488, till his departure from Dublin the 30th of July next. SIR JAMES WARE.

all the people booked by the lords and gentlemen; but yet the worst order that ever was devised; for, by this booking of men, all the inferiour sort are brought under the command of their lords, and forced to follow them into any action whatsoever. Now this you are to understand, that all the rebellions which you see from time to time happen in Ireland, are not begun by the common people, but by the lords and captaines of countries, upon pride or wilfull obstinacy against the government, which whensoever they will enter into, they drawe with them all their people and followers, which thinke themselves bound to goe with them, because they have booked them and undertaken for them. And this is the reason that in England you have such few bad occasions, by reason that the noble men, however they should happen to be evill disposed, have no commaund at all over the communnalty, though dwelling under them, because that every man standeth upon himselfe, and buildeth his fortunes upon his owne faith and firme assurance: The which this manner of tything the poles will worke also in Ireland. ¶ For by this the people are broken into many small parts like little streames, that they cannot easily come together into one head, which is the principall regard that is to be had in Ireland, to keepe them from growing unto such a head, and adhering unto great men. B.

*Eudox.* But yet I cannot see how this can be well brought, without doing great wrong unto the noble men there; for, at the first conquest of that realme, those great feignories and lordships were given them by the King, that they should be the stronger against the Irish, by the multitudes of followers and tenants under them: all which hold their tenements of them by fealty, and such services, whereby they are (by the first graunt of the King)

made bounden unto them, and tyed to rife out with them into all occafions of fervice. And this I have often heard, that when the Lord Deputy hath raifed any generall hoftings, the noble men have claimed the leading of them, by graunt from the Kings of England, under the Greate Seal exhibited; fo as the Deputies could not refufe them to have the leading of them, or, if they did, they would fo worke, as none of their followers fhould rife forth to the hoftage.

*Iren.* You fay very true; but will you fee the fruite of thofe grants? I have knowne when thofe lords have had the leading of their owne followers, under them to the generall hoftings, that they have for the fame cut upon every plowland within their country 40. fhill. or more, whereby fome of them have gathered above feven or eight hundred pounds, and others much more into their purfe, in lieu whereof they have gathered unto themfelves a number of loofe kearne out of all parts, which they have carried forth with them, to whom they never gave any penny of entertainement, allowed by the countrey or forced by them, but let them feede upon the countreyes, and extort upon all men where they come; for that people will never afke better entertainement then to have a colour of fervice or imployment given them, by which they will pole and fpoyle fo outragioufly, as the very enemy cannot doe much worfe: and they alfo fometimes turne to the enemy.

*Eudor.* It feemes the firft intent of thofe graunts was againft the Irifh, which now fome of them ufe againft the Queene her felfe: But now what remedy is there for this? or how can thofe graunts of the Kings be avoyded, without wronging of thofe lords, which had thofe lands and lordfhips given them?

*Iren.* Surely they may be well enough; for moft

of those lords, since their first graunts from the Kings by which those lands were given them, have since bestowed the most part of them amongst their kinsfolke, as every lord perhaps hath given in his time one or other of his principall castles to his younger sonne, and other to others, as largely and as amply as they were given to him, and others they have sold, and others they have bought, which were not in their first graunt, which now nevertheless they bring within the compasse thereof, and take and exact upon them, as upon their first demesnes all those kinde of services, yea and the very wilde exactions, <sup>h</sup> Coignie, Livery, Sorehon, and such like, by which they pole and utterly undoe the poore tenants and free-houlders unto them, which either thorough ignorance know not their tenures, or through greatnes of their new lords dare not challenge them; yea, and some lords of countryes also, as great ones as themselves, are now by strong hand brought under them, and made their vassalls. As for example Arundell of the Stronde in the County of Corke, who was aunciently a great lord, and was able to spend 3500. pounds by the yeare, as appeareth by good recordes, is now become the Lord Barries man, and doth to him all those services, which are due unto her Majesty. For reformation of all which, I wish that there were a commission graunted forth under the Great Seale, as I have seene one recorded in the old councill booke of Mounster, that was sent forth, in the time of Sir William Drurie, unto persons of

<sup>h</sup> *Coignie, Livery, Sorehon,*] What Coigny and Livery doe signifie, has been already expressed. Sorehon was a tax laide upon the free-holders, for certaine dayes in each quarter of a yeare, to finde victualls, and lodging, and to pay certaine stipends to the kerne, galloglasses, and horsemen.

speciall trust and judgement to inquire thoroughout all Ireland, beginning with one county first, and so resting a while till the same were settled, by the verdict of a sound and substantiall iury, how every man houldeth his land, of whom, and by what tenure, so that every one should be admitted to shew and exhibite what right he hath, and by what services hee houldeth his land, whether in cheife or in foccage, or by knights service, or how else soever. Thereupon would appeare, first how all those great English lords doe claime those great services, what feignories they usurpe, what wardships they take from the Queene, what lands of hers they conceale: And then, how those Irish captaines of countreyes have incroached upon the Queenes free-holders and tennants, how they have translated the tenures of them from English holding unto Irish Tanistry, and defeated her Majesty of all her rights and duties, which are to acrow to her thereout, as wardships, liveries, marriages, fines of alienations, and many other commodities; which now are kept and concealed from her Majesty, to the value of 4000. pounds *per annum*, I dare undertake in all Ireland, by that which I know in one county.

*Eudox.* This, Irenæus, would seeme a dangerous commission, and ready to stirre up all the Irish in rebellion, who knowing that they have nothing to shew for all those lands which they hold, but their swords, would rather drawe them then suffer the lands to bee thus drawne away from them.

*Iren.* Neither should their lands be taken away from them, nor the utmost advantages enforced against them: But this by discretion of the commissioners should be made knowne unto them, that it is not her Majesties meaning to use any such extremity, but onely to reduce things into order of English law, and make them hold their lands of



her, and to restore to her her due services, which they detain out of those lands, which were anciently held of her. And that they should not onely not be thrust out, but also have estates and grants of their lands new made to them from her Majesty, so as they should thence-forth hold them rightfully, which they now usurpe wrongfully; and yet withall I would wish, that in all those Irish countries there were some land reserved to her Majesties free disposition for the better containing of the rest, and intermingling them with English inhabitants and customes, that knowledge might still be had of them, and of all their doings, so as no manner of practise or conspiracy should be had in hand amongst them, but notice should bee given thereof by one meanes or another, and their practises prevented.

*Eudox.* Truly neither can the Irish, nor yet the English lords, thinke themselves wronged, nor hardly dealt withall herein, to have that which is indeede none of their owne at all, but her Majesties absolutely, given to them with such equall conditions, as that both they may be assured thereof, better then they are, and also her Majesty not defrauded of her right utterly; for it is a great grace in a prince, to take that with conditions, which is absolutely her owne. Thus shall the Irish be well satisfied, and as for the great men which had such graunts made to them at first by the Kings of England, it was in regard that they should keepe forth the Irish, and defend the Kings right, and his subjects: but now seeing that, in stead of defending them, they robbe and spoyle them, and, in stead of keeping out the Irish, they doe not onely make the Irish their tennants in those lands, and thrust out the English, but also some of themselves become meere Irish, with marrying with them, with fostering with them, and combyning with them against the

Queene; what reason is there but that those graunts and priviledges should bee either revoked, or at least reduced to the first intention for which they were graunted? for sure in mine opinion they are more sharply to bee chastised and reformed then the rude Irish, which, being very wilde at the first, are now become more civill; when as these, from civillity, are growne to be wilde and meere Irish.

*Iren.* Indeede as you say, Eudoxus, these doe neede a sharper reformation then the Irish, for they are more stubborne, and disobedient to law and government, <sup>i</sup> then the Irish be.

*Eudox.* In truth, Irenæus, this is more then ever I heard, that any English there should bee worse then the Irish: Lord, how quickly doth that countrey alter mens natures! It is not for nothing (I perceive) which I have heard, that the Councell of England thinke it no good policie to have that realme reformed, or planted with English, least they should grow so undutifull as the Irish, and become much more dangerous: As appeareth by the ensamples of the Lacies in the time of Edward the Second, which you spake of, that shooke off their allegiance to their naturall Prince, and turned to Edward le Bruce, to make him King of Ireland.

*Iren.* No times have beene without bad men: But as for that purpose of the Councell of England which you spake of, that they should keepe that realme from reformation, I thinke they are most lewdly abused; for their great carefulnesse, and earnest endeavours, doe witness the contrary. Neither is it the nature of the countrey to alter mens manners, but the bad mindes of the men,

<sup>i</sup> *then the Irish be.*] In the manuscript belonging to the Marquis of Stafford, there follow two very severe paragraphs. I prefer the text of Sir James Ware, who professes to follow the *best*, that is, I presume, a *corrected*, manuscript. T O D D.

who having beene brought up at home under a straight rule of duty and obedience, being always restrayned by sharpe penalties from lewde behaviour, so soone as they come thither, where they see lawes more slackely tended, and the hard restraint which they were used unto now slacked, they grow more loose and carelesse of their duty: and as it is the nature of all men to love liberty, so they become flat libertines, and fall to all licentiousnes, more boldly daring to disobey the law, thorough the presumption of favour and friendship, then any Irish dareth.

*Eudox.* Then if that be so, (me thinkes) your late advisement was very evill, whereby you wished the Irish to be sowed and sprinckled with English, and in all the Irish countreyes to have English planted amongst them, for to bring them to English fashions, since the English sooner drawe to the Irish then the Irish to the English: For as you said before, if they must runne with the streame, the greater number will carry away the lesse: Therefore (me thinkes) by this reason it should bee better to part the Irish and English, then to mingle them together.

*Iren.* Not so, Eudoxus; for where there is no good stay of government, and strong ordinances to hold them, there indeede the fewer follow the more, but where there is due order of discipline and good rule, there the better shall goe foremost, and the worst shall follow. And therefore now, since Ireland is full of her owne nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and somewhat stored with English already, and more to be, I thinke it best by an union of manners, and conformity of mindes, to bring them to be one people, and to put away the dislikefull conceipt both of the one, and the other, which will be by no meanes better then by this intermingling of them: For neither all the Irish may dwell together, nor all the English, but by tran-

flating of them and scattering them amongst the English, not onely to bring them by dayly conversation unto better liking of each other, but also to make both of them lesse able to hurt. And therefore when I come to the tything of them, I will tithe them one with another, and for the most part will make an Irish man the tything-man, whereby he shall take the lesse exception to partiality, and yet be the more tyed thereby. But when I come to the Head Borough, which is the head of the lathe, him will I make an English man, or an Irish man of speciall assurance: As also when I come to appoint the Alderman, that is the head of the hundreth, him will I surely choose to be an English man of speciall regard, that may be a stay and pillar of all the borough under him.

*Eudox.* What doe you meane by your hundred, and what by your borough? By that, that I have read in auncient records of England, an hundred did containe an hundreth villages, or as some say an hundred plough-lands, being the same which the Saxons called <sup>k</sup> Cantred; the which cantred, as I finde it recorded in the blacke booke of [the

<sup>k</sup> *Cantred*;] Cantred is a Brittilsh word, answering to the Saxon *Hundred*. How much land a cantred containeth, is variously delivered. Some hould that it containes 100 townes. So Gir. Barry or Cambrensis, in his Itinerary of Wales, (lib. 2. cap. 7.) “*Dicitur autem cantredus, (saith he) composito vocabulo tam Britannica quam Hibernica lingua, tanta terra portio, quanta 100. villas continere solet.*” The author here cites a record which makes it containe but 30. towne-lands: and Iohn Clynn, (if my copy therein be not mistaken) hath but 20. But another more auncient MS. sometime belonging to the Friars Minors of Multifernan, hath 30. “*Quaelibet cantreda (saith Clinne) continet xx. (al. xxx.) villatas terræ, quaelibet villata potest sustinere 300 vaccas in pascuis, ita quod vaccæ in X. (al. 1111.) partes divisa, nulla alteri appropinquabit, quaelibet villata continet viii. carucatas.*” We finde also there the provinces of Ireland thus divided into cantreds. Ultonia continet 35. cantredas, Conacia 30. Lagenia 31.

Exchequer of] Ireland, did contain xxx. Villatas terræ, which some call, quarters of land, and every Villata can maintaine 400 cowes in pasture, and the 400. cowes to be divided into 4. heards, so as none of them shall come neere other: every Villata containing 18. plowlands, as is there set downe: And by that which I have read of a borough it signifieth a free towne, which had a principall officer, called a head-borough, to become ruler, and undertake for all the dwellers under him, having, for the same, franchises and priviledges graunted them by the King, whereof it was called a free borough, and of the lawyers *franci-plegium*.

*Iren.* Both that which you said, Eudoxus, is true, and yet that which I say not untrue; for that which you spake of deviding the countrey into hundreds, was a devision of the lands of the realme, but this which I tell, was of the people, which were thus devided by the pole: so that hundreth in this sense signifieth a 100. pledges, which were under the command and assurance of their alderman, the which (as I suppose) was also called a wapentake, so named of touching the weapon or speare of their alderman, and swearing to follow him faithfully, and serve their Prince truly. But others thinke that a wapentake was 10. hundreds or boroughs: Likewise a borogh, as I here use it, and as the old lawes still use, is not a borough towne, as they now call it, that is a franchised towne, but a maine pledge of 100. free persons, therefore called a free borough or (as you say) *franci-plegium*: For Borh in old Saxon signifieth a pledge or surety, and yet it is so used with us in some speeches, as Chaucer

Midia 18. & Momonia 70. See more concerning cantreds in Sir Hen. Spelmann's excellent Glossary. As cantreds are diversly estimated, so are also carues or plowlands.

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faith; St. Iohn<sup>1</sup> to *borrow*, that is for assurance and warranty.

*Eudox.* I conceive the difference: But now that you have thus divided the people into these tythings and hundreths, how will you have them so preserved and continued? for people doe often change their dwelling places, and some must die, whilst other some doe growe up into strength of yeares, and become men.

*Iren.* These hundreds I would wish to assemble themselves once every yeare with their pledges, and to present themselves before the iustices of the peace, which shall bee thereunto appointed, to bee surveyed and numbred, to see what change hath happened since the yeare before; and, the defects to supplie, of young plants late growne up, the which are diligently to bee overlooked and viewed of what condition and demeanour they be, so as pledges may bee taken for them, and they put into order of some tything; of all which alterations note is to be taken, and bookes made thereof accordingly.

*Eudox.* Now (mee thinkes) Irenæus, you are to bee warned to take heede lest unawares you fall into that inconvenience which you formerly found fault with in others: namely, that by this booking of them, you doe not gather them into a new head, and, having broken their former strength, doe not unite them more strongly againe: For every alderman, having all these free pledges of his hundred under his command, may (me thinkes) if hee be evill disposed drawe all his companie into an evill action. And likewise, by this assembling of them once a yeare unto their alderman by their weapentakes, take heede lest you also give them occasion and meanes to practise together in any conspiracies.

<sup>1</sup> *to borrow,*] Spenser uses the word in the same sense in his *Shepherds Calender*. TODD.

*Iren.* Neither of both is to be doubted; for their aldermen and headboroughes, will not be such men of power and countenance of themselves, being to be chosen thereunto, as neede to be feared: Neither if hee were, is his hundred at his commaund, further then his Princes service; and also every tything man may controll him in such a case. And as for the assembling of the hundred, much lesse is any danger thereof to be doubted, seeing it is before some iustice of the peace, or some high constable to bee thereunto appointed: So as of these tythings there can no perill ensue, but a certaine assurance of peace and great good; for they are thereby withdrawne from their lords, and subjected to the Prince: Moreover for the better breaking of these heads and septs, which (I told you) was one of the greatest strengthes of the Irish, me thinkes it should bee very well to renewe that old statute, which was made <sup>m</sup> in the raigne of Edward the Fourth in Ireland, by which it was commaunded, that whereas all <sup>n</sup> men then used to be called by the name of their septs, according to the severall nations, and had no surnames at all, that from thenceforth each one should take upon himselfe a severall surname, either of his trade and facultie, or of some quality of his body or minde, or of the place where he dwelt, so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, wherby they shall not onely not depend upon the

<sup>m</sup> *in the raigne of Edward*] An. 5. Edw. 4. SIR J. WARE.

<sup>n</sup> *all men*] The statute referres onely to the Irish, dwelling among the English in the counties of Dublin, Moth, Uriel, and Kildare. Uriel, called also Ergallia, did anciently comprehend all that countrey which is now divided into the counties of Louth and Monaghan, although it may be conceived, that Louth was onely intended by the statute, because Monaghan was then (in a manner) wholly possessed by the Irish. SIR JAMES WARE.

head of their sept, as now they do, but also in time learne quite to forget his Irish nation. And herewithall would I also wish all the O's and the Mac's, which the heads of septs have taken to their names, to bee utterly forbidden and extinguished. For that the same being an ordinance (as some say) first made by ° O Brien for the strengthening of the Irish, the abrogating thereof will asinuch enfeeble them.

*Eudor.* I like this ordinance very well; but now that you have thus divided and distinguished them, what other order will you take for their manner of life?

*Iren.* The next thing that I will doe, shalbe to appoint to every one that is not able to live of his free-holde, a certaine trade of life, to which he shall finde himselfe fittest, and shalbe thought ablest, the which trade hee shalbe bound to follow, and live onely thereupon. All trades therefore are to be understood to be of three kindes, manuell, intellectuall, and mixed. The first containeth all such as needeth exercise of bodily labour, to the performance of their profession. The second consisting only of the exercise of wit and reason. The third sort, part of bodily labor, and part of the wit, but depending most of industrie and carefulnes. Of the first sort be all handycrafts and husbandry labour. Of the second be all sciences, and those which be called liberall arts. Of the third is merchandize

[° O Brien] The custome of prefixing the vowell O to many of the chiefe Irish surnames, began soon after the yeere M. in the raigne of Brien Bopoma (the son of Kennethy) king of Ireland. As for Mac in surnames, it beareth no other signification, then Fitz doth among the French, and (from them) the English; and Ap with the Welsh. And although it were more anciently used then the other, yet it varied according to the fathers name, and became not so soone fully settled in families. SIR JAMES WARE.

[P manner of life?] Another severe remark here follows in the manuscript mentioned in p. 488. TODD.



and chafferie, that is, buying and felling; and without all these three, there is no common-wealth can almost consist, or at the least be perfect. But the realme of Ireland wanteth the most principall of them, that is, the intellectuall; therefore in seeking to reforme her state, it is specially to be looked unto. But because by husbandry, which supplyeth unto us all things necessary for food, wherby we chiefly live; therefore it is first to be provided for. The first thing therefore that wee are to draw these new tythed men into, ought to be husbandry. First, because it is the most easie to be learned, needing onely the labour of the body. Next, because it is most generall and most needful; then because it is most naturall; and lastly, because it is most enemy to warre, and most hateth unquietnes: As the Poet saith,

— “ *bella execrata colonis:*”

for husbandry being the nurse of thrift, and the daughter of industrie and labour, detesteth all that may worke her scathe, and destroy the travaile of her hands, whose hope is all her lives comfort unto the plough; therefore are those Kearne, Stocaghes, and Horie-boyes, to bee driven and made to imploy that ablenesse of bodie, which they were wont to use to theft and villainy, hencefoorth to labour and industry. In the which, by that time they have spent but a little paine, they will finde such sweetenesse and happy contentment, that they will afterwardes hardly bee haled away from it, or drawne to their wonted lewde life in theeverie and roguerie. And being once thus inured thereunto, they are not onely to bee countenanced and encouraged by all good meanes, but also provided that their children after them may be brought up likewise in the same, and succede in the roomes of their fathers. To which

end <sup>¶</sup> there is a Statute in Ireland already well provided, which commaundeth that all the sonnes of husbandmen shall be trained up in their fathers trades, but it is (God wot) very slenderly executed.

*Eudor.* But doe you not count, in this trade of husbandry, pasturing of cattle, and keeping of their coves? for that is reckoned as a part of husbandrie.

*Iren.* I know it is, and needefully to bee used, but I doe not meane to allow any of those able bodies, which are able to use bodily labour, to follow a few coves grazeing. But such impotent persons, as being unable for strong travaile, are yet able to drive cattle to and fro to their pasture; for this keeping of coves is of it selfe a very idle life, and a fit nurserie for a thiefe. For which cause (you remember) I disliked the Irish manner of keeping Boolies in Summer upon the mountaines, and living after that savage sort. But if they will algates feede many cattle, or keepe them on the mountaines, let them make some townes neare to the mountaines side, where they may dwell together with neighbours, and be conversant in the view of the world. And to say truth, though Ireland bee by nature counted a great soyle of pasture, yet had I rather have fewer coves kept, and men better mannered, then to have such huge increase of cattle, and no increase of good conditions. I would therefore wish that there were some ordinances made amongst them, that whosoever keepeth twentie kine, should keep a plough going; for otherwise all men would fall to pasturage, and none to husbandry, which is a great cause of this dearth now in England, and a cause of the usuall stealthes in Ireland: For looke into all countreyes that live in such sort by keeping of cattle, and you shall finde

<sup>¶</sup> *there is a Statute]* Anno 25<sup>o</sup> Hen. 6. SIR JAMES WARE.

that they are both very barbarous and uncivill, and also greatly given to warre. The Tartarians, the Muscovites, the Norwegians, the Gothes, the Armenians, and many other doe witness the same. And therefore, since now wee purpose to draw the Irish, from desire of warre and tumults, to the love of peace and civility, it is expedient to abridge their great custome of hardening, and augment their trade of tillage and husbandrie. As for other occupations and trades, they need not bee inforced to, but every man to be bound onely to follow one that hee thinkes himselfe aptest for. For other trades of artificers will be occupied for very necessitie, and constrained use of them; and so likewise will merchandize for the gaine thereof; but learning, and bringing up in liberall sciences, will not come of it selfe, but must bee drawne on with streight lawes and ordinances: And therefore it were meete that such an act were ordained, that all the sonnes of lords, gentlemen, and such others as are able to bring them up in learning, should be trayned up therein from their child-hoods. And for that end every parish should be forced to keepe a pettie schoole-master, adjoyning unto the parish church, to bee the more in view, which should bring up their children in the first elements of letters: and that, in every countrey or baronie, they should keepe an other able schoole-master, which should instruct them in grammar, and <sup>r</sup> in the principles of sciences,

<sup>r</sup> *in the principles of sciences,*] How requisite also an universitie is for the further growth in learning, the judicious well know. This happinesse we now enjoy, to the great benefit of this land. And although former attempts have beene made for erecting and establishing universities in Ireland, yet through want of meanes, which should have beene allotted for their maintenance, they have soone faded. So hapned it with that academy which Alexander de Bignor, Archbishop of Dublin,

to whom they should be compelled to send their youth to be disciplined, whereby they will in short space grow up to that civill conversation, that both the children will loath their former rudenesse in which they were bred, and also their parents will even by the ensample of their young children perceive the foulness of their own behaviour, compared to theirs: For learning hath that wonderfull power in it selfe, that it can soften and temper the most sterne and savage nature.

*Eudox.* Surely I am of your minde, that nothing will bring them from their uncivill life sooner then learning and discipline, next after the knowledge and feare of God. And therefore I doe still expect, that you should come thereunto, and set some order for reformation of religion, which is first to be respected; according to the saying of CHRIST, "Seeke first the kingdome of heaven, and the righteousnesse thereof."

*Iren.* I have in minde so to doe; but let me (I pray you) first finish that which I had in hand, whereby all the ordinances which shall afterwarde be set for religion, may abide the more firmly, and be observed more diligently. Now that this

erected (in S. Patricks Church) in Dublin, and procured to be confirmed by Pope Iohn the 12th. And no better succeeded that which was afterwards erected at Tredagh by act of parliament Anno 5. Edw. 4. (as appears in the roll of that yeare in the Chauncery) whereby all the like priviledges, as the University of Oxford (in England) enjoyed, were conferred upon it. Besides these wee finde mention of others, farre more ancient, as at Armagh, and Ross. Carbry, or Ross. Ailithry, as it is called in the life of S. Faghnan the founder, who lived in the yeare 590. "Ipse Sanctus (saith the author) in australi Hiberniæ plagâ iuxta mare, in suo monasterio quod ipse fundavit, ibi crevit civitas, in quâ semper manens magnum studium scholarium, quod dicitur Rossailithry, habitabat." But a further search were fit to be made touching those of the elder times.

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people is thus tythed and ordered, and every one bound unto some honest trade of life, which shall bee particularly entered and set downe in the tything booke, yet perhappes there will bee some stragglers and runnagates, which will not of themselves come in and yeeld themselves to this order, and yet after the well finishing of the present warre, and establishing of the garrisons in all strong places of the countrey, where there wonted refuge was most, I suppose there will few stand out, or if they doe, they will shortly bee brought in by the eares: But yet afterwardes, lest any one of them should swerve, or any that is tyed to a trade, should afterwardes not follow the same, according to this institution, but should straggle up and downe the countrey, <sup>s</sup> or mich in corners amongst their friends idly, as Carrowes, Bardes, Iesters, and such like, I would wishe that a Provost Marshall should bee appointd in every shire, which should continually walke about the countrey, with halfe a dozen, or halfe a score horsemen, to take up such loose persons as they should finde thus wandering, whome hee should punish by his owne authority, with such paines as the person shall seeme to deserve; for if hee be but once so taken idly roguing, hee may punish him more lightly, as with stockes, or such like; but if hee bee found againe so loytering, hee may scourge him with whippes, or rodde, after which if hee bee againe taken, let him have the bitterneffe of marshall lawe. Likewise if any reliques of the olde rebellion bee found by any, that either have not come in and submitted themselves to the law, or that having once

<sup>s</sup> or mich in corners] The word *micher* is used by Chaucer to denote a thief or vagabond, *Rom. R.* 6541. edit. Urr. And Mr. Tyrwhitt cites the following usage of the verb: "*Mychyn* or pryvely stelyn smale thyngs. *Surrupio. Prompt. Parv.*" See also Cotgrave in V. "*To miche, estre vilain.*" TODD.

come in, doe breake forth againe, and walke disorderly, let them taste of the same cuppe in Gods name; for it was due to them for their first guilt, and now being revived by their later loosenesse, let them have their first desert, as now being found unfit to live in the common-wealth.

*Eudox.* This were a good ordinance: but mee thinkes it is an unnecessary charge, and also unfit to continue the name or forme of any marshall law, when as there is a proper officer already appointed for these turnes, to wit the sheriffe of the shire, whose peculiar office it is to walke up and downe his bayli-wicke, as you would have a marshall to snatch up all those runnagates and unprofitable members, and to bring them to his gaole to bee punished for the same. Therefore this may well be spared.

*Iren.* Not so, me thinkes; for though the sheriffe have this authority of himselfe to take up all such stragglers, and imprison them, yet shall hee not doe so much good, nor worke that terrour in the hearts of them, that a marshall will, whom they shall know to have power of life and death in such cases, and especially to bee appointed for them: Neither doth it hinder that, but that though it pertaine to the sheriffe, the sheriffe may doe therein what hee can, and yet the marshall may walke his course besides; for both of them may doe the more good, and more terrifie the idle rogue, knowing that though he have a watch upon the one, yet hee may light upon the other: But this proviso is needefull to bee had in this case, that the sheriffe may not have the like power of life, as the marshall hath, and as heretofore they have beene accustomed; for it is dangerous to give power of life into the hands of him which may have benefit by the parties death, as, if the said loose liver have any goods of his owne,

the Sheriffe is to feize thereupon, whereby it hath come to paffe, that some who have not deserved iudgement of death, though otherwife perhaps offending, have beene for their goods sake caught up, and carryed straight to the bough; a thing indeed very pittiful and horrible. Therefore by no meanes I would have the Sheriffe have such authority, nor yet to imprifon that lozell till the fessions, for so all gaoles might soon be filled; but to send him to the Marshall, who, estoones finding him faultie, shall give him meete correction, and ridd him away forthwith.

*Eudox.* I doe now perceive your reason well: But come wee now to that whereof wee earst spake, I meane, to religion and religious men; what order will you set amongst them?

*Iren.* For religion little have I to say, my selfe being (as I said) not professed therein, and it selfe being but one, so as there is but one way therein; for that which is true onely is, and the rest is not at all; yet, in planting of religion, thus much is needefull to be observed, that it bee not fought forcibly to bee impressed into them with terrour and sharpe penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildnesse and gentlenesse, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their Professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient that some discreete Ministers of their owne countrey-men, bee first sent over amongst them, which by their meeke perswasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to imbrace, the doctrine of their salvation; for if that the auncient godly Fathers, which first converted them, when they were infidells, to the faith, were able to pull them from idolatry and paganisme to the true beliefe in CHRIST, as S.

Patricke, and S. Columb, how much more easily shall godly teachers bring them to the true understanding of that which they already professed? wherein it is great wonder to see the oddes which is betweene the zeale of Popish Priests, and the Ministers of the Gospell; for they spare not to come out of Spaine, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toyle and daungerous travayling hither, where they know perill of death awayteth them, and no reward or richesse is to be found, onely to draw the people unto the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle Ministers, having a way for credite and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the countrey offered unto them, without paines, and without perill, will neither for the same, nor any love of God, nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good they may doe, by winning soules to God, bee drawne foorth from their warine neastes, to looke out into Gods harveft, which is even ready for the sickle, and all the fields yellow long agoe; doubtlesse those good olde godly Fathers, will (I feare mee) rise up in the day of judgement to condemne them.

*Eudox.* Surely, it is great pittie, Iren. that there are none chosen out of the Ministers of England, good, sober, and discreet men, which might be sent over thither to teach and instruct them, and that there is not asmuch care had of their soules, as of their bodies; for the care of both lyeth upon the Prince.

*Iren.* Were there never so many sent over, they should doe smal good till one enormity be taken from them, that is, that both they bee restrayned from sending their yong men abroad to other Universities beyond the sea, as Remes, Doway, Lovaine, and the like, and others from abroad bee restrayned for coming into them; for their lurking secretly



in their houfes, and in corners of the countrey, doe more hurt and hinderance to religion with their private perfuafions, then all the others can doe good with their publique instructions; and though for thefe latter there be a good ftatute there ordained, yet the fame is not executed; and as for the former there is no law nor order for their reftRAINT at all.

*Eudox.* I marvaile it is no better looked unto, and not only this, but that alfo which I remember you mentioned in your abufes concerning the profits and renews of the lands of fugitives in Ireland, which by pretence of certaine colourable conveyances are fent continually over unto them, to the comforting of them and others againft her Majeftie, for which here in England there is good order taken; and why not then alwell in Ireland? For though there be no ftatute there yet enacted therefore, yet might her Majeftie, by her onely prerogative, feize the fruites and profites of thofe fugitive lands into her handes, till they come over to teftifie their true allegiance.

*Iren.* Indeede fhee might fo doe; but the comberous times doe perhappes hinder the regard thereof, and of many other good intentions.

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

*Iren.* Leave we that to their grave confiderations; but proceed we forward. Next care in religion is to build up and repayre all the ruined churches, whereof the moft part lye even with the ground, and fome that have bin lately repayed are fo unhandfomely patched, and thatched, that men doe even fhunne the places for the uncomelineffe thereof; therefore I would wifhe that there were order taken to have them built in fome better forme, according to the churches of England; for

the outward shew (assure your selfe) doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, what ever some of our late too nice fooles say, there is nothing in the seemely forme, and comely order of the church. And, for the keeping and continuing them, there should likewise Church-wardens of the gravest men in the parish be appointed, as they bee here in England, which should take the yearely charge both hereof, and also of the schoole-houses which I wish to be built neere the said churches; for maintenance of both which, it were meete that some small portion of lands were allotted, sith no more mortmaines are to be looked for.

*Eudox.* Indeede (me thinkes) it would be so convenient; but when all is done, how will you have your churches served, and your Ministers maintained? since the livings (as you say) are not sufficient scarce to make them gownes, much lesse to yeelde meete maintenance according to the dignity of their degree.

*Iren.* There is no way to helpe that, but to lay 2. or 3. of them together, untill such time as the countrey grow more rich and better inhabited, at which time the tythes, and other obventions, will also be more augmented and better valued: But now that we have thus gone through all the 3. sorts of trades, and set a course for their good establishment; let us (if it please you) goe next to some other needefull points of other publicke matters no lesse concerning the good of the commonwealth, though but accidentally depending on the former. And first I wish, that order were taken for the cutting and opening of all places through woods, so that a wide way of the space of 100. yards might be layde open in every of them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perillous places to be robbed,

and sometimes murdered. Next, that bridges were built upon the rivers, and all the fordes marred and spilt, so as none might passe any other way but by those bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a gate-house set thereon, whereof this good will come that no night fealths which are commonly driven in by-ways, and by blinde fordes unufed of any but such like, shall not be conveyed out of one country into another, as they use, but they must passe by those bridges, where they may either be haply encountred, or easily tracked, or not suffered to passe at all, by meanes of those gate-houses thereon: Also that in all straights and narrow passages, as betweene 2. boggs, or through any deepe foord, or under any mountaine side, there should be some little fortilage, or wooden castle set, which should keepe and command that fraight, whereby any rebels that should come into the country might be stopped that way, or passe with great perill. Moreover, that all high wayes should be fenced and shut up on both sides, leaving onely 40. foote bredth for passage, so as none shall be able to passe but through the high wayes, whereby theeves and night robbers might be the more easily pursued and encountred, when there shall be no other way to drive their stolne cattle, but therein, as I formerly declared. Further, that there should bee in sundry convenient places, by the high wayes, townes appointed to bee built, the which should be free Burgeses, and incorporate under Bayliffes, to be by their inhabitants well and strongly intrenched, or otherwise fenced with gates on each side thereof, to be shut nightly, like as there is in many places in the English Pale, and all the wayes about it to be strongly shut up, so as none should passe but through those townes: To some of which it were good that the priviledge of a market were given, the rather

to strengthen and inable them to their defence, for there is nothing doth sooner cause civility in any countrie then many market townes, by reason that people repairing often thither for their needs, will dayly see and learne civil manners of the better fort: Besides, there is nothing doth more stay and strengthen the country then such corporate townes, as by prooffe in many rebellions hath appeared, in which when all the countreyes have swerved, the townes have stood fast, and yeilded good releife to the souldiours in all occasions of services. And lastly there is nothing doth more enrich any country or realme then many townes; for to them will all the people drawe and bring the fruites of their trades, aswell to make money of them, as to supply their needefull uses; and the countrymen will also be more industrious in tillage, and rearing of all husbandry commodities, knowing that they shall have ready sale for them at those townes; and in all those townes should there be convenient innes, erected for the lodging and harbouring of travellers, which are now oftentimes spoyled by lodging abroad in weake thatched houses, for want of such safe places to shroude them in.

*Eudox.* But what profit shall your market townes reape of their market? when as each one may sell their corne and cattle abroad in the country, and make their secret bargaines amongst themselves as now I understand they use.

*Iren.* Indeede, Eudoxus, they do so, and thereby no small inconvenience doth rise to the commonwealth; for now when any one hath stolne a cowe or a garron, he may secretly sell it in the country without privity of any, wheras if he brought it to a market towne it would perhaps be knowne, and the theife discovered. Therefore it were good that a straight ordinance were made, that none should buy

or sell any cattle, but in some open market, (there being now market townes every where at hand,) upon a great penalty, neither should they likewise buy any corne to sell the same againe, unlesse it were to make malt thereof; for by such ingrossing and regrating wee see the dearth, that now commonly raigneth here in England, to have beene caused. Hereunto also is to be added that good ordinance, which I remember was once proclaimed throughout all Ireland: That all men should marke their cattle with an open severall marke upon their flankes or buttockes, so as if they happened to be stolne, they might appeare whose they were, and they, which should buy them, might thereby suspect the owner, and be warned to abstaine from buying them of a suspected person, with such an unknowne marke.

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

*Iren.* They were not omitted; for there were, through all places of the country convenient, many good townes seated, which thorough that inundation of the Irish, which I first told you of, were utterly wasted and defaced, of which the ruines are yet in many places to be seene, and of some no signe at all remaining, save only their bare names; but their seats are not to be found.

*Eudox.* But how then commeth it to passe, that they have never since been recovered, nor their habitations reedified, as of the rest, which have beene no lesse spoyled and wasted?

*Iren.* The cause thereof was, for that, after their desolation, they were begged by gentlemen of the Kings, under colour to repaire them, and gather

the poore reliques of the people againe together, of whom having obtained them, they were so farre from reedifying of them, as that by all meanes they have endeavoured to keepe them waste, least that, being repaired, their charters might be renewed, and their Burgesies restored to their lands, which they had now in their possession; much like as in those old monuments of abbeyes, and religious houses, we see them likewise use to doe: For which cause it is judged that King Henry the Eight bestowed them upon them, conceiving that thereby they should never bee able to rise againe. And even so doe these Lords, in these poore old corporate towne, of which I could name divers, but for kindling of displeasure. Therefore as I wished many corporate townes to be erected, so would I againe wish them to be free, not depending upon the service, nor under the commaund of any but the Governour. And being so, they will both strengthen all the country round about them, which by their meanes will be the better replenished and enriched, and also be as continuall holdes for her Majesty, if the people should revolt or breake out againe; for without such it is easie to forrage and over-run the whole land. Let be for ensample all those free-boroughes, in the low-countrys, which are now all the strength thereof. These and other liks ordinances might be delivered for the good establishment of the realme, after it is once subdued and reformed, in which it might afterwards be very easly kept and maintained, with small care of the Governours and Councell there appointed, so as it should in short space yeeld a plentifull revenue to the crowne of England; which now doth but sucke and consume the treasure thereof, through those unfound plots and changefull orders, which are

dayly devised for her good, yet never effectually prosecuted or performed.

*Eudox.* But in all this your discourse I have not marked any thing by you spoken touching the appointment of the principall Officer, to whom you wish with the charge and performance of all this to be committed: Onely I observed some fowle abuses by you noted in some of the late Governours, the reformation whereof you left of for this present place.

*Iren.* I delight not to lay open the blames of great Magistrates to the rebuke of the world, and therefore their reformation I will not meddle with, but leave unto the wisdom of greater heads to be considered; only thus much I will speake generally thereof, to satisfie your desire, that the Government and cheife Magistracy, I wish to continue as it doth, to wit, that it be ruled by a Lord Deputy or Justice, for that it is a very safe kinde of rule; but there-withall I wish that over him there were placed also a Lord Lieutenant, of some of the greatest personages in England, <sup>1</sup> such a one I could name, upon whom the eye of all England is fixed, and our last hopes now rest; who being intituled with that dignity, and being here alwayes resident, may backe and defend the good course of that government against all maligners, which else will, through their cunning working under hand, deprave and pull back what ever thing shall be begun or intended there, as we commonly see by experience at this day, to the utter ruine and desolation of that poore realme; and this Lieutenantcy should be no discountenancing of the Lord Deputy, but rather a strengthening of all his doings; for now the cheife

<sup>1</sup> *such a one I could name, &c.]* Meaning the Earl of Essex.

evill in that government is, that no Governour is suffered to goe on with any one course, but upon the least information here, of this or that, hee is either stopped and crossed, or other courses appointed him from hence which he shall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this houre too well felt: And therefore this should be one principall in the appointing of the Lord Deputies authority, that it should bee more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontroled power to doe any thing, that he with the advisement of the Councill should thinke meete to be done: For it is not possible for the Councill here, to direct a Governour there, who shall be forced oftentimes to follow the necessitie of present actions, and to take the suddaine advantage of time, which being once lost will not bee recovered; whilst, through expecting direction from hence, the delays whereof are oftentimes through other greater affaires most irkesome, the oportunityes there in the meane time passe away, and great danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped: And this (I remember) is worthily observed by Machiavel in his discourises upon Livie, where he commendeth the manner of the Romans government, in giving absolute power to all their Councillors and Governours, which if they abused, they should afterwards dearely answere: And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalities of Italy; who use to limit their cheife officers so strictly, as that thereby they have oftentimes lost such happy occasions, as they could never come unto againe: The like whereof, who so hath bene conversant in that government of Ireland, hath too often seene to their great hinderance and hurt. Therefore this I could wish to be redressed, and yet not so but



that in particular things he should be restrained, though not in the generall government; as namely in this, that no offices should bee sold by the Lord Deputy for money, nor no pardons, nor no protections bought for reward, nor no beoves taken for Captainries of countryes, nor no shares of Bishopricks for nominating Bishops, nor no forfeitures, nor dispensations with pœnall Statutes given to their servants or friends, nor no selling of licences for transportation of prohibited wares, and specially of corne and flesh; with many the like; which neede some manner of restrainte, or else very great trust in the honorable disposition of the Lord Deputy.

Thus I have, Eudoxus, as briefly as I could, and as my memorie would serve me, run through the state of that whole country, both to let you see what it now is, and also what it may bee by good care and amendment: Not that I take upon me to change the policy of so great a kingdome, or prescribe rules to such wise men as have the handling thereof, but onely to shew you the evils, which in my small experience I have observed, to be the cheife hinderance of the reformation; and by way of conference to declare my simple opinion for the redresse thereof, and establishing a good course for government; which I doe not deliver as a perfect plot of mine owne invention to be onely followed, but as I have learned and understood the same by the consultations and actions of very wise Governours and Councillours, whom I have (sometimes) heard treat hereof: So have I thought good to set downe a remembrance of them for my owne good, and your satisfaction, that who so list to overlooke them, although perhaps much wiser then they which have thus advised of that state, yet at least by comparison hereof may perhaps better his owne judgment, and by the light of others fore-going him,

may follow after with more ease, and haply finde a fairer way thereunto, then they which have gone before.

*Eudox.* I thanke you, Irenæus, for this your gentle paines; withall not forgetting, now in the shutting up, to put you in minde of that which you have formerly halfe promised, that hereafter when wee shall meete againe, upon the like good occasion, you will declare unto us those your observations, which you have gathered of the Antiquities of Ireland <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> See several observations, relating to this View of the State of Ireland, in the Life of Spenser. TOPP.

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EXPLAINED OR MENTIONED IN THE NOTES.

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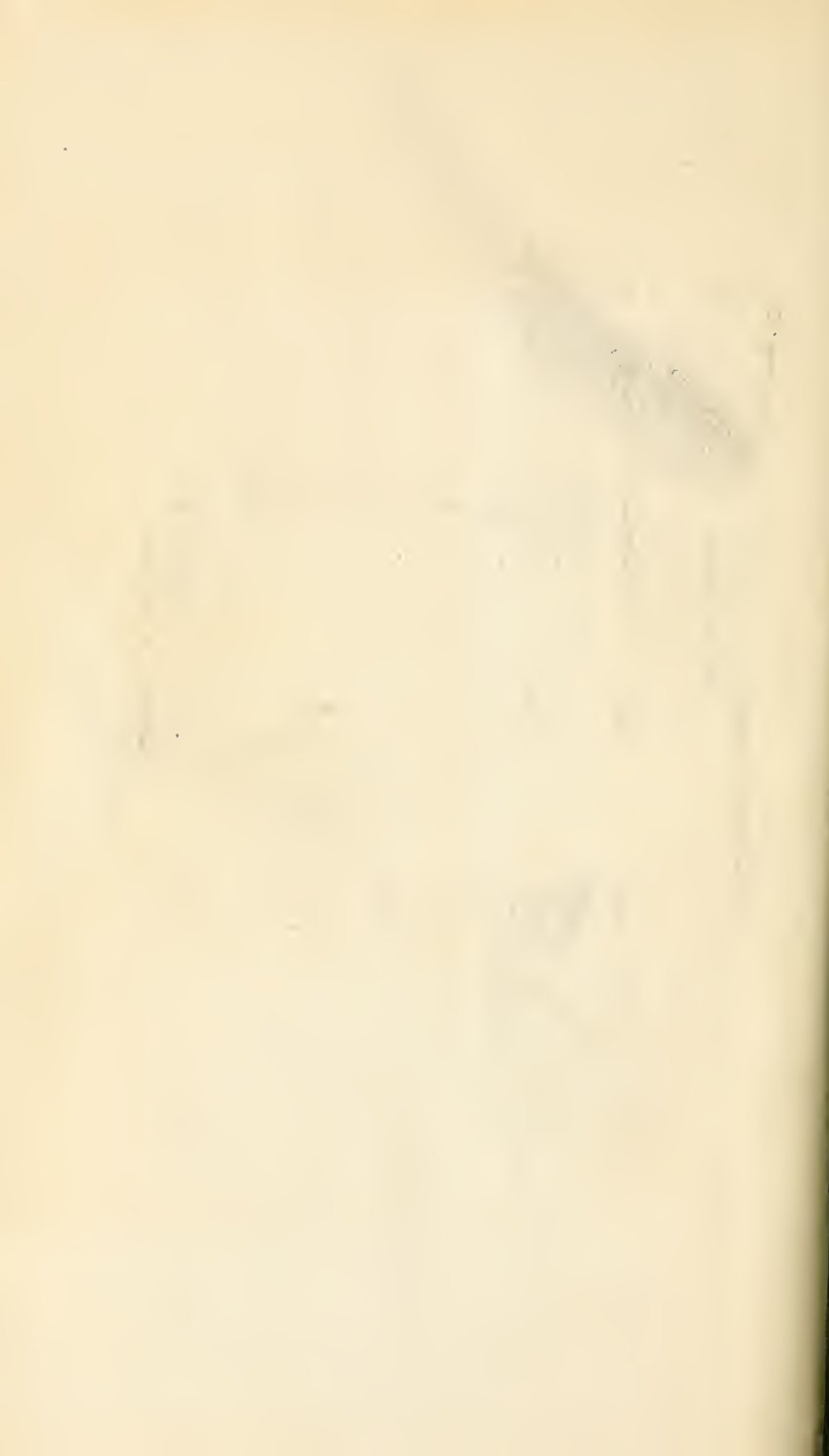












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