

Edmund Spenser

?1552-1599

For a biography of Spenser, as well as a discussion of and selections from his other works, see the print anthology, pp. 777-926.

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from *The Faerie Queene*

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE FAERIE QUEENE.

Containing,
The Legend of Sir Guyon.
OR
Of Temperance.¹

Canto XII

*Guyon,*² by *Palmer's*³ *governance,*⁴
passing through perils great,
Doth overthrow the Bowre of blisse,
and Acrasie defeat.

¹ *Temperance* As a virtue, temperance belongs primarily to the world, rather than to the spirit. Spenser draws on the classical idea of the "mean," which is, for Aristotle, a balancing of appetite with reason in order to strike a middle ground between excess and defect. For Plato, temperance is the virtue by which the soul keeps appetites under control of reason and the whole in harmony. In Christianity, temperance is a virtue of purity and self-denial that comes from grace (i.e., a spiritual gift that balances the seven deadly sins). However, for Spenser temperance is not just a balance or achievement of a mean, but a harmony among the elements that make up human life, with the result that it must be dynamic rather than static. In order to achieve this flexibility, temperance requires grounding in grace rather than purely human intellect, which has difficulty moving beyond the conception of rigid balance (*Spenser Encycl.*, pp. 680c-682c).

² *Guyon* This hero's name may be derived from Gihon, one of the four rivers of Eden and traditionally associated with temperance. It is also close to the name of a legendary hero of chivalric romance, Guy of Warwick (*Spenser Encycl.*, p. 343a).

³ *Palmer* a pilgrim who had returned from the Holy Land, typically carrying a palm branch or leaf as a token. This palmer has no such symbol, but his name associates him with a world of Christian faith where he represents "right reason, the spark of divinity that remains in the human mind even after the Fall" (*Spenser Encycl.*, pp. 526c-527a).

⁴ *governance* direction.

1
Now gins this goodly frame of Temperance
Fairely to rise, and her adorned hed
To pricke⁵ of highest praise forth to advance,
Formerly grounded, and fast setteled
On firme foundation of true bountihed,⁶
And this brave knight, that for that vertue
fights,
Now comes to point of that same perilous sted,
Where Pleasure dwelles in sensuall delights,
Mongst thousand dangers, and ten thousand
magick mights.⁷

2
Two dayes now in that sea he sayled has,
Ne ever land beheld, ne living wight,
Ne ought save perill, still as he did pas:
Tho when appeared the third *Morrow* bright,
Upon the waves to spred her trembling light,
An hideous roaring farre away they heard,
That all their senses filled with affright,
And streight they saw the raging surges reard
Up to the skyes, that them of drowning made
affeard.

3
Said then the Boteman, "Palmer stere aright,
And keepe an even course; for yonder way
We needes must passe (God do us well
acquight),⁸

⁵ *pricke* incentive.

⁶ *bountihed* liberality, munificence.

⁷ *mights* powers.

⁸ *acquight* deliver.

That is the *Gulfe of Greedinesse*,¹ they say,
 That deepe engorgeth² all this worldes pray:
 Which having swallowd up excessively,
 He soone in vomit up againe doth lay,
 And belcheth forth his superfluity,³
 That all the seas for feare do seeme away to fly.

4

On th'other side an hideous Rocke is pight,
 Of mightie *Magnes* stone,⁴ whose craggie clift
 Depending⁵ from on high, dreadfull to sight,
 Over the waves his rugged armes doth lift,
 And threatneth downe to throw his ragged rift
 On who so commeth nigh; yet nigh it drawes
 All passengers, that none from it can shift:⁶
 For whiles they fly that Gulfes devouring jawes,
 They on this rock are rent, and sunck in helpelesse
 waves.⁷

5

Forward they passe, and strongly he them rowes,
 Untill they nigh unto that Gulfe arrive,
 Where streame more violent and greedy growes:
 Then he with all his puissance doth strive
 To strike his oares, and mightily doth drive
 Then hollow vessell through the threatfull wave,
 Which gaping wide, to swallow them alive,
 In th'huge abyссе of his engulfing grave,
 Doth rore at them in vaine, and with great terror
 rave.

¹ *Gulfe of Greedinesse* modelled on Charybdis, one of the dangers faced by both Odysseus (*Odyssey*, Book 12) and Aeneas (*Aeneid*, Book 3). Charybdis is a whirlpool in a narrow channel, which sucks in and casts out the water three times a day. Odysseus survived by clinging to a tree growing above it and dropping into the water when the wreckage of his ship was disgorged from the maelstrom. Greed is one of the seven deadly sins, along with idleness, gluttony, lechery, envy, wrath, and pride.

² *engorgeth* devours.

³ *superfluity* excess.

⁴ *Magnes stone* magnet or loadstone, reputed to draw ships by their nails. This "hideous Rocke" acts as Charybdis' counterpart, Scylla, a sea-monster living in a cave across the strait. Scylla was eventually turned into a rock, the form in which she appears here (*OCD*).

⁵ *Depending* hanging down, suspended.

⁶ *shift* change position, move.

⁷ *waves* woes.

6

They passing by, that griesly⁸ mouth did see,
 Sucking the seas into his entralles⁹ deepe,
 That seem'd more horrible then hell to bee,
 Or that darke dreadfull hole of *Tartare*¹⁰ steepe,
 Through which the damned ghosts doen often
 creepe
 Backe to the world, bad livers to torment:
 But nought that falles into this direfull¹¹ deepe,
 Ne that approacheth nigh the wide descent,
 May backe returne, but is condemned to be
 drent.¹²

7

On th'other side, they saw that perilous Rocke,
 Threatning it selfe on them to ruinate,¹³
 On whose sharpe clifts the ribs of vessels broke,
 And shivered ships, which had bene wrecked
 late,
 Yet stuck, with carkasses exanimate¹⁴
 Of such, as having all their substance spent
 In wanton joyes, and lustes intemperate,¹⁵
 Did afterwards make shipwracke violent,
 Both of their life, and fame for ever fowly
 blent.¹⁶

8

For thy,¹⁷ this hight *The Rocke of vile Reproch*,
 A daungerous and detestable place,
 To which nor fish nor fowle did once approach,
 But yelling Meawes,¹⁸ with Seagulles hoarse
 and bace,

⁸ *griesly* terrifying, dreadful.

⁹ *entralles* insides, bowels.

¹⁰ *Tartare* Hell, the Underworld.

¹¹ *direfull* dreadful, terrible.

¹² *drent* drowned, drenched.

¹³ *on them to ruinate* to fall on them with a crash.

¹⁴ *exanimate* dead.

¹⁵ *intemperate* Immoderate, excessive indulgence in passion.

¹⁶ *Of such ... fowly blent* See 1 Timothy 6:9: "But those who desire to be rich fall into temptation, into a snare, into many senseless and hurtful desires that plunge men into ruin and destruction"; *blent* blemish.

¹⁷ *For thy* therefore.

¹⁸ *Meawes* gulls.

And Cormoyrants,¹ with birds of ravenous race,
 Which still sate waiting on that wastfull² clift,
 For spoyle of wretches, whose unhappie cace,³
 After lost credite and consumed thrift,
 At last them driven hath to this despairefull drift.⁴

9

The Palmer seeing them in safetie past,
 Thus said; "Behold th'ensamples⁵ in our sights,
 Of lustfull luxurie and thriftlesse wast:
 What now is left of miserable wights,
 Which spent their looser⁶ daies in lewd delights,
 But shame and sad reproch, here to be red,⁷
 By these rent reliques, speaking their ill plights?
 Let all that live, hereby be counselled,
 To shunne *Rocke of Reproche*, and it as death to
 dred."

10

So forth they rowed, and that *Ferryman*⁸
 With his stiffe oares did brush the sea so strong,
 That the hoare waters from his frigot⁹ ran,
 And the light bubbles daunced all along,
 Whiles the salt brine out of the billowes sprong:
 At last farre off they many Islands spy,
 On every side floting the floods emong:
 Then said the knight, Loe I the land descry,¹⁰
 Therefore old Syre thy course do thereunto apply.

¹ *Cormoyrants* large, voracious seabirds.

² *wastfull* desolate.

³ *cace* condition, state.

⁴ *drift* course.

⁵ *ensamples* examples.

⁶ *looser* inconstant, unrestrained.

⁷ *red* seen, understood.

⁸ *Ferryman* modelled on Charon, who conveyed the spirits of the dead across the rivers of the Underworld.

⁹ *frigot* light, swift vessel.

¹⁰ *descry* catch sight of.

11

"That may not be," said then the *Ferryman*,
 "Least we unweeting hap to be fordonne:¹¹
 For those same Islands, seeming now and than,
 Are not firme lande, nor any certein wonne,¹²
 But stragglings¹³ plots, which to and fro do
 ronne
 In the wide waters: therefore are they hight
 The wandring Islands. Therefore doe them
 shonne;
 For they have oft drawne many a wandring
 wight
 Into most deadly daunger and distressed plight."¹⁴

12

Yet well they seeme to him, that farre doth vew,
 Both faire and fruitfull, and the ground dispred
 With grassie greene of delectable hew,
 And the tall trees with leaves appavelled,
 Are deckt with blossomes dyde in white and red,
 That mote¹⁵ the passengers thereto allure;
 But whosoever once hath fastened
 His foot thereon, may never it recure,¹⁶
 But wandreth ever more uncertein and unsure.

13

As th'Isle of *Delos*¹⁷ whylome¹⁸ men report
 Amid th'*Aegæan*¹⁹ sea long time did stray,
 Ne made for shipping any certaine port,
 Till that *Latona*²⁰ travailing that way,
 Flying from *Juno*'s wrath and hard assay,
 Of her faire twins was there delivered,
 Which afterwards did rule the night and day;

¹¹ *fordonne* overcome.

¹² *wonne* abode, dwelling-place.

¹³ *stragglings* roving, wandering at random.

¹⁴ *plight* condition, state.

¹⁵ *mote* might, could.

¹⁶ *recure* retrieve.

¹⁷ *Delos* For the story of Delos' wandering, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 6 and Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 3.

¹⁸ *whylome* some time ago.

¹⁹ *Aegæan* sea between Greece and Turkey.

²⁰ *Latona* mother of Artemis and Apollo, to whom Delos is sacred (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

Thenceforth it firmly was established,
And for *Apolloes* honor highly herried.¹

14

They to him hearken, as beseemeth meete,
And passe on forward: so their way does ly,
That one of these same Islands, which doe fleet²
In the wide sea, they needes must passen by,
Which seemd so sweet and pleasant to the eye,
That it would tempt a man to touchen there:
Upon the banck they sitting did espy
A daintie damzell, dressing of her heare,³
By whom a litle skippet⁴ floting did appeare.

15

She them espying, loud to them can call,
Bidding them nigher draw unto the shore;
For she had cause to busie them withall;⁵
And therewith loudly laugh: But nathemore
Would they once turne, but kept on as afore:
Which when she saw, she left her lockes
undight,⁶
And running to her boat withouten ore
From the departing land it launched light,
And after them did drive with all her power and
might.

16

Whom overtaking, she in merry sort
Them gan to bord, and purpose diversly,
Now faining dalliance and wanton sport,
Now throwing forth lewd words immodestly;
Till that the Palmer gan full bitterly
Her to rebuke, for being loose and light:
Which not abiding, but more scornefully
Scoffing at him, that did her justly wite,
She turnd he bote about, and from them rowed
quite.

¹ *herried* praised.

² *fleet* float.

³ *beare* hair.

⁴ *skippet* skiff, small boat.

⁵ *withall* all, entirely.

⁶ *undight* unfastened.

17

That was the wanton *Phadria*,⁷ which late
Did ferry him over the *Idle lake*:
Whom nought regarding, they kept on their
gate,⁸
And all her vaine allurements did forsake,
When them the wary Boate-man thus bespake;
Here now behoveth⁹ us well to avyse,¹⁰
And of our safetie good heede to take;
For here before a perlous passage lyes,
Where many Mermayds¹¹ haunt, making false
melodies.

18

But by the way, there is a great Quicksand,
And a whirlpoole of hidden jeopardy,
Therefore, Sir Palmer, keepe an even hand;
For twixt them both the narrow way doth ly.
Scarse had he said, when hard at hand they spy
That quicksand nigh with water covered;
But by the checked¹² wave they did descry
It plaine, and by the sea discoloured:
It called was the quicksand of *Unthriftybed*.¹³

19

They passing by, a goodly Ship did see,
Laden from far with precious merchandize,
And bravely furnished, as ship might bee,
Which through great disaventure, or mesprize,¹⁴
Her selfe had runne into that hazardize;
Whose mariners and merchants with much
toyle,
Labour'd in vaine, to have recur'd their prize,

⁷ *Phadria* Meaning, "glittering" or "cheerful," Phœdria is a figure of immodest mirth who presents the danger of idle frivolity (*Spenser Encycl.*, p. 541a).

⁸ *gate* way.

⁹ *behoveth* is necessary.

¹⁰ *avyse* watch.

¹¹ *Mermayds* sea-women supposed to lure sailors to destruction with their enchanting singing.

¹² *checked* halted.

¹³ *Unthriftybed* thriftlessness.

¹⁴ *mesprize* mistake.

And the rich wares to save from pitteous
spoyle,
But neither toyle nor travell might her backe
recoyle.¹

20

On th'other side they see that perilous Poole,
That called was the *Whirlepoole of decay*,
In which full many had with haplesse doole²
Beene suncke, of whom no memorie did stay:
Whose circled waters rapt with whirling sway,
Like to a restlesse wheele, still running round,
Did covet, as they passed by that way,
To draw their boate within the utmost bound
Of his wide *Labyrinth*, and then to have them
dround.

21

But th'heedfull³ Boateman strongly forth did
stretch
His brawnie armes, and all his body straine,
That th'utmost⁴ sandy breach⁵ they shortly
fetch,⁶
Whiles the dred daunger does behind remaine.
Suddeine they see from midst of all the Maine,
The surging waters like a mountaine rise,
And the great sea puffed up with proud disdaine,
To swell above the measure of his guise,⁷
As threatning to devoure all, that his powre
despise.

22

The waves come rolling, and the billowes rore
Outragiously, as they enraged were,
Or wrathfull *Neptune*⁸ did them drive before
His whirling charet,⁹ for exceeding feare:
For not one puffed of wind there did appeare,

¹ *recoyle* return.

² *doole* dole.

³ *heedfull* careful, earnest.

⁴ *utmost* outermost.

⁵ *breach* harbour.

⁶ *fetch* reach.

⁷ *guise* habit, custom.

⁸ *Neptune* god of the sea.

⁹ *charet* chariot.

That all the three thereat woxe¹⁰ much afraid,
Unweeting,¹¹ what such horroure straunge did
reare.¹²

Eftsoones they saw an hideous hoast arrayd,
Of huge Sea monsters, such as living sence
dismayd.

23

Most ugly shapes, and horrible aspects,
Such as Dame Nature selfe mote feare to see,
Or shame, that ever should so fowle defects
From her most cunning hand escaped bee;
All dreadfull pourtraicts¹³ of deformitee:
Spring-headed *Hydraes*,¹⁴ and sea-shouldring
Whales,
Great whirlpooles, which all fishes make to
flee,
Bright *Scolopendraes*,¹⁵ arm'd with silver scales,
Mighty *Monoceroses*,¹⁶ with immeasured tayles.

24

The dreadfull Fish, that hath deserv'd the name
Of Death, and like him lookes in dreadfull hew,
The griesly *Wasserman*,¹⁷ that makes his game
The flying ships with swiftnesse to pursew,
The horrible *Sea-satyre*,¹⁸ that doth shew
His fearefull face in time of greatest storme,
Huge *Ziffius*,¹⁹ whom Mariners eschew
No lesse, then rockes, (as travellers informe,)
And greedy *Rosmarines*²⁰ with visages deforme.

¹⁰ *waxe* grew.

¹¹ *Unweeting* unknowing, unwitting.

¹² *reare* raise.

¹³ *pourtraicts* portraits, images.

¹⁴ *Hydraes* many-headed snake of mythology, killed by Hercules;
here, creatures who send up geysers.

¹⁵ *Scolopendraes* fabulous sea-fish that expels its guts when it feels a
hook and then swallows them again once it is free.

¹⁶ *Monoceroses* fish with horns (i.e., saw-fish, sword-fish, narwhal).

¹⁷ *Wasserman* merman.

¹⁸ *Sea-satyre* sea-monster partly in the form of a satyr (half-human,
half goat).

¹⁹ *Ziffius* swordfish.

²⁰ *Rosmarines* seahorses.

25

All these, and thousand thousands many more,
 And more deformed Monsters thousand fold,
 With dreadfull noise, and hollow rombling rore,
 Came rushing in the fomy waves enroll,
 Which seem'd to fly for feare, them to behold:
 Ne wonder, if these did the knight appall;
 For all that here on earth we dreadfull hold,
 Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall,¹
 Compared to the creatures in the seas entrall.

26

“Feare nought,” then said the Palmer well aviz'd;
 “For these same Monsters are not these in deed,
 But are into these fearefull shapes disguiz'd
 By that same wicked witch, to worke us dread,
 And draw from on this journey to proceede.”
 Tho lifting up his vertuous staffe on hye,
 He smote² the sea,³ which calmed was with
 speed,
 And all that dreadfull Armie fast gan flye
 Into great *Tethys*⁴ bosome, where they hidden lye.

27

Quit from that daunger, forth their course they
 kept,
 And as they went, they heard a ruefull⁵ cry
 On one, that wayld and pittifully wept,
 That through the sea the resounding plaints
 did fly:
 At last they in an Island did espy
 A seemely Maiden, sitting by the shore,
 That with great sorrow and sad agony,
 Seemed some great misfortune to deplore,
 And lowd to them for succour⁶ called evermore.

¹ *withall* with.

² *smote* struck, hit.

³ *The lifting ... the sea* The Palmer combines Moses dividing the Red Sea (Exodus 14:16) with Christ calming the storm on the sea of Galilee (Matthew 8:26).

⁴ *Tethys* wife of Neptune.

⁵ *ruefull* doleful, lamentable.

⁶ *succour* aid, assistance.

28

Which *Guyon* hearing, streight his Palmer bad,
 To stere the boate towards that dolefull Mayd,
 That he might know, and ease her sorrow sad:
 Who him avizing better, to him sayd;
 Faire Sir, be not displeasd, if disobayd:
 For ill it were to hearken to her cry;
 For she is inly⁷ nothing ill apayd,⁸
 But onely womanish fine forgery,
 Your stubborne hart t'affect with fraile infirmity.

29

To which when she your courage⁹ hath inclind
 Through foolish pittty, then her guilefull bayt
 She will embosome deeper in your mind,
 And for your ruine at the last awayt.
 The knight was ruled, and the Boateman strayt
 Held on his course with stayed stedfastnesse,¹⁰
 Ne ever shruncke, ne ever sought to bayt
 His tyred armes for toylesome wearinesse,
 But with his oares did sweepe the watry
 wildernessse.

30

And now they nigh approached to the sted,¹¹
 Where as those Mermayds¹² dwelt: it was a still
 And calmy bay, on th'one side sheltered
 With the brode shadow of an hoarie¹³ hill,
 On th'other side an high rocke toured¹⁴ still,
 That twixt them both a pleasaunt port they
 made,
 And did like an halfe Theatre fulfill:
 There those five sisters¹⁵ had continuall trade,
 And usd to bath themselves in that deceitfull
 shade.

⁷ *inly* inwardly.

⁸ *ill apayd* distressed.

⁹ *courage* heart, spirit.

¹⁰ *stayed stedfastnesse* firm, fixed constancy of purpose.

¹¹ *sted* place.

¹² *Mermayds* sirens, the power of whose song Odysseus resists by having himself tied to the mast, while his sailors' ears are plugged with wax (*Odyssey* 12).

¹³ *hoarie* grey.

¹⁴ *toured* towered.

¹⁵ *five sisters* The five Sirens tempt the five senses (*Hamilton*).

31

They were faire Ladies, till they fondly striv'd
 With th'*Heliconian* maides¹ for maistry;
 Of whom they over-comen, were depriv'd
 Of their proud beautie, and th'one moyity²
 Transform'd to fish, for their bold surquedry,³
 But th'upper halfe their hew retained still,
 And their sweet skill in wonted melody;
 Which ever after they abusd to ill,
 T'allure weake travellers, whom gotten they did
 kill.

32

So now to *Guyon*, as he passed by,
 Their pleasaunt tunes they sweetly thus applide;
 O thou faire sonne of gentle Faery,
 That art in mighty armes most magnifide⁴
 Above all knights, that ever battell tride,
 O turne thy rudder hither-ward⁵ a while:
 Here may thy storme-bet vessell safely ride;
 This is the Port of rest from troublous toyle,
 The worlds sweet In, from paine and wearisome
 turmoyle.

33

With that the rolling sea resounding soft,
 In his big base them fitly answered,
 And on the rocke the waves breaking aloft,
 A solemne Meane⁶ unto them measured,
 The whiles sweet *Zephirus*⁷ lowd whistled
 His treble, a straunge kind of harmony;
 Which *Guyons* senses softly tickeled,
 That he the boateman bad row easily,
 And let him heare some part of their rare melody.

¹ *Heliconian maides* the Muses.

² *moyity* half.

³ *surquedry* arrogance.

⁴ *magnifide* praised, glorified.

⁵ *hither-ward* in this direction.

⁶ *Meane* middle part (i.e., tenor).

⁷ *Zephirus* west wind, lover of the beautiful youth Hyacinthus (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*), and associated with sexual desire (*Hamilton*).

34

But him the Palmer from that vanity,
 With temperate advice discourseled,⁸
 That they it past, and shortly gan descry
 The land, to which their course they leveled;
 When suddainly a grosse fog over spred
 With his dull vapour all that desert has,
 And heavens chearefull face enveloped,
 That all things one, and one as nothing was,
 And this great Universe seemd one confused mas.

35

Thereat they greatly were dismayd, ne wist⁹
 How to direct their way in darkenesse wide,
 But feard to wander in that wastfull mist,
 For tomling into mischiefe unespide.
 Worse is the daunger hidden, then descride.
 Suddainly an innumerable flight
 Of harmefull fowles about them fluttering,
 cride,
 And with their wicked wings them oft did
 smight,
 And sore annoyed, groping in that griesly night.

36

Even all the nation of unfortunate
 And fatall birds about them flocked were,
 Such as by nature men abhorre and hate,
 The ill-faste Owle, deaths dreadfull messengere,
 The hoars Night-raven, trump of dolefull drere,
 The lether-winged Bat, dayes enemy,
 The ruefull Strich,¹⁰ still waiting on the bere,
 The Whistler shrill, that who so heares, doth dy,
 The hellish Harpies,¹¹ prophets of sad destiny.

⁸ *discourseled* dissuaded, advised against.

⁹ *wist* knew.

¹⁰ *Strich* screech owl whose cry portends death.

¹¹ *Harpies* monstrous birds with women's faces.

37

All those, and all that else does horreur breed,
 About them flew, and fild their sayles with feare:
 Yet stayd they not, but forward did proceed,
 Whiles th'one did row, and th'other stifly steare;
 Till that at last the weather gan to cleare,
 And the faire land it selfe did plainly show.
 Said then the Palmer, "Lo where does appeare
 The sacred soile, where all our perils grow;
 Therefore, Sir knight, your ready armes about
 you throw."

38

He hearkned,¹ and his armes about him tooke,
 The whiles the nimble boate so well her sped,
 That with her crooked keele the land she
 strooke,
 Then forth the noble *Guyon* sallied,²
 And his sage Palmer, that him governed;
 But th'other by his boate behind did stay.
 They marched fairly forth, of nought ydred,³
 Both firmly armd for every hard assay,⁴
 With constancy⁵ and care, gainst daunger and
 dismay.

39

Ere long they heard an hideous bellowing
 Of many beasts, that roard outrageously,
 As if that hungers point, or *Venus*⁶ sting
 Had them enraged with fell⁷ surquedry;
 Yet nought they feard, but past on hardily,
 Untill they came in vew of those wild beasts:
 Who all attonce, gaping full greedily,
 And rearing fiercely their upstarting crests,
 Ran towards, to deuoure those unexpected
 guests.

¹ *bearkned* heard with attention.

² *sallied* went forth.

³ *of nought ydred* afraid of nothing.

⁴ *assay* trial, attack.

⁵ *constancy* steadfastness, fortitude.

⁶ *Venus* goddess of love.

⁷ *fell* savage.

40

But soone as they approcht with deadly threat,
 The Palmer over them his staffe upheld,
 His mighty staffe, that could all charmes defeat:
 Eftsoones⁸ their stubborne courages were queld,
 And high advanched crests downe meekely feld,
 In stead of fraying,⁹ they them selves did feare,
 And trembled, as them passing they beheld:
 Such wondrous powre did in that staffe appeare,
 All monsters to subdew to him, that did it beare.

41

Of that same wood it fram'd was cunningly,
 Of which *Caduceus*¹⁰ whilome was made,
Caduceus the rod of *Mercury*,¹¹
 With which he wonts the *Stygian* realmes invade,
 Through ghastly horreur, and eternall shade;
 Th'inferrall feends with it he can asswage,
 And *Orcus*¹² tame, whom nothing can perswade,
 And rule the *Furies*,¹³ when they most do rage:
 Such vertue in his staffe had eke this Palmer sage.

42

Thence passing forth, they shortly do arrive,
 Whereas the Bowre of *Blisse* was situate;
 A place pickt out by choice of best alive,
 That natures worke by art can imitate:
 In which what ever in this wordly state
 Is sweet, and pleasing unto living sense,
 Or that may dayntiest fantasie aggrate,¹⁴

⁸ *Eftsoones* again.

⁹ *fraying* frightening.

¹⁰ *Caduceus* fabled wand carried by Mercury as the messenger of the gods; usually represented with two serpents twined round it.

¹¹ *Mercury* He escorted the souls of dead humans down to the river Styx where Charon ferried them across. In this role he was known as "guide of souls" (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

¹² *Orcus* Pluto, god of the Underworld.

¹³ *Furies* spirits of punishment.

¹⁴ *aggrate* gratify, please.

Was poured forth with plentiful dispenſe,
And made there to abound with lavish affluence.

43

Goodly it was enclosed round about,
Aswell their entred gueſtes to keepe within,
As thoſe unruly beaſts to hold without;
Yet was the fence thereof but weake and thin;
Nought feared their force, that fortillage¹ to win,
But wiſdomes powre, and temperaunſes might,
By which the mightieſt things efforced² bin:
And eke the gate was wrought of ſubſtaunce
light,
Rather for pleaſure, then for battery or fight.

44

Yt framed was of precious yvory,
That ſeemd a worke of admirable wit;
And therein all the famous hiſtory
Of *Jason and Medea*³ was ywrit;
Her mighty charmes, her furious loving fit,
His goodly conqueſt of the golden fleece,
His falſed faith, and love too lightly flit,
The wondred *Argo*, which in venturous peece
Firſt through the *Euxine* ſeas⁴ bore all the flowr
of *Greece*.

45

Ye might have ſeene the frothy billowes fry
Under the ſhip, as thorough them ſhe went,
That ſeemd the waves were into yvory,
Or yvory into the waves were ſent;
And other where the ſnowy ſubſtaunce ſprent⁵

¹ *fortillage* ſmall fort.

² *efforced* compelled.

³ *Jason and Medea* Jason, leader of the Argonauts who ſucceeded in gaining the legendary Golden Fleece, promiſed to marry Medea, a witch who helped him win the fleece. After ten years of marriage, Jason was offered the hand of the daughter of the King of Corinth. Jason divorced Medea, who, overcome with anger and grief, murdered his new wife, Creuſa, with an enchanted garment that burned her to death (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

⁴ *Euxine ſeas* Greek name for the Black Sea.

⁵ *sprent* ſprinkled.

With vermill,⁶ like the boyes bloud therein ſhed,
A piteous ſpectacle did repreſent,
And otherwhiles with gold beſprinkeled;
Yt ſeemd th'enchanted flame, which did Creuſa
wed.

46

All this, and more might in that goodly gate
Be red; that ever open ſtood to all,
Which thither came: but in the Porch there ſate
A comely perſonage of ſtature tall,
And ſemblaunce pleaſing, more then naturall,
That travellers to him ſeemd to entize;
His looſer garment to the ground did fall,
And flew about his heeles in wanton wiſe,
Not fit for ſpeedy pace, or manly exerciſe.

47

They in that place him *Genius* did call:
Not that ceſtiall powre, to whom the care
Of life, and generation of all
That lives, pertaines⁷ in charge particulare,
Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,
And ſtraunge phantomes doth let us oft forſee,
And oft of ſecret ill bids us beware:
That is our Selfe, whom though we do not ſee,
Yet each doth in him ſelfe it well perceive to bee.

48

Therefore a God him ſage Antiquity
Did wiſely make, and good *Agdistes* call:
But this ſame was to that quite contrary,
The foe of life, that good envyes to all,
That ſecretly doth us procure to fall,
Through guilefull ſemblaunſes,⁸ which he makes
us ſee.
He of this Gardin had the governall,⁹
And Pleaſures porter was deviſd to bee,
Holding a ſtaffe in hand for more formalitee.

⁶ *vermill* bright red.

⁷ *pertaines* belongs.

⁸ *semblaunſes* appearances, expreſſions.

⁹ *governall* management.

49

With diverse flowres he daintily was dect,
 And strowed round about, and by his side
 A mighty Mazer¹ bowle of wine was set,
 As if it had to him bene sacrificide;²
 Wherewith all new-come guests he gratifide:
 So did he eke Sir *Guyon* passing by:
 But he his idle curtesie defide,
 And overthrew his bowle disdainfully;
 And broke his staffe, with which he charmed
 semblants sly.

50

Thus being entred, they behold around
 A large and spacious plaine, on every side
 Strowed with pleasauns, whose faire grassy
 ground
 Mantled with greene, and goodly beautified
 With all the ornaments of *Floraes*³ pride,
 Wherewith her mother Art, as halfe in scorne
 Of niggard⁴ Nature, like a pompous bride
 Did decke her, and too lavishly adorne,
 When forth from virgin bowre she comes in
 th'early morne.

51

Thereto the Heavens alwayes Joviall,
 Lookt on them lovely, still in stedfast state,
 Ne suffred storme nor frost on them to fall,
 Their tender buds or leaves to violate,
 Nor scorching heat, nor cold intemperate
 T'afflict the creatures, which therein did dwell,
 But the milde aire with season moderate
 Gently attempred,⁵ and disposd so well,
 That still it breathed forth sweet spirit and
 wholesome smell.

52

More sweet and wholesome, then the pleasaunt hill
 Of *Rhodope*,⁶ on which the Nimphe, that bore

¹ *Mazer* maple.

² *sacrifide* sacrificed.

³ *Flora* goddess of flowers.

⁴ *niggard* stingy, parsimonious.

⁵ *attempred* mitigated.

⁶ *Rhodope* See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Books 6, 10, and 11.

A gyaunt babe, her selfe for grieffe did kill;
 Or the Thessalian *Tempe*, where of yore
 Faire *Daphne*⁷ *Phaebus* hart with love did gore;
 Or *Ida*,⁸ where the Gods lov'd to repaire,
 When ever they their heavenly bowres forlore;⁹
 Or sweet *Parnasse*,¹⁰ the haunt of Muses faire;
 Or *Eden*¹¹ selfe, if ought with *Eden* mote
 compaire.

53

Much wondred *Guyon* at the faire aspect
 Of that sweet place, yet suffred no delight
 To sincke into his sence, nor mind affect,
 But passed forth, and lookt still forward right,¹²
 Bridling¹³ his will, and maistering his might:
 Till that he came unto another gate;
 No gate, but like one, being goodly dight
 With boughes and braunches, which did broad
 dilate¹⁴
 Their clasping armes, in wanton wreathings
 intricate.

54

So fashioned a Porch with rare device,¹⁵
 Archt over head with an embracing vine,
 Whose bounches hanging downe, seemed to
 entice
 All passers by, to tast their lushious wine,
 And did themselves into their hands incline,
 As freely offering to be gathered:
 Some deepe empurpled as the *Hyacint*,¹⁶

⁷ *Daphne* See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 1.

⁸ *Ida* the mountain where three goddesses appeared to Paris in the contest that led to the Trojan War.

⁹ *forlore* left.

¹⁰ *Parnasse* a mountain inhabited by the Muses.

¹¹ *Eden* the Christian paradise, often represented as a hill or mountain.

¹² *lookt still forward right* allusion to Proverbs 4:25-27: "Let your eyes look directly forward, and your gaze be straight before you. Take heed to the path of your feet, then all your ways will be sure. Do not swerve to the right or to the left; turn your foot away from evil."

¹³ *Bridling* controlling.

¹⁴ *dilate* expand.

¹⁵ *device* invention, ingenuity.

¹⁶ *Hyacint* jacinth, blue gem.

Some as the Rubine,¹ laughing sweetly red,
Some like faire Emeraudes,² not yet well ripened.

55

And them amongst, some were of burnisht gold,
So made by art, to beautifie the rest,
Which did themselves emongst the leaves
enfold,
As lurking from the vew of covetous³ guest,
That the weake bowes, with so rich load opprest,
Did bow adowne, as over-burdened.
Under that Porch a comely dame did rest,
Clad in faire weedes,⁴ but fowle disordered,
And garments loose, that seemd unmeet⁵ for
womanhed.

56

In her left hand a Cup of gold she held,
And with her right the riper fruit did reach,
Whose sappy liquor, that with fulnesse sweld,
Into her cup she scruzd,⁶ with daintie breach⁷
Of her fine fingers, without fowle empeach,⁸
That so faire wine-presse made the wine more
sweet:
Thereof she usd to give to drinke to each,
Whom passing by she happened to meet:
It was her guise, all Straungers goodly so to
greet.

57

So she to *Guyon* offred it to tast;
Who taking it out of her tender hond,
The cup to ground did violently cast,
That all in peeces it was broken fond,
And with the liquor stained all the lond:
Whereat Excesse exceedingly was wroth,
Yet no'te the same amend, ne yet withstond,

¹ *Rubine* ruby.

² *Emeraudes* emeralds.

³ *covetous* greedy, grasping.

⁴ *weedes* clothes.

⁵ *unmeet* unsuitable, improper.

⁶ *scruzd* squeezed.

⁷ *breach* crushing.

⁸ *empeach* hindrance.

But suffered him to passe, all were she loth;⁹
Who nought regarding her displeasure forward
goth.

58

There the most daintie Paradise on ground,
It selfe doth offer to his sober eye,
In which all pleasures plenteously abound,
And none does others happinesse envye:
The painted flowres, the trees upshooting hye,
The dales for shade, the hilles for breathing
space,
The trembling groves, the Christall running by;
And that, which all faire workes doth most
aggrace,¹⁰
The art, which all that wrought, appeared in no
place.

59

One would have thought, (so cunningly, the rude,
And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,)
That nature had for wantonnesse ensude¹¹
Art, and that Art at nature did repine;¹²
So striving each th'other to undermine,
Each did the others worke more beautifie;
So diff'ring both in willes, agreed in fine:¹³
So all agreed through sweete diversitie,
This Gardin to adorne with all varietie.

60

And in the midst of all, a fountaine stood,
Of richest substaunce, that on earth might bee,
So pure and shiny, that the silver flood
Through every channell running one might see;
Most goodly it with curious imageree
Was over-wrought, and shapes of naked boyes,
Of which some seemd with lively jollitee,
To fly about, playing their wanton toyes,
Whilst others did them selves embay¹⁴ in liquid
joyes.

⁹ *loth* unwilling.

¹⁰ *aggrace* favour.

¹¹ *ensude* followed.

¹² *repine* complain.

¹³ *fine* aim, purpose.

¹⁴ *embaye* bathe.

61

And over all, of purest gold was spred,
 A trayle of yvie¹ in his native hew:
 For the rich mettall was so coloured,
 That wight, who did not well avis'd it vew,
 Would surely deeme it to be yvie trew:
 Low his lascivious armes adown did creepe,
 That themselves dipping in the silver dew,
 Their fleecy flowres they tenderly did steepe,
 Which drops of Christall seemd for wantones² to
 weepe.

62

Infinitt streames continually did well
 Out of this fountaine, sweet and faire to see,
 The which into an ample laver³ fell,
 And shortly grew to so great quantitie,
 That like a little lake it seemd to bee;
 Whose depth exceeded not three cubits⁴ hight,
 That through the waves one might the bottom
 see,
 All pav'd beneath with Jaspas⁵ shining bright,
 That seemd the fountaine in that sea did sayle
 upright.

63

And all the margent round about was set,
 With shady Laurell trees, thence to defend
 The sunny beames, which on the billowes bet,⁶
 And those which therein bathed, mote offend.
 As Guyon hapned by the same to wend,
 Two naked Damzelles he therein espyde,
 Which therein, bathing, seemed to contend,
 And wrestle wantonly, ne car'd to hyde,
 Their dainty parts from vew of any, which them
 eyde.

¹ *yvie* plant sacred to Bacchus, the god of wine.

² *wantones* whim, recklessness.

³ *laver* vessel.

⁴ *cubits* units of measure based on the length of the forearm.

⁵ *Jaspas* precious stone.

⁶ *bet* beat.

64

Sometimes the one would lift the other quight
 Above the waters, and the downe againe
 Her plong, as over maistered by might,
 Where both awhile would covered remaine,
 And each the other from to rise restraine;
 The whiles their snowy limbes, as through a
 vele,⁷
 So through the Christall waves appeared plaine:
 Then suddainly both would themselves unhele,⁸
 And th'amarous sweet spoiles to greedy eyes
 revele.

65

As that faire Starre, the messenger of morne,
 His deawy face out of the sea doth reare:
 Or as the *Cyprian* goddessse,⁹ newly borne
 Of th'Oceans fruitfull froth, did first appeare:
 Such seemed they, and so their yellow heare
 Christalline humour¹⁰ dropped downe apace.¹¹
 Whom such when *Guyon* saw, he drew him
 neare,
 And somewhat gan relent his earnest¹² pace,
 His stubborne brest gan secret pleasaunce to
 embrace.

66

The wanton Maidens him espying, stood
 Gazing a while at his unwonted guise;
 The th'one her selfe low ducked in the flood,
 Abasht, that her a straunger did a vise:
 But th'other rather higher did arise,
 And her two lilly paps¹³ aloft displayd,
 And all, that might his melting hart entise
 To her delights, she unto him bewrayd:¹⁴
 The rest hid underneath, him more desirous
 made.

⁷ *vele* veil.

⁸ *unhele* uncover.

⁹ *Cyprian goddessse* Venus, who was born from the sea.

¹⁰ *humour* fluid, moisture.

¹¹ *apace* swiftly.

¹² *earnest* grave.

¹³ *paps* breasts.

¹⁴ *bewrayd* exposed, revealed.

67

With that, the other likewise up arose,
 And her faire lockes, which formerly were
 bownd
 Up in one knot, she low adowne did lose:
 Which flowing long and thick, her cloth'd
 arownd,
 And th'yvorie in golden mantle gownd:
 So that faire spectacle from his was reft,
 Yet that, which reft it, no lesse faire was fownd:
 So hid in lockes and waves from lookers theft,
 Nought but her lovely face she for his looking
 left.

68

Withall she laughed, and she blusht withall,
 That blushing to her laughter gave more grace,
 And laughter to her blushing, as did fall:
 Now when they spide the knight to slacke his
 pace,
 Them to behold, and in his sparkling face
 The secret signes of kindled lust appeare,
 Their wanton meriments they did encrease,
 And to him beckned, to approach more neare,
 And shewd him many sights, that courage cold
 could reare.

69

On which when gazing him the Palmer saw,
 He much rebukt those wandring eyes of his,
 And counsell well, him forward thence did
 draw.
 Now are they come nigh to the *Bowre of blis*
 Of her fond favourites so nam'd amis:
 When thus the Palmer; "Now Sir, well advise;
 For here the end of all our travell is:
 Here wonnes¹ *Acrasia*,² whom we must surprise,
 Else she will slip away, and all our drift³ despise."

¹ *wonnes* dwells, abides.

² *Acrasia* Her name mixes the Greek for "badly mixed quality" and "incontinence" (*Spenser Encycl.*, p. 6a).

³ *drift* intentions.

70

Eftsoones they heard a most melodious sound,
 Of all that mote delight a daintie eare,
 Such as attonce might not on living ground,
 Save in this Paradise, be heard elsewhere:
 Right hard it was, for wight, which did it heare,
 To read, what manner musicke that mote⁴ bee:
 For all that pleasing is to living eare,
 Was there consorted⁵ in one harmonee,
 Birdes, voyces, instruments, windes, waters, all
 agree.

71

The joyous birdes shrouded in chearefull shade,
 Their notes unto the voyce attempred⁶ sweet;
 Th'Angelicall soft trembling voyces made
 To th'instruments divine respondence⁷ meet:
 The silver sounding instruments did meet
 With the base murmure of the waters fall:
 The waters fall with difference discreet,⁸
 Now soft, now loud, unto the wind did call:
 The gentle warbling wind low answered to all.

72

There, whence that Musick seemed heard to bee,
 Was the faire Witch her selfe now solacing,
 With a new Lover, whom through sorcere
 And witchcraft, she from farre did thither bring:
 There she had him now layd a slombering,
 In secret shade, after long wanton joyes:
 Whilst round about them pleasauntly did sing
 Many faire Ladies, and lascivious boyes,
 That ever mixt their song with light licentious
 toyes.

73

And all that while, right over him she hong,
 With her false eyes fast fixed in his sight,
 As seeking medicine, whence she was stong,

⁴ *mote* might.

⁵ *consorted* combined.

⁶ *attempred* attuned.

⁷ *respondence* answer, response.

⁸ *discreet* individual.

Or greedily depasturing¹ delight:
 And oft inclining downe with kisses light,
 For feare of waking him, his lips bedewd,
 And through his humid² eyes did sucke his
 spright,³
 Quite molten into lust and pleasure lewd;
 Wherewith she sighed soft, as if his case⁴ she
 rewd.⁵

74

The whiles some one did chaunt this lovely lay,⁶
 Ah see, who so faire thing doest faine to see,
 In springing flowre the image of thy day;
 Ah see the Virgin Rose, how sweetly shee
 Doth first peepe forth with bashfull modestee,
 That fairer seemes, the lesse ye see her may;
 Lo see soone after, how more bold and free
 Her bared bosome she doth broad display;
 Loe see soone after, how she fades, and falles
 away.

75

So passeth, in the passing of a day,
 Of mortall life the leafe, the bud, the flowre,
 Ne more doth flourish after first decay,
 That earst⁷ was sought to decke both bed and
 bowre,
 Of many a Ladie, and many a Paramowre:
 Gather therefore the Rose, whilest yet is prime,
 For soone comes age, that will her pride
 deflowre:
 Gather the Rose of love, whilest yet is time,
 Whilest loving thou mayst loved be with equall
 crime.

¹ *depasturing* grazing.

² *humid* moist.

³ *spright* spirit, soul.

⁴ *case* state, condition.

⁵ *rewd* pitied.

⁶ *lay* song.

⁷ *earst* first.

76

He ceast, and then gan all the quire of birdes
 Their diverse notes t'attune unto his lay,
 As in approvance of his pleasing words.
 The constant paire heard all, that he did say,
 Yet swarved not, but kept their forward way,
 Through many covert⁸ groves, and thickets
 close,
 In which they creeping did at last display
 That wanton Ladie, with her lover lose,
 Whose sleepeie head she in her lap did soft
 dispose.

77

Upon a bed of Roses she was layd,
 As faint through heat, or dight⁹ to pleasant sin,
 And was arayd, or rather disarayd,
 All in a vele of silke and silver thin,
 That hid no whit her alabaster¹⁰ skin,
 But rather shewd more white, if more might bee:
 More subtile¹¹ web *Arachne*¹² cannot spin,
 Nor the fine nets, which oft we woven see
 Of scorched deaw, do not in th'aire more lightly
 flee.

78

Her snowy brest was bare to readie spoyle
 Of hungry eies, which n'ote therewith be fild,
 And yet through languour of her late sweet
 toyle,
 Few drops, more cleare than Nectar, forth
 distild,
 That like pure Orient perles¹³ adowne it trild,¹⁴
 And her faire eyes sweet smyling in delight,

⁸ *covert* hidden, overgrown.

⁹ *dight* ready.

¹⁰ *alabaster* white.

¹¹ *subtile* clever, artful.

¹² *Arachne* spider. She was a Lydian woman so skilled at weaving that she rivalled Athena, whom she challenged to a competition. Athena destroyed her web and Arachne hanged herself, at which point Athena turned her into a spider (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6).

¹³ *Orient perles* brilliant pearls.

¹⁴ *trild* flowed.

Moystened their fierie beames, with which she
 thrild¹
 Fraile harts, yet quenched not; like starry light
 Which sparckling on the silent waves, does seeme
 more bright.

79

The young man sleeping by her, seemd to bee
 Some goodly swayne² of honorable place,
 That certes³ it great pittie was to see
 Him his nobilitie so foule deface;
 A sweet regard, and amiable grace,
 Mixed with manly sternnesse did appeare
 Yet sleeping, in his well proportiond face,
 And on his tender lips the downy heare
 Did now but freshly spring, and silkin blossomes
 beare.

80

His warlike armes, the idle instruments
 Of sleeping praise, were hong upon a tree,
 And his brave shield, full of old monuments,
 Was fowly ra'st,⁴ that none the signes might see;
 Ne for them, ne for honour cared hee,
 Ne ought, that did to his advancement tend,
 But in lewd loves, and wastfull luxuree,
 His dayes, his goods, his bodie he did spend:
 O horrible enchauntment, that him so did blend.

81

The noble Elfe, and carefull Palmer drew
 So nigh them, minding nought, but lustfull
 game,
 That suddein forth they on them rusht, and
 threw
 A subtile net, which onely for the same
 The skilfull Palmer formall⁵ did frame.
 So held them under fast, the whiles the rest

¹ *thrild* pierced.

² *swayne* gallant, wooer.

³ *certes* certainly.

⁴ *ra'st* erased.

⁵ *formally* in good order.

Fled all away for feare of fowler shame,
 The faire Enchauntresse, so unwares opprest,⁶
 Tryde all her arts, and all her sleights, thence out
 to wrest.

82

And eke her lover strove: but all in vaine;
 For that same net so cunningly was wound,
 That neither guile, nor force might it distraine.⁷
 They tooke them both, and both them strongly
 bound
 In captive bandes, which there they readie
 found:
 But her in chaines of adamant⁸ he tyde;
 For nothing else might keepe her safe and
 sound;
 But *Verdant*⁹ (so he hight)¹⁰ he soone untyde,
 And counsell sage in steed thereof to him
 applyde.

83

But all those pleasant bowres and Pallace brave,
Guyon broke downe,¹¹ with rigour pittillesse;
 Ne ought their goodly workmanship might save
 Them from the tempest of his wrathfulnesse,
 But that their blisse he turn'd to balefulnesse:¹²
 Their groves he feld, their gardins did deface,

⁶ *opprest* subdued.

⁷ *distraine* compel.

⁸ *adamant* rock in which diamond is found, so any very hard substance.

⁹ *Verdant* literally, "spring-giving," with the connotation of youth that belongs to green. He is modelled on a number of romance heroes who put down their arms when overcome by passion (*Spenser Enycl.*, p. 710a).

¹⁰ *hight* was named.

¹¹ *all those pleasant bowres ... Guyon broke downe* like Josiah who "defiled the high places that were east of Jerusalem, to the south of the mount of corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had built for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Sidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and for Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites. And he broke in pieces the pillars, and cut down the Asherim, and filled their places with the bones of men" (2 Kings 23:13-14).

¹² *balefulnesse* distress.

Their arbbers¹ spoyle, their Cabinets² suppresses,³
 Their banket houses burne, their buildings race,
 And of the fairest late, now made the fowlest
 place.

84

Then led they her away, and eke that knight
 They with them led, both sorrowfull and sad:
 The way they came, the same retourn'd they
 right,
 Till they arrived, where they lately had
 Charm'd those wild-beasts, that rag'd with furie
 mad.
 Which now awaking, fierce at them gan fly,
 As in their mistresse reskew, whom they lad;
 But them the Palmer soone did pacify.
 Then *Guyon* askt, what meant those beastes,
 which there did ly.

85

Said he, "These seeming beasts are men indeed,
 Whom this Enchauntresse hath transformed
 thus,
 Whylome her lovers, which her lusts did feed,
 Now turned into figures hideous,⁴
 According to their mindes like monstrous."
 "Sad end," quoth he, "of life intemperate,
 And mournfull meed⁵ of joyes delicious:
 But Palmer, if it mote thee so aggrate,
 Let them returned be unto their former state."

86

Streight way he with his vertuous staffe them
 strooke,
 And streight of beasts they comely men
 became;
 Yet being men they did unmanly looke,
 And stared ghastly, some for inward shame,

And some for wrath, to see their captive Dame:
 But one above the rest in speciall,
 That had an hog beene late, hight Grille⁶ by
 name,
 Repined greatly, and did him miscall,
 That had from hoggish forme him brought to
 naturall.

87

Said *Guyon*, "See the mind of beastly man,
 That hath so soone forgot the excellence
 Of his creation, when he life began,
 That now he chooseth, with vile difference,
 To be a beast, and lacke intelligence."
 To whom the Palmer thus, "The donghill kind
 Delights in filth and foule incontinence:⁷
 Let *Grill* be *Grill*,⁸ and have his hoggish mind,
 But let us hence depart, whilest wether serves
 and wind."

¹ *arbbers* trees trained on a trellis.

² *Cabinets* garden bowers.

³ *suppresses* put down.

⁴ *Now turned into figures hideous* In Homer, Circe's victims were turned into pigs, although they retained human minds (*Odyssey* 10).

⁵ *meed* reward.

⁶ *Grille* a companion of Ulysses who was transformed by Circe into a hog and refused to be changed back to human form (*Hamilton*).

⁷ *incontinence* lack of self-restraint.

⁸ *Let Grill be Grill* allusion to Revelation 22:11: "Let the evildoer still do evil, and the filthy still be filthy, and the righteous still do right, and the holy still be holy."

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE FAERIE QUEENE

Contayning,
The Legend of Britomartis,
or
Of Chastitie¹

Canto VI

*The birth of faire Belphæbe² and
Of Amoret is told.
The Gardins of Adonis fraught
With pleasures manifold.*

1

Well may I weene, faire Ladies, all this while
Ye wonder, how this noble Damozell
So great perfections did in her compile,³
Sith that in salvage forests she did dwell,
So farre from court and royall Citadell,
The great schoolmistresse of all curtesy:
Seemeth that such wild woods should far expel
All civill usage and gentility,
And gentle sprite deforme with rude⁴ rusticity.

2

But to this faire *Belphæbe* in her berth
The heavens so favourable were and free,
Looking with myld aspect⁵ upon the earth,

¹ *Chastitie* For Spenser, chastity means more than simply the preservation of a virginal body. He divides chastity into virginity and faithful monogamy, which are represented by the twinning of Belphoebe, the virgin huntress, and Amoret, the devoted lover of Scudamour. For Britomart, the young and virginal heroine of Book III, the challenge lies in growing into this more complex conception of chastity in marriage as a sexual and spiritual faithfulness freely given by one partner to the other (*Spenser Encycl.*, pp. 142c-144a).

² *Belphæbe* Her name combines “bella” or “lovely” with “Phoebe,” a moon goddess identified with Diana who represents an ideal of physical chastity. This figure alludes to Elizabeth I who was referred to as “Cynthia,” another manifestation of the moon goddess, by Sir Walter Raleigh in his unfinished poetic encomium “The Ocean to Cynthia.”

³ *compile* gather together, compose.

⁴ *rude* uncivilized, uneducated.

⁵ *aspect* relative positions of the heavenly bodies as they appear to an observer on the earth’s surface at a given time.

In th’*Horoscope* of her nativitee,⁶
That all the gifts of grace and chastitee
On her they poured forth of plenteous horne;⁷
Ioue laught on *Venus* from his soveraigne see,⁸
And *Phæbus*⁹ with faire beames did her adorne,
And all the *Graces*¹⁰ rockt her cradle being borne.

3

Her berth was of the wombe of Morning dew,
And her conception of the joyous Prime,¹¹
And all her whole creation did her shew
Pure and unspotted from all loathly crime,
That is ingenerate¹² in fleshly slime.
So was this virgin borne, so was she bred,
So was she trayned up from time to time,
In all chast vertue, and true bounti-hed¹³
Till to her dew perfection she was ripened.

4

Her mother was the faire *Chrysogonee*,¹⁴
The daughter of *Amphisa*,¹⁵ who by race
A Faerie was, yborne of high degree,
She bore *Belphæbe*, she bore in like cace
Faire *Amoretta* in the second place:
These two were twinnes, and twixt them two
did share
The heritage of all celestially grace.
That all the rest it seem’d they robbed bare
Of bountie, and of beautie, and all vertues rare.

⁶ *Horoscope of her nativitee* birth chart.

⁷ *plenteous horne* cornucopia or horn of plenty (i.e., generously).

⁸ *see seat*, throne.

⁹ *Phæbus* god of the sun.

¹⁰ *Graces* three minor deities associated with Venus, who personify beauty, gentleness, and friendship.

¹¹ *Prime* spring.

¹² *ingenerate* inborn, innate.

¹³ *bounti-hed* bounteousness.

¹⁴ *Chrysogonee* Her name combines “chryseos” (gold) with “gone” (race) to emphasize the ideal nature of her offspring, as well as alluding to the virgin wife of Amphicles (Theocritus, Epigram 13) (*Spenser Encycl.*, p. 153a-b).

¹⁵ *Amphisa* meaning “both natures,” a feature that allows her to reproduce autonomously (*Spenser Encycl.*, p. 9a).

5

It were goodly storie, to declare,
 By what straunge accident faire *Chrysogone*
 Conceiv'd these infants, and how them she
 bare,
 In this wild forrest wandring all alone,
 After she had nine moneths fulfilld and gone:
 For not as other wemens commune brood,
 They were enwombd in the sacred throne
 Of her chaste bodie, nor with commune food,
 As other wemens babes, they sucked vitall blood.

6

But wondrously they were begot, and bred
 Through influence¹ of th'heavens fruitfull ray,
 As it in antique bookes is mentioned.
 It was upon a Sommers shynie day,
 When *Titan* faire his beames did display,
 In a fresh fountaine, farre from all mens vew,
 She bath'd her brest, the boyling heat t'allay;
 She bath'd with roses red, and violets blew,
 And all the sweetest flowres, that in the forrest
 grew.

7

Till faint through irkesome² wearinesse, adowne
 Upon the grassie ground her selfe she layd
 To sleepe, the whiles a gentle slombring
 swowne³
 Upon her fell all naked bare displayd;
 The sunne-beames bright upon her body playd,
 Being through former bathing mollifide,⁴
 And pierst into her wombe, where they
 embayd⁵
 With so sweet sence and secret power unspide,
 That in her pregnant flesh they shortly fructifide.

¹ *influence* astrologically, the flowing or streaming from the stars or heavens of an ethereal fluid acting upon the character and destiny.

² *irkesome* distressing, troublesome.

³ *swowne* faint.

⁴ *mollifide* softened, made supple or tender.

⁵ *embayd* bathed, suffused.

8

Miraculous may seeme to him, that reades
 So straunge ensample⁶ of conception;
 But reason teacheth that the fruitfull seades
 Of all things living, through impression
 Of the sunbeames in moyst complexion,
 Doe life conceive and quickned are by kynd:
 So after *Nilus* inundation,
 Infinite shapes of creatures men do fynd,
 Informed in the mud, on which the Sunne hath
 shynd.⁷

9

Great father he of generation
 Is rightly cald, th'author of life and light;
 And his faire sister⁸ for creation
 Ministreth matter fit, which tempred right
 With heate and humour, breeds the living
 wight.⁹
 So sprong these twinnes in wombe of *Chrysogone*,
 Yet wist¹⁰ she nought thereof, but sore affright,
 Wondred to see her belly so upblone,¹¹
 Which still increast, till she her terme had full
 outgone.

10

Whereof conceiving shame and foule disgrace,
 Albe¹² her guiltlesse conscience her cleard,
 She fled into the wilderness a space,
 Till that unweeldy burden she had reard,
 And shund dishonor, which as death she feard:
 Where wearie of long travell, downe to rest
 Her selfe she set, and comfortably cheard;
 There a sad cloud of sleepe her overkest,¹³
 And seized every sense with sorrow sore opprest.

⁶ *ensample* example, instance.

⁷ *fruitfull seades* ... *Sunne bath shynd* The annual flooding of the Nile produced highly fertile land, which was also believed, with the help of the sun, to generate spontaneous life.

⁸ *his faire sister* the moon. Apollo, the sun god, and Artemis, the moon goddess, were brother and sister.

⁹ *wight* person.

¹⁰ *wist* knew.

¹¹ *upblone* inflated, puffed up.

¹² *Albe* although.

¹³ *overkest* spread over, covered.

11

It fortun'd, faire *Venus* having lost
 Her little sonne, the winged god of love,¹
 Who for some light displeasure, which him
 crost,
 Was from her fled, as flit² as ayerie Dove,
 And left her blisfull bowre of joy above,
 (So from her often he had fled away,
 When she for ought him sharpely did reprove,
 And wandred in the world in strange aray,
 Disguiz'd in thousand shapes, that none might
 him bewray.)

12

Him for to seeke, she left her heavenly hous,³
 The house of goodly formes and faire aspects,
 Whence all the world derives the glorious
 Features of beautie, and all shapes select,
 With which high God his workmanship hath
 deckt;
 And searched every way, through which his
 wings
 Had borne him, or his tract⁴ she mote⁵ detect:
 She promist kisses sweet, and sweeter things
 Unto the man, that of him tydings to her brings.

13

First she him sought in Court, where most he used
 Whylome⁶ to haunt, but there she found him
 not;
 But many there she found, which sore accused
 His falsehood, and with foule infamous blot,
 His cruell deedes and wicked wyles did spot:
 Ladies and Lords she every where mote heare
 Complayning, how with his empoynsed shot
 Their wofull harts he wounded had whyleare,⁷
 And so had left them languishing twixt hope and
 feare.

¹ *little sonne* ... *god of love* Cupid.

² *flit* swift, nimble.

³ *heavenly hous* her planetary (i.e., astrological) house.

⁴ *tract* course, path.

⁵ *mote* may, might.

⁶ *Whylome* at one time.

⁷ *whyleare* a while before.

14

She then the Citties sought from gate to gate,
 And every one did aske, did he him see;
 And every one her answerd, that too late
 He had him seene, and felt the crueltie
 Of his sharpe darts and whot artillerie;⁸
 And every one threw forth reproches rife⁹
 Of his mischievous deedes, and said, That hee
 Was the disturber of all civill life,
 The enemy of peace, and author of all strife.

15

Then in the countrey she abroad him sought,
 And in the rurall cottages inquired,
 Where also many plaints to her were brought,
 How he their heedlesse harts with love had
 fyred,
 And his false venim through their veines
 inspyred;¹⁰
 And eke the gentle shepherd swaynes, which
 sat
 Keeping their fleecie flockes, as they were hyred,
 She sweetly heard complaine, both how and
 what
 Her sonne had to them doen; yet she did smile
 thereat.

16

But when in none of all these she him got,
 She gan avize,¹¹ where else he mote him hyde:
 At last she her bethought, that she had not
 Yet sought the salvage woods and forrests wyde,
 In which full many lovely Nymphes abyde,
 Mongst whom might be, that he did closely¹²
 lye,
 Or that the love of some of them him tyde:
 For thy¹³ she thither cast her course t'apply,
 To search the secret haunts of *Dianes* company.

⁸ *whot artillerie* hot shot.

⁹ *rife* abundant, manifold.

¹⁰ *inspyred* breathed in.

¹¹ *avize* consider.

¹² *closely* secretly, covertly.

¹³ *For thy* therefore.

17

Shortly unto the wastefull woods she came,
 Whereas she found the Goddesses with her crew,
 After last chace of their embrewed¹ game,
 Sitting beside a fountaine in a rew,²
 Some of them washing with the liquid dew
 From off their dainty limbes the dustie sweat,
 And soyle which did deforme their lively hew;
 Others lay shaded from the scorching heat;
 The rest upon her person gave attendance great.

18

She having hong upon a bough on high
 Her bow and painted quiver, had unlaste
 Her silver buskins³ from her nimble thigh,
 And her lancke loynes ungirt, and brests
 unbraste,
 After her heat the breathing cold to taste;
 Her golden lockes, that late in tresses bright
 Embreaded⁴ were for hindring of her haste,
 Now loose about her shoulders hong undight,⁵
 And were with sweet *Ambrosia*⁶ all besprinkled
 light.

19

Soone as she *Venus* saw behind her backe,
 She was asham'd to be so loose⁷ surprized,
 And woxe halfe wroth against her damzels
 slacke,
 That had not her thereof before avized,
 But suffred her so carelessly disguised
 Be overtaken. Soone her garments loose
 Upgath'ring, in her bosome she comprized,
 Well as she might, and to the Goddesses rose,
 Whiles all her Nymphes did like a girlond her
 enclose.

¹ *embrewed* blood-stained.

² *rew* row, line.

³ *buskins* coverings for the foot and leg reaching to the calf, or to the knee.

⁴ *Embreaded* braided.

⁵ *undight* disordered, undone.

⁶ *Ambrosia* food of the gods, here denoting a perfumed oil.

⁷ *loose* relaxed.

20

Goodly she gan faire *Cytherea*⁸ greet,
 And shortly asked her, what cause her brought
 Into that wilderness for her unmeet,⁹
 From her sweete bowres, and beds with
 pleasures fraught:¹⁰
 That suddaine change she strange adventure
 thought.
 To whom halfe weeping, she thus answered,
 That she her dearest sonne *Cupido* sought,
 Who in his frowardnesse¹¹ from her was fled;
 That she repented sore, to have him angered.

21

Thereat *Diana* gan to smile, in scorne
 Of her vaine plaint, and to her scoffing sayd;
 "Great pittie sure, that ye be so forlorne
 Of your gay sonne, that gives ye so good ayd
 To your disports: ill mote ye bene apayd.
 But she was more engrieved,¹² and replide;
 Faire sister, ill beseemes it to upbraid
 A dolefull heart with so disdainfull pride;
 The like that mine, may be your paine another
 tide.

22

As you in woods and wanton wildernesses
 Your glory set, to chace the salvage beasts,
 So my delight is all in joyfulnesses,
 In beds, in bowres, in banquetts,¹³ and in feasts:
 And ill becomes you with your lofted creasts,
 To scorne the joy, that *Ioue* is glad to seeke;
 We both are bound to follow heavens behests,
 And tend our charges with obeisance meeke:
 Spare, gentle sister, with reproch my paine to
 eeke.¹⁴

⁸ *Cytherea* Venus.

⁹ *unmeet* unsuitable.

¹⁰ *fraught* laden, supplied.

¹¹ *frowardnesse* naughtiness, perversity.

¹² *engrieved* hurt, annoyed.

¹³ *banckets* banquets.

¹⁴ *eeke* increase, add to.

23

And tell me, if that ye my sonne have heard,
 To lurke emongst your Nymphes in secret wize;
 Or keepe their cabins: much I am affeard,
 Least he like one of them him selfe disguise,
 And turne his arrowes to their exercize:
 So may he long himselfe full easie hide:
 For he is faire and fresh in face and guize,
 As any Nymph (let not it be envyde).²
 So saying every Nymph full narrowly¹ she eyde.

24

But *Phæbe* therewith sore was angered,
 And sharply said; “Goe Dame, goe seeke your
 boy,
 Where you him lately left, in Mars his bed;
 He comes not here, we scorne his foolish joy,
 Ne lend we leisure to his idle toy:
 But if I catch him in this company,
 By *Stygian* lake I vow, whose sad annoy
 The Gods doe dread, he dearely shall abyde:
 He clip his wanton wings, that he no more shall
 fly.”

25

Whom when as *Venus* saw so sore displeas'd,
 She inly sory was, and gan relent,
 What she had said: so her she soone appeas'd,
 With sugred words and gentle blandishment,
 Which as a fountaine from her sweet lips went,
 And welled goodly forth, that in short space
 She was well pleas'd, and forth her damzels sent,
 Through all the woods, to search from place to
 place,
 If any tract of him or tydings they mote trace.

26

To search the God of love, her Nymphes she
 sent
 Throughout the wandring forrest every where:
 And after them her selfe eke with her went
 To seeke the fugitive, both farre and nere,

So long they sought, till they arriv'd were
 In that same shadie covert, whereas lay
 Faire *Crysogone* in slombry traunce whilere:²
 Who in her sleepe (a wondrous thing to say)
 Unwares had borne two babes, as faire as
 springing day.

27

Unwares she them conceiv'd, unwares she bore:
 She bore withouten paine, that she conceived
 Withouten pleasure: ne her need implore
Lucinaes aide:³ which when they both perceived,
 They were through wonder nigh of sense
 bereaved,
 And gazing each on other, nought bespake:
 At last they both agreed, her seeming grieved
 Out of her heavy swowne not to awake,
 But from her loving side the tender babes to take.

28

Up they them tooke, each one a babe uptooke,
 And with them carried, to be fostered;
 Dame *Phæbe* to a Nymph her babe betooke,⁴
 To be upbrought in perfect Maydenhed,
 And of her selfe her name *Belphebe* red:
 But Venus hers thence farre away convayd,
 To be upbrought in goodly womanhed,
 And in her litle loves stead, which was strayd,
 Her *Amoretta* cald, to comfort her dismayd.

29

She brought her to her joyous Paradize,
 Where most she wonnes, when she on earth
 does dwel.
 So faire a place, as Nature can devise:
 Whether in *Paphos*, or *Cytheron* hill,
 Or it in *Gnidus*⁵ be, I wote not well;
 But well I wote by tryall, that this same

¹ *narrowly* closely, carefully.

² *whilere* for some time before.

³ *Lucinaes aide* Lucina is the Roman goddess of childbirth (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

⁴ *betooke* delivered, handed over.

⁵ *Paphos ... Cytheron ... Gnidus* shrines to Venus.

All other pleasant places doth excell,
 And called is by her lost lovers name,
 The *Gardin of Adonis*,¹ farre renowmd by fame.

30

In that same Gardin all the goodly flowres,
 Wherewith dame Nature doth her beautifie,
 And decks the girlonds of her paramoures,
 Are fetcht: there is the first seminarie²
 Of all things, that are borne to live and die,
 According to their kindes. Long worke it were,
 Here to account the endlesse progenie³
 Of all the weedes, that bud and blossome there;
 But so much as doth need, must needs be
 counted here.

31

It sited⁴ was in fruitfull soyle of old,
 And girt in with two walles on either side;
 The one of yron, the other of bright gold,
 That none might thorough breake, nor
 over-stride:
 And double gates it had, which opened wide,
 By which both in and out men moten pas;
 Th'one faire and fresh, the other old and dride:
 Old *Genius*⁵ the porter of them was,
 Old *Genius*, the which a double nature has.

32

He letteth in, he letteth out to wend,
 All that to come into the world desire;
 A thousand thousand naked babes attend
 About him day and night, which doe require,

¹ *Adonis* god of vegetation and nature. Very beautiful, Adonis was the lover of Venus. While hunting in the forest, he was attacked and killed by a wild boar. In her sorrow Venus made the deep red anemone spring from his blood (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*). He became a symbol for cycles of growth and decay and the Garden of Adonis a symbol for the earthly paradise (*Spenser Encycl.*, pp. 8a-9c).

² *seminarie* piece of ground in which plants are sown (or raised from cuttings, etc.) to be afterwards transplanted; a seed-plot.

³ *progenie* descendants, offspring.

⁴ *sited* located, situated.

⁵ *Genius* both guardian of a place or person or a universal god of procreation (*Spenser Encycl.*, p. 327c).

That he with fleshly weedes would them attire:
 Such as him list, such as eternall fate
 Ordained hath, he clothes with sinfull mire,⁶
 And sendeth forth to live in mortall state,
 Till they againe returne backe by the hinder gate.

33

After that they againe returned beene,
 They in that Gardin planted be againe;
 And grow afresh, as they had never seene
 Fleshly corruption, nor mortall paine.
 Some thousand yeares so doen they there
 remaine;
 And then of him are clad with other hew,
 Or sent into the chaungefull world againe,
 Till thither they returne, where first they grew:
 So like a wheele around they runne from old to
 new.

34

Ne needs there Gardiner to set, or sow,
 To plant or prune: for of their owne accord
 All things, as they created were, doe grow,
 And yet remember well the mightie word,
 Which first was spoken by th'Almightie lord,
 That bad them to increase and multiply:⁷
 Ne doe they need with water of the ford,⁸
 Or of the clouds to moysten their roots dry;
 For in themselves eternall moisture they imply.⁹

35

Infinite shapes of creatures there are bred,
 And uncouth¹⁰ formes, which none yet ever
 knew,
 And every sort is in a sundry bed
 Set by it selfe, and ranckt in comely rew:¹¹
 Some fit for reasonable soules t'indew,¹²

⁶ *mire* mud, dirt. See Genesis 4:19: "You are dust, and to dust you shall return."

⁷ *Almightie ... multiply* paraphrase of Genesis 1:28.

⁸ *ford* shallow place in a river.

⁹ *imply* enwrap, enfold (i.e., absorb).

¹⁰ *uncouth* unfamiliar, strange.

¹¹ *rew* row.

¹² *indew* assume, put on.

Some made for beasts, some made for birds to
weare,
And all the fruitfull spawne of fishes hew¹
In endlesse rancks along enraunged were,
That seem'd the *Ocean* could not containe them
there.

36

Daily they grow, and daily forth are sent
Into the world, it to replenish more;
Yet is the stocke not lessened, nor spent,
But still remains in everlasting store,
As it at first created was of yore.
For in the wide wombe of the world there lyes,
In hatefull darkenesse and in deepe horrore,
An huge eternall *Chaos*,² which supplies
The substances of natures fruitfull progenyes.

37

All things from thence doe their first being fetch,
And borrow matter, whereof they are made,
Which when as forme and feature it does ketch,³
Becomes a bodie, and doth then invade⁴
The state of life, out of the griesly shade.
That substance is eterne, and bideth so,
Ne when the life decayes, and forme does fade,
Doth it consume, and into nothing go,
But changed is, and often altdred to and fro.

38

The substance is not changed, nor altered,
But th'only forme and outward fashion;
For every substance is conditioned
To change her hew, and sundry formes to don,
Meet for her temper and complexion:
For formes are variable and decay,
By course of kind, and by occasion;
And that faire flowre of beautie fades away,
As doth the lilly fresh before the sunny ray.

¹ *hew* shape.

² *Chaos* formless void of primordial matter, the great deep or abyss out of which the cosmos or order of the universe was evolved. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 1.

³ *ketch* catch, capture.

⁴ *invade* enter.

39

Great enemy to it, and to all the rest,
That in the *Gardin* of *Adonis* springs,
Is wicked *Time*, who with his scyth adrest,⁵
Does mow the flowring herbes and goodly
things,
And all their glory to the ground downe flings,
Where they doe wither, and are fowly mard:
He flyes about, and with his flaggy⁶ wings
Beates downe both leaves and buds without
regard,
Ne ever pittie may relent his malice hard.

40

Yet pittie often did the gods relent,
To see so faire things mard, and spoyled quight:
And their great mother *Venus* did lament
The losse of her deare brood, her deare delight:
Her hart was pierst with pittie at the sight,
When walking through the *Gardin*, them she
spyde,
Yet no'te⁷ she find redresse for such despight.⁸
For all that lives, is subject to that law:
All things decay in time, and to their end do draw.

41

But were it not, that *Time* their troubler is,
All that in this delightfull *Gardin* growes,
Should happie be, and have immortal blis:
For here all plentie, and all pleasure flowes,
And sweet love gentle fits⁹ emongst them
throwes,
Without fell¹⁰ rancor, or fond¹¹ gealosie;

⁵ *adrest* armed.

⁶ *flaggy* limp, drooping.

⁷ *no'te* could not.

⁸ *despight* injury, outrage.

⁹ *fits* surges of passion.

¹⁰ *fell* fierce, savage.

¹¹ *fond* foolish, mad.

Franckly¹ each paramour his leman² knowes,
Each bird his mate, ne any does envie
Their goodly meriment, and gay felicitie.

42

There is continuall spring, and harvest there
Continuall, both meeting at one time:
For both the boughes doe laughing blossome
 beare,
And with fresh colours decke the wanton
 Prime,
And eke attonce³ the heavy trees they clime,
Which seeme to labour under their fruits lode:
The whiles the joyous birdes make their
 pastime
Eamongst the shadie leaves, their sweet abode,
And their true loves without suspicion tell
 abrode.

43

Right in the midst⁴ of that Paradise,
There stood a stately Mount, on whose round
 top
A gloomy grove of mirtle⁵ trees did rise,
Whose shadie boughes sharpe steele did never
 lop,
Nor wicked beasts their tender buds did crop,
But like a girlond compassed⁶ the hight,
And from their fruitfull sides sweet gum did
 drop,
That all the ground with precious deaw bedight,⁷
Threw forth most dainty odours, and most sweet
 delight.

¹ *Franckly* freely, without restraint.

² *leman* lover.

³ *attonce* at once.

⁴ *Right in the midst* In the 1590 edition this phrase occupies the exact midpoint of Book III (*Hamilton*).

⁵ *mirtle* tree sacred to Venus.

⁶ *compassed* encircled.

⁷ *bedight* arrayed, bedecked.

44

And in the thickest covert of that shade,
There was pleasant arbour, not by art,⁸
But of the trees owne inclination made,
Which knitting their rancke⁹ branches part to
 part,
With wanton yvie twyne entrayld athwart,¹⁰
And Eglantine, and Caprifole¹¹ emong,
Fashiond above within their inmost part,
That nether *Phæbus* beams could through them
 throng,
Nor *Aeolus*¹² sharp blast could worke them any
 wrong.

45

And all about grew every sort of flowre,
To which sad lovers were transformd of yore;
Fresh *Hyacinthus*,¹³ *Phæbus* paramoure,
And dearest love,
Foolish *Narcisse*,¹⁴ that likes the watry shore,
Sad *Amaranthus*,¹⁵ made a flowre but late,
Sad *Amaranthus*, in whose purple gore
Me seemes I see *Amintas*¹⁶ wretched fate,
To whom sweet Poets verse hath given endlesse
 date.

⁸ *not by art* in contradistinction to the Bower of Bliss where everything is the product of artifice.

⁹ *rancke* stout, strong.

¹⁰ *athwart* across in various directions.

¹¹ *Eglantine, and Caprifole* sweet briar, honeysuckle.

¹² *Aeolus* god of the wind.

¹³ *Hyacinthus* lover of Apollo, whom the god accidentally hit with his discus and killed. Apollo transformed the blood from his wound into the hyacinth flower, on whose petals is inscribed AI AI ("alas"). See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 10 (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

¹⁴ *Narcisse* a young man so beautiful that many loved him, although he rejected them all, including Echo, a nymph who wasted away to a mere voice. In punishment, Narcissus was condemned to contemplate the beauty of his own reflection in a pool. The more he looked, the more he loved himself, until he finally wasted away and died. The gods turned him into the narcissus. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 3 (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

¹⁵ *Amaranthus* an imaginary flower with purple foliage reputed never to fade, and thus a symbol of immortality.

¹⁶ *Amintas* a youth who dies through grief for his love and is transformed into an amaranthus in Abraham Fraunce's *The Lamentations of Amintas for the Death of Phyllis* (1587), a version of Thomas Watson's Latin *Amyntas*, itself a translation of Tasso's pastoral play, *Aminta* (1581).

46

There wont faire *Venus* often to enjoy
 Her deare *Adonis* joyous company,
 And reape sweet pleasure of the wanton boy;
 There yet, some say, in secret he does ly,
 Lapped¹ in flowres and pretious spycery,
 By her hid from the world, and from the skill
 Of *Stygian* Gods,² which doe her love envy;
 But she her selfe, when ever that she will,
 Possesseth him, and of his sweetnesse takes her
 fill.

47

And sooth³ it seemes they say: for he may not
 For ever die, and ever buried bee
 In balefull⁴ night, where all things are forgot;
 All be he subject to mortalitie,
 Yet is eterne in mutability,
 And by succession made perpetuall,
 Transformed oft, and chaunged diverslie:⁵
 For him the Father of all formes they call;
 Therefore needs mote he live, that living gives to
 all.

48

There now he liveth in eternall blis,
 Joying his goddesses, and of her enjoyd:
 Ne feareth he henceforth that foe of his,
 Which with his cruell tuske him deadly cloyd:⁶
 For that wilde Bore, the which him once
 annoyd,
 She firmly hath emprisoned for ay,
 That her sweet love his malice mote avoyd,
 In a strong rocky Cave, which is they say,
 Hewen underneath that Mount, that none him
 losen⁷ may.

¹ *Lapped* wrapped up.

² *Stygian Gods* Hades, Thanatos, Charos, and Hypnos, known for their desire to increase the number of subjects in their kingdom (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

³ *sooth* truth.

⁴ *balefull* deadly.

⁵ *diverslie* variously.

⁶ *cloyd* pierced, gored.

⁷ *losen* loosen, free.

49

There now he lives in everlasting joy,
 With many of the Gods in company,
 Which thither haunt, and with the winged boy
 Sporting himselve in safe felicity:⁸
 Who when he hath with spoiles and cruelty
 Ransackt the world, and in the wofull harts
 Of many wretches set his triumphes hye,
 Thither resorts, and laying his sad darts
 Aside, with faire *Adonis* playes his wanton parts.

50

And his true love faire *Psyche*⁹ with him playes,
 Faire *Psyche* to him lately reconcyld,
 After long troubles and unmeet upbrayes,¹⁰
 With which his mother *Venus* her revyld,
 And eke himselve her cruelly exyld:
 But now in stedfast love and happy state
 She with him lives, and hath him borne a chylde,
Pleasure, that doth both gods and men aggrate,¹¹
Pleasure, the daughter of *Cupid* and *Psyche* late.

51

Hither great *Venus* brought this infant faire,
 The younger daughter of *Chrysogonee*,
 And unto *Psyche* with great trust and care
 Committed her, yfostered to bee,
 And trained up in true feminitee:
 Who no lesse carefully her tendered,¹²
 Then her owne daughter *Pleasure*, to whom shee
 Made her companion, and her lessoned
 In all the lore of love, and goodly womanhead.

⁸ *felicity* happiness.

⁹ *Psyche* Lover of Cupid in his human form as the beautiful Adonis, Psyche had sworn never to attempt to look at him. Overcome by curiosity, she held a lamp over him one night in order to see him, but was betrayed by a drop of hot oil that awoke him. His identity discovered, Cupid fled and in order to be reunited with him, Psyche performed a series of labours assigned by his mother, Venus. Her reward was immortality and together Psyche and Cupid bore Voluptas (*Pleasure*) (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

¹⁰ *upbrayes* reproaches, reproofs.

¹¹ *aggrate* please, gratify.

¹² *tendered* cared for.

52

In which when she to perfect ripenesse grew,
 Of grace and beautie noble Paragone,
 She brought her forth into the worldes vew,
 To be th'ensample of true love alone,
 And Lodestarre¹ of all chaste affectione,
 To all faire Ladies, that doe live on ground.
 To Faery court she came, where many one
 Admyrd her goodly haveour, and found
 His feeble hart wide launched with loves cruell
 wound.

53

But she to none of them her love did cast,
 Save to the noble knight Sir *Scudamore*,²
 To whom her loving hart she linked fast
 In faithfull love, t'abide for evermore,
 And for his dearest sake endured sore,
 Sore trouble of an hainous³ enemy;
 Who her would forced have to have forlore
 Her former love, and stedfast loialty,
 As ye may elsewhere read that ruefull history.

54

But well I weene, ye first desire to learne,
 What end unto that fearefull Damozell,
 Which fled so fast from that same foster stearne,
 Whom his brethren *Timias* slew, befell:
 That was to weet, the goodly *Florimell*,⁴
 Who wandring for to seeke her lover deare,
 Her lover deare, her dearest *Marinell*,⁵
 Into misfortune fell, as ye did heare,
 And from Prince *Arthur* fled with wings of idle
 feare.

—1590, 1596

¹ *Lodestarre* Pole Star, used for navigation.

² *Scudamore* from “scudo” (shield) and “amour” (love), symbolizing his shield with its emblem of Cupid (*Spenser Encycl.*, p. 635a).

³ *hainous* hateful, wicked.

⁴ *Florimell* from “flora” (flower) and “mel” (honey).

⁵ *Marinell* from “marinus” (on the sea).

A View of the Present State of Ireland

Spenser's treatise originated in his experience as an administrator and landowner at the end of a century of failed English attempts to subjugate and “civilize” Ireland and the Irish. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Anglo-Norman settlers under Henry II established control over a significant portion of the country and, by the sixteenth century, remained powerful in the more fertile regions in the southeast, especially the area surrounding Dublin. Known as the Old English, these settlers nevertheless presented problems for the English because most remained Roman Catholic and, despite their kinship to the Tudor monarchs, offered a potential point of entry for England's continental enemies, particularly Spain. In addition, the Old English had intermarried with the Irish and had, at least to some extent, been assimilated into traditional Irish culture,⁶ with the result that attempts to use them to mediate tensions between the Irish and the new English colonists failed.

By 1494, in an attempt to bring Ireland under the control of Henry VII, a ditch was dug around Dublin and the surrounding region. In this area, known as the Pale, English law, language, and loyalty were seen as secure. Henry VIII attempted to extend English control through a process of surrender and regrant, in which Irish barons surrendered their lands and had them returned as knights in service to the Crown. This effort to rule through newly minted earls met with resistance and, under Mary, was followed by a policy of confiscation and plantation. In this scheme, the lands just to the west of the Pale were annexed and re-settled, the more fertile eastern section with new English colonists, and the western with native Irish who held the land by common law. Over successive decades, a number of attempts to “plant” English settlers in traditionally Irish areas, and thus to extend English law, were made in other parts of the country, especially the strongly Gaelic north, but all were met with resistance. Further rebellion erupted in the southern earldom of Desmond in 1569 when grants of land to the New

⁶ J. Craig, “Monstrous Regiment: Spenser's Ireland and Spenser's Queen,” *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 43 (2001): p. 3.

English seemed to place Old English and Irish lands under threat. At this time, revolts began in Munster and Leinster. While these uprisings were dealt with severely, in 1579 a new war broke out. This conflict drew limited continental assistance in aid of a widespread uprising. In 1580 at the orders of Lord Grey, the new Lord Deputy, 800 Italian troops sent by the Pope were besieged and massacred at Smerwick;¹ in addition, Gerald, earl of Desmond was hunted down and killed. In an attempt to maintain English control, lands in this southern region were confiscated and granted to New English settlers. By 1594, the expansion of English order into Ulster led to the Nine Years' War, an uprising by the Earl of Tyrone in which Connaught and Munster were overrun.

It was during this last rising that Spenser, now the holder of lands confiscated after the Desmond Rebellion, wrote his analysis of the problem of Ireland and proposed solutions. While Spenser completed the *View* in 1596, it was not entered in the Stationers' Register until 1598 and not actually printed until 1633, when it appeared in James Ware's anthology, *Ancient Irish Histories*. Ware's edition moderates both Spenser's attacks on major Anglo-Irish landowners and his more offensive judgements of the Irish and Old English.² The combination of expurgation and delayed printing has prompted speculation that the treatise was suppressed for its criticism of the Crown and for its disturbingly violent proposals.³ However, neither Spenser's subject nor his observations are novel, since English proposals for reform in Ireland appeared both throughout the history of its colonization and during the reign of Elizabeth I. As well, many of Spenser's observations derive from the work of Geraldus Cambrensis, whose commentary dates from Henry II's original conquest in the late twelfth century.⁴ A more plausible reason for the apparent censorship of the *View* might have been a general touchiness about com-

mentary on the Irish situation in general, rather than Spenser's comments in particular.⁵

Spenser's treatise takes the form of a discussion between Irenius and Eudoxus, who appear to represent the views of Anglo-Irish colonists and of a slightly naive English audience, respectively. The humanist tradition of the dialogue allows for the presentation of opposing points of view, as, for example, in More's *Utopia*. While Spenser's dialogue contains none of the fictional contextualization that characterizes *Utopia's* debate in the garden between Hythloday and Morus, it retains a similarly disputational character, as Eudoxus not only absorbs but interrogates Irenius' proposals.

The text is organized roughly in three sections. In the first, Irenius explains the problem of Ireland's notoriously intransigent lawlessness and barbarism, while in the second he proposes a series of draconian measures for its subjugation, and in the third makes recommendations for the reconstruction of Irish civil society.⁶ The fundamental problems that Irenius notes are: ineffective laws; deeply entrenched native customs that prevent the easy adoption of English habits of agriculture, land distribution, marriage, family structure, hairstyles, and clothing; an idiosyncratic and heretical Catholicism; and the incompetence of the English central government in dealing with Irish affairs. Irenius' drastic proposals reject the possibility of reform through the imposition of law and include a huge army garrisoned around the country and a process of ruthless conquest through the wasting of all fertile land, goods, and cattle in order to force the surrender of rebels and acquiescence of their supporters. Reconstruction involves widespread plantation of settlers loyal to England amidst scattered clusters of Irish natives, along with the transplantation of rebels as tenants under English landlords, with order to be maintained by the newly established garrisons and paid for through a system of equitable taxation.

Spenser invokes a number of colonialist assumptions, including the idea of England as an elect nation whose duty it is to civilize an inherently savage neigh-

¹ A. Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience* (Oxford, 1997), p. 18.

² Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, eds. A. Hadfield and W. Maley (Oxford, 1997), p. xxiv.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

⁴ Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience*, pp. 25-27.

⁵ Hadfield and Maley, eds., *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, p. xxiv.

⁶ C. Brady, "Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s," *Past and Present* 111 (1989): p. 27.

hour that is described in distinctly feminized terms. As the example of the partially assimilated Old English shows, the influence of the physical and emotional instability of a nomadic nation garbed in the effeminate mantle and under the power of its bards is insidious and has the power to undermine the stable, hierarchical structure of English culture.¹ However, at the same time as he argues that Irish custom serves only to reinforce factions and cycles of strife and aggression, Spenser also includes the insight that the imposition of English law has failed because it is inherently unsuitable for the culture to which it has been applied and has served only to increase disorder, rather than bring reform to Ireland.² Ultimately, while Spenser takes an often uncompromisingly harsh view of the nation in which he has come to live, he also shows the failure of the English administration to address the issues of Ireland and thus breaks down the possibility of a simple polarity between the civilized English and the barbarous Irish.

from
A View of the Present State of Ireland

EUDOX:³ But if that country of Ireland, whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soil as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and
5 reducing that nation to better government and civility.

IREN:⁴ Marry,⁵ so there have been diverse good plots devised, and wise counsels cast already about reformation of that realm, but they say, it is the
10 fatal destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good will prosper or take good effect, which whether it proceed from the very genius⁶ of the soil, or influence of

15 the stars, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be known, but yet much to be feared.

20 EUDOX: Surely I suppose this but a vain conceit⁷ of simple men, which judge things by their effects and not by their causes. For I would rather think the cause of this evil, which hangeth upon that country, to proceed rather of the unsoundness of
25 the counsels and plots, which you say have been oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintness in following and effecting the same, than of any such fatal course appointed of God, as you misdeem,⁸ but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions
30 succeed not as they would, they are always ready to impute⁹ the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their own follies and imperfections. So have I heard it often wished also, even of some
35 whose great wisdoms in opinion should seem to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration, that all that land were a seapool, which kind of speech is the manner rather of desperate men far driven to wish the utter ruin of that which they
40 cannot redress, than of grave counsellors, which ought to think nothing so hard but that thorough¹⁰ wisdom it may be mastered and subdued, since the poet¹¹ sayeth, that the wise man shall rule even over the stars, much more over the earth,
45 for were it not the part of a desperate physician to wish his diseased patient dead, rather than to apply the best endeavour of his skill for his recovery. But since we are so far ensued,¹² let us, I pray you, a little device¹³ of those evils, by which that

¹ Craig, pp. 2-3.

² Brady, "Spenser's Irish Crisis," p. 27.

³ *Eudox* Eudoxius.

⁴ *Iren* Irenius.

⁵ *Marry* "indeed," or "why, to be sure."

⁶ *genius* character, disposition.

⁷ *vain conceit* foolish notion or idea.

⁸ *misdeem* suppose erroneously.

⁹ *impute* attribute, assign.

¹⁰ *thorough* through.

¹¹ *the poet* Ptolemy, to whose *Almagest* the paraphrased statement that follows was attributed in the Middle Ages.

¹² *are so far ensued* i.e., have followed so far.

¹³ *device* opinion.

50 country is held in this wretched case that it cannot,
as you say, be recured. And if it be not painful to
you, tell us what things during your late continu-
ance there, you observed to be most offensive, and
greatest impeachment to the good rule and gov-
55 ernment thereof.

IREN: Surely, Eudoxus, the evils which you desire
to be recounted are very many, and almost count-
able with those which were hidden in the basket of
Pandora.¹ But since you please, I will out of that
60 infinite number reckon but some that are most
capital and commonly occurrent, both in the life
and conditions of private men, as also in the man-
aging of public affairs and policy, the which you
shall understand to be of diverse natures, as I
65 observed them. For some of them are of very
great antiquity and continuance, others more late
and of less endurance, others daily growing and
increasing continually by their evil occasions,
which are every day offered.

70 EUDOX: Tell them then, I pray you, in the same
order that you have now rehearsed them, for there
can be no better method than this which the very
matter itself offereth. And when you have reckoned
all the evils, let us hear your opinion for the redress-
75 ing of them, after which there will perhaps of itself
appear some reasonable way to settle a sound and
perfect rule of government, by shunning the
former evils and following the offered good. The
which method we may learn of the wise physicians,
80 which first require that the malady be known thor-
oughly and discovered, afterwards to teach how to
cure and redress it, and lastly do prescribe a diet,
with strait rule and orders to be daily observed, for
fear of relapse into the former disease, or falling
85 into some other more dangerous than it.

¹ *basket of Pandora* The gods gave to Pandora and her husband, Epimetheus, a sealed jar containing all the evils that were ever to plague humanity. Prometheus warned the couple not to open the container, but Pandora's curiosity led her to do so and release its contents. Although she tried to snap the lid back on, the jar's evils escaped and she succeeded only in trapping Hope inside (*Dict. Gods and Mortals*).

IREN: I will then according to your advisement
begin to declare the evils, which seem to me, most
hurtful to the commonweal² of that land. And
first those, I say, which were most ancient and
90 long grown. And they also are of three sorts: the
first in the laws, the second in the customs, and
the last in religion.

[...]

IREN: I will begin then to count their customs in
the same order that I counted their nations, and
first with the Scythian or Scottish³ manners. Of
the which there is one use amongst them to keep
their cattle, and to live themselves of most part of
the year in boolies,⁴ pasturing upon the mountain
and the waste wild places, and removing still to
95 fresh land, as they have depastured the former.
The which appeareth plain to be the manner of
the Scythians, as you may read in Olaus Magnus⁵
and Io. Bohemus,⁶ and yet is used amongst all the
Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea,⁷
100 which are naturally Scythians, to live in herds as
they call them, being the very same that the Irish
boolies are, driving their cattle continually with
them, and feeding only on their milk and white
meats.

² *commonweal* public good.

³ *Scythian or Scottish* The Scythians were a tribe of nomadic herders that migrated W from central Asia to the area N of the Black Sea, now the Ukraine. They were described in detail in Book 4 of Herodotus' *Histories* (5th century BCE) (*OCD*). Celtic legends mention Scythian origins for the Celtic nations.

⁴ *boolies* temporary enclosures for herds that were moved to different pastures in winter and summer, accompanied by whole communities (*Spenser Encycl.*, p. 713c).

⁵ *Olaus Magnus* Swedish historian and geographer (1490-1558) whose *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* gave accounts of the physical features, manners and customs, and commercial and political life of northern nations.

⁶ *Io. Bohemus* Johannes Boemus (1485-1535) who wrote *I costumi le leggi et l'usanze di tutte le genti* ("The Manners, Laws and Customs of all People," 1520).

⁷ *Tartarians ... Caspian Sea* The Tatars were a nomadic tribe from E central Asia who invaded eastern Europe under Mongol leadership in the thirteenth century and remained as far west as the Ukraine and Russia when the wave of invasion receded eastward.

110 EUDOX: What fault can you find with this custom?
 For though it be an old Scythian use, yet it is very
 behoveful¹ in this country of Ireland, where there
 are great mountains, and waste deserts full of
 grass, that the same should be eaten down, and
 115 nourish many thousands of cattle, for the good of
 the whole realm, which cannot, methinks, well be
 any other way than by keeping those boolies there,
 as ye have showed.

IREN: But by this custom of boolying, there grow
 120 in the meantime many great enormities unto that
 commonwealth. For first if there be any outlaws
 or loose people, as they are never without some,
 which live upon stealths and spoils, they are ever-
 more succoured² and find relief only in these
 125 boolies, being upon the waste places, whereas else
 they should be driven shortly to starve or to come
 down to the towns to seek relief, where by one
 means or other, they would soon be caught.
 Besides such stealths of cattles as they make, they
 130 bring commonly to those boolies, being upon
 those waste places, where they are readily received,
 and the thief harboured from danger of law, or
 such officers as might light upon him. Moreover
 the people that thus live in those boolies grow
 135 thereby the more barbarous and live more licen-
 tiously than they could in towns, using what
 manners they list, and practising what mischiefs
 and villainies they will, either against the govern-
 ment there by their combinations,³ or against
 140 private men, whom they malign by stealing their
 goods or murdering themselves. For there they
 think themselves half exempted from law and
 obedience and, having once tasted freedom, do
 like a steer that hath been long out of his yoke
 145 grudge and repine⁴ ever after to come under rule
 again.

EUDOX: By your speech, Irenius, I perceive more
 evil come by this use of boolies than good by their

¹ *behovful* useful, expedient.

² *succoured* sheltered, protected.

³ *combinations* conspiracies.

⁴ *repine* fret, complain.

150 grazing, and therefore it may well be reformed,
 but that must be in his due course: do you proceed
 to the next.

IREN: They have another custom from the Scythi-
 ans, that is the wearing of mantles and long glibs,
 which is a thick curled bush of hair, hanging down
 155 over their eyes and monstrously disguising them,
 which are both very bad and hurtful.

EUDOX: Do you think that mantle cometh from the
 Scythians? I would surely think otherwise, for by
 that which I have read it appeareth that most
 160 nations of the world anciently used the mantle [...]
 So that it seemeth that the mantle was a general
 habit to most nations and not proper to the
 Scythians only, as you suppose.

IREN: I cannot deny but that anciently it was
 165 common to most, and yet sithence⁵ disused and
 laid away. But in this later age of the world, since
 the decay of the Roman Empire, it was renewed
 and brought in again by those northern nations,
 when breaking out of their cold caves and frozen
 habitations into the sweet soil of Europe, they
 brought with them their usual weeds⁶ fit to shield
 the cold and that continual frost, to which they
 had at home been inured,⁷ the which yet they left
 not off, by reason that they were in perpetual wars
 175 with the nations whom they had invaded, but still
 removing from place to place, carried always with
 them that weed, as their house, their bed, and their
 garment, and coming lastly into Ireland, they
 found there more special use thereof, by reason of
 180 the raw cold climate, from whom it is now grown
 into that general use, in which that people now
 have it. After whom the Gauls⁸ succeeding, yet
 finding the like necessity of that garment, contin-
 ued the like use thereof.

⁵ *sithence* seeing that.

⁶ *weeds* clothing.

⁷ *inured* accustomed, habituated.

⁸ *Gauls* tribes identified by the Romans in the area that is now
 France (i.e., the French).

185 EUDOX: Since then the necessity thereof is so com-
 modious, as you allege, that it is instead of
 housing, bedding, and clothing, what reason have
 you then to wish so necessary a thing cast off?
 IREN: Because the commodity doth not counter-
 190 vail the discommodity, for the inconveniences,
 which thereby do arise, are much more many. For
 it is a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a
 rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief. First, the
 outlaw, being for his many crimes and villainies
 195 banished from the towns and houses of honest
 men and wandering in waste places, far from
 danger of law, maketh his mantle his house and
 under it covereth himself from the wrath of
 heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from
 200 the sight of men. [...] yea, and oftentimes their
 mantle serveth them, when they are near driven,
 being wrapped about their left arm instead of a
 target,¹ for it is hard to cut thorough with a
 sword. Besides it is light to bear, light to throw
 205 away, and being, as they commonly are, naked, it
 is to them all in all. Lastly, for a thief it is so
 handsome, as it may seem it was first invented
 for him, for under it he may cleanly convey any
 fit pillage² that cometh handsomely in his way,
 210 and when he goeth abroad in the night in free-
 booting,³ it is his best and surest friend. For
 lying, as they often do, two or three nights
 together abroad to watch for their booty, with
 that they can prettily shroud themselves under a
 215 bush or a bankside till they may conveniently do
 their errand, and when all is over, he can in his
 mantle pass thorough any town or company,
 being close hooded over his head, as he useth,
 from knowledge of any to whom he is endan-
 220 gered. [...] Let us now go forward with our
 Scythian customs. Of which the next that I have
 to treat of is the manner of raising the cry in
 their conflicts and at other troublesome times of
 uproar, the which is very natural Scythian, as you

¹ *target* light, round shield.

² *pillage* spoils, plunder.

³ *free-booting* robbing, plundering.

225 may read in Diodorus Siculus⁴ and in Herod-
 otus, describing the manner of the Scythians and
 Parthians⁵ coming to give the charge at battles, at
 which it is said that they came running with a ter-
 rible yell as if heaven and earth would have gone
 together, which is the very image of the Irish
 hubbub,⁶ which their kern⁷ use at their first
 encounter. Besides, the same Herodotus writeth
 that they used in their battles to call upon the
 names of their captains or generals, and some-
 times upon their greatest kings deceased, as in
 that battle of Thomyris against Cyrus, which
 custom to this day manifestly appeareth amongst
 the Irish, for at their joining of battle, they like-
 wise call upon their captain's name, or the word
 of his ancestors. [...]

240 EUDOX: Methinks all this which you speak of, con-
 cerneth the customs of the Irish very materially,
 for their uses in war are of no small importance to
 be considered, as well to reform those which are
 evil as to confirm and continue those which are
 good. But follow you your own course and show
 what other their customs you have to dislike of.

245 IREN: There is amongst the Irish, a certain kind of
 people, called bards, which are to them instead of
 poets, whose profession is to set forth the praises
 or dispraises of men in their poems or rhymes, the
 which are had in so high regard and estimation
 amongst them that none dare displease them for
 fear to run into reproach thorough their offence
 and to be made infamous in the mouths of all
 men. For their verses are taken up with a general
 applause and usually sung at all feasts and meet-
 ings by certain other persons, whose proper func-
 tion that is, who also receive for the same great
 255 rewards and reputation amongst them.

⁴ *Diodorus Siculus* first-century BCE Sicilian author of the *Bibliothēke*, a universal history from mythological times to 60 BCE (*OCD*).

⁵ *Parthians* an ancient people who controlled an area reaching from the Iran plateau to the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

⁶ *hubbub* battle-cry.

⁷ *kern* light-armed, Irish foot-soldier.

EUDOX: Do you blame this in them which I would
 otherwise have thought to have been worthy of
 good accompt,¹ and rather to have been main-
 265 tained and augmented amongst them, than to have
 been disliked? For I have read that in all ages poets
 have been had in special reputation, and that,
 methinks, not without great cause, for besides
 their sweet inventions and most witty lays,² they
 270 have always used to set forth the praises of the
 good and virtuous, and to beat down and disgrace
 the bad and vicious. So that many brave young
 minds have oftentimes thorough hearing the
 praises and famous eulogies of worthy men sung
 275 and reported unto them been stirred up to affect
 the like commendations and so strive to the like
 deserts. So they say that the Lacedaemonians³
 were more excited to desire of honour with the
 excellent verse of the poet Tirtius⁴ than with all
 280 the exhortations of their captains, or authority of
 their rulers and magistrates.

IREN: It is most true, that such poets as in their
 writings do labour to better the manners of men
 and, thorough the sweetbait of their numbers,⁵ to
 285 steal into the young spirits a desire of honour and
 virtue are worthy to be had in great respect. But
 these Irish bards are for the most part of another
 mind, and so far from instructing young men in
 moral discipline, that they themselves do more
 290 deserve to be sharply disciplined, for they seldom
 use to choose unto themselves the doings of good
 men for the argument of their poems, but whom-
 soever they find to be most licentious of life, most
 bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous
 295 and desperate in all parts of disobedience and
 rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorify
 in their rhythms, him they praise to the people,
 and to young men make an example to follow.

¹ *accompt* account.

² *lays* short lyric or narrative poems meant to be sung.

³ *Lacedaemonians* people from the area around Sparta in southern Greece (i.e., the Spartans).

⁴ *Tirtius* seventh century BCE Spartan poet.

⁵ *numbers* verses.

300 EUDOX: I marvel what kind of speeches they can
 find, or what face they can put on, to praise such
 bad persons as live so lawlessly and licentiously
 upon stealths and spoils, as most of them do, or
 how can they think that any good mind will
 applaud or approve the same.

305 IREN: There is none so bad, Eudoxus, but shall
 find some to favour his doings, but such licentious
 parts of these, tending for the most part to the
 hurt of the English, or maintenance of their own
 lewd liberty, they themselves being most desirous
 thereof do most allow. Besides this, evil things
 310 being decked and attired with the gay attire of
 goodly words may easily deceive and carry away
 the affection of a young mind that is not well
 stayed, but desirous by some bold adventures to
 make proof of himself for being, as they all be
 315 brought up idly, without awe of parents, without
 precepts of masters, and without fear of offence,
 not being directed nor employed in any course of
 life, which may carry them to virtue, will easily be
 drawn to follow such as any shall set before them,
 320 for a young mind cannot rest. If he be not still
 busied in some goodness, he will find himself
 such business as shall soon busy all about him. In
 which, if he shall find any to praise him and to
 give him encouragement, as those bards and
 325 rhythmers do for little reward or a share of a
 stolen cow, then waxeth he most insolent and half
 mad with love of himself and his own lewd deeds.
 And as for words to set forth such lewdness, it is
 not hard for them to give a goodly gloss and
 330 painted show thereunto, borrowed even from the
 praises which are proper to virtue itself. As of a
 most notorious thief and wicked out-law, which
 had lived all his life-time of spoils and robberies,
 one of their bards in his praise will say that he was
 335 none of the idle milk sops that was brought up by
 the fireside, but that most of his days he spent in
 arms and valiant enterprises, that he did never eat
 his meat before he had won it with his sword, that
 he lay not all night slugging⁶ in a cabin under his

⁶ *slugging* lying lazily.

340 mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking
to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the
flames of their houses, to lead him in the dark-
ness, that the day was his night and the night his
345 day, that he loved not to be long wooing of
wenches to yield to him, but where he came he
took by force the spoil of other men's love and left
but lamentation to their lovers, that his music was
not the harp nor lays of love but the cries of
350 people and clashing of armour, and finally, that he
died not bewailed of many but made many wail
when he died, that dearly bought his death. Do
you not think, Eudoxus, that many of these
praises might be applied to men of best deserts?¹
355 Yet are they all yielded to a most notable traitor
and amongst some of the Irish not smally
accounted of. For the song, when it was first made
and sung to a person of high degree there was
bought, as their manner is, for forty crowns.

EUDOX: And well worthy sure. But tell me, I pray
360 you, have they any art in their compositions or be
they any thing witty or well favoured as poems
should be?

IREN: Yea, truly, I have caused divers² of them to be
365 translated unto me, that I might understand them,
and surely they savoured of sweet wit and good
invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments
of poetry. Yet were they sprinkled with some pretty
flowers of their natural device, which gave good
370 grace and comeliness³ unto them, the which it is
great pity to see so abused to the gracing of
wickedness and vice, which with good usage would
serve to adorn and beautify virtue. This evil
custom therefore needeth reformation. [...]

IREN: There is a great use⁴ amongst the Irish to
375 make great assemblies together upon a rath⁵ or
hill, there to parley, as they say, about matters and

wrongs between township and township, or one
private person and another. But well I wot,⁶ and
true it hath been oftentimes proved, that in their
380 meetings many mischiefs have been both practised
and wrought, for to them do commonly resort all
the scum of the people, where they may meet and
confer of what they list, which else they could not
do without suspicion or knowledge of others.
385 Besides at these meetings I have known divers
times, that many Englishmen and good Irish sub-
jects have been villainously murdered by moving
one quarrel or another against them. For the Irish
never come to those raths but armed, whether on
390 horse or on foot, which the English nothing sus-
pecting, are then commonly taken at advantage
like sheep in the pin-fold.

EUDOX: It may be, Irenius, that abuse may be in
those meetings. But these round hills and square
395 bawns,⁷ which you see so strongly trenched and
thrown up, were, they say, at first ordained for the
same purpose, that people might assemble them-
selves therein, and therefore anciently they were
called folk-motes, that is, a place of people to
400 meet or talk of any thing that concerned any dif-
ference between parties and townships, which
seemeth yet to me very requisite.

IREN: You say very true, Eudoxus. The first
making of these high hills were at first indeed to
405 very good purpose for people to meet, but how-
soever 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
410 state of England, the good use that then was of
them is now turned to abuse. For those hills
whereof you speak were, as you may gather by
reading, appointed for two special uses and built
by two several nations. The one is that which you
415 call folk-motes,⁸ which were built by the Saxons,

¹ *deserts* good deeds.

² *divers* several; perhaps, "many."

³ *comeliness* pleasing appearance.

⁴ *use* practice.

⁵ *rath* hill-fort.

⁶ *wot* know.

⁷ *bawns* fortified enclosures.

⁸ *folk-motes* general assembly of the people of a town, city, or shire.

as the word bewrayeth,¹ for it signifieth in Saxon
 “a meeting of folk,” and these are for the most
 part in form four square, well intrenched; the
 others that were round were cast up by the Danes,
 420 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 parleys, but appointed as forts for them to
 gather unto in troublesome time when any trouble
 425 arose, for the Danes being but a few in compari-
 son of the Saxons in England used this for their
 safety. They made those small round hills, so
 strongly fenced, in every quarter of the hundred,²
 to the end that if in the night, or at any other time,
 430 any troublous cry or uproar should happen, they
 might repair with all speed unto their own fort,
 which was appointed for their quarter, and there
 remain safe till they could assemble themselves in
 greater strength, for they were made so strong
 435 with one small entrance that whosoever came
 thither³ 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
 440 number, they marched to the next fort, and so
 forward till they met with the peril, or knew the
 occasions thereof. [...]

EUDOX: But yet it is very needful, methinks, for
 many other purposes, as for the countries to
 445 gather together, when there is any imposition⁴ to
 be laid upon them, to the which they then may all
 agree at such meetings to divide upon themselves,
 according to their holdings and abilities. So as if at
 these assemblies there be any officers, as constables,
 450 bailiffs, or such like amongst them, there can
 be no peril or doubt of such bad practices.

IREN: Nevertheless, dangerous are such assemblies,
 whether for cess,⁵ or ought else, the constables

and officers, being also of the Irish, and if any of
 455 the English happen to be there, even to them they
 may prove perilous. Therefore for avoiding of
 all such evil occasions, they were best to be abol-
 ished. [...]

IREN: That were a harder course, Eudoxus, to
 460 redress every abuse by a marshall. It would seem
 to you very evil surgery to cut off every unsound
 or sick part of the body, which being by other due
 means recovered, might afterwards do very good
 service to the body again, and haply help to save
 465 the whole. Therefore I think better that some
 good salve for the redress of the evil be sought
 forth, than the least part suffered to perish, but
 hereof we have to speak in another place. Now we
 will proceed to other like defects, amongst which
 470 there is one general inconvenience, which reigneth
 almost throughout all Ireland. That is, the lords of
 the land and freeholders do not there use to set
 out their land in farm or for term of years to their
 tenants, but only from year to year and some
 475 during pleasure.⁶ Neither indeed will the Irish
 tenant or husbandman otherwise take his land,
 than so long as he list himself. The reason hereof
 in the tenant is for that the landlords there use
 most shamefully to rack⁷ their tenants, laying upon
 480 them coigny and livery⁸ at pleasure, and exacting
 of them, besides his covenants, what he pleaseth.
 So that the poor husbandman either dare not bind
 himself to him for longer term or thinketh by his
 continual liberty of change to keep his landlord
 485 the rather in awe from wronging of him. And
 reason why the landlord will no longer covenant
 with him is for that he daily looketh after change
 and alteration and hovereth in expectation of new
 worlds. [...]

EUDOX: Indeed, methinks, it is a great willfulness in
 490 any such landlord to refuse to make any longer

¹ *bewrayeth* reveals.

² *hundred* subdivision of a county.

³ *thither* there.

⁴ *imposition* impost (i.e., tax).

⁵ *cess* military exactions.

⁶ *during pleasure* at will (i.e., the landlord's).

⁷ *rack* raise rent above a fair or normal amount.

⁸ *coigny and livery* billeting of military followers upon private persons; food and entertainment exacted, by the Irish chiefs, for their soldiers and attendants; an impost levied for the same purpose.

farms unto their tenants, as may, besides the general
 good of the realm, be also greatly for their own
 profit and avail. For what reasonable man will not
 495 think that the tenement shall be made much better
 for the lord's behoof, if the tenant may by such
 good means be drawn to build himself some hand-
 some habitation thereon, to ditch and enclose his
 ground, to manure and husband it as good farmers
 500 use? For when his tenant's term shall be expired it
 will yield him, in the renewing his lease, both a good
 fine and also a better rent. And also it shall be for
 the good of the tenant likewise, who by such build-
 ings and enclosures¹ shall receive many benefits.
 505 First, by the handsomeness of his house he shall
 take more comfort of his life, more safe dwelling,
 and a delight to keep his said house neat and cleanly,
 which now being, as they commonly are, rather
 swine-sties than houses, is the chiefest cause of his
 510 so beastly manner of life, and savage condition,
 lying and living together with his beast in one
 house, in one room, in one bed, that is, clean straw,
 or rather a foul dunghill. And to all these other
 commodities, he shall in short time find a greater
 515 added, that is, his own wealth and riches increased
 and wonderfully enlarged by keeping his cattle in
 enclosures, where they shall always have fresh pas-
 tures, that now is all trampled and over-run; warm
 covert, that now lieth open to all weather; safe
 520 being, that now are continually filched and stolen.
 IREN: You have, Eudoxus, well accompted the
 commodities of this one good ordinance,
 amongst which this that you named last is not the
 least; for, all the other being most beneficial to the
 525 landlord and tenant, this chiefly redoundeth² to
 the good of the commonwealth: to have the land
 thus enclosed and well fenced. For it is both a
 principal bar and impeachment³ unto thieves from
 stealing of cattle in the night, and also a gall⁴

530 against all rebels and outlaws that shall rise up in
 any numbers against the government, for the
 thief thereby shall have much ado, first to bring
 forth and afterwards to drive away his stolen prey,
 but⁵ thorough the common highways where he
 535 shall soon be descried and met withal. And the
 rebel or open enemy, if any such shall happen,
 either at home, or from abroad, shall easily be
 found when he cometh forth, and also be well
 encountered withal by a few, in so strait passages
 540 and strong enclosures. This therefore, when we
 come to the reforming of all those evil customs
 before mentioned, is needful to be remembered.
 But now by this time methinks that I have well
 run thorough the evil uses which I have observed
 545 in Ireland. Nevertheless, I well wote that there be
 many more, and infinitely many more in the
 private abuses of men. But these that are most
 general and tending to the hurt of the common-
 weal, as they have come to my remembrance, I
 550 have as briefly as I could rehearsed unto you. And
 therefore now I think best that we pass unto our
 third part, in which we noted inconveniences that
 are in religion.

EUDOX: Surely you have very well handled these
 555 two former and if ye shall as well go thorough the
 third likewise, you shall merit a very good meed.⁶
 IREN: Little have I to say of religion, both because
 the parts thereof be not many, itself being but
 one, and myself have not much been conversant
 560 in that calling, but as lightly passing by I have seen
 or heard. Therefore the fault which I find in reli-
 gion is but one, but the same is universal through-
 out all that country, that is that they be all papists
 by their profession, but in the same so blindly and
 565 brutishly informed, for the most part, that not one
 amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of reli-
 gion or any article of his faith, but can perhaps say
 his Pater Noster or his Ave Maria⁷ without any

¹ *enclosures* fenced-off areas of common land that often served to prohibit the local peasantry from pasturing their few animals and served to undermine their ability to sustain themselves.

² *redoundeth* contributes.

³ *impeachment* hindrance, obstruction.

⁴ *gall* person or thing that harasses or distresses.

⁵ *but* except.

⁶ *meed* reward.

⁷ *Pater Noster ... Ave Maria* "Our Father" and "Hail Mary"; both prayers that are part of the Rosary.

570 knowledge or understanding what one word
thereof meaneth.

EUDOX: Is it not then a little blot to them that now
575 hold the place of government that they which
now are in the light themselves suffer a people
under their charge to wallow in such deadly
darkness?

IREN: That which you blame, Eudoxus, is not, I
580 suppose, any fault of the will in these godly
fathers [...] but the inconvenience of the time and
troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched
realm hath been continually turmoiled. For
instruction in religion needeth quiet times and, ere
we seek to settle a sound discipline in the clergy,
we must purchase peace unto the laity, for it is ill
585 time to preach among swords and most hard or
rather impossible it is to settle a good opinion in
the minds of men for matters of religion doubtful,
which have doubtless an evil opinion of us.
For ere a new be brought in, the old must be
removed.

EUDOX: Then belike it is meet that some fitter time
590 be attended, that God send peace and quietness
there in civil matters before it be attempted in
ecclesiastical. I would rather have thought that, as
it is said, correction must first begin at the house
of God and that the care of the soul should have
595 been preferred before the care of the body.

IREN: Most true, Eudoxus, the care of the soul and
600 soul matters is to be preferred before the care of
the body, in consideration of the worthiness
thereof, but not till the time of reformation, for if
you should know a wicked person dangerously
sick, having now both soul and body greatly dis-
eased, yet both recoverable, would you not think it
605 evil advertisement¹ to bring the preacher before
the physician? For if his body were neglected, it is
like that his languishing soul, being disquieted by
his diseaseful body, would utterly refuse and loath

all spiritual comfort, but if his body were first
610 recured and brought to good frame,² should there
not then be found best time to recover the soul
also? So it is in the state of a realm. Therefore, as
I said, it is expedient first to settle such a course of
government there, as thereby both civil disorders
and ecclesiastical abuses may be reformed and
615 amended, whereto needeth not any such great dis-
tance of times, as, you suppose, I require, but one
joint resolution for both, that each might second
and confirm the other.

EUDOX: That we shall see when we come there-
620 unto. In the mean time, I do conceive thus much,
as you have delivered, touching the general fault
which you suppose in religion, to wit, that it is
popish;³ but do you find no particular abuses
therein, nor in the ministers thereof?

IREN: Yes, verily,⁴ for whatever disorders you see in
625 the Church of England, ye may find there and
many more: namely, gross simony,⁵ greedy cov-
etousness, fleshly incontineny, careless sloth, and
generally all disordered life in the common clergy-
men. And besides all these, they have their particu-
lar enormities, for all Irish priests, which now enjoy
the church livings, they are in a manner mere
laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but
otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all
630 kind of husbandry and other worldly affairs, as
other Irish men do. They neither read Scriptures,
nor preach to the people, nor administer the com-
munion, but baptism they do, for they christen yet
after the popish fashion,⁶ only they take the tithes
and offerings and gather what fruit else they may of
635 their livings, the which they convert as badly, and
some of them, they say, pay as due tributes and
shares of their livings to their bishops, I speak of
those which are Irish, as they receive them duly.

¹ *advertisement* notification.

² *frame* condition, constitution.

³ *popish* i.e., Roman Catholic.

⁴ *verily* truly.

⁵ *simony* practice of selling ecclesiastical offices.

⁶ *after the popish fashion* i.e., according to Roman Catholic practice.

645 EUDOX: But is that suffered amongst them? It is
wonder but that the governors do redress such
shameful abuses.

IREN: How can they since they know them not?
For the Irish bishops have their clergy in such awe
650 and subjection under them that they dare not
complain of them, so as they may do to them
what they please, for they, knowing their own
unworthiness and incapacity and that they are
therefore still removeable at their bishop's will,
655 yield what pleaseth him and he taketh what he
listeth. Yea, and some of them whose dioceses are
in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye,
do not at all bestow the benefices,¹ which are in
their own donation, upon any, but keep them in
660 their own hands and set their own servants and
horse-boys to take up the tithes and fruits of
them, with the which some of them purchase
great lands and build fair castles upon the same.
Of which abuse, if any question be moved they
665 have a very seemly colour² and excuse, that they
have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon,
but keep them so bestowed for any such sufficient
person, as any shall bring unto them.

EUDOX: But is there no law nor ordinance to meet
670 with this mischief? Nor hath it never before been
looked into?

IREN: Yes, it seems it hath, for there is a statute
there enacted in Ireland, which seems to have
been grounded upon a good meaning, that what-
675 soever Englishman of good conversation and suf-
ficiency shall be brought unto any of the bishops
and nominated unto any living within their diocese
that is presently void, that he shall without contra-
diction be admitted thereunto before any Irish.

680 EUDOX: This is surely a very good law and well pro-
vided for this evil, whereof you speak, but why is
not the same observed?

IREN: I think it is well observed, and that none of
the bishops transgress the same, but yet it worketh
685 no reformation thereof, for many defects. First,
there are no such sufficient English ministers sent
over as might be presented to a bishop for any
living, but the most part of such English as come
over thither of themselves are either unlearned or
690 men of some bad note, for which they have for-
saken England. So as the bishop to whom they
shall be presented may justly reject them as inca-
pable and insufficient. Secondly, the bishop
himself is perhaps an Irishman, who being made
695 judge by that law of the sufficiency of the minis-
ters, may at his own will dislike of the Englishmen,
as unworthy in his opinion, and admit of any Irish,
whom he shall think more for his turn. And if he
shall at the instance³ of any Englishman of coun-
700 tenance⁴ there, whom he will not displease, accept
of any such English minister as shall be tendered
unto him, yet he will under hand carry such a hard
hand over him, or by his officers wring him so
sore, that he will soon make him weary of his poor
705 living. Lastly, the benefices themselves are so mean
and of so small profile in those Irish countries,
through the ill husbandry⁵ of the Irish people
which do inhabit them, that they will not yield any
competent maintenance for any honest minister to
live upon, scarcely to buy him a gown. And were
all this redressed, as happily it might be, yet what
good should any English minister do amongst
710 them by teaching or preaching to them which
either cannot understand him or will not hear
him? Or what comfort of life shall he have where
his parishioners are so insatiable, so intractable, so
ill affected to him, as they usual be to all the
English or, finally, how dare almost any honest
715 minister, that are peaceable civil men, commit his
safety to the hands of such neighbours, as the
boldest captains dare scarcely dwell by? [...]

EUDOX: You have then, as I suppose, gone thor-
ough those three first parts which you proposed

¹ *benefices* ecclesiastical livings (i.e., parishes).

² *colour* appearance, show.

³ *instance* urging, pressure.

⁴ *countenance* dignity, position.

⁵ *husbandry* cultivation, management.

725 unto yourself, to wit, the inconveniences which
you observed in the laws, in the customs, and in
the religion of that land. The which, methinks,
you have so thoroughly touched as that nothing
more remaineth to be spoken thereof.

730 IREN: Not so thoroughly as you suppose that
nothing can remain, but so generally as I pur-
posed, that is, to lay open the general evils of that
realm, which do hinder the good reformation
thereof, for to count the particular faults of
735 private men should be a work too infinite, yet
some there be of that nature that, though they be
in private men, yet their evil reacheth to a general
hurt as the extortion of sheriffs, and their subsh-
740 riffs and bailiffs, the corruption of victuallers,¹
cessors,² and purveyors,³ the disorders of
seneschals,⁴ captains, and their soldiers, and many
such like, all which I will only name here, that their
reformation may be mended in place where it
most concerneth. But there is one very foul abuse,
745 which by the way I may not omit, and that is in
captains, who notwithstanding that they are spe-
cially employed to make peace thorough strong
execution of war, yet they do so dandle⁵ their
doings and dally in the service to them committed
750 as if they would not have the enemy subdued or
utterly beaten down, for fear lest afterwards they
should need employment, and so be discharged of
pay. For which cause some of them that are laid in
garrison do so handle the matter that they will do
755 no great hurt to the enemies, yet for colour sake
some men they will kill, even half with the consent
of the enemy, being persons either of base regard
or enemies to the enemy, whose heads eftsoons⁶
760 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.

¹ *victuallers* providers of food and drink.

² *cessors* assessors (i.e., for taxes).

³ *purveyors* people in charge of exacting supplies and contributions.

⁴ *seneschals* administrative officers.

⁵ *dandle* toy with.

⁶ *eftsoons* afterwards.

[...]

EUDOX: Surely it seemeth not much which you
require, nor no long time, but how would you have
them used? Would you lead forth your army
765 against the enemy and seek him where he is to
fight?

770 IREN: No, Eudoxus. That would not be, for it is
well known that he is a flying enemy, hiding
himself in woods and bogs, from whence he will
not draw forth, but into some strait passage or
perilous ford where he knows the army must
needs pass. There will he lie in wait and, if he find
775 advantage fit, will dangerously hazard⁷ the trou-
bled soldier. Therefore to seek him out that still
flitteth, and follow him that can hardly be found,
were vain and bootless,⁸ but I would divide my
men in garrison upon his country in such places as
I should think might most annoy him.

[...]

780 EUDOX: Do you then think the winter time fittest
for the services⁹ of Ireland? How falls it then that
our most employments be in summer, and the
armies then led commonly forth?

785 IREN: It is surely misconceived, for it is not with
Ireland as it is with other countries, where the wars
flame most in summer and the helmets glisten
brightest in the fairest sunshine, but in Ireland the
winter yieldest best services, for then the trees are
bare and naked, which use both to clothe and
house the kern; the ground is cold and wet, which
790 useth to be his bedding; the air is sharp and bitter,
which useth to blow thorough his naked sides and
legs; the kyne are barren and without milk, which
useth to be his only food, neither if he kill them,
then will they yield him flesh, nor if he keep them
795 will they give him food, besides being all with
calf, for the most part, they will, thorough much

⁷ *hazard* endanger.

⁸ *bootless* pointless, useless.

⁹ *services* military operations.

chasing and driving, cast all their calves, and lose
 their milk which should relieve him the next
 summer. [...] Therefore, if they be well followed
 800 but one winter ye shall have little work with them
 the next summer [...] but at the beginning of those
 wars and when the garrisons are well planted and
 fortified, I would wish a proclamation were made
 generally to come to their knowledge: that what
 805 persons soever would within twenty days
 absolutely submit themselves, excepting only the
 very principals and ring-leaders, should find grace,
 I doubt not, but upon the settling of these gar-
 risons such a terror and near consideration of
 810 their perilous state would be stricken into most of
 them that they will covet to draw away from their
 leaders. And again I well know that the rebels
 themselves, as I saw by proof in Desmond's wars,¹
 will turn away all their rascal people, whom they
 815 think unserviceable, as old men, women, children,
 and hinds,² which they all call churls,³ which
 would only waste their victuals and yield them no
 aid, but their cattle they will surely keep away.
 These, therefore, though policy⁴ would turn them
 820 back again, that they might the rather consume
 and afflict the other rebels, yet in a pitiful com-
 miseration I would wish them to be received, the
 rather for that this sort of base people doth not
 for the most part rebel of themselves, having no
 825 heart thereunto, but are by force drawn by the
 grand rebels into their action and carried away
 with the violence of the stream, else they should
 be sure to lose all that they have and perhaps their
 lives too, the which they now carry unto them in
 830 hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the
 strong rebels themselves soon turned out of all, so
 that the constraint hereof may in them deserve
 pardon. Likewise, if any of their able men or gen-
 tlemen shall then offer to come away and to bring
 835 their cattle with them, as some no doubt may steal

¹ *Desmond's wars* In 1579, the imposition of martial law by England to suppress dissent created resentment that culminated in a rebellion, led by the Earl of Desmond, that lasted until 1583. English retaliation was brutal and the uprising ultimately quashed.

² *hinds* servants.

³ *churls* peasants.

⁴ *policy* prudence, expediency.

them away privily, I wish them also to be received
 for the disabling of the enemy, but withal⁵ that
 good assurance may be taken for their true behav-
 iour and absolute submission and that then they
 840 be not suffered to remain any longer in those
 parts, no nor about the garrisons, but sent away
 into the inner parts of the realm and dispersed in
 such sort as they may not come together, nor
 easily return if they would. For if they might be
 845 suffered to remain about the garrisons and there
 inhabit, as they will offer to till the ground and
 yield a great part of the profit thereof and of their
 cattle to the coronel,⁶ wherewith they have hereto-
 fore⁷ tempted many, they would, as I have by
 850 experience known, be ever after such a gall and
 inconvenience to them as that their profit shall not
 recompense their hurt. For they will privily⁸
 relieve their friends that are forth; they will send
 the enemy secret advertisements of all their pur-
 poses and journeys, which they mean to make
 upon them; they will not also stick⁹ to draw the
 enemy privily upon them, yea, and to betray the
 fort itself by discovery of all her defects and dis-
 advantages, if any be, to the cutting of all their
 860 throats. For avoiding whereof and many other
 inconveniences, I wish that they should be carried
 far from hence 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 after-
 wards remain without are stout and obstinate
 rebels, such as will never be made dutiful and obe-
 dient, nor brought to labour or civil conversation,
 870 having once tasted that licentious life and being
 acquainted with spoil and outrages, will ever after
 be ready for the like occasions, so as there is no
 hope of their amendment or recovery, and there-
 fore needful to be cut off. [...] For ye must con-
 ceive that the strength of all that nation is the
 875

⁵ *withal* notwithstanding.

⁶ *coronel* colonel.

⁷ *heretofore* before now, formerly.

⁸ *privily* secretly.

⁹ *stick* hesitate, scruple.

kern, galloglass,¹ stocah,² horseman, and horse-
 boy, the which having been never used to have any
 thing of their own and now being upon spoil of
 others, make no spare of any thing, but havoc and
 880 confusion of all they meet with, whether it be
 their own friends' goods, or their foes'. And if
 they happen to get never so great spoil at any time,
 the same they waste and consume in a trice,³ as
 885 naturally delighting in spoil, though it do them-
 selves no good. On the other side, whatsoever
 they leave unspent the soldier when he cometh
 there spoileth and havoceth likewise, so that
 between both nothing is very shortly left. And yet
 this is very necessary to be done for the soon fin-
 890 ishing of the war, and not only this in this wise,
 but also those subjects which do border upon
 those parts are either to be removed and drawn
 away or likewise to be spoiled, that the enemy may
 find no succour thereby. For what the soldier
 895 spares the rebel will surely spoil.

EUDOX: I do now well understand you. But now
 when all things are brought to this pass and all
 filled with these rueful spectacles of so many
 wretched carcasses starving, goodly countries
 900 wasted, so huge desolation and confusion, that
 even I that do but hear it from you and do picture
 it in my mind do greatly pity and commiserate it.
 If it shall happen that the state of this misery and
 lamentable image of things shall be told and feel-
 905 ingly presented to her sacred Majesty, being by
 nature full of mercy and clemency, who is most
 inclinable to such pitiful complaints, and will not
 endure to hear such tragedies made of her poor
 people and subjects, as some about her may insin-
 910 uate, then she perhaps for very compassion of
 such calamities will not only stop the stream of
 such violence, and return to her wonted⁴ mild-
 ness, but also con them little thanks⁵ which have
 been the authors and counsellors of such bloody

platforms. So I remember that in the late govern-
 ment of that good Lord Grey, when after long
 travel and many perilous assays⁶ he had brought
 things almost to this pass that you speak of, that it
 was even made ready for reformation and might
 920 have been brought to what her Majesty would, like
 complaint was made against him, that he was a
 bloody man and regarded not the life of her sub-
 jects no more than dogs, but had wasted and con-
 sumed all, so as now she had nothing almost left,
 925 but to reign in their ashes. Ear was soon lent there-
 unto, and all suddenly turned topside-turvy; the
 noble lord eftsoons was blamed, the wretched
 people pitied, and new counsels plotted, in which
 it was concluded that a general pardon should be
 930 sent over to all that would accept of it, upon
 which all former purposes were blanked, the gov-
 ernor at a bay,⁷ and not only all that great and long
 charge which she had before been at quite lost and
 cancelled, but also that hope of good which was
 935 even at the door put back and clean frustrated. All
 which, whether it be true, or no, yourself can well
 tell.

IREN: Too true, Eudoxus, the more the pity, for I
 may not forget so memorable a thing. Neither can
 940 I be ignorant of that perilous device and of the
 whole means by which it was compassed,⁸ and
 very cunningly contrived by sowing first dissen-
 sion between him and another noble personage;
 wherein they both at length found how notably
 945 they had been abused, and how thereby under-
 hand this universal alteration of things was
 brought about, but then too late to stay the same,
 for in the meantime all that was formerly done
 with long labour and great toil was, as you say, in
 950 a moment undone and that good lord⁹ 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 necessity of that present
 state of beings enforced him to that violence and

¹ *galloglass* class of mercenary soldiers maintained by Irish chiefs.

² *stocah* attendant on a kern.

³ *trice* instant.

⁴ *wonted* accustomed, usual.

⁵ *con* ... *thanks* acknowledge, avow gratitude.

⁶ *assays* attempts, tries.

⁷ *at a bay* in distress.

⁸ *compassed* designed, devised.

⁹ *that good lord* Lord Grey (see headnote above, pp. 26-27).

955 almost changed his natural disposition. But other-
 wise he was so far from delighting in blood that
 oftentimes he suffered not just vengeance to fall
 where it was deserved and even some of them
 which were afterwards his accusers had tasted too
 960 much of his mercy and were from the gallows
 brought to be his accusers. But his course indeed
 was this, that he spared not the heads and princi-
 1000 pals of any mischievous practices or rebellion, but
 showed sharp judgement on them chiefly for
 965 ensample's¹ sake, that all the meaner sort, which
 also were generally then infected with that evil,
 might by terror thereof be reclaimed, and saved, if
 1005 it were possible. For in the last conspiracy of some
 of the English Pale,² think you not that there were
 970 many more guilty than they that felt the punish-
 ment? Yet he touched only a few of special note
 and in the trial of them also, even to prevent the
 blame of cruelty and partial³ proceeding, and
 seeking their blood, which he, as in his great
 975 wisdom, as it seemeth, did foresee would be
 objected against him; he, for avoiding thereof, did
 use a singular discretion and regard. For the jury
 that went upon their trial, he made to be chosen
 1010 out of their nearest kinsmen and their judges he
 made of some of their own fathers, of others
 980 their uncles and dearest friends, who when they
 could not but justly condemn them, yet he uttered
 their judgement in abundance of tears, and yet he
 even herein was called bloody and cruel.

[...]

985 EUDOX: Thus far then you have now proceeded to
 plant your garrisons and to direct their services, of
 the which nevertheless I must needs conceive that
 there cannot be any certain direction set down, so
 that they must follow the occasions which shall be
 990 daily offered and diligently awaited. But by your
 leave, Irenius, notwithstanding all this your careful
 foresight and provision, methinks, I see an evil

¹ *ensample's* example's.

² *English Pale* region in a twenty-mile radius around Dublin fortified against Irish incursions.

³ *partial* biased, prejudiced.

lurk unespied and that may chance to hazard⁴ all
 the hope of this great service, if it be not very well
 995 looked into, and that is the corruption of their
 captains, for though they be placed never so care-
 fully and their companies filled never so suffi-
 ciently, yet may they, if they list, discard whom
 they please [...]

1000 IREN: [...] That which is spoken of taking Shane
 O'Neal's sons⁵ from him and setting them up
 against him is a very perilous counsel and not by
 any means to be put in proof, for were they let
 forth and could overthrow him, who should after-
 1005 wards overthrow them or what assurance can be
 had of them? It will be like the tale in Aesop, of
 the wild horse, who, having enmity with the stag,
 came to a man to desire his aid against his foe,
 who yielding thereunto mounted upon his back,
 1010 and so following the stag, 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 be the proof of
 Shane O'Neal's sons. Therefore it is most danger-
 1015 ous to attempt any such plot, for even that very
 manner of plot was the means by which this trait-
 orous earl is now made great, for when the last
 O'Neal, called Terlagh Leinagh,⁶ began to stand
 upon some tickle⁷ terms, this fellow then called
 1020 Baron of Dunganon⁸ was set up as it were to

⁴ *hazard* risk.

⁵ *Shane O'Neal's sons* Shane O'Neill (1530-67) led a powerful anti-English force in Ulster and claimed title as king of Ulster and earl of Tyrone after his father's death. He murdered his brother, Matthew, but the title passed to his nephew, Brian, who was in turn killed by Turlough Luineach O'Neill. English attempts to control some of Shane O'Neill's ten sons with grants of land met with only limited success.

⁶ *Terlagh Leinagh* Turlough Luineach O'Neill (d. 1595) succeeded Shane O'Neill as head of the Ulster clan and professed loyalty to Queen Elizabeth before turning his attention to rebellion.

⁷ *tickle* inconstant, unreliable.

⁸ *Baron of Dunganon* Hugh O'Neill (c. 1540-1616), later earl of Tyrone, was the younger nephew of Shane O'Neill. Raised in England and apparently supporting the English during Desmond's Rebellion, in 1594 he led what became known as the Nine Years' War and nearly succeeded in wresting Ireland from England and placing it under the control of Spain.

beard¹ him and countenanced and strengthened
by the Queen so far as that he is now able to keep
herself play, much like unto a gamester that,
having lost all, borroweth of his next fellow-
1025 gamester somewhat to maintain play, which he
setting unto him again, shortly thereby winneth all
from the winner.

EUDOX: Was this rebel then set up at first by the
Queen, as you say, and now become so undutiful?

1030 IREN: He was, I assure you, the most outcast of all
the O'Neals then and lifted up by her Majesty out
of the dust to that he hath now wrought himself
unto, and now he playeth like the frozen snake,
who, being for compassion relieved by the hus-
1035 bandman, soon after he was warm began to hiss
and threaten danger even to him and his.²

EUDOX: He surely, then deserveth the punishment
of that snake and should worthily be hewed³ to
pieces. But if you like not the letting forth of
1040 Shane O'Neal's sons against him, what say you
then of that advice which, I heard, was given by
some to draw in Scots to serve against him? How
like you that advice?

1045 IREN: Much worse than the former, for who that is
experienced in those parts knoweth not that the
O'Neals are nearly allied unto the MacNeals of
Scotland and to the Earl of Argyle,⁴ from whence
they use to have all their succours of those Scots
and redshanks.⁵ Besides all these Scots are,
1050 through long continuance, intermingled and allied

to all the inhabitants of the north, so as there is no
hope that they will ever be wrought to serve faith-
fully against their old friends and kinsmen. And
though they would, how when they have over-
thrown him and the wars are finished, shall they
themselves be put out? Do we not all know that
the Scots were the first inhabitants of all the north
and that those which now are called the North
Irish are indeed very Scots, which challenge the
ancient inheritance and dominion of that country
to be their own anciently. This then were but to
leap out of the pan into the fire, for the chiefest
caveat⁶ and provision in reformation of the north
must be to keep out those Scots.

1065 EUDOX: Indeed I remember, that in your discourse
of the first peopling of Ireland, you showed that
the Scythians or Scots were the first that sat down
in the north, whereby it seems that they may chal-
lenge some right therein. How comes it then that
O'Neal claims the dominion thereof and this Earl
of Tyrone⁷ sayeth that the right is in him? I pray
you resolve me herein, for it is very needful to be
known and maketh unto the right of the war
against him, whose success useth commonly to be
according to the justness of the cause for which it
is made. For if Tyrone have any right in that
seigniory,⁸ methinks, it should be wrong to thrust
him out. Or if, as I remember, you said in the
beginning that O'Neal when he acknowledge the
king of England for his liege lord and sovereign
did, as he allegeth, reserve in the same submission
his seigniories and rights unto himself, what
should it be accounted to thrust him out of the
same?

[...]

1085 EUDOX: Indeed, methinks, three such towns, as you
say, would do very well in those places with the
garrisons, and in short space would be so aug-
mented as they would be able with little to inwall

¹ *beard* oppose, defy.

² An allusion to Aesop's "The Ploughman and the Frozen Snake," where a ploughman warms a frozen snake under his vest; the snake revives and bites his rescuer, killing him. The moral is that kindness cannot change an evil character.

³ *bewed* chopped, hacked.

⁴ *Earl of Argyle* Agnes Campbell, the illegitimate daughter of Archibald Campbell (fourth Earl of Argyll, d. 1558), was married to Turlough Luineach O'Neill, which strengthened the latter's alliance with the Scots.

⁵ *redshanks* Celtic inhabitants of Ireland, so named because their kilts left their legs bare and exposed to weather.

⁶ *caveat* warning.

⁷ *Earl of Tyrone* Hugh O'Neill.

⁸ *seigniory* territory.

1090 themselves strongly; but for the planting of all the
 rest of the country,¹ what order would you take?
 IREN: What other then, as I said, to bring people
 out of England, which should inhabit the same, 1130
 whereunto though I doubt not but great troops
 would be ready to run, yet for that in such cases
 1095 the worst and most decayed men are most ready to
 remove, I would wish them rather to be chosen
 out of all parts of this realm, either by discretion 1135
 of wise men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by
 the drum, as was the old use in sending forth of
 1100 colonies, or such other good means as shall in
 their wisdom be thought meetest. Amongst the
 chief of which I would have the land set into 1140
 seignories, in such sort as it is now in Munster,
 and divided into hundreds and parishes, or wards,
 1105 as it is in England, and laid out into shires as it was
 anciently, viz.² the county of Down, the county of
 Antrim, the county of Louth, the county of 1145
 Armagh, the county of Cavan, the county of Col-
 erane, the county of Monogham, the county of
 1110 Tyrone, the county of Fermannagh, the county of
 Donegal, being in all ten. Over all which I wish a
 president and a council to be placed, which may 1150
 keep them afterwards in awe and obedience and
 minister unto them justice and equity.
 1115 EUDOX: Thus I see the whole purpose of your plot
 for Ulster, and now I desire to hear your like
 opinion for Connaught.
 IREN: By that which I have already said of Ulster,
 you may gather my opinion for Connaught, being
 1120 very answerable to the former. But for that the
 lands which shall therein escheat³ unto her
 Majesty are not so entirely together as that they
 can be accompted in one sum, it needeth that they
 be considered severally. The province of Con-
 1125 naught in the whole containeth, as appeareth by
 the records of Dublin, 7,200 ploughlands of the

former measure and is of late divided into six
 shires or counties. The county of Clare, the
 county of Leitrim, the county of Roscommon, the
 county of Galway, the county of Mayo, and the
 county of Sligo. Of the which all the county of
 Sligo, all the county of Mayo, the most part of the
 county of Roscommon, the most of the part of
 the county of Leitrim, a great part of the county
 of Galway, and some of the county of Clare, is
 like to escheat to her Majesty for the rebellion of
 their present possessors. The which two counties
 of Sligo and Mayo are supposed to contain almost
 3,000 ploughlands, the rent whereof rateably⁴ to
 the former, I value almost £6000 per annum. The
 county of Roscommon, saving that which per-
 taineth to the house of Roscommon and some
 few other English there lately seated, is all one,
 and therefore it is wholly likewise to escheat to her
 Majesty, saving those portions of English inhabi-
 tants, and even those English do, as I understand
 by them, pay as much rent to her Majesty as is set
 upon those in Ulster, counting their composition
 money there withal, so as it may all run into one
 reckoning with the former two counties. [...]

[...]

IREN: I delight not to lay open the blames of great
 magistrates to the rebuke of the world, and there-
 fore their reformation I will not meddle with, but
 leave unto the wisdom of greater heads to be con-
 sidered. Only thus much I will speak generally
 thereof to satisfy your desire: that the government
 and chief magistracy, I wish to continue as it doth,
 to wit, that it be ruled by a lord deputy or justice,
 for that is a very safe kind of rule, but therewithal
 1160 I wish that over him there were placed also a lord
 lieutenant of some of the greatest personages in
 England, such a one I could name, upon whom
 the eye of all England is fixed and our last hopes
 now rest, who, being intituled with that dignity, and
 being here always resident, may back and defend
 the good course of that government against all

¹ *planting of all the rest of the country* placement of English settlers in areas outside of Ulster, where this programme was already in place.

² *viz.* namely.

³ *escheat* revert.

⁴ *rateably* proportionately.

1170 maligners, which else will, through their cunning
 working under hand, deprave and pull back what-
 ever thing shall be well begun or intended there, as
 1175 we commonly see by experience at this day, to the
 utter ruin and desolation of that poor realm, and
 this lieutenancy should be no discountenancing¹
 of the lord deputy, but rather a strengthening of
 1180 all his doings, for now the chief evil in that gov-
 ernment is that no governor is suffered to go on
 with any one course, but upon the least informa-
 tion here of this or that he is either stopped and
 1185 crossed or other causes appointed him from hence
 which he shall run, which how inconvenient it is,
 is at this hour too well felt. And therefore this
 should be one principle in the appointing of the
 lord deputy's authority, that it should be more
 1190 ample and absolute than it is, and that he should
 have uncontrolled power to do anything that he
 with the advisement of the council should think
 1195 meet to be done. For it is not possible for the
 Council here to direct a governor there, who shall
 be forced oftentimes to follow the necessitie of
 present actions and to take the sudden advantage
 1200 of time, which being once lost will not be recover-
 ed, whilst through expecting direction from
 hence, the delays whereof are oftentimes through
 other greater affairs most irksome, the opportuni-
 1205 ties there in the meantime pass away and great
 danger often groweth, which by such timely pre-
 vention might easily be stopped. And this, I
 remember, is worthily observed by Machiavel in
 his discourses upon Livy,² where he commendeth
 1210 the manner of the Romans' government in giving
 absolute power to all their councillors and govern-
 ors, which if they abused they should afterwards
 dearly answer. And the contrary thereof he repre-
 hendeth in the states of Venice and Florence and
 many other principalities of Italy, who use to limit
 1215 their chief officers so strictly, as that thereby they
 have oftentimes lost such happy occasions, as they

could never come unto again; the like whereof,
 who so hath been conversant in that government
 of Ireland, hath too often seen to their great hin-
 1220 drance and hurt. Therefore this I could wish to be
 redressed, and yet not so but that in particular
 things he should be restrained, though not in the
 general government, as namely in this: that no
 offices should be sold by the lord deputy for
 1225 money, nor no pardons, nor no protections
 bought for reward, nor no beoves³ taken for cap-
 tainries of countries, nor no shares of bishoprics
 for nominating bishops, nor no forfeitures, nor
 dispensations with penal statutes given to their
 servants or friends, nor no selling of licenses for
 1230 exportation of prohibited wares, and specially of
 corn and flesh, with many the like, which need
 some manner of restraint, or else very great trust
 in the honourable disposition of the lord deputy.

Thus I have, Eudoxus, as briefly as I could and
 as my memories 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 be by good
 care and amendment, not that I take upon me to
 1235 change the policy of so great a kingdom or pre-
 scribe rules to such wise men as have the handling
 thereof, but only to show you the evils, which in
 my small experience I have observed to be the
 chief hindrance of the reformation, and by the
 way of conference to declare my simple opinion
 for the redress thereof, and establishing a good
 course for government, which I do not deliver as
 a perfect plot of mine own invention to be only
 followed, but as I have learned and understood the
 same by the consultations and actions of very wise
 1240 governors and councillors, whom I have some-
 times heard treat hereof. So have I thought good
 to set down a remembrance of them for my own
 good and your satisfaction, that who so list⁴
 1245 overlook them, although perhaps much wiser than
 they which have thus advised of that state, yet at
 least by comparison hereof may perhaps better his
 own judgement, and by the light of others fore-
 going him, may follow after with more ease and

¹ *discountenancing* shaming, disfavouring.

² *Machiavel ... Livy* Machiavelli's *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius* (1513-31), a commentary on Livy's history of Rome, examines the conditions necessary for the survival of republics (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* online).

³ *beoves* benefits, gratuities.

⁴ *list* wish, desire.

1250 haply¹ find a fairer way thereunto than they which
have gone before.

EUDOX: I thank you, Irenius, for this your gentle
pains, withal not forgetting now in the shutting
up to put you in mind of that which you have
1255 formerly half promised, that hereafter when
we shall meet again upon like good occasion

you will declare unto us those your observa-
tions, which you have gathered of the antiquities
of Ireland.

The End

—1596; published 1809

¹ *haply* perhaps, by chance.