

Chronicle of Ireland

To The

Right Honorable

Sir HENRIE SIDNEIE Knight

LORD DEPUTIE GENERALL OF IRELAND, LORD PRESIDENT OF WALES, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIR MAJESTIES PRIVIE COUNCELL WITHIN HIR REALME OF ENGLAND.

Taking in hand (right honorable) to gather the particular histories of diverse countries and nations, to joine with a cosmographie, which One Reginald Wolfe late printer to the queenes maiestie meant to publish in our English toong : when I came to consider of the histories of Ireland, I found my self so unprovided of helps, to set downe anie particular discourse therof, that I was in despaire to enterprise to write anie thing at all concerning that realme, otherwise than incidentlie as fell to purpose to touch the same in the historie of England. At length yet as maister Wolfes use was, to impart to me all such helps as he might at anie hand procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other histories, wherewith I specialiie dealt ; his hap was to light also upon a copie of two bookes of the Irish histories, compiled by one Edmund Campion, fellow sometime of S. John Baptists college in Oxford, verie well penned certeinlie, but so breefe, as it were to be wished, that occasion had served him to have used more leasure, and thereby to have delivered to us a larger discourse of the same histories : for as he himselfe confesseth, he had not past ten weekes space to gather his matter : a verie short time doubtlesse for such a peece of worke. But how breefe so ever I found him, at the persuasion of maister Wolfe, upon the having of that copie, I resolved to make shift to frame a speciall historie of Ireland, in like maner as I had doone of other regions, following Campions order, and setting downe his owne words, except in places where I had matter to inlarge that (out of other authors) which he had written in breefe. And this I have thought good to signifie, the rather for that I esteeme it good dealing in no wise to defraud him of his due deserved praise.

But now after I had continued the historie, and inlarged it out of Giraldus Cambrensis, Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare 1509, in which that famous prince Henrie the eight began his reigne ; some of those that were to bestow the charges of the impression, procured a learned gentleman maister Richard Stanihurst, to continue it from thense forward as he saw occasion, being furnished with matter to inlarge the worke, whereof for those latter times I found my selfe utterlie void, more than that which Campion had delivered. What I have doone heerein, your honors discretion shall easilie conceive. For the imperfection sith it is the first that hath beene set fforth in print, I crave most humblie pardon of your good lordship, beseeching you rather to respect my good will than the perfectnesse of the worke, which (the wants considered) for the orderlie furnishing thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, much lesse in me the meanest of all, and least able to performe it. Having presented the right honourable the earle of Leicester with the historie of Scotland, to whom (as I have heard) Campion made dedication of his booke, I could not remember me to whome I might more convenientlie offer this my travell in this historie of Ireland, than to your lordship, being hir maiesties lieutenant in that realme. And therefore in most humble wise I exhibit the booke to your honour, beseeching the same to beare with my bold attempt therein, and to receive it in good part from him that wished to have more amplie satisfied your good lordships expectation, if abilitie might have answered good will. Thus I beseech the Lord to guide your heart in his holie waies, & to furnish you with politike prudence and skilfull knowledge to governe in your estate and office, so as your doings may redound to his glorie, the suertie of hir maiesties dominion there, your owne advancement in honour, and con-

sequentlie to the sure support and peaceable quietnesse of the true and loiall subjects of that realme.

Your honours most humble to command,

Raphael Holinshed.

THE AUTHORS
Out of whom this
HISTORIE OF IRELAND
HATH BEENE GATHERED.

Giraldus Cambrensis.
Flatsburie.
Henricus Marleburgensis,
Saxo Grammaticus.
Albertus Crantz.
Rogerus Houeden.

Guilielm. Paruus Nouoburgensis.
Polychronicon, siue Ranulfus
Higeden.
Johannes Bale.
Edmund Campion.
Records and rolles divers.

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NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIR MAIESTIES PRIVIE
COUNCELL WITHIN HIR REALME OF ENGLAND,

My verie good Lord, there have beene diverse of late, that with no small toile, and great commendation, have throughlie imploied themselves, in culling and packing together the scrapings and fragments of the historie of Ireland. Among which crue, my fast friend, and inward companion, maister Edmund Campion did so learnedlie bequite himselfe, in the penning of certeine breefe notes, concerning that countrie, as certes it was greatlie to be lamented, that either his theame had not beene shorter, or else his leasure had not beene longer. For if Alexander were so raiisht with Homer his historie, that notwithstanding Thersites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outward feature so deformed, and in inward conditions so crooked, as he seemed to stand to no better steed, than to lead apes in hell : yet the valiant capteine, weighing how livelie the golden poet hath set forth the ouglie dandepreat in his colours, did sooner wish to be Homer his Thersites, than to be the Alexander of that doltish rithmour, which undertooke with his wooden verses to blase his famous and martiall exploits : how much more ought Ireland (being in sundrie ages seized of diverse good and couragious Alexanders) sore to long and thirst after so rare a clarke, as maister Campion, who was so upright in conscience, so deepe in judgement, so ripe in eloquence, as the countrie might have beene well assured to have had their historie trulie reported, pithilie handled, and bravelie polished.

Howbeit, although the glose of his fine abbridgement, being matcht with other mens dooings, bare a surpassing kind of excellencie : yet it was so hudled up in hast, as in respect of a Campion his absolute perfection, it seemed rather to be a woorke roughlie hewed, than smoothlie planed. Upon which ground the gentleman being willing that his so tender a suckling, having as yet but greene bones, should have beene swadled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of time the joints thereof were knit, and growen stronger : yet notwithstanding he was so crost in the nicke of this determination, that his historie in mitching wise wandred through sundrie hands, and being therewithall in certeine places somewhat tickle toonged (for maister Campion did learne it to speake) and in other places over spare, it twitled more tales out of

school, and drowned weightier matters in silence, than the author (upon better view and longer search) would have permitted. Thus much being by the sager sort pondered, and the perfection of the historie earnestlie desired : I, as one of the most that could doo least, was fullie resolved to enrich maister Campion his chronicle, with further additions. But weighing on the other side, that my course pack-thred could not have beene sutablie knit with his fine silke, and what a disgrace it were, bunglerlie to botch up a rich garment, by clouting it with patches of sundrie colours, I was forthwith reclaimed from my former resolution, reckoning it for better, that my pen should walke in such wise in that craggie and balkish waie, as the truth of the matter being surprised, I would neither openlie borrow, nor privilie imbezell ought to anie great purpose from his historie. But as I was hammering that worke by stealths on the anvill, I was given to understand by some of mine acquaintance, that others had brought our raw historie to that ripenesse, as my paine therein would seeme but needlesse. Whereupon being willing to be eased of the burden, and loath also in lurching wise to forstall anie man his travell, I was contented to leave them thumping in the forge, and quietlie to repaire to mine usuall and pristinat studies, taking it not to stand with good maners, like a fluttering flie to fall in an other man his dish. Howbeit the little paine I tooke therein was not so secretlie mewed within my closet, but it slipt out at one chinke or other, and romed so farre abroad, as it was whispered in their cares, who before were in the historie busied. The gentlemen conceiving a greater opinion of me, than I was well able to uphold, dealt verie effectuallie with me, that as well at their instance, as for the affection I bare my native countrie, I would put mine helping hand to the building and perfecting of so commendable a worke. Having breathed for a few daies on this motion, albeit I knew that my worke was plumed with downe, and at that time was not sufficientlie feathered to flie : yet I was by them weied not to beare my selfe coy, by giving my entier friends in so reasonable a request a squemish repulse. Wherefore, my singular good lord, here is laid downe to your lordship his view a briefe discourse, with a jagged historie of a ragged wealepublike. Yet as naked as at the first blush it seemeth, if it shall stand with your honor his pleasure (whom I take to be an expert lapidarie) at vacant houres to insearch it, you shall find therein stones of such estimation, as are worth to be coucht in rich and pretious collars. And in especiall your lordship, above all others, in that you have the charge of that countrie, maie here be schooled, by a right line to levell your government. For in perusing this historie, you shall find vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, loialtie exalted, haughtinesse disliked, courtesie beloved, briberie detested, justice imbraced, polling officers to their perpetuall shame reprooved, and spright governours to their eternall fame extolled. And trulie to my thinking, such magistrats as meane to have a vigilant eie to their charge, can not bestow their time better, than when they sequester themselves from the affaires of the wealepublike, to recreate and quicken their spirits by reading the chronicles that decipher the government of a wealepublike. For as it is no small commendation for one to beare the dooings of manie, so it breedeth great admiration, generallie to have all those qualities in one man harboured, for which particularlie diverse are eternised. And who so will be addicted to the reading of histories, shall readilie find diverse events worthie to be remembred, and sundrie sound examples dailie to be followed. Upon which ground the learned have, not without cause, adjudged an historie to be the marrow of reason, the creame of experience, the sap of wisdom, the pith of judgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the unfoldresse of treacherie, the kalendar of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctresse of behaviour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chivalrie. And that our Irish historie being diligentlie heeded, yeeldeth all these commodities, I trust the indifferent reader, upon the untwining thereof, will not denie. But if anie man his stomach shall be found so tenderlie niced, or so deintilie spiced, as that he maie not, forsooth, digest the grosse draffe of so base a countrie, I doubt not, but your lordship, who is thoroughlie acquainted with the woorthinesse of the Iland, will be soone persuaded to leave such quaint and licourous repastours, to feed on their costlie and delicate woodcocks, & willinglie to accept the loving present of your heartie welwiller. The gift is small, the giver his good will is great, I stand in good hope, that the greatnesse of the one will counterpoise the smalnesse of the other. Wherefore that I maie the sooner unbroid the pelfish trash that is

wrapt within this treatise, I shall crave your lordship to lend me either your eares in hearing, or your eies in reading the tenor of the discourse following.

Richard Stanihurst.

A TREATISE
CONTAINING
A PLAINE AND PERFECT
DESCRIPTION OF IRELAND,

With an Introduction to the better Understanding of the
Histories appertaining to that Iland :

COMPILED BY RICHARD STANIHURST.

THE NAMES OF IRELAND, WITH THE COMPASSE OF THE SAME, ALSO WHAT SHIRES
OR COUNTIES IT CONTEINETH, THE DIVISION OR PARTITION OF THE LAND,
AND OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE.

CHAPTER I.

THE more part aswel of Cosmographers, as Chronographers, do with on accorde affirme, that the nation of Ireland (the uttermost weasterne Ile known) is halfe as big as Britannia. Which I take to be true, if the word Britannia so farre displaie the signification, that it comprise England, Wales, and Scotland. To which opinion Giraldiis Cambrensis relieth, saieng, that Britannia conteineth in length eight hundred miles, and two hundred in breadth. Ireland he taketh to be in length from the mounteins called Torrach (the author of Polychronicon termeth them Brendane his hilles) to saint Columbe his Iland eight daies journeie, rating of long Irish miles fortie miles to the daie : and in breadth from Dublin to saint Patrike his hilles and the sea of Connaght foure daies jorneie, according to the former rate. So as by Cambrensis his surveie, who was a curious insearcher therof, Ireland is thrée hundred & twentie miles long of Irish miles, and one hundred and three score miles broad. And accounting thrée hundred and twentie Irish miles to amount to foure hundred English miles, Which may well be reckoned according to their Judgements that have travelled in the Irish territories ; Ireland will be found halfe as big as Britannia : which Girald. Cambrensis avoucheth, saieng, that Ireland is as big as Wales and Scotland. Ireland hath on the east, England, within one daies sailing ; on the southeast it hath France ; Hispaine on the south, distant three daies sailing ; on the west the maine ocean sea.

Touching the name Ibernia, historiographers are not yet agreed from whence it is deducted. Some write it Hibernia corruptlie, and suppose that the strangers finding it in an od end of the world, foistie and moistie, tooke it at the first for a verie cold cuntry, and thereof named it Hibernia, as to saie, the Winter land. But this error being upon short experience reformed, it could not be that the name should have lived long, especiallie the first impositors surviving the triall, and able to alter the first nomination, Others bring a ghesse, that it should be named of Irlamale. But because I read nothing of them in anie probable historic, I purpose not to build upon that conjecture.

Most credible it is holden, that the Hispaniards (the founders of the Irish) for devotion towards Hispaine, called then Iberia of Iberius the sonne of Iubail, and the father, for that them-

selves had dwelled beside the famous river Iberus, named the land Iberia (for so Leland and manie forren chroniclers write it) or Ibernica, adding the letter (n) for difference sake. And from Ibernica procéedeth Iberland, or Iverland ; from Iverland, by contraction Ireland : forso-much as in corruption of common talke we find that (v) with his vocale is easilie lost and suppressed ; so we saie ere for ever, nere for never, shoole for shoovvll, ore for over, ene for even, dile for divell. At the same time it was also named Scotia, in reverence of Scotach the wife of Gathelus, ancient capteine of those Iberians that flitted from Hispaine into Ireland : & the said Scotach was old grandame to Hiberus and Hermon after the Scottish chronicles, who in anie wise will have their countrimen derived from the Irish, and not from the Britons. The name Scotia is of late yeares so usuallie taken for that part of Britaine that compriseth Scotland, that diverse ancient Irish authors are holden to be borne in Scotland, wheras in verie déed their native soile is Ireland. As the famous schooleman Johannes Duns Scotus, otherwise named Doctor subtilis, for his subtil quiddities in scholasticall controversies, was an Irish man borne, and yet is taken for a Scot.

Some hold opinion that he was borne in Thathmon, a market towne five miles distant from Weiseford. Others avouch, and that more trulie, that he was borne in Dowre, an old ancient ciuntie in the north of Ireland, and thereof they ghesse him to be named Dunensis, and by contraction Duns, which tearme is so triviall and commou in all schools, that whoso surpasseth others either in cauilling sophistrie, or subtill philosophie, is forthwith nickenamed a Duns. Wherefore as Scotland is named Scotia minor, so Ireland is tearmed Scotia major, as the head from whence the name of Scotia minor tooke his ofspring. The Irish also were named of the foresaid Gathelus, or Gaudeilus, Gaudeili. In their Irish rithmes, they tearme Ireland verie often Banno. I cannot divine what reason should lead their makers therto, unlesse it be the river in the countie of Weiseford, named the Baune, where the Britons upon the conquest first arrived. The place otherwise is called Bagganbun, according to the old ancient rithme :

At the creeke of Bagganbun,
Ireland was lost and wun.

For the remembrance of which river so notoriouslie famosed, it carieth great likelilood, that the name should be to the whole realme generallie ascribed. Sundrie Latine authors write Ireland Inverna, others Iverna, diverse Ijerna. Claudius nameth it Ibernica. The diversitie of which names grew, for that in their time the true and certeine name was not knowne, so that they were contented to take it as they found it, which matter is handled by Hermolaus Barbarus.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in severing the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would be named Ireland men, but in no wise Irishmen. But certes, in my fantasie such curious distinctors may be verie aptlie resembled to the foolish butcher, that offred to have sold his mutton for fiftéene grots, and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate upon such nice diversities, in respect that he is ashamed of his countrie ; trulie (in mine opinion) his countrie maie be ashamed of him. Ireland is divided into foure regions, Leinster, east : Connaght, west : Ulster, north : Mounster, south : and into a fift plot, defalked from everie fourth yet mearing on each part, called thereof Media, Méeth, comprising as well east Méeth, as west Méeth. Leinster butteth upon England, Ulster upon the Scottish Islands : which face with Hebrides scattered betweene both the realms, wherin at this daie the Irish Scot, successor of the elder Scithian, Pict, or Red-shanke dwelleth. Ech of these five, where they are framable to civilitie, & answer the writs of the princes courts, be sundred into shires or counties in this manner. In Leinster lieth the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weiseford, or Gueisford, Catherlach, Kilkennie, the counties of Leise & Ophalie, called the kings and quéenes counties : these two latelie so named by parlement, in the reignes of Philip and Marie, having shire townes accordant, Philips towne, and Marie bourgh. Connaght hath the countie Clare : Ulster

the counties of Louth, Doune, Antrim, one moitie of the towne of Droghedagh (for the rest is in Méeth) and Carregfergus. In Mounster lie the counties of Waterford, Limerike, Corke, the countie palantiue of Tipperarie, Kerie, & the crosse of Tipperarie. Mounster was of old time divided into east Mounster, Ormond, west Mounster, Desmond, south Mounster, Toonmound. The occasion why Ireland was parted into these fine principall regions grew of this. There arrived in Ireland five brethren, that were valiant & martial gentlemen; to wit, Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, otherwise named Gangandus, Rutheragus or Rutheranus, & Slanius. These five perceiving that the countrie was not sufficientlie peopled, were agreed (as it were) to cast lots, and to share the whole realme betwéene themselves. The foure elder brethren severing the countrie into foure parts, and being loth to use their yoongest brother like an out-cast or stepsonne, condescended that each of them foure should of their owne portion allot to Slanius a paring or parcell of their inheritance. Which being as hieartilie received of Slanius, as it was bountifullie granted by them, he settled himselfe therein, and of that partition it tooke the appellation of Media, Méeth. The foure parts méet at a certeine stone at Méeth, néere the castell of Kilaire, as an indifferent meare to sever the foure regions.

But although Slanius in the beginning had the least parcell, yet in short space he stood so well to his tacklings, and incroched so far upon his neighbors, that he obtained the whole monarchie of Ireland. At which time he did not suppres in oblivion his inheritance of Méeth ; but did inlarge it, and décréd it should be a countrie appendant to the monarch his diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by Slanius stretched, yet it containeth not so much land as anie of the other foure parts comprehendeth ; but rather by indifferent surveie, the halfe deale, whereof also it is not unlikelie named Méeth. For whereas in the time of Slanius, each of the foure parts compriseth two and thirtie cantreds, Meeth containeth but sixteene cantreds. A cantred is named so much land as containeth an hundred townships. This Slanius is intoomed at an hill in Méeth, which of him is named Slane. There hath béene in ancient time one Galfride Geneuile, lord of the libertie of Méeth. This noble man became a frier preacher, and decesed in the yeare of our Lord 1314, the twentieth of October, and was intoomed in the abbeie of the Black friers at Trim.

There is also another division of Ireland, into the English pale, and Irishrie. For when Ireland was subdued by the English, diverse of the conquerors planted themselves neere to Dublin, and the confines thereto adjoining, and so as it were inclosing and impaling themselves within certeine lists and territories, they feazed awaie the Irish ; insomuch as that countrie became méere English, and thereof it was termed the English pale : which in ancient time stretched from Dundalke to Catherlagh or Kilkennie. But now what for the slacknesse of marchours and incroching of the Irish enimie, the scope of the English pale is greatlie impaired, & is cramped and coucht into an od corner of the countrie named Fingail, with a parcell of the king his land, Méeth, the countries, of Kildare and Louth, which parts are applied chieflie with good husbandrie, and taken for the richest and civilist soiles in Ireland. But Fingall especiallie from time to time hath bin so addicted to all the points of husbandrie, as that they are nickenamed by their neiglibours, for their continuall drudgerie, Collonnes, of the Latine word Coloni, whereunto the clipt English word clowne seemeth to be answerable.

The word Fingall countervaieth in English the race or sept of the English or strangers, for that they were solie seized of that part of the Iland, griping with their talants so firmelie that warme nest, that from the conquest to this daie the Irish enimie could never rouse them from thense. The inhabitants of the English pale have béene in old time so much addicted to their civilitie, and so farre sequestered from barbarous savagenesse, as their onelie mother toong was English. And trulie, so long as these impaled dwellers did sunder themselves as well in land as in language from the Irish : rudenesse was daie by daie in the countrie supplanted, civilitie ingrafted, good lawes established, loialtie observed, rebellion suppressed, and in fine the coine of a yoong England was like to shoot in Ireland. But when their posteritie became not altogether so warie in keeping, as their ancestors were valiant in conquering, the Irish

language was frée dennized in the English pale : this canker tooke such déepe root, as the bodie that before was whole and sound, was by little and little festered, and in manner wholie putrified. And not onlie this parcell of Ireland grew to that civilitie, but also Ulster and the greater part of Mounster, as by the sequele of the Irish historie shall plainlie appéere. But of all Weisford wholie other places, Weisford with the territorie baied and perclosed within the river called the Pill, was so quite estranged from Irishrie, as if a traveller of the Irish, (which was rare in those dales) had pitcht his foot within the Pill and spoken Irish, the Weisfordians would command him foorthwith to turne the other end of his toong and speake English, or els bring his trouchman with him. But in our dales they have so acquainted themselves with the Irish, as they have made a mingle mangle or gallimaufreie of both the languages, and have in such medleie or checkerwise so crabbedlie jumbled them both together, as commonlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neither good English nor good Irish.

There was of late daies one of the péeres of England sent to Weisford as commissioner, to decide the controversies of that countrie ; and hearing in affable wise the rude complaints of the countrie clowns, he conceived here & there some time a word, other whiles a sentence. The noble man being verie glad, that upon his first comming to Ireland, he understood so manie words, told one of his familiar friends, that he stood in verie great hope to become shortlie a well spoken man in the Irish, supposing that the blunt people had pratled Irish, all the while they jangled English. Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept as well there as in Fingall, as they terme a spider, an attercop, a wisp, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket, a sillibucke, a copprous, a faggot, a blease, or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I judge) a physician, a leach, a gap, a shard, a base court or quadrangle, a bawen, or rather (as I doo suppose) a barton, the houshold or folks, meanie, sharpe, kéene, estrange, uncouth, easie, éeth or éefe, a dunghill, a mizen. As for the word bater, that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a méere Irish word that crept unwares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus séemed to have observed : yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For the women have in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with uttering their words so péevishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie in words of two syllables they give the last the accent : as they saie, mark-eat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclase, &c : which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English above measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English.

Here percase some snappish carper will take me at rebound, and snuffinglie snib me for debasing the Irish language : but trulie, whosoever shall be found so over-thwartlie bent, he takes the matter farre awrie. For as my skill is verie simple therein, so I would be loth to disveile my rashnes, in giving light verdict in anie thing to me unknowen : but onelie my short discourse tendeth to this drift, that it is not expedient that the Irish toong should be so universallie gagled in the English pale : because that by prooffe and experience we see, that the pale was never in more flourishing estate than when it was wholie English, and never in woorsse plight than since it hath infranchised the Irish. But some will saie, that I slievvr my selfe herein as frivolous as some loosing gamsters seeme superstitious, when they plaie themselves drie, they gogle with their eies hither and thither, and if they can prie out anie one that giveth them the gaze, they stand lumping and lowring, fretting and fuming, for that they imagine that all their evill lucke proceeded of him ; and yet if the stander by depart, the looser may he found as drie shaven as he was before. And even so it fareth with you, because you see all things run to ruine in the English pale, by reason of great enormities in the countrie, either openlie practised, or covertlie winked at ; you glanse your eie on that which standeth next you, & by beating Jacke for Gill, you impute the fault to that which perhaps would little further the weale publike if it were exiled. Now trulie you shoot verie néere the marke. But if I may

crave your patience till time you see me shoot my bolt, I hope you will not denie, but that as neere the pricke as you are, and as verie an hagler as I am, yet the scantling shall be mine. First therefore take this with you, that a conquest draweth, or at the leastwise ought to draw to it three things, to wit, law, apparell, and language. For where the countrie is subdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same law that the conqueror is governed, to weare the same fashion of attire wherwith the victor is vested, and speake the same language that the vanquisher parleth. And if anie of these three lacke, doubtlesse the conquest limpeth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin by lawfull conquest brought under the subjection of England, not onelie in king Henrie the second his reigne, but also as well before as after (as by the discourse of the Irish historic shall evidentlie be deciphered) and the conquest hath beene so absolute and perfect, that all Leinster, Meth, Ulster, the more part of Connagh and Mounster, all the civities and burroughs in Ireland have beene wholie Englished, and with English conquerors inhabited, is it decent (thinke you) that their owne ancient native toong shall be shrowded in oblivion, and suffer the enimies language, as it were a tetter or ringworme, to harbor it selfe within the lawes of English conquerors? No trulie.

And now that I have fallen unawares into this discourse, it will not be farre amisse to stand somewhat roundlie upon this point. It is knowen, and by the historie you may in part perceive, how bravelie Ulster whilom florished. The English families were there implanted, the Irish either utterlie expelled or wholie subdued, the laws dulie executed, the revenue, great, and onelie English spoken. But what brought it to this present ruine and decaie? I doubt not but you gesse before I tell you. They were invironed and compassed with evill neighbours. Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance waffed in the Irish toong, the Irish hooked with it attire, attire haled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendered ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion raked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the utter decaie and desolation of that worthie countrie. If these chinks, when first they began to chap, had beene diligentlie by the dwellers stopped; hir maiestie at this daie, to hir great charges, should not have beene occasioned to dam up with manie thousand pounds, yea and with the worthie carcasses of valiant souldiors, the gaps of that rebellious northerne countrie.

Now put the case that the Irish toong were as sacred as the Hebrue, as learned as the Gréeke, as fluent as the Latine, as amarous as the Italian, as courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the French; yet trulie (I know not which waie it falleth out) I see not but it may be verie well spared in the English pale. And if reason will not lead you to thinke it, trulie experience must force you to grant it.

In old time, when the Romans were first acquainted with the Gréeke toong, as it is commonlie the nature of man to be delighted with newfangle wares: so he was accounted no gallant among the Romans, that could not pratle and chat Gréeke. Marcus Cicero father to Tullie, being at that time stept in yeares, perceiving his countrimen to become changelings, in being bilwise and polmad, and to sucke with the Gréeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in words talkative, in behaviour light, in conditions quaint, in manners hautie, in promises unstedfast, in oths rash, in bargains wavering (which were reckoned for Greekish properties in those dales) the old gentleman not so much respecting the neatnesse of the language, as the naughtie fruit it brought with it; said, that his countrimen the Romans resembled the bond-slaves of Siria; for the more perfect they were in the Gréeke, the worse they were in their manners and life. If this gentleman had béene now living, and had scene what alteration hath happened in Ireland, through the intercourse of languages, he would (I dare saie) breake patience, and would demand whie the English pale is more given to learne the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learne English: we must imbrace their language, and they detest ours. One demanded merilie whie Oneile that last was would not frame himselfe to speake English? What (quoth the other) in a rage, thinkest thou that it standeth with Oneile his honor to writh his mouth in clattering English? and yet forsooth we must gag our jawes in

gibbrishing Irish.? But I dwell too long in so apparent a matter. As all the civities & towns in Ireland, with Fingall, the king his land, Meth, the countie of Kildare, Louth, Weisford, speake to this dale English (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that judge the inhabitants of the English pale, upon their first repaire into England, to learne their English in three or foure daies, as though they had bought at Chester a grotes worth of English, and so packt up the rest to be carried after them to London) even so in all other places their native language is Irish.

I find it solemnlie advouched, as well in some of the Irish pamphlets as in Girald. Camb. that Gathelus or Gaidelus, & after him Simon Brecke, devised the Irish language out of all other toongs then extant iu the world. And thereof (saith Cambrensis) it is called Gaidelach, partlie of Gaidelus the first founder, and partlie for that it is compounded of all languages. But considering the course of inter-changing and blending of speeches together, not by invention of art, but by use of talke, I am rather led to beléeve (séeing Ireland was inhabited within one year after the division of toongs) that Bastolenus a branch of Japhet, who first seized upon Ireland, brought thither the same kind of speech, some of the 72 that to this familie befell at the desolation of Babell. Unto whom succeeded the Scithians, Grecians, Egyptians, Spaniards, Danes, of all which the toong must needs have borrowed part, but especially reteining the steps of Spanish then spoken in Granado, as from their mightiest ancestors. Since then to Henrie Fitzempresse the conqueror no such invasion happened them, as whereby they might be driven to infect their native language, untouched in manner for the space of seventeene hundred yeares after the arrivall of Iberius. It seemeth to burrow of the Spanish the common phrase, *Comniestato*, that is, How doo you? or how fareth it with you? It fetcheth sundrie words from the Latine, as arget of *Argentum*, monie; salle of *sæl*, salt; cappoull of *Caballus*, a plough horsse, or (according unto the old English terme) a caball or caple: birreat of the old motheaten Latine word *Birretum*, a bonnet. The toong is sharpe and sententious, & offereth great occasion to quicke apophthegms and proper allusions. Wherefore their common jesters and rimers, whom they terme Bards, are said to delight passingle these that conceive the grace and propertie of the toong. But the true Irish indeed differeth so much from that they commonlie speake, that scarce one in five hundred can either read, write, or understand it. Therefore it is preserved among certeine of their poets and antiquaries. And in verie déed the language carrieth such difficultie with it, what for the strangenesse of the phrase, and the curious featnes of the pronuntiation, that a verie few of the countrie can atteine to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forrener or stranger.

A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported, that he did see a woman in Rome, which was possessed with a babling spirit, that could have chatted anie language saving the Irish: and that it was so difficult, as the verie divell was gravelled therewith. A gentleman that stood by answered, that he tooke the speech to be so sacred and holie, that no damned féend had the power to speake it; no more than they are able to saie (as the report goeth) the verse of saint John the evangelist, “*Et verbum caro factum est.*” Naie by God his mercie man (quoth the other) I stand in doubt (I tell you) whether the apostles in their copious mart of languages at Jerusalem could have spoken Irish, if they were apposed: whereat the companie heartilie laughed. As fluent as the Irish toong is, yet it lacketh diverse words, and borroweth them verbatim of the English. As there is no vulgar Irish word (unlesse there be some od terme that lurketh in anie obscure shrowds or other of their storehouse) for a cote, a gowne, a dublet, an hat, a drinking cup: but onelie they use the same words with a little inflexion. They use also the contracted English phrase, God morrow, that is to saie, God give you a good morning.

I have apposed sundrie times the expertest men that could be had in the countrie, and all they could never find out an equivalent Irish word for knave. The Grecians (according to Tullie his judgement) were in the same predicament as touching the terme *Ineptus*: his words are these. “*Ego meherculè ex omnibus Latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximara semper putavi. Quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod*

non sit aptus, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlatè patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel cominodi rationein non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, in ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cumulata est eruditissima ilia Græcorum natio. Itaque qui vim huius mali Græci non viderent, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Ut enim quæras omnia, quomodo Græci ineptum appellent, non reperies.”

Certes I have béene of opinion (saith Tullie) that amongst the whole crue of Latine terms the word *Ineptus* hath beene of greatest importance or weight. For he, whom we name *Ineptus*, seemeth to me to have the etymologic or ofspring of his name here hense derived, that he is not apt ; which stretcheth far and wide in the usuall custome of our dailie spéech or communication. For he that dooth not perceive what is fitting or decent for everie season, or gableth more than he hath commission to doo, or that in bragging, hosting, or peacockwise setteth himselte foorth to the gaze, by making more of the broth, than the flesh is worth ; or he that regardeth not the vocation and affaires of them, with whome he intermedleth : or in fine, who so is stale without grace, or over tedious in anie matter, he is tearmed *Ineptus* ; which is asmuch in English, in my phantasie, as saucie, or malapert. The famous & learned Gréeke nation is generallie dusked with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not spie the enormitie thereof, they have not so much as framed a terme thereto. For if you should ransacke the whole Gréeke languaoue, you shall not find a word to countervaille *Ineptus*. Thus far Tullie. Yet Buditus would not séeme to acknowledge this barrenesse, but that the Gréeke word *πειζοήαλοξ* I referre to the judgement of the learned, being verie willing to find out some other Budæus, that could fashion an Irish word for knave, whereof this discourse of *Ineptus* grew. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is said, so each parcell differeth verie much in the Irish toong, everie countrie having his dialect, or peculiar maner in speaking the language: therefore commonlie in Ireland they ascribe a propertie to each of the foure countries in this sort. Ulster hath the right Irish phrase, but not the true pronounciation ; Munster hath the true pronounciation, but not the phrase ; Leinster is devoid of the right phrase, and true pronounciation ; Connaght hath both the right phrase and true pronounciation. There is a cholerike or disdainfull interiection used in the Irish language called Boagh, which is as much in English as twish. The Irish both in ancient time and to this daie commonlie use it, and therefore the English conquerors called them Irish poghes, or pogh Morice. Which tawnting terme is at this daie verie wrongfullie ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interiection, Fough, which is used in lothing a ranke or strong savour, seemeth to be sib to the other.

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