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ROGER ASCHAM.

Toxophilus, 1545.

JOSEPH ADDISON.

Criticism on Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' 1711-2.

LONDON:
ALEX. MURRAY & SON, 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.

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ROGER ASCHAM.

TOXOPHILUS.

1545.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S. &c.

LONDON:

J. MURRAY & SON, 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.

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CHRONICLE
of
some of the principal events
in the
LIFE, WORKS, and TIMES
of
ROGER ASCHAM,
Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Author. Tutor to Princess, afterwards Queen Elizabeth. Secretary of Embassy under Edward VI. Latin Secretary to Queens Mary and Elizabeth. Friend of Queen Elizabeth, &c.

* Probable or approximate dates.

The chief contemporary authorities for the life of Ascham are his own works, particularly his Letters, and a Latin oration De vita et obitu Rogeri Aschami, written by Rev. Dr. Edward Graunt or Grant, Headmaster of Westminster School, and 'the most noted Latiniste and Grecian of his time.' This oration is affixed to the first collection of Ascham's Letters: the date of Grant's dedication to which is 16. Feb. 1576.

The figures in brackets, as (40), in the present work, refer to Ascham's letters as arranged in Dr. Giles' edition.

1509. April 22. Henry VIII. succeeds to the throne.

1511-12. 3. Hen. VIII. c. 3. required—under penalty on default of 12d per month—all subjects under 60, not lame, decrepit, or maimed, or having any other lawful Impediment; the Clergy Judges &c excepted: to use shooting in the long bow. Parents were to provide every boy from 7 to 17 years, with a bow and two arrows: after 17, he was to find himself a bow and four arrows. Every Bower for every Ewe bow he made was to make 'at the lest ij Bowes of Elme Wiche or other Wode of mean price,' under penalty of Imprisonment for 8 days. Butts were to be provided in every town. Aliens were not to shoot with the long bow without licence.

3 Hen. VIII. c. 13. confirms 19. Hen. VII. c. 4 'against shooting in Cross-bowes &c,' which enacted that no one with less than 200 marks a year should use. This act increased the qualification from 200 to 300 marks.—Statutes of the Realm. iii. 25. 32.

*1515. Roger Ascham was born in the year 1515, at Kirby Wiske, (or Kirby Wicke,) a village near North Allerton in Yorkshire, of a family above the vulgar. His father, John Ascham, was house-steward in the family of Lord Scoop, and is said to have borne an unblemished reputation for honesty and uprightness of life. Margaret, wife of John Ascham, was allied to many considerable families, but her maiden name is not known. She had three sons, Thomas, Antony, and Roger, besides some daughters; and we learn from a letter (21) written by her son Roger, in the year 1544, that she and her husband having lived together forty-seven years, at last died on the same day and almost at the same hour.

Roger's first years were spent under his father's roof, but he was received at a very youthful age into the family of Sir Antony Wingfield, who furnished money for his education, and placed Roger, together with his own sons, under a tutor, whose name was R. Bond. The boy had by nature a taste for books, and showed his good taste by reading English in preference to Latin, with
wonderful eagerness. . . —Grant. Condensed translation by Dr. Giles in Life: see p. 10, No 9.

"This communication of teaching youth, maketh me to remembre the right worshipfull and my singuler good maister, Sir Humfrey Wingfeld, to whom neste God, I ought to refer for his manifolde benefites bestowed on me, the poore talent of learnynge, whiche god hath lent me: and for his sake do I owe my servicie to all other of the name and noble house of the Wyngfeldes, bothe in woord and dede. Thys worshipfull man hath euer loued and vsed, to haue many children brought vp in learnynge in his house amonges whome I my selfe was one. For whom at terme tymes he woulde bryng downe from London bothe bowe and shaftes. And when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him selfe in to the fyeilde, and se them shoote, and he that shot fayrest, shulde haue the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot ilfaourelye, shulde be mocked of his felowe, til he shot better."—p. 140.

In or about the year 1530, Mr. Bond . . . resigned the charge of young Roger, who was now about fifteen years old, and, by the advice and pecuniary aid of his kind patron Sir Antony, he was enabled to enter St. John's College, Cambridge, at that time the most famous seminary of learning in all England. His tutor was Hugh Fitzherbert, fellow of St. John's, whose intimate friend, George Pember, took the most lively interest in the young student. George Day, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Redman, one of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, Nicholas Ridley the Martyr, T. Watson Bishop of Lincoln, Pilkington Bishop of Durham, Walter Haddon, John Christopherson, Thomas Wilson, John Seton, and many others, were the distinguished contemporaries of Ascham at Cambridge.—Grant and Giles, idem.

He takes his B.A. "Being a boy, new Bachelor of arte, I chanced amonges my companions to speake against the Pope: which matter was than in euery mans mouth, because Dr. Haines and Dr. Skippe were cum from the Court, to debate the same matter, by preaching and disputacion in the vniversitie. This hapynd the same tyme, when I stode to be felowe there: my taulke came to Dr. Medcalfes [Master of St. John's Coll.] care: I was called before him and the Seniores: and after greevous rebuke, and some punishment, open warning was geuen to all the felowes, none to be so hardie to geue me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threates, the good father himselfe pruillie procured, that I should euon be chosen felowe. But, the election being done, he made countinanc of great discontention thereat. This good mans goodnes, and fatherlie discretion, vsed towards me that one day, shall never out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life. And for the same cause, haue I put it here, in this small record of learning. For next Gods prudence, surely that day, was by that good fathers meanes, Dies natalis, to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learning I haue, and of all the furderation, that hetherto else where I haue obtayned."—Schol. fol. 55.

"Before the king's majesty established his lecture at Cambridge, I was appointed by the votes of all the university, and was paid a handsome salary, to profess the Greek tongue in public; and I have ever since read
a lecture in St. John's college, of which I am a fellow."  
(22) To Sir W. Paget in 1544.

1537. July 3.  
[Die martis post festum Dni Petri et Pauli (June 29)] Grant. Is installed M.A.

1538. Spring.  
Visits his parents in Yorkshire, whom he had not seen  
for seven years.

Autumn.  
Date of his earliest extant letter.

1540-1542.  
Is at home in Yorkshire, for nearly two years, with  
quartan fever. Probably about this time he attended  
the archery meetings at York and Norwich. pp. 159. 160.

1540.  
æt. 24. 'In the great snow,' journeying 'in the hye waye  
betwixt Topcliffe vpon Swale; and Borrowe bridge,' he  
watches the nature of the wind by the snow-drifts. P. 157.

1541.  
æt. 25.  
Upon his repeated application, Edward Lee, Archbp  
of York, grants him a pension of 40s. (= £40 of present  
money) payable at the feast of Annunciation and on  
Michaelmas day. see (24). This pension ceased on the  
death of the Archbishop in 1544.

1541-2.  
33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. 'An Acte for Mayntanance of  
Artillerye and debarring of unaufull Games.' confirms  
3 Hen. VIII. c. 3 and, inter alia, directs that no Bowyer  
shall sell a Ewe bow to any between 8 and 14 years, above  
the price of 2d, but shall have for such, Ewe bows from  
6d to 10d: and likewise shall sell bows at reasonable prices  
youth from 14 to 21 years. Ewe bows 'of the taxe called  
Elke' were not to be sold above 35 4d, under penalty of  
20s.—Statutes of the Realm. iii. 837.

1544.  
'Spring. æt. 28. Ascham writes Toxophilus.

After Lady Day  
Both his parents die. "How hard is my lot! I first  
lost my brother, such an one as not only our family, but  
all England could hardly match, and now to lose both  
my parents as if I was not already overwhelmed with  
sorrow!" (21) To Cheke.

Before July. "I have also written and dedicated to the king's  
majesty a book, which is now in the press, On the art  
of Shooting; and in which I have shown how well it is  
fitted for Englishmen both at home and abroad, and how  
certain rules of art may be laid down to ensure its being  
learnt thoroughly by all our fellow-countrymen. This  
book, I hope, will be published before the king's departure,  
and will be no doubtful sign of my love to my country,  
or mean memorial of my humble learning." (22) To  
Sir W. Paget.

July—Sept. 30.  
The king out of the kingdom, at the head of 30,000 men  
at the siege of Boulogne, in France.

1545.  
æt. 29. Ascham presents Toxophilus to the king, in the gallery  
at Greenwich. He is granted a pension of £10, pp. 165-166.  
He is ill again, and unable to reside at Cambridge.

1546.  
æt. 30.  
Succeeds Cheke as Public Orator of his University,  
in which capacity he conducts its correspondence.


Ascham's pension which ceased on the death of  
Henry VIII., was confirmed and augmented by Edward  
VI., whom he taught to write. [Ascham's pension is  
one of the prominent things in his life.]

1548. Feb. æt. 32.  
Is Tutor to Princess Elizabeth, at Cheston. Attacked  
by her steward, he returns to the university.

1549. Sept. æt. 33  
While at home in the country, Ascham is appointed, at  
the instigation of Cheke, as Secretary to Sir Richard  
Morison, sent out as Ambassador to Emperor Charles V.  
On his way to town, has his famous interview with  


1554. April. Though a Protestant, Ascham escapes persecution; his pension of £10 is renewed and increased, see p. 165.

May 7. He is made Latin Secretary to the Queen, with a salary of 40 marks.

June 1. et 38. Resigns his Fellowship and Office of Public Orator.

1556. Nov. 17. Elizabeth begins to reign.

Ascham's pension and Secretaryship are continued.

1560. Mar. 11. Is made prebend of Wetwang, in York Cathedra. He had now possession of a considerable income. It would be satisfactory if he could be cleared from the suspicion of a too great love for cock-fighting.

1563. Dec. 10. et 47. The Court being at Windsor on account of the plague in London, Sir W. Cecil gave a dinner in his chamber. A conversation on Education arose on the news 'that diuere Scholers of Eaton be runne awaie from the Schole, for feare of beating.' Sir Richard Sackville, then silent, afterwards renewed the subject with Ascham; who finally writes for his grandson, Robert Sackville, The Scholemaster, first published by his widow in 1570.

His constitution had been enfeebled by frequent attacks of ague. Imprudently sitting up late to finish some Latin verses which he designed to present to the Queen as a new-year's gift, and certain letters to his friends, he contracted a dangerous malady, during which he was visited and consoled by his pious friend Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and William Gravet, a prebendary of that church and vicar of St. Sepulchre's London. Ascham died 30 Dec. 1568. His last words were 'I desire to depart and to be with Christ.'

He was buried at St. Sepulchre's. Nowell preached his funeral sermon, and testified that he never saw or heard of a person of greater integrity of life, or who was blessed with a more christian death. Queen Elizabeth, when informed of his decease, declared that she would rather have lost £10,000, than her tutor Ascham.

Buchanan did honour to his memory in the following epitaph:

Aschamum extinctum patriae, Graiaeque Camene,
Et Latiae veris cum bietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundis amicis,
Re modicis, in mores dicere fama neguit.
which has been thus rendered by Archdeacon Wrangham.

O'er Ascham, withering in his narrow urn,
The muses—English, Grecian, Roman—mourn;
Though poor, to greatness dear, to friendship just:
No scandal's self can taint his hallow'd dust.

Cooper. Anth. Cantag, p. 266.
TOXOPHILUS.

INTRODUCTION.

Despite his promise, see page 20, Ascham wrote no English work on a great subject. Writing late in life, his Scholemaster, he thus defends his choice in the subjects of his books:

"But, of all kinde of pastimes, fitte for a Gentleman, I will, godwilling, in fitter place, more at large, declare fullie, in my booke of the Cockpitte: which I do write, to fatiffie som, I truft, with som reason, that be more curious, in marking other mens doinges, than carefull in mending their owne faultes. And som also will nedes buie them selues in merueling, and adding thereunto vnfrendlie taulke, why I, a man of good yeares, and of no ill place, I thanke God and my Prince, do make choife to fpend soch tyme in writyng of trifles, as the schole of fhoting, the Cockpitte, and this booke of the firft Principles of Grammer, rather, than to take some weightie matter in hand, either of Religion, or Ciuill discipline.

Wife men I know, will well allow of my choife herein: and as for fuch, who haue not witte of them selues, but must learne of others, to judge right of mens doynges, let them read that wise Poet Horace in his Arte Poetica, who willeth wisemen to beware, of hie and loftie Titles. For, great shippes, require costlie tackling, and also afterward dangerous gouernment: Small boates, be neither verie chargeable in makyng, nor verie oft in great ieoperdie: and yet they cary many tymes, as good and costlie ware, as greater vessels do. A meane Argument, may eafelie beare, the light burden of a small faute, and haue alwaie at hand, a ready excufe for ill handling: And, some praife it is, if it fo chaunce, to be better in deede, than a man dare venture to feeme. A hye title, doth charge a man, with the heauie burden, of to great a promife, and therfore fayth Horace verie wittelie, that,
that Poet was a verie foole, that began hys booke, with a goodlie verse in deede, but ouer proude a promise.

Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum,

And after, as wifelie

Quantò rectius hic, qui nil molitur ineptè. &c.

Meening Homer, who, within the compaffe of a smal Argument, of one harlot, and of one good wife, did vtter fo moch learning in all kinde of sciences, as, by the judgement of Quintilian, he deferueth so hie a praise, that no man yet deferued to fit in the second degree beneth him. And thus moch out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending penne, and paper, and tyme, vpon trifles, and namelie to aunfwere some, that haue neither witte nor learning, to do any thyng them felues, neither will nor honestie, to say well of other”*

Certain it is, that in both Toxophilus and The Scholemaster (the Cockpitte if ever printed, is now loft); not only are the main arguments interwoven with a moft earnest moral purpose; but they are enlivened by frequent and charming discursions, in the which he often lays down great principles, or illustrates them from the circumstances of his time. So that in these two ways, these works, being not rigidly confined to the technical subjectts expressed by their titles, do ‘beare,’ both in those subjectts and in the passing thoughts, much of what is the highest truth.

If a Yorkshire man—who had become a ripe English Scholer, and was also a fluent English writer as well as conversant with other languages and literatures—were, in the present day, to sit down to write, for the firft time, in the defence and praise of Cricket, a book in the Yorkshire dialect: he would be able to appreciate somewhat Ascham’s position when he began to write the present work. For he lived in the very dawn of our modern learning. Not to speak of the hesituation and doubt that always impedes any novelty, the absence of any antececent literature left him without any model of stile. Accustomed as he had hitherto been to write chiefly in Latin, he must have found English composition both irkforme and laborious. Yet his love for his

country, and his delight, even from childhood, in his native tongue overcame all difficulties. "Although to haue vvritten this boke either in latin or Greeke . . . . had been more easier and fit for mi trade in study, yet neuerthelesse, I supposinge it no point of honestie, that mi commodite shoulde stop and hinder anie parte either of the pleasure or profite of manie, haue vvritten this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men."* In so doing, he has bequeathed to posterity a noble specimen of English language, expressing genuine English thought, upon a truly English subject.

Of the influence of this deliberate choice of Afcham on the literature of his time, Dr. N. Drake thus speaks:—

"The Toxophilus of this useful and engaging writer, was written in his native tongue, with the view of presenting the public with a specimen of a purer and more correct English style than that to which they had hitherto been accustomed; and with the hope of calling the attention of the learned, from the exclusive study of the Greek and Latin, to the cultivation of their vernacular language. The result which he contemplated was attained, and, from the period of this publication, the shackles of Latinity were broken, and composition in English prose became an object of eager and successful attention. Previous to the exertions of Afcham, very few writers can be mentioned as affording any model for English style. If we except the Translation of Froissart by Bourchier, Lord Berners, in 1523, and the History of Richard III. by Sir Thomas More, certainly compositions of great merit, we shall find it difficult to produce an author of much value for his vernacular prose. On the contrary, very soon after the appearance of the Toxophilus, we find harmony and beauty in English style emphatically praised and enjoined."†

Following Plato both in the form and subtlety of his work, Afcham writes it after the counsel of Aristotle. "He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muste folowe thys counsel of Aristotle, to speake as the common people do, to thinke as wise men do: and so shoulde euery man vnderstande hym, and the judgemen of wyse men alowe hym."‡

Now, we must leave the reader to listen to the plesant talk of the two College Fellows, Lover of Learning and Lover of Archery; as they discouer, beside the wheat fields in the neighbourhould of Cambridge, throughout the long summer's afternoon, upon 'the Booke and the Bowe.'

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* Editions not seen.

(a) Issues in the Author's life time.

I. *As a separate publication.*


(b) Issues subsequent to the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*


4. 1761. London. *I vol. 4to.*


6. 1788. Wrexham. *I vol. 8vo.*

7. 1815. London. *I vol. 4to.*


II. *With other works.*


6. 1788. Wrexham. *I vol. 8vo.*

7. 1815. London. *I vol. 4to.*


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II. *With other works.*

HOC Scotus & Gallus fructi domitioni, iacunt.
Subieci Domino colla superba suo.
Gualterus Haddonus
Cantabrigien.

Mittere qui celeres summa uelit arte fagittas,
Ars erit ex isto summa profecta libro.
Quicquid habent arcus rigidi, neruique rotundi,
Sumere si libet, hoc sumere fonte licet.
Afchamus est author, magnum quem fecit Apollo
Arte sua, magnum Pallas & arte sua.
Docta manus dedit hunc, dedit hunc mens docta libellum:
Quae uidet Ars Vsus uisa, parata facit.
Optimus hæc author quia tradidit optima scripta,
Conuenit hæc uobis optima uelle sequi.
To the mooste gracious, and our moost dread Soueraigne lord, 
Kyng Henrie the. viii, by the grace of God, kyng 
of Engelande, Fraunce and Irelande, Defen 
der of the faythe, and of the churche 
of Engelande and also of Irelande 
in earth supreme head, next vn 
der Christ, be al health 
victorie, and fe-
licitie.

HAT tyme as, mooste gracious Prince, your 
highnes this laft year past, tooke that your 
moost honorable and victorious iourney 
into Fraunce, accompanied vwith such a 
porte of the Nobilitie and yeomanrie of 
Engelande, as neyther hath bene lyke knovven by ex-
perience, nor yet red of in Historie : accompanied also 
vwith the daylie prayers, good hartes, and vyilles of 
all and euery one your graces subiecles, lefte behinde 
you here at home in Engelande : the same tyme, I 
beinge at my booke in Cambrige, forie that my litle 
habilitie could fi stretche out no better, to helpe forvvard 
so noble an enterprice, yet with my good vvylle, prayer, 
and harte, nothinge behynde hym that vwas formost 
of all, conceyued a vvonderful desife, bi the, praier, 
vvishing, talking, and communication that vwas in euery 
mans mouth, for your Graces moost victoriouse retourne, 
to offer vp sumthinge, at your home cumming to your 
Highnesses, vwhich shuld both be a token of mi loue 
and deutie tovvard your Maieftie, and also a signe of 
my good minde and zeale tovvarde mi countrie.
This occasion geuen to me at that time, caused me

* This dedication is entirely omitted in second edition, 1571.
to take in hand againe, this little purpose of shoting, 
begon of me before, yet not ended than, for other 

tudies more mete for that trade of liuinge, vvhiche God 
and mi frendes had set me vnto. But vvhEN your 
Graces mofte ioifull and happie victorie prevented mi 
dailie and spedie diligencie to performe this matter, 
I vvas compelled to vvaite an other time to prepare 
and offer vp this little boke vnto your Maieftie. And 
vwhan it hath pleased youre Highenesse of your infinit 
goodnesse, and also your moft honorable Counfel to 
knowv and perufe ouer the contentes, and some parte 
of this boke, and so to alovv it, that other men might 
rede it, through the furderaunce and setting forthe of 
the right worshipfull and mi Singuler good Mafter fr 
Vvilliam Pagette Knight, moost vworthie Secretarie to 
your highnes, and moost open and redie succoure to al 
poore honest learned mens futes, I moost humblie 
besche he Grace to take in good vvorthe this litle 
treatise purposed, begon, and ended of me onelie for 
this intent, that Labour, Honest pastime and Vertu, 
might recoveragaine that place and right,that Idlenesse, 
Vnthriftie gamning and Vice hath put them fro. 

And althoughe to haue vvritten this boke either in 
latin or Greke (vvhich thing I vvold be verie glad yet to 
do, if I might surelie knowv your Graces pleasure there 
in) had bene more easier and fit for mi trade in study, 
yet neuerthelessse, I supposinge it no point of honestie, 
that mi commodite shoulde stop and hinder ani parte 
either of the pleasure or profite of manie, haue vvritten 
this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for 
Englishe men: vvhere in this I trust that your Grace 
(if it shal pleafe your Highnesse to rede it) shal per-
ceau it to be a thinge Honestie for me to vvrite, 
pleasaunt for some to rede, and profitable for manie to 
folovv, contening a pastime, honest for the minde, 
holesme for the body, fit for euelli man, vile for no 
man, vsing the day and open place for Honestie to rule 
it, not lurking in corners for misorder to abufe it.
Therefore I trust it shal aper, to be bothe a sure token of my zeele to set forvarde shootinge, and some signe of my minde, tovvardes honestie and learninge. Thus I vvil trouble your Grace no longer, but vwith my daylie praier, I vwill befeche God to preferue your Grace, in al health and felicitie: to the seare and ouerthrowve of all your enemies: to the pleasure, joyfulnesse and succour of al your subiectes: to the utter destruction of papieties and heresie: to the continuall setting forth of Goddes wvorde and his glo rye.

Your Graces most bounden Scholer,

Roger Ascham.
TO ALL GENTLE MEN AND YOMEN OF ENGLANDE.

B

Ias the wyfe man came to Crefus the ryche kyng, on a tyme, when he was makynge newe shyppes, purposyng to haue subdued by water the out yles lying betwixt Grece and Asia minor: What newes now in Grece, faith the king to Bias? None other newes, but these, fayeth Bias: that the yles of Grece haue prepared a wonderful companye of horsemen, to ouerrun Lydia withall. There is nothyng vnder heauen, fayth the kynge, that I woulde so foone wisshe, as that they durft be so bolde, to mete vs on the lande with horfe. And thinke you fayeth Bias, that there is anye thynge which they wolde sooner wisshe, then that you shulde be so fonde, to mete them on the water with shyppes? And so Crefus hearyng not the true newes, but perceuyng the wise mannnes mynde and counsell, both gaue then ouer makyng of his shyppes, and left also behynde him a wonderful example for all commune wealthes to folowe: that is euermore to regarde and set moft by that thing wherevnto nature hath made them moost apt, and vse hath made them moost fitte.

By this matter I meane the shoyting in the long bowe, for English men: which thynge with all my hert I do wysh, and if I were of authoritie, I wolde counsel all the gentlemen and yomen of Englande, not to chaunge it with any other thynge, how good foeuer it feme to be: but that styll, accordyng to the oulde wont of England, youth shoulde vse it for the moost honest pastyme in peace, that men myght handle it as a moost fure weapon in warre. Other fronge weapons whiche bothe experience doth proue to be good, and the
wyfdom of the kinges Maieflie and his counfel prouydes to be had, are not ordeyned to take away fhotyng: but yat both, not compared togither, whether shuld be better then the other, but so ioyned togither that the one shoulde be alwayes an ayde and helpe for the other, myght so ftrengthen the Realme on all fydes, that no kynde of enemy in any kynde of weapon, myght passe and go beyonde vs.

For this purpofe I, partelye prouoked by the counfell of some gentlemen, partly moued by the loue whiche I haue alwayse borne towardfe fhotyng, haue wrytten this lytle treatife, wherein if I haue not satiffyed any man, I truft he wyll the rather be content with my doyng, bycaufe I am (I suppofe) the firfte, whiche hath fayde any thynge in this matter (and fewe begynnynges be perfect, fayth wyfe men) And also bycaufe yf I haue fayed a misfe, I am content that any man amende it, or yf I haue fayd to lytle, any man that wyl to adde what hym pleafeth to it.

My minde is, in profitynge and pleafynge euery man, to hurte or difplease no man, intendyng none other purpose, but that youthe myght be flyrred to labour, honefit paftyme, and vertue, and as much as laye in me, plucked from ydlenes, vnthriftie games, and vice: whyche thing I haue laboured onlye in this booke, fhewynge howe fit fhootyng is for all kyndes of men, howe honefit a paftyme for the mynde, howe holfome an exercife for the bodye, not vile for great men to vfe, not costlye for poore men to fufteyne, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at theyr pleasure, to misvfe it, but abiding in the open figt and face of the worlde, for good men if it fault by theyr wiſdome to correct it.

And here I woulde desire all gentlemen and yomen, to vfe this paftime in suche a mean, that the outragiousnes of great gamyng, shuld not hurte the honeſtie of fhotyng, which of his owne nature is alwayes ioyned with honeſtie: yet for mennes faultes oftentymes blamed vnworthely, as all good thynges haue ben, and euermore shal be.
If any man woulde blame me, eyther for takynge such a matter in hande, or els for writing it in the Englyshe tongue, this anfwere I may make hym, that whan the befte of the realme thinke it honest for them to vfe, I one of the meanefte forte, ought not to suppoſe it vile for me to write: And though to haue written it in an other tonge, had bene bothe more profitable for my ſtudy, and also more honest for my name, yet I can thinke my labour wel bestowed, yf with a little hynderaunce of my profyt and name, maye come any fourtheraunce, to the pleafure or commoditie, of the gentlemen and yeomen of Englande, for whose fake I tooke this matter in hande. And as for ye Latin or greke tonge, euery thing is fo excellently done in them, that none can do better: In the Englyſh tonge contrary, euery thinge in a manner fo meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynde, that no man can do worfe. For therein the leaſt learned for the moſte parte, haue ben alwayes moſt redye to wryte. And they whiche had leaſte hope in latin, haue bene moſte bolde in englyſhe: when ſurelye euery man that is moſte ready to taulke, is not moſt able to wryte. He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muſte folowe thys councel of Ariftotle, to ſpeake as the common people do, to thinke as wise men do; and ſo ſhoulde euery man vnderſtande hym, and the iudgement of wyſe men alowe hym. Many Engliſh writers haue not done so, but vſinge ſтраunge wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man whiche reafoned the englyſhe tongue to be enryched and encreaued therby, ſayinge: Who wyll not prayſe that ſeaſte, where a man ſhall drinke at a diner, bothe wyne, ale and beere? Truely quod I, they be all good, euery one taken by hym ſeſfe alone, but if you putte Maluesye and ſacke, read wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you ſhall make a drynke, neyther easie to be knowne, nor yet holſom for the bodye. Cicero in folowyng Ifocrates, Plato and Demoſthenes, increased the latine tounge after an
other forte. This waye, bycaufe dyuers men yat write, do not know, they can neyther folowe it, bycaufe of theyr ignorauncie, nor yet will prayse it, for verye arrogauncie, ii faultes, feldome the one out of the others companye.

Englysh writers by diuerfitie of tyme, haue taken diuerfe matters in hande. In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but booke of fayned cheualrie, wherein a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye. Yf any man suppose they were good ynough to passe the time with al, he is deceyued. For surelye vayne woordes doo woorke no smal thinge in vayne, ignoraunt, and younge mindes, specially yf they be gyuen any thyng that are in hande. These bokes (as I haue heard fay) were made the moste parte in Abbayes, and Monafleries, a very lickely and fit fruite of suche an ydle and blynde kinde of lyuynge.

In our tyme nowe, whan euery manne is gyuen to knowe muche rather than to liue wel, very many do write, but after suche a fashion, as very many do shoote. Some shooters take in hande stronger bowes, than they be able to mayntayne. This thyng maketh them summytyme, to outshoote the marke, summytyme to hote far wyde, and perchaunce huret summe that looke on. Other that neuer learned to hote, nor yet knoweth good shafte nor bowe, wyll be as busie as the best, but suche one commonly plucketh doune a syde, and crafty archers which be agaynst him, will be bothe glad of hym, and also ever ready to laye and bet with him: it were better for suche one to fit doune than hote. Other there be, whiche haue verye good bowe and shaftes, and good knowledge in shootinge, but they haue bene brought vp in suche euyl fayoure dhooteynge, that they can neyther hote fayre, nor yet nere. Yf any man wyll applye these thynges togyther, shal not fe the one farre differ from the other.

And I alfo amonges all other, in writinge this lytle treatife, haue folowed summe yonge shooters, whiche
bothe wyll begyn to shoote, for a lytle moneye, and also wyll vse to shote ones or twife about the marke for nought, afore they beginne a good. And therfore did I take this little matter in hande, to assaye my felse, and hereafter by the grace of God, if the judgement of wyse men, that looke on, thinke that I can do any good, I maye perchaunce caste my shafte amonge other, for better game.

Yet in writing this booke, some man wyll maruayle perchaunce, why that I beyng an vnperfyte shoter, shoulde take in hande to write of makyng a perfyte archer: the same man peraduenture wyll maruayle, howe a whettestone whiche is blunte, can make the edge of a knife sharpe: I woulde ye fame man shulde consider also, that in goyng about anye matter, there be. iii. things to be considered, doyng, fayng, thinking and perfectnesse: Firfte there is no man that doth so wel, but he can faye better, or elles summe men, whiche be now starke nought, shuld be to good. Agayne no man can vttter wyth his tong, so wel as he is able to imagin with his minde, and yet perfectnesse it selfe is farre aboue all thinking. Than feeing that faying is one steppe nerer perfectenesse than doyng, let every man leue maruelyng why my woorde shall rather expresse, than my dede shall perfourme perfecte shottinge.

I truflle no man will be offended with this little booke excepte it be summe fletchers and bowiers, thinking hereby that manye that loue shootynge shall be taughte to refuse suche noughtie wares as they woulde vttter. Honefl fletchers and bowyers do not fo, and they that be vnhonefl, oughte rather to amende them selues for doinge ill, than be angrie with me for fayinge wel. A fletcher hath euenn as good a quarell to be angry with an archer that refuseth an ill shaft, as a bladesmith hath to a fletcher yat forfaketh to bye of hym a noughtie knyfe. For as an archer must be content that a fletcher knowe a good shafte in euery poynfte for the perfecte makyng of it, So an honesfl fletcher will also be content that a shooter knowe a good shafte in euery
poynte for the perfiter vſing of it: bicaufe the one knoweth like a Fletcher how to make it, the other knoweth lyke an archer howe to vſe it. And feyng the knowlge is one in them bothe, yet the ende diuerfe, furely that Fletcher is an enemye to archers and artillery, whiche can not be content that an archer knowe a Shafte as well for his vſe in Shotynge, as he hym felfe shoulde knowe a Shafte, for hys aduantage in Fellynge. And the rather bycaufe Shaftes be not made fo muche to be folde, but cheffely to be vſed. And feyng that vſe and occupiyng is the ende why a Shafte is made, the making as it were a meane for occupying, furely the knowlge in euery poynte of a good Shafte, is more to be required in a Shooter than a Fletcher.

Yet as I sayde before no honest Fletcher will be angry with me, feinge I do not teache howe to make a Shafte whiche belongeth onelye to a good Fletcher, but to knowe and handle a Shafte, which belongeth to an archer. And this lyttle booke I truſte, shall please and profite both partes: For good bowes and Shaftes shall be better knowen to the commoditie of al Shooters, and good Shotynge may perchaunce be the more occupied to the profite of all bowyers and Fletchers. And thus I praye God that all Fletchers getting their lyuynge truly, and al archers vsyne Shootynge honestly, and all maner of men that fauour artillery, may lyue continuallye in healthy and merinesse, obeying their prince as they shulde, and louing God as they ought, to whom for al thinges be al ho-
nour and glorye for euer. Amen
TOXOPHILVS,

The schole of shootinge conteyned in two bookes.

To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande,
pleasaunte for theyr paftyme to rede,
and profitable for theyr use
to folow, both in war
and peace.

The contentes of the first booke.

Earnest businesse ought to be refreshed
wyth honeste paftyme. . . . Fol. r. [A p. 25.]
Shootyng most honest paftyme. . . 3. [B 29.]
The inuention of shootinge. . . . 5. [C 31.]
Shootynge fit for princes and greate men. 5. [ 32.]
Shootyng, fit for Scholers and studentes. 8. [D 37.]
Shootynge fitter for studentes than any
musike or Instrumentes. . . . 9. [E 39.]
Youthe ought to learne to singe. . . 11. [ 41.]
No manner of man doth or can use to muche shootynge. 14. [p. 44.]

Agaynst vnlawfull gammes and namelye cardes and dice. 16. [F 49.]

Shootyng in war. 24. [G 62.]

Obedience the best propertie of a Soul. 25. [63.]

Reasons and authorites agaynst shootynge in war with the confutacion of the same. 26. [65.]

God is pleased with stronge wepons and valyaunt feates of war. 28. [70.]

The commoditie of shootyng in war through the Histories Greke and Latin, and all nations Christen and Heathen. 29. [J 70.]

Use of shootyng at home causeth the stronge shootinge in warre. 41. [E 88.]

Use of shootyng at home, except men be apte by nature, and connynge by teachyng, doth litle good at all. 43. [91.]

Lacke of learnynge to shoote causeth the Eng- lande lacke many a good archer. 46. [95.]

In learnyng any thyng, a man must couete to be best, or els he shal never attayne to be meane. 47. [98.]
A Table conteyning the second booke.

Brafer  Shotingloue  [p. 108.]
  Strynge  [109.]
  Bowe  [110.]
  Shaftes  [112.]
  Wether  [150.]
  Marke.  [160.]

Standinge  [147.]
  Nockyng  [148.]
  Drawinge  [149.]
  Holdyng  [164.]
  Lowinge.

Proper for everye fere mannes vie.

By knowing things belon- 

ging to shooyng.

General to all men.

Without a man.

Within a man.

Auoydyng all affection.

Bothe come partly.

By handle- 

lenges belonging 

to shooyng.

Keppyng a length.

Hittyng the marke, by
TOXOPHILVS,

A,

The first boke of the schole of shoting.

Philologus. Taxophillus.

Philologus You studie to sore Toxophile. A

Tax. I wil not hurt my self ouer-moche I warraunt you.

Phi. Take hede you do not, for we Physicians saye, that it is nether good for the eyes in so cleare a Sunne, nor yet holsome for ye bodie, so soone after meate, to looke vpon a mans boke.

Tax. In eatinge and studyinge I will neuer folowe anye Physike, for yf I dyd, I am sure I shoulde haue small pleasure in the one, and lesse courage in the other. But what newes draue you hyther I praye you?

Phi. Small newes trulie, but that as I came on walkynge, I fortuned to come with thre or foure that went to shote at the pryckes: And when I fawe not you amonges them, but at the laft espyed you lokynge on your booke here so fadlye, I thought to come and holde you with some communication, left your boke shoulde runne awaye with you. For me thought by your waueryng pace and earnest lokying, your boke led you, not you it.
Tor. In dede as it chaunced, my mynde went faster then my feete, for I happened here to reade in Phedro Platonis, a place that entretes wonderfullie of the nature of foules, which place (whether it were for the paffynge eloquence of Plato, and the Greke tongue, or for the hyghe and godlie description of the matter, kept my mynde so occupied, that it had no leisure to loke to my feete. For I was reding howe some foules being well fethered, flewe ahvayes about heauen and heauenlie matters, other some hauinge their fethers mowted awaye, and droupinge, fanke downe into earthlie thinges.

Phi. I remembre the place verie wel, and it is wonderfullie sayd of Plato, and now I fe it was no maruell though your fete fayled you, feing your minde flewe fo faſt.

Tor. I am gladde now that you letted me, for my head akes with loking on it, and bycaufe you tell me so, I am verye forie yat I was not with those good feloes you spake vpon, for it is a verie faire day for a man to frote in.

Phi. And me thinke you were a great dele better occupied and in better companie, for it is a very faire daye for a man to go to his boke in.

Tor. Al dayes and wethers wil serue for that purpoſe, and surelie this occaſion was ill loft.

Phi. Yea but clere wether maketh clere mindes, and it is beſt as I suppose, to fpend ye beſt time vpon the beſt thinges: And me thought you fhot verie wel, and at that marke, at which every good scoler shoulde moſte buſilie frote at. And I suppose it be a great dele more pleaſure alfo, to fote a foule flye in Plato, then a ſhaſte flye at the prickeſ. I graunte you, fhoting is not the worſt thing in the world, yet if we fhot, and time frote, we ar[e] not like to be great winners at the length. And you know also we scholers haue more ernest and weightie matters in hand, nor we be not borne to paſtime and pley, as you know wel ynough who fayth.

Tor. Yet the fame man in the fame place Philologe,
by your leue, doth admitte holome, honest and manerlie pastimes to be as necessarie to be mingled with sad matters of the minde, as eating and sleping is for the health of the body, and yet we be borne for neither of bothe. And Aristotle him selle sfayth, yat although it were a fonde and a chyldisf thing to be to ernest in pastime and play, yet doth he affirme by the authoritie of the oulde Poet Epicharmus, that a man may vfe play for ernest matter fake. And in an other place, yat as rest is for labour, and medicines for helth, fo is pastime at tymes for sad and weightie studie.

"Ph". How moche in this matter is to be gienen to ye auctoritie either of Aristotle or Tullie, I can not tel, feing sad men may wel ynough speke merily for a merie matter, this I am sure, whiche thing this faire wheat (god faue it) maketh me remembre, yat thos hobandmen which rife erlifest, and come latest home, and are content to haue their diner and other drinckinges, broughte into the fielde to them, for feare of lofing of time, haue fatter barnes in haruest, than they whiche will either flepe at none time of the daye, or els make merie with their neighbours at the ale. And so a scholer yat purpofeth to be a good hufband, and defireth to repe and enjoy much fruite, of learninge, musfe tylle and fowe thereafter. Our beste feeede tyme, which be scholers, as it is verie tymelye, and whan we be yonge: fo it endureth not ouerlonge, and therefore it maye not be let slippe one houre, our grounde is verye harde, and full of wedes, our horfe wherwith we be drawn very wylde as Plato sayth. And infinite other mo lettes whiche wil make a thriftie scholer take hede how he spendeth his tyme in sporte and pleye.

"Tor". That Aristotle and Tullie spake ernestlie, and as they thought, the ernest matter which they entrate vpon, doth plainlye proue. And as for your hufbandrie, it was more probablie tolde with apt wordes
propre to ye thing, then throughly proued with reaſons belonginge to our matter. Far contrariwife I herd my selfie a good husbande at his boke ones faye, that to omit studie fomtime of the daye, and fome-
time of the yere, made afmoche for the encreafe of learning, as to let the land lye fomtime falloe, maketh for the better encreafe of corne. This we fe, ye the lande be plowed euer ye, the corne commeth thinne vp, the eare is short, the grayne is small, and when it is brought into the barne and threfhed, gyueth very euill faul. So those which neuer leaue poring on their bokes, haue oftentimes as thinne inuention, as other poore men haue, and as fmal wit and weight in it as in other mens. And thus youre husbandrie me thinke, is more like the life of a couetoufe snudge that oft very euill preues, then the labour of a good husband that knoweth wel what he doth. And furelie the best wittes to lerning muſt nedes haue moche recreation and ceasing from their boke, or els they marre them felues, when base and dompyſhe wittes can neuer be hurte with continuall studie, as ye fe in luting, that a treble minikin firing muſt alwayes be let down, but at fuche time as when a man muſt nedes playe: when ye base and dull ftryng nedeth neuer to be moued out of his place. The fame reaſon I finde true in two bowes that I haue, wherof the one is quicke of caſt, tricke, and trimme both for pleafaure and profyte: the other is a lugge flowe of caſt, folowing the ftring, more fure for to laſt, then pleafaunt for to vfe. Now fir it chaunced this other night, one in my chambre wolde nedes bende them to proue their ſtrength, but I can not tel how, they were both left bente tyll the nexte daye at after dyner: and when I came to them, purpoſing to haue gone on ſhoting, I found my good bowe clene caſt on the one side, and as weake as water, that furelie (if I were a riche man) I had rather haue ſpent a crowne; and as for my lugge, it was not one whyt the worfe: but ſhotte by and by as wel and as farre as euer it dyd. And euensō I am sure that
good wittes, except they be let downe like a treble string, and vnbeut like a good casting bowe, they wil neuer laft and be able to continue in studie. And I know where I speake this Philologe, for I wolde not faye thus moche afore yong men, for they wil take soone occasion to studie litle ymough. But I faye it therfore bicaufe I knowe, as litle studie getteth litle learninge or none at all, so the moost studie getteth not ye moost learning of all. For a mans withe fore occupied in ernest studie, must be as wel recreated with some honest paftime, as the body forelabored, must be refreshed with slepe and quietnesse, or els it can not endure very longe, as the noble poete sayeth. What thing wants quiet and meri rest endures but a smal while.

And I promise you shotinge by my judgement, is ye moost honest paftime of all, and suche one I am sure, of all other, that hindreth learning litle or nothing at all, whatsoever you and some other faye, whiche are a gret dele forer against it alwaies than you neede to be.

Phi. Hindereth learninge litle or nothinge at all? that were a meruayle to me truelie, and I am sure feing you fay fo, you haue some reason wherewith you can defende shooting withall, and as for wyl (for the loue that you beare toward拍摄inge) I thinke there shal lacke none in you. Therfore feinge we haue fo good leyfure bothe, and no bodie by to trouble vs: and you fo willinge and able to defende it, and I so redy and glad to heare what may be sayde of it I suppose we canne not passe the tyme better ouer, neyther you for ye honestie of your shoting, nor I for myne owne mindsake, than to fe what can be sayed with it, or agaynste it, and especiallie in these dayes, whan so many doeth vse it, and euerie man in a maner doeth common of it.

Tor. To speake of shootinge Philologe, trulye I woulde I were so able, either as I my selfe am willing or yet as the matter deferrueth, but feing with wisheing we can not haue one nowe worthie, whiche so worthie
a thing can worthilie praife, and although I had rather haue anie other to do it than my selfe, yet my selfe rather then no other. I wil not fail to faye in it what I can wherin if I faye litle, laye that of my litle habilite, not of the matter it selfe which deservueth no lyttle thinge to be fayde of it.

Phi. If it deferue no little thinge to be fayde of it Toxophile, I maruell howe it chaunceth than, that no man hitherto, hath written any thinge of it: wherin you must graunte me, that eyther the matter is noughte, vnworthye, and barren to be written vpon, or els some men are to blame, whiche both loue it and vfe it, and yet could neuer finde in theyr heart, to faye one good woorde of it, feinge that very trislinge matters hath not lacked great learned men to fette them out, as gnattes and nuttes, and many other mo like thinges, wherfore eyther you may honestlie laye verie great faut vpon men bycaufe they neuer yet prayed it, or els I may iustlie take awaye no litle thinge from shootinge, bycaufe it neuer yet deserued it.

Tox. Trulye herein Philologe, you take not fo muche from it, as you giue to it. For great and commodious thynges are neuer greatlilie prayed, not bycause they be not worthie, but bicaufe their excellencie nedeth no man hys prayse, hauinge all theyr commendation of them felse not borowed of other men his lippes, which rather prayse them felse, in spekyng much of a litle thyngne than that matter whiche they entreat vpon. Great and good thinges be not prayed. For who euer prayed Hercules (fayeth the Greke prouerbe). And that no man hitherto hath written any booke of shotinge the fault is not to be layed in the thyng whiche was worthie to be written vpon, but of men which were negligent in doyng it, and this was the cause therof as I fuppofe. Menne that vfed shootyng mofle and knewe it best, were not learned: men that were lerned, vfed litle shotinge, and were ignorant in the nature of the thynghe, and fo fewe menne hath bene that hitherto were able to wryte vpon it. Yet howe
longe shotying hath continued, what common wealthes hath moste vised it, howe honeste a thynge it is for all men, what kynde of liuing so euer they folow, what pleasure and profit commeth of it, both in peace and warre, all maner of tongues and writers, Hebrue, Greke and Latine, hath so plentifullie spoken of it, as of fewe other things like. So what shooting is howe many kindes there is of it, what goodnesse is ioyned with it, is tolde: onelye howe it is to be learned and brought to a perfectnesse amonges men, is not toulde.

Phì. Than Toxophile, if it be so as you do seye, let vs go forwarde and examin howe plentifullie this is done that you speke, and firste of the inuention of it, than what honestie and profit is in the use of it, bothe for warre and peace, more than in other pastimes, lafte of all howe it ought to be learned amonges men for the encrease of it, which thinge if you do, not onelye I nowe for youre communication but many other mo, when they shall knowe of it, for your labour, and shotying it selfe also (if it could speke) for your kyndnesse, wyll can you very moche thanke.

Toxoph. What good thynges men speake of shoting and what good thinges shooting brings to men as my wit and knowlege will serue me, gladly shall I say my mind. But how the thing is to be learned I will surelie leue to some other which bothe for greater experience in it, and also for their lerninge, can fet it out better than I.

Phì. Well as for that I knowe both what you can do in shotting by experience, and yat you can also speke well yndoe of shotting, for youre learning, but go on with the first part. And I do not doubt, but what my desyre, what your loue toward it, the honestie of shoting, the profite that may come thereby to many other, shall get the seconde parte out of you at the laft.

Toxoph. Of the first finders out of shotting, diuers men diuerlye doo wryte. Claudiane the poete sayth that nature gaue example of shotying first, by the Porpentine, which doth shote his prickes, and will hitte any thinge that fightes with it:
whereby men learned afterwarde to immitate the fame in findyng out both bowe and shaftes. Plinie referreth it to Schythes the fonne of Iupiter. Better and more noble wryters bringe shoting from a more noble inuentour: as Plato, Calimachus, and Galene from Apollo. Yet longe afore those dayes do we reade in the bible of shotinge expreslye. And alfo if we shall beleue Nicholas de Lyra, Lamech killed Cain with a shaft. So this great continuaunce of shoting doth not a lytle praife shotinge: nor that neither doth not a little set it oute, that it is referred to th[e] inuention of Apollo, for the which poynt shoting is highlye praifed of Galene: where he fayth, yat mean craftes be first found out by men or beastes, as weauning by a spidr, and suche other: but high and commendable scienes by goddes, as fhotinge and musicke by Apollo. And thus fhotynge for the necelftie of it vfed in Adams dayes, for the nobleneffe of it referred to Apollo, hath not ben onelie commended in all tunges and writers, but alfo had in greate price, both in the beft commune wealthes in warre tyme for the defence of their countrie, and of all degrees of men in peace tyme, bothe for the honeftie that is ioyned with it, and the profyte that foloweth of it.

Phìłòl. Well, as concerning the fyndinge oute of it, little prayfe is gotten to shotinge therby, feinge good wittes maye moostle easelye of all fynde oute a trifleynge matter. But where as you faye that moostle commune wealthes haue vfed it in warre tyme, and all degrees of men maye verye honeftlye vfe it in peace tyme: I thynke you can neither shewe by authoritie, nor yet proue by reafon.

Tɔρɔθi. The vfe of it in warre tyme, I wyll declare hereafter. And firfte howe all kindes and fortes of men (what degree soeuer they be) hath at all tymes afore, and nowe maye honeftlye vfe it: the example of moostle noble men verye well doeth proue.
Cyaxares the kynge of the Medees, and greate graundefather to Cyrus, kepte a forte of Sythians with him onely for this purpose, to teache his sonne Aftyages to shote. Cyrus being a childe was brought vp in shoting, which thinge Xenophon wolde neuer haue made mention on, except it had ben fitte for all princes to haue vfed: seing that Xenophon wrote Cyrus lyfe (as Tullie fayth) not to shewe what Cyrus did, but what all maner of princes both in pastimes and earnest matters ought to do.

Darius the firt of that name, and king of Perfie shewed plainly howe fit it is for a kynge to loue and vfe shotynge, whiche commaunded this sentence to be grauen in his tombe, for a Princelie memorie and prayfe.

Darius the King lieth buried here
That in shoting and riding had neuer pere.

Agayne, Domitian the Emperour was so cunning in shoting that he coulde shote betwixte a mans fingers standing asfarre of, and neuer hurt him. Comodus also was so excellent, and had so fure a hande in it, that there was nothing within his retche and shote, but he wolde hit it in what place he wolde: as beasts runninge, either in the heed, or in the herte, and neuer myffe, as Herodiane fayeth he fawe him felse, or els he coulde neuer haue beleued it.

Phil. In dede you praife shoting very wel, in yat you shewe that Domitian and Comodus loue shotinge, fuche an vngracious couple I am fure as a man shall not fynde agayne, if he raked all hell for them.

Toraph. Wel euen as I wyll not commende their ilnesse, so ought not you to dispraife their goodnesse, and in dede, the judgement of Herodian vpon Commodus is true of them bothe, and that was this: that
beside strength of bodie and good shooting, they hadde no princelie thing in them, which sayinge me thinke commendes shooting wonderfullie, callinge it a princelie thinge.

Furthermore howe commendable shootinge is for princes: Themisteus the noble philospher sheweth in a certayne oration made to Theodosius th[e] emperoure, wherein he doeth commende him for. iii. thinges, that he vfed of a childe. For shootinge, for rydinge of an horfe well, and for feates of armes.

Moreover, not onelye kingses and emperours haue ben brought vp in shooting, but also the best commune wealthes that euer were, haue made goodlie actes and lawes for it, as the Persians which vnder Cyrus conquered in a maner all the worlde, had a lawe that their children shulde learne thre thinges, onelie from v. yeare oulde vnto. xx. to ryde an horfe well, to shote well, to speake truthe alwayes and never lye. The Romaines (as Leo the[e] imperour in his boke of sleightes of warre telleth) had a lawe that every man shoulde vse shooting in peace tyme, while he was. xl. yere olde and that euerye house shoulde haue a bowe, and. xl. shaftes ready for all nedes, the omittinge of whiche lawe (fayth Leo) amonges the youthe, hath ben the onely occasion why the Romaynes loft a great dele of their empire. But more of this I wil speake when I come to the profite of shooting in warre. If I shuld rehearse the flatutes made of noble princes of Englande in parliaments for the fettyng forwarde of shooting, through this realme, and specially that acte made for shooting the thyrde yere of the reygne of our mooft drad soueraygne lorde king Henry the. viii. I could be very long. But these fewe examples specially of so great men and noble common wealthes, shall stand in flete of many.

Phill. That suche princes and suche commune welthes haue moche regarded shooting, you haue well
declared. But why shotinge ought to of it selfe to be regarded, you haue scarcelye yet proued.

Tox. Examples I graunt out of histories do shew a thing to be so, not proue a thing why it shuld be so. Yet this I supposse, yat neither great mens qualities being commendable be without great authoritie, for other men honestly to folow them: nor yet those great learned men that wrote suche thinges, lacke good reason iustly at al tymes for any other to approue them. Princes beinge children oughte to be brought vp in shoting: both bycause it is an exercize mooft holsom, and also a pastyme mooft honest: wherein labour prepareth the body to hardnesse, the minde to courageousnesse, sufferyng neither the one to be marde with tendernesse, nor yet the other to be hurte with ydlenesse: as we reade how Sardanapalus and suche other were, bycause they were not brought vp with outwarde honest payneful pastymes to be men: but cockerde vp with inwarde noughtie ydle wantonnnesse to be women. For how fit labour is for al youth, Jupiter or els Minos amonges them of Grece, and Lycurgus amonges the Lacedemonians, do shewe by their lawes, which neuer ordeyned any thing for ye bringyng vp of youth that was not ioyned with labour. And the labour which is in shoting of al other is best, both bycause it encreaseth strenght, and preferueth health mooft, beinge not vehement, but moderate, not ouerlaying any one part with wery-somnesse, but softly exercisyng every parte with equalnesse, as the armes and breastes with drawinge, the other parties with going, being not so paynsfull for the labour as pleasaunt for the pastyme, which exercize by the judgement of the best phyficions, is most alowable. By shoting also is the mynde honestly exercisef where a man alwaies desireth to be best (which is a worde of honestie) and that by the same waye, that vertue it selfe doeth, couetinge to come nighest a mooft perfite ende or meane standing betwixte. ii. extremes, escheweing
shorte, or gone, or eitherlyde wide, for the which causes Aristotle him selfe sayth that shoting and vertue is very like. Moreover that shoting of all other is the mooft honest pastyme, and hath leeff occasion to noughtinesse ioynd with it. ii. thinges very playnelye do proue, which be as a man wolde faye, the tutours and ouerfeers to shotinge: Daye light and open place where euerye man doeth come, the maynteyners and keepers of shoting, from all vnhonefl doing. If shotinge faulte at any tyme, it hydes it not, it lurkes not in corners and hudder-
mother: but openly accuseth and bewrayeth it selfe, which is the nexte waye to amendment, as wyfe men do faye. And these thinges I suppofe be signes, not of noughtinesse, for any man to difalowe it: but rather verye playne tokens of honestie, for euerye man to prayfe it.

The vfe of shotinge alfo in greate mennes children fhall greatlye encrease the loue and vfe of shotinge in all the residue of youth. For meane mennes myndes loue to be lyke greate menne, as Plato and Iftocrates do faye. And that euerye bodye shoulde learne to fhote when they be yonge, defence of the commune wealth, doth require when they be olde, which thing can not be done mightelye when they be men, excepte they learne it perfitelye when they be boyes. And therfore shotinge of all pastymes is mooft fitte to be vfed in childhood: bycause it is an imitation of mooft ernest thinges to be done in manhode.

Wherfore, shoting is fitte for great mens children, both bycause it strengthneth the body with holfome labour, and pleafeth the mynde with honest pastime and also encourageth all other youth ernestlye to folowe the fame. And thefe reasons (as I suppofe) stirred vp both great men to bring vp their children in shotinge, and also noble commune wealthes fo straytelye to commaunde shotinge. Therfore feinge Princes moued by honest occafions, hath in al commune wealthes vfed
The schole of shooting.

 štotynge, I suppose there is none other degree of men, neither lowe nor hye, learned nor leude, yonge nor oulde.

Phìl. You shal nede Wade no further in this matter Toxophile, but if you can proue me that scholers and men gyuen to learning maye honeste-lie vfe shtoting, I wyll soone graunt you that all other fortes of men maye not onelye lefullie, but ought of dutie to vfe it. But I thinke you can not proue but that all these examples of shtotinge brought from so longe a tyme, vfed of so noble princes, confirmed by so wyse mennes lawes and iudgementes, are fette afore temporall men, onelye to followe them: whereby they may the better and stronglyer defende the commune wealth withall. And nothing belongeth to scholers and learned men, which haue an other parte of the commune wealth, quiete and peaceable put to their cure and charge, whose ende as it is diuerse from the other, so there is no one waye that leadeth to them both.

Tox. I graunte Philologe, that scholers and lay men haue diuerse offices and charges in the commune wealth, whiche requires diuerse bringing vp in their youth, if they shal do them as they ought to do in their age. Yet as temporall men of neceffitie are compelled to take somewhat of learning to do their office the better withal: So scholers maye the boldlyer borowe somwhat of laye mennes pastimes, to maynteyne their health in studie withall. And furelie of al other thinges shtoting is neceffary for both fortes to learne. Whiche thing, when it hath ben euermore vfed in Engelande how moche good it hath done, both oulde men and Chronicles doo tell: and alfo our enemies can beare vs recorde. For if it be true (as I haue hearde faye) when the kyng of Engelande hath ben in Fraunce, the preestes at home bicaufe they were archers, haue ben able to overthowe all Scotланde. Agayne ther is an other thing which aboue all other doeth moue me, not onely to loue shtotinge, to prayfe shtoting, to exhorte all other to shtotinge, but alfo to
vse shoting my felfe: and that is our kyng his mooft royall purpose and wyll, whiche in all his statute
generallye doth commaunde men, and with his own mouthe mooft gentlie doeth exhorte men, and by his
greate gyftes and rewardes, greatly doth encourage
men, and with his mooft princelie example very oft
doeth prouoke all other men to the same. But here
you wyll come in with temporal man and scholer: I
tell you plainlye, scholer or vn scholer, yea if I were.
xx. scholers, I wolde thinke it were my dutie, bothe
with exhortinge men to mote, and also with shoting my
felfe to helpe to fet forwarde that thing which the
kinge his wisdome, and his counfell, so greatlye
laboureth to go forwarde: whiche thing surelye they
do, bycaufe they knowe it to be in warre, the defence
and wal of our countrie, in peace, an exercise mooft
golsome for the body, a pastime mooft honeft for the
mynde, and as I am able to proue my felfe, of al other
mofte fit and agreable with learninge and learned
men.

If you can proue this thing so playnly, as you
speake it erneftly, then wil I, not only thinke as you
do, but become a shooter and do as you do. But yet
beware I faye, leat you for the great loue you bear
towarde shotinge, blindlie judge of shootinge. For
loue and al other to ernest affections be not for nought
paynted blinde. Take hede (I faye) leat you prefer
shootinge afor other pastimes, as one Balbinus through
blinde affection, preferred his louer before all other
wemen, although she were deformed with a polypus in
her nofe. And although shooting maye be mete
fometyme for some scholers, and so forthe: yet the
fitteft alwayes is to be preferred. Therefore if you will
nedes graunt scholers pastime and recreation of their
mindes, let them vse (as many of them doth) Musyke,
and playing on instrumentes, thinges mofte femely for
all scholers, and mofte regarded alwayes of Apollo
and the Mufes.

Euen as I can not deny, but some musike is
fit for lerning so I trust you can not chose but graunt, that shoting is fit also, as Calimachus doth signifie in this verse.

Both merie songes and good shoting deliteth Apollo.  Cal. hym. 2.

Butas concerning whether of them is mosste fit for learning, and scholers to vse, you may faye what you will for your pleafure, this I am fure that Plato and Arifotle bothe, in their bokes entreatinge of the common welthe, where they fthew howe youthe shoulde be brought vp in. iiii. things, in redinge, in writing, in exercife of bodye, and finging, do make mention of Muficke and all kindes of it, wherein they both agre, that Muficke vfed amonges the Lydians is verie ill for yong men, which be students for vertue and learning, for a certain nice, fofte, and smooth swetnesse of it, whiche woulde rather entice them to noughtines, than flirre them to honefllie.  

An other kinde of Muficke inuented by the Dorians, they both wonderfully prayfe, alowing it to be verie fytt for the studie of vertue and learning, because of a manlye, rough and floute founde in it, whiche fhulde encourage yong flomakes, to attempte manlye matters.  Nowe whether these balades and roundes, these galiardes, pauanes and daunces, fo nicelye fingered, fo swetely tuned, be lyker the Mufike of the Lydians or the Dorians, you that be learned iudge.  And what fo euer ye iudge, this I am fure, yat lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instrumentes euery one, whiche flandeth by fine and quicke fingeringe, be condemned of Arif-  

Aristot. pol. 8. 6.  

Aristotle, as not to be brought in and vfed amonge them, whiche studie for learning and vertue.  

Pallas when she had inuented a pipe, caft it away, not fo mucche fayeth Arifotle, becaufe it deformed her face, but mucche rather bycause fuche an Instrumente belonged nothing to learnyng.  Howe fuche Instrumentes agree with learning, the goodlye agrement betwixt Apollo god of learninge, and Marfyas the
Satyr, defender of pipinge, doth well declare, where Marfyas had his skine quite pulled over his head for his labour.

Muche mulke marreth mennes maners, sayth Galen, although some man wil faye that it doth not so, but rather recreateth and maketh quycke a mannnes mynde, yet me thinke by reason it doth as hony doth to a mannnes stomacke, whiche at the first receyueth it well, but afterwarde it maketh it vnfit, to abyde any good stronge norisynge meate, or els anye holsome sharpe and quicke drinke. And euem so in a manner these Instrumentes make a mannnes wit so softe and smoothe so tender and quaisfe, that they be lesse able to brooke, strong and tough studie. Wittes be not sharpened, but rather dulled, and made blunte, wyth suche sweete softenesse, euem as good edges be blonter, whiche menne whette vpon softe chalke stones.

And these things to be true, not onely Plato Ariflotle and Galen, proue by authoritie of reason, but also Herodotus and other writers, shewe by playne and euident example, as that of Cyrus, whiche after he had overcome the Lydians, and taken their kinge Crefus prisioner, yet after by the meane of one Pactyas a verye headie manne amonges the Lydians, they rebelled agaynstle Cyrus agayne, then Cyrus had by an by, broughte them to utter destruction, yf Crefus being in good fauour with Cyrus had not hertelie desyred him, not to reuenge Pactyas faulte, in shedynghe theyr blood. But if he would folowe his counsell, he myght brynge to passe, that they shoulde neuer more rebel agaynst hym, And yat was this, to make them weare long kyrtils, to ye foot lyke woomen, and that euerye one of them shoulde haue a harpe or a lute, and learne to playe and fing whyche thinge if you do sayth Crefus (as he dyd in deede) you shall fe them quickelye of men, made women. And thus lutinge and fissinge take awaye a manlye stomake, whiche shulde enter and pearce depe and harde studye.
Euen fuchean other storie doeth Nymphodorus an olde greke Historiographer write, of one Sesostris kinge of Egypte, whiche storie because it is somewhat longe, and very lyke in al poyntes to the other and also you do well ynoughe remembre it, feynge you read it fo late in Sophoclis commentaries, I wyll nowe paffe ouer. Therefore eyther Aristotle and Plato knowe not what was good and euyll for learninge and vertue, and the example of wyse histories be vainlie set afore vs or els the minfrelie of lutes, pipes, harpes, and all other that stanteth by fuche nice, fine, minikin fingering (fuche as the mooste parte of scholers whom I knowe vse, if they vse any) is farre more fitte for the womannishnesse of it to dwell in the courte among ladies, than for any great thing in it, whiche shoulde helpe good and fad studie, to abide in the vniuersitie amonges scholers. But perhaps you knowe some great goodnesse of fuche musicke and fuche instrumentes, whervnto Plato and Ariflotle his brayne coulde neuer attayne, and therfore I will faye no more agaynst it.

Phij. Well Toxophile is it not ynoughe for you to rayle vpon Mushke, excepte you mocke me to? but to say the truth I neuer thought my selfe these kindes of musicke fit for learninge, but that whyche I sayde was rather to proue you, than to defende the matter. But yet as I woulde haue this forte of musicke decaye amonge scholers, euen so do I wysshe from the bottome of my heart, that the laudable custome of Englande to teache chylde ren their plainefong and prikfong, were not fo decayed throughout all the realme as it is. Whiche thing howe profitable it was for all fortes of men, thofe knewe not so wel than whiche had it moft, as they do nowe whiche lacke it mofte. And therfore it is true that Teucer fayeth in Sophocles.

Seldom at all good thinges be knowen how good to be Before a man suche thinges do miffe out of his handes.

That milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the
bringing vp of children than musike is, both Gallen proueth by authoritie, and dayly vfe teacheth by experience. For euen the little babes lacking the vfe of reafon, are scarfe so well fiulled in suckyng theyr mothers pap, as in hearynge theyr mother syng.

Agayne how fit youth is made, by learning to fing, for grammar and other fciences, bothe we dayly do fee, and Plutarch learnedly doth proue, and Plato wifelie did alowe, which receyued no scholer in to his fchole, that had not learned his fonge before.

The godlie vfe of prayfing God, by finginge in the churche, nedeth not my prayfe, feing it is so prayfed through al the scripture, therfore nowe I wil speke nothing of it, rather than I shuld speke to little of it.

Befyde al these commodities, truly. ii. degrees of menne, which haue the highefl offices vnder the king in all this realme, shal greatly lacke the vfe of Singinge, preachers and lawiers, bycaufe they shal not without this, be able to rule their brefles, for euery purpose. For where is no distinction in telling glad thinges and fearfull thinges, gentilnes and cruellnes, foftenes and vehementnes, and fuche lyke matters, there can be no great perfwasion.

For the hearers, as Tullie fayeth, be muche affectioned, as he is that speaketh. At his wordes be they drawen, yf he stande still in one faction, their mindes stande still with hym: If he thundre, they quake: If he chyde, they feare: If he complayne, they fory with hym: and finall, where a matter is fpoken, with an apte voyce, for euerye affection, the hearers for the moft parte, are moued as the speaker woulde. But when a man is alwaye in one tune, lyke an Humble bee, or els nowe vp in the top of the churche, nowe downe that no manne knoweth where to haue hym: or piping lyke a reede, or roring lyke a bull, as some lawyers do, whiche thinke they do beft, when they crye lowdeft, these shal neuer greatly mooue, as I haue knowen many wel learned, haue done, bicaufe theyr voyce was not stayed afore, with learnyng to fyngle.
For all voyces, great and small, base and shril, weke or softe, may be holpen and brought to a good poynct, by learnynge to synge.

Whether this be true or not, they that stand mooche in nede, can tell beft, whereof some I haue knowen, whiche, because they learned not to syng, whan they were boyes, were payne to take peyne in it, whan they were men. If any man shulde heare me Toxophile, that woulde thinke I did but fondly, to suppose that a voice were so necessarie to be loked vpon, I would ask him if he thought not nature a foole, for making such goodly instrumentes in a man, for wel vttring his woordes, or els if the. ii. noble orators Demothenes and Cicero were not fooles, wherof the one dyd not onelie learne to syng of a man: But also was not ashamed to learne howe he shoulde vtter his foundes aptly of a dogge, the other fetteth oute no poynthe of rhetorike, so fullie in all his bookes, as howe a man shoulde order his voyce for all kynde of matters.

Therfore seinge men by speaking, differ and be better than beastes, by speakeyng wel, better than other men, and that syning is an helpe towarde the fame as dayly experience doth teache, example of wyfe men doth alowe, authoritie of learned men doth approue wherwith the foundacion of youth in all good common wealthees always hath bene tempered; furelye if I were one of the parliament house, I woulde not fayle, to put vp a bill for the amendment of this thynge, but because I am lyke to be none this yeare, I wil speake no more of it, at this time.

Tar. It were pitie truly Phitologe, that the thinge shoulde be neglected, but I trust it is not as you say.

Phj. The thing is to true, for of them that come daylye to ye vnuerfitie, where one hath learned to finge, vi. hath not. But nowe to oure shotinge Toxophile agayne, wherin I suppose you can not say so muche for shotyng to be fitte for learninge, as you haue spoken agaynste Musike for the same.

Therfore as concerning Musike, I can be content to
graunt you your mynde: But as for shooting, surely I
fuppofe that you can not perfwade me, by no meanes,
that a man can be earneft in it, and earneft at his
boke to: but rather I thynke that a man with a bowe
on his backe, and fhaftes vnder hys girdell, is more fit
to wayte vpon Robin Hoode, than vpon Apollo or the
Mufes.

Tox. Ouer ernest shooting surely I will not ouer
ernestlye defende, for I euer thought shooting shoulde
be a wayter vpon lerning not a maftres ouer learning.
Yet this I maruell not a little at, that ye thinke a man
with a bowe on hys backe is more like Robin Hoode
seruaunt, than Apollo fe, feing that Apollo him felfe in
Alceftis of Euripides, whilste tragedie you red openly
not long ago, in a maner glorieth faying this verfe.

It is my wont alwaies my bowe with me to beare. Euripid. in
Alcest.

Therfore a learned man ought not to much to be
ashamed to beare that some tyme, whiche Apollo god
of lerning him felfe was not ashamed always to beare.
And bycaufe ye woulde haue a man wayt vpon the
Mufes, and not at all medle with fhotyng I maruell
that you do not remembre howe that the ix. mufes
their felfe as fone as they were borne, wer put to norfe
to a lady called Euphemis whiche had a fon named
Erotus with whome the nine Mufes for his excellent
fhootinge, kepfe euer more companie withall, and vfed
dayly to fhoote togither in ye mount Pernafus; and at
laft it chaunced this Erotus to dye, whose death the
Mufes lamented greatly, and fell all vpon theyr knees
afore Jupiter theyr father, and at theyr requeft,
Erotus for fhooting with the Mufes in earth was made
a signe, and called Sagittarius in heauen. Therfore
you fe, that if Apollo and the Mufes either were
examples in dede, or onelye fayned of wise men to be
examples of learninge, honeft fhotinge maye well
ynough be companion with honeft studie.

Phj. Well Toxophile, if you haue no stronger
defence of fhotinge then Poetes, I feare yf your com-
panions which loue shotinge, hearde you, they wolde thinke you made it but a triflyng and fabling matter, rather then any other man that loueth not shotinge coulde be persuaded by this reaason to loue it.

Taco. Euen as I am not so fonde but I knowe that these be fables, so I am sure you be not so ignoraunt, but you knowe what suche noble wittes as the Poetes had, ment by such matters: which oftentymes vnder the couering of a fable, do hyde and wrappe in goodlie preceptes of philosophie, with the true judgement of thinges. Whiche to be true speciallye in Homer and Euripides, Plato, Aristotle, and Galene playnelye do thewe: when through all their workes (in a maner) they determine all controuerfies, by these. ii. Poetes and suche lyke authorities. Therfore if in this matter I feme to fable, and nothynge proue, I am content you iudge so on me: feinge the fame iudgement shal condemne with me Plato, Aristotle, and Galene, whom in that errour I am wel content to folowe. If these oulde examples proue nothing for shoting, what faye you to this? that the best learned and sages men in this Realme, which be nowe alyue, both loue shoting and vse shoting, as the best learnedbishoppes that be: amonges whome Philologe, you your selfe knowe. iii. or. v. which as in all good learning, vertue and sage-neffe they gyue other men example what thing they shoulde do, euyn so by their shoting, they playnely thewe what honest pastime, other men giuen to learning, may honestly vse. That ernest studie must be recreated with honest pastime sufficientlye I haue proued afore, both by reaason and authoritie of the best learned men that euer wrote. Then seing pastymes be lefull, the moost fittest for learning, is to be sought for. A pastyme, faith Aristotle, must be lyke a medicine. Medicines stande by contraries, therfore the nature of studying considered, the fittest pastyme shal soone appeare. In studie euery parte of the body is ydle, which thing causeth grosse and colde humours, to gather togyther and vexe
fcholers verye moche, the mynde is altogyther bent and set on worke. A pastyme then must be had where every parte of the bodye must be laboured to separate and leffen suche humours withall: the mind must be vnbent, to gather and fetche againe his quicknesse withall. Thus pastymes for the mynde onelye, be nothing fit for studentes, bycaufe the body which is mooft hurte by iludie. mulde take away no profyte thereat. This knewe Erasmus verye well, when he was here in Cambrige: which when he had ben fore at his boke (as Garret our bookebynder hath verye ofte tolde me) for lacke of better exercize, wolde take his horfe, and ryde about the markette hill, and come agayne. If a scholer shoulde vse bowles or tennies, the laboure is to vehement and vnequall, whiche is condemnpned of Galene: the example very ill for other men, when by so manye actes they be made vnlawfull.

Running, leaping, and coyting be to vile for scholers, and so not fit by Aristotle his judgement: walking alone into the felde, hath no token of courage in it, a pastyme lyke a simple man which is neither flesh nor siffhe. Therfore if a man woulde haue a pastyme holefome and equall for euerye parte of the bodye, pleasaunt and full of courage for the mynde, not vile and vnhoneste to gyue ill example to laye men, not kepte in gardynes and corners, not lurkynge on the nyght and in holes, but euermore in the face of men, either to rebuke it when it doeth ill, or els to teftifye on it when it doth well: let him feke chiefly of all other for shotynge.

Philol. Suche commune pastymes as men commenlye do vse, I wyll not greatlye allowe to be fit for scholers: seinge they maye vse suche exercises verye well (I suppoife) as Galene him felfe doth allowe.  

Taroph. Thofe exercises I remembre verye well, for I read them within these two dayes, of the whiche, some be thefe: to ruune vp and downe an hyll, to clyme vp a longe powle, or a rope, and there hange a
while, to holde a man by his armes and waue with his heele, moche lyke the pastyme that boyes vse in the churche when their master is awaye, to swinge and totter in a belrope: to make a sifte, and strete out bothe his armes, and so flande lyke a roode. To go on a man his tiptoes, stretching out th[e] one of his armes forward, the other backewarde, which if he blered out his tunge also, myght be thought to daunce Anticke veruye properlye. To tumble ouer and ouer, to topp ouer tayle: To set backe to backe, and se who can heauve an other his heele higheft, with other moche like: whiche exercises surelye muste nedes be naturall, bycaufe they be so childifhe, and they may be also holesome for the body: but surely as for pleasure to the minde or honestie in the doinge of them, they be as lyke shotinge as Yorke is foule Sutton. Therfore to loke on al pastymes and exercises holesome for the bodye, pleasant for the mynde, comlye for every man to do, honest for all other to loke on, profitable to be sette by of evenye man, worthie to be rebuked of no man, fit for al ages perfons and places, onely shotinge shal appear, wherin all these commodities maye be founde.

Phil. To graunt Toxophile, that students may at tymes conuenient vse shotinge as moost holesome and honest pastyme: yet to do as some do, to shote hourly daylie, wekelye, and in a maner the hole yere, neither I can prayse, nor any wyse man wyl alowe, nor you your selfe can honestlye defende.

Toxopli. Surely Philologe, I am very glad to fe you come to that poynte that moost lieth in your stomake, and greueth you and other so moche. But I trufte after I haue sayd my mynde in this matter, you shal confess your selfe that you do rebuke this thing more than ye nede, rather then you shal fynde that any man may spende by anye possibilitie, more tyme in shotinge then he ought. For first and formooft the hole tyme is deuyded into. ii. partes, the daye and the night: whereof the night maye be both occupied in many honest busynesseyes, and also spent in moche vn-
thristinesse, but in no wise it can be applied to shot-
ing. And here you se that halfe oure tyme, graunted
to all other things in a manner both good and ill, is at
one swappe quite taken awaye from shoting. Now let
us go forward, and se how moche of halfe this tyme of
ours is spent in shoting. The hole yere is deuided into.
iiii. partes, Spring tyme, Somer, faule of the leafe,
and winter wherof the whole winter, for the roughnesse
of it, is cleane taken away from shoting: except it be
one day amonges. xx. or one yeare amonges. xl.
In Somer, for the fervent heate, a man maye faye
likewyse: except it be somtyme against night.
Now then spring tyme and faule of the leafe be
those which we abuse in shoting. But if we con-
sider how mutable and chaungeable the wether is
in those seafons, and howe that Aristotle him selfe
fayth, that mooste parte of rayne fauleth in these two
tymes: we shal well perceyue, that where a man
wolde shote one daye, he shal be fayne to leaue of.
iii. Now when tyme it selfe graunteth vs but a litle
space to shote in, lette vs se if shoting be not hindered
amonges all kyndes of men as moche otherwayes.
First, yong children se not, yong men for feare of
them whom they be vnnder to moche dare not: sage
men for other greater businesses, wyll not: aged men
for lacke of strengthe, can not: Rych men for
couetousnesse sake, care not: poore men for cost and
charge, may not: maisters for their housholde keping,
heede not: servauentes kept in by their maisters very
ost, shal not: craftes men for getting of their lyuing,
verye moche leyfure haue not: and many there be
that ost beginsse, but for vnaptnesse proues not: and
moost of all, whiche when they be shoters gyue it ouer
and lyfte not, so that generallye men euerye where for one
or other consideration moche shoting se not. Ther-
fore these two thinges, ftraytenesse of tyme, and euer-
y man his trade of liuing, are the causes that se fewe men
shotes: as you maye se in this greate towne, where as
there be a thousands good mens bodies, yet scarce. x.
yat vseth any great shoting. And those whome you fe shote the mooft, with how many thinges are the[y] drawen (or rather driuen) from shoting. For first, as it is many a yere or they begun to be greate shoters, euen fo the greate heate of shotinge is gone within a yere or two: as you knowe diuerfe Philologe your selfe, which were someyme the best shoters, and now they be the best students.

If a man faule fycke, farewell shoting, maye fortune as long as he lyueth. If he haue a wrentche, or haue taken colde in his arme, he may hang vp his bowe (I warraunt you) for one seafon. A little blayne, a small cutte, yea a filie poore worme in his finger, may kepe him from shoting wel ynough. Breaking and ill luck in bowes I wyll passe ouer, with an hundred mo fere thinges, whiche chaunceth euerye daye to them that shote mooft, wherof the leeft of them may compell a man to leaue shoting. And these thinges be fo trewe and eudent, that it is impossible either for me crafteleye to fayne them, or els for you iuflly to deny them. Than seing how many hundred thinges are required altogyther to giue a man leaue to shote, and any one of them denied, a man can not shote,: and seing euery one of them maye chaunce, and doth chaunce euery day, I meruayle any wyfe man wyll thynke it possible, that any greate tyme can be spent in shoting at all.

Ph:i. If this be true that you faye Toxo-
phile, and in very dede I can denye no-
thinge of it, I meruayle greatly how it chaunceth, that thofe, whiche vse shoting be fo moche marked of men, and oftymes blamed for it, and yat in a maner as moche as thofe which pleye at cardes and dyfe. And I shal
tell you what I hearde spoken of the fame
Cardes
and dyse.

A man no shoter, (not longe agoo) wolde defende playing at cardes and dyfe, if it were honestly vfed, to be as honest a pastime as youre shot-
inge: For he layed for him, that a man might pleye for a little at cardes and dyfe, and also a man might shote away all that euer he had. He sayd a payre of cardes
cost not past. ii.d. and that they neded not so moche reparation as bowe and shaftes, they wolde neuer hurte a man his hande, nor neuer weare his gere. A man shulde neuer flee a man with shoting wyde at the cardes. In wete and drye, hote and coulde, they wolde neuer forfake a man, he shewed what great varietie there is in them for euerye mans capacitie: if one game were harde, he myght easelye learne an other: if a man haue a good game, there is greate pleafure in it: if he haue an ill game, the payne is shorte, for he maye foone gyue it ouer, and hope for a better: with many other mo reasons. But at the laft he concluded, that betwixt playinge and shoting, well vfed or ill vfed, there was no difference: but that there was lesse cofte and trouble, and a greate deale more pleafure in playing, then in shotynge.

Tor. I can not deny, but shoting (as all other good thinges) may be abused. And good thinges ungoodlye vfed, are not good, sayeth an honorable bishoppe in an ernefter matter then this is: yet we mufe beware that we laye not mennes faultes vpon the thing which is not worthie, for so nothing shulde be good. And as for shoting, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I fayde before) which shoulde be rather a token of honestie to prayfe it, then any signe of noughtinesse to difalowe it, and that is bycaufe it is in euerye man his fight, it feketh no corners, it hydeth it not: if there be neuer so litle fault in it, euerye man feeth it, it accuseth it felpfe. For one houre fpende in shoting is more fene and further talked of, then. xx. nightes fpend in dyfing, euen as a litle white flone is fene amonges. iii. hundred blacke. Of thoefe that blame shotinge and shoters, I wyll faye no more at this tyme but this, that beside that they stoppe and hinder shoting, which the kingses grace wolde haue forwarde, they be not moche vnlyke in this poynyt to Wyll Somer the king his foole, which smiteth him that fandeth alwayes before his face, be he neuer fo worshipfull a man, and neuer greatly lokes for him whiche lurkes behinde an other man his backe, that hurte him in dede.
But to him that compared gameing with shoting somewhat wyll I answere, and bycause he went afore me in a comparison: and comparifons fayth learned men, make playne matters: I wyl surely folowe him in the same. Honest thynges (fayeth Plato) be knowne from vnhonest things, by this difference, vnhonestie hath euer present pleasure in it, hauing neyther good pretence going before, nor yet any profit folowing after; which faying descrybeth generallye, bothe the nature of shotting and gameing whiche is good, and which is euyl, verie well.

Gameinge hath ioyned with it, a vayne premente pleasure, but there foloweth, loffe of name, loffe of goodes, and winning of an hundred gowtie, dropfy diseases, as euery man can tell. Shoting is a peynfull paftime, wherof foloweth health of body quiknes of witte, habilitie to defende oure countrye, as our enemies can beare recorde.

Loth I am to compare these thinges togyther, and yet I do it not bicaufe there is any comparifon at al betwixte them, but therby a man shal fe how good the one is, howe euil the other. For I thinke ther is scarce so muche contrarioufnes, betwixte hotte and colde, vertue and vice, as is betwixte these. ii. thinges: For what so euer is in the one, the clean contrarye is in the other, as shal playnlye appere, if we confider, bothe their beginnynges, theyr encreasynges, theyr fructes, and theyr endes, whiche I wyl soone rydde ouer.

The fyfte brynger in to the worlde of shottyng, was Apollo, whiche for his wisdome, and great commodities, brought amonges men by him, was esтемed worthie, to be counted as a God in heauen. Desying surelye is a baflarde borne, because it is said to haue. ii. fathers, and yet bothe noughte: The one was an vngracious God, called Theuth, which for his noughtines came neuer in other goddes companyes, and therfore Homer doth despiffe onfe to name him,
in all his workes. The other father was Herodot.

a Lydian borne, whiche people for suche

gamnes, and other vnthriftines, as boowlyng and
haustyng of tauernes, haue bene euer had in most
vile reputation, in all storyes and writers.

The Fosterer vp of shotting is Labour, ye companion
of vertue, the maynteyner of honestie, the encreaser of
health and welthinesse, whiche admytteth nothinge in a
maner in to his companye, that standeth not, with
vertue and honestie, and therefore fayeth the oulde
poete Epicharmus very pretelye in Xenophon, that
God selleth vertue, and all other good
thinges to men for labour. The Nourse
of dise and cardes, is werisom Ydlenesse, enemy of
vertue, ye drowner of youthe, that tarieth in it, and
as Chauser doth faye verie well in the Parfons tale,
the greene path waye to hel, hauinge this thing appro-
priat vnto it, that where as other vices have some
cloke of honestie, onely ydlenes can neyther do wel,
nor yet thinke wel. Agayne, shotting hath two
Tutours to looke vpon it, out of whose companie,
shotting neuer flirreth, the one called Daye light, ye
other Open place, whyche. ii. keepe shotting from euyl
companie, and suffers it not to haue to much swinge, but
euermore keepes it vnder awe, that it darre do nothyng
in the open face of the worlde, but that which is good
and honest. Lykewyse, dyfinge and cardynge, haue.
ii. Tutours, the one named Solitarioufenes, whyche
lurketh in holes and corners, the other called Night
an vngratious couer of noughtynesse, whyche two
thynges be very Inkepers and receuyers of all noughty-
nenesse and noughtye things, and thereto they be in a
maner, ordeyned by Nature. For on the nighte tyme
and in corners, Spirits and theues, rattes and mife,
toodes and oules, nyghtecrowes and poulcattes, foxes
and foumerdes, with all other vermine, and noysome
beastes, vse mooste flirringle, when in the daye lyght,
and in open places whiche be ordeyned of God for
honeste thynges, they darre not ones come, whiche
thinge Euripides noted verye well, fayenge.
Companions of shoting, be prouidens, good heed giuing, true meatinge, honeft comparison, whyche thinges agree with vertue very well. Cardinge and dyfinge, haue a forte of good felowes also, goyne commonly in theyr companye, as blynde Fortune, stumbling chaunce, spittle lucke, falsedealyng, crafty conueyaunce, braynlesse brawlynge, fals forswerynge, whiche good feloes wyll fone take a man by the fleue, and caufe him take his Inne, some wyth beggerye, some wyth goute and dropsie, some with thefte and robbery, and feldome they wyl leaue a man before he comme eyther to hangyng or els somme other extreme misery. To make an ende, howe shoting by al mennes lawes hath bene alowed, cardyng and dyfing by al mennes judgementes condemned, I nede not shewe the matter is fo playne.

The threfore, whan the Lydians shal inuent betterthinges than Apollo, when slothe and ydlenes shall encræse vertue more than labour, whan the nyghte and lurking corners, giueth leffe occasion to vnthriftinesse, than lyght daye and opennes, than shal shotynge and fuche gamninge, be in summe comparison lyke. Yet euyn as I do not shewe all the goodnes, whiche is in shotynge, whan I proue it fandeth by the same thinges that vertue it selfe fandeth by, as brought in by God, or Godlyelyke men, fostered by labour, committed to the sauegarde of lyght and opennes, accompanied with provision and diligens, loued and allowed by euery good mannes sentence. Euen lykewyse do I not open halfe the noughtines whiche is in cardyng and dyfing, whan I shewe howe they are borne of a desperate mother, norishe in ydlenes, encresed by licence of nyght and corners, accompanied wyth Fortune, chaunce, deceyte, and craftines: condemned and banishe, by all lawes and judgementes.

For if I woulde enter, to describe the monstruouenes of it, I shoulde rather wander in it, it is so brode,
than have any readye passage to the ende of the matter: whose horriblenes is so large, that it passed the eloquence of our Englyshe Homer, to compasse it: yet because I euer thought hys sayinges to have as muche authoritie, as eyther Sophocles or Euripides in Greke, therefore gladly do I remembre these verfes of hys.

_Hafardry is very mother of lefinges,  
And of deceyte, and cursed sweeringes,  
Blasphemie of Christ, manslaughter, and waste also,  
Of catel of tyme, of other thynges mo._

"Mother of lefinges) trulye it maye well be called so, if a man confyde howe manye wayes, and how many things, he loseth thereby, for first he loseth his goodes, he loseth his tyme, he loseth quycknes of wyt, and all good lust to other things, he loseth honest companye, he loseth his good name and estimation, and at lafte, yf he leave it not, loseth God, and heauen and all: and in stede of these things winneth at length, eyther hangyng or hell.

_And of deceyte) I trowe if I shoulde not lye, there is not halfe so muche crafte vsed in no one thinge in the worlde, as in this cursed thyngye. What false dife vfe they? as dife stopped with quicksilver and heares, dife of a vauntage, flattes, gourdes to chop and chaunge whan they lyfte, to lette the trew dife fall vnder the table, and so take vp the false, and if they be true dife, what shyftele wil they make to set ye one of them with flyding, with cogging, with foyfing, with coytinge as they call it. Howe wyll they vfe these shiftes, whan they get a playne man that can no skyl of them? Howe will they go about, yf they perceyue an honest man haue money, which lfit not playe, to prouoke him to playe? They wyl seke his company, they wil let hym paye nought, yea and as I hearde a man ones faye that he dyd, they wil send for hym to some hous, and spend perchaunce, a crown on him, and at laft wyll one begin to faye: what my masters, what shal we do? shal euerye man playe his xii. d. whyles an apple roste in the fyre, and than we wyll
drinke and departe: Naye wyl an other faye, as falsse as he, you can not leaue when you begyn, and therafore I wyll not playe: but yet yf you wyll gage, that euery man as he hath loft his. xii. d. shall sitt downe, I am content, for surely I woulde winne no mannes money here, but euens as much as wolde paye for mye suppper. Than speketh the thyrde, to the honest man that thought not to playe, what wylle you playe your. xii. pence if he excufe hym, tush man wyll the other faye, slycke not in honest company for. xii. d. I wyll beare your halfe, and here is my money.

Nowe al this is to make him to beginne, for they knowe if he be ones in, and be a loofer, yat he wyl not slycke at his. xii. d. but hopeth euers to gette it agayne, whiles perhaps, he loose all. Than euery one of them setteth his shiftes abroche, some with falsse dise, some with fettyngie of dyse, some with hauinge outelandishe fyluer coynes guylded, to put away at a tyme for good gold. Than if ther come a thing in controuersie, mufle you be iudged by the table, and than farewell the honest man hys parte, for he is borne downe on euerye fyde.

Nowe sir, bysye all these thinges they haue certayne termes, as a man woulde faye, appropriate to theyr playing: wherby they wyl drawe a mannes money, but paye none, whiche they cal barres, that surely he that knoweth them not, maye foone be debarred of all that euers he hath, afore he lerne them. Yf a playne man lose, as he shal do euers, or els it is a wonder, than the game is so deuilysh, that he can neuer leaue: For vayn hope (which hope sayth Euri-pides, defstroyeth many a man and Citie) dryueth hym on so farre, that he can neuer retourne backe, vntyl he be so lyght, that he ned theues by the waye. Nowe if a simple man happen onse in his lyfe, to win of suche players, than will they eyther entreate him to kepe them company whyles he hath loft all agayne, or els they will vse the mofte dyuellyshe fashion of all, For one of the players that
flandeth nexte him, shall haue a payre of falle disye,
and cast them out vpon the bourde, the honest man
shall take them and cast them, as he did the other, the
thirde shall espie them to be falle disye, and shall crye
oute, harde, with all the othes vnder God, that he hath
falfelye wonne theyr moneye, and than there is
nothyng but houlde thy throte from my dagger, than
every man layeth hande on the simple man, and
taketh all their moneye from him, and his owne also,
thinking himselfe wel, that he scapeth with his lyfe.

Curfed swerying, blashphemie of Christe.) These halfe
verfes Chaucer in an other place, more at large doth
well set out, and verye liuely expresse, sayinge.

Ey by goddes precious hert and his Nayles
And by the blood of Christe, that is in Hailes,
Seuen is my chaunce, and thine is finke and treye,
Ey goddes armes, if thou falsly playe,
This dagger shall thorough thine herte go
This frute commeth of the beched boonies twoo
Forsweringe, Ire, falsnes and Homicide. &c.

Though these verfes be very ernestlie wrytten, yet
they do not halfe so grifely fette out the horyblenes of
blasphemy, which suche gamners vse, as it is in dede,
and as I haue hearde my felfe. For no man can wryte
a thing so earneftlye, as whan it is spoken wyth iesture,
as learned men you knowe do saye. Howe will you
thinke that suche furiousenes wyth woode countenaun-
ces, and brenning eyes, with flaringe and bragging,
with heart redie to leape out of the belly for swelling,
can be expresse ye tenth part, to the uttermost.
Two men I herd my felfe, whose sayinges be far more
grifely, than Chaucers verfes. One, whan he had loft
his moneye, fware me God, from top to toe with, one
breath, that he had loft al his money for lacke of
sweringe: The other, losyng his money, and heaping
othes upon othes, one in a nothers necke, mooit
horrible and not speakeable, was rebuked of an honest
man whiche ftode, by for so doynge, he by and by
flynge him in the face, and clappeying his fifle with all
his moneye he had, vpon the boorde, fware me by the fleshe of God, that yf sweryng woulde helpe him but one ace, he woulde not leue one pece of god vnfworne, neyther wythin nor without. The remembraunce of this blasphemy Philologe, doth make me quake at the heart, and therefore I wyll speake no more of it.

And fo to conclude wyth fuche gamnyng, I thynke there is no vngracioufenes in all thyis worlde, that carieth fo far from god, as thyis faulte doth. And yf there were anye fo desperate a perfone, that woulde begynne his hell here in earth, I trowe he shoulde not fynde hell more lyke hell it selfe, then the lyfe of those men is which dayly haunt and vfe fuche vngracious games.

Phil. You handle this gere in dede: And I suppose if ye had ben a prentice at fuche games, you coulde not haue sayd more of them then you haue done, and by lyke you haue had somwhat to do with them.

Tor. In dede, you may honestlye gather that I hate them greatly, in that I speake agaynft them: not that I haue vfed them greatlye, in that I speake of them. For thynges be knownen dyuerfe wayes, as Socrates (you knowe) doeth proue in Alcibiades. And if every man shulde be that, that he speaketh or wryteth vpon, then shulde Homer haue bene the best capitayne, mooft cowarde, hardye, hafty, wyfe and woode, saxe and simple: And Terence an ould man and a yong, an honest man and a bawde: with fuche lyke. Surelye euerye man ought to praye to God dayly, to kepe them from fuche unthriftynesse, and speciallye all the youth of Englande: for what youth doth begynne, a man wyll folowe commonlye, euem to his dyinge daye: whiche thinge Adraflus in Euripides pretelye doth expresse, sayinge.

What thing a man in tender age hath most in vre
That same to death alwayes to kepe he shal be sure
Therfore in age who greatly longes good frute to move
In youth he must him selfe alpye good seede to sowe.

For the foundation of youth well sette (as Plato doth
(faye) the whole bodye of the commune wealth shal floreythe thereafter. If the yonge tree growe croked, when it is ounde, a man shal rather breake it than streyght it. And I thinke there is no one thinge yat crokes youth more then suche vnlefull games. Nor let no man fay, if they be honestly vfed they do no harme. For how can that pastyme whiche neither exerciseth the bodye with any honest labour, nor yet the minde with any honest thinking, haue any honestie ioyned with it. Nor let no man assure hym selfe that he can vse it honestlye: for if he stonde therein, he may fortune haue a faule, the thing is more slippery then he knoweth of. A man maye (I graunt) fyte on a brante hyll fyde, but if he gyue neuer so lytyle forwarde, he can not stoppe though he woulde neuer so fayne, but he must nedes runne heedling, he knoweth not how farre. What honest pretences, vayne pleasure layeth dayly (as it were entisements or baytes, to pull men forwarde withall) Homer doeth well shewe, by the Sirenes, and Circes. And amonges all in that shyp there was but one Vlysses, and yet he hadde done to as the other dyd, yf a goddesse had not taught hym: And so lykewyse I thinke, they be easye to numbre, which passe by playing honestlye, excepte the grace of God faue and kepe them. Therfore they that wyll not go to farre in playing, let them folowe this counfell of the Poete.

Stoppe the beginnings.

Philola. Well, or you go any further, I pray you tell me this one thing: Doo ye speake agaynste meane mennes playinge onlye, or agaynste greate mennes playinge to, or put you anye difference betwixte them?

Tarchophil. If I shulde excuse my felse herein, and faye that I spake of the one, and not of the other, I feare leste I shoulde as fondlye excuse my felse, as a certayne preacher dyd, whom I hearde vpon a tyme speake agaynste manye abuses, (as he sayde) and at laft he spake agaynft candelles, and then he fearynge,
least some men woulde haue bene angrie and offended with him, naye fayeth he, you must take me as I meane : I speake not agaynst greate candelles, but agaynst lytle candels, for they be not all one (quoth he) I promyse you: And so euerye man laughed him to scorne.

In dede as for greate men, and greate mennes matters, I lyft not greatlye to meddle. Yet this I woulde wyffe that all great men in Englande had red ouer dili-gentlye the Pardoners tale in Chaucer, and there they shoulde perceyue and fe, howe moche suche games stand with theyr worshyppe, howe great soeuer they be. What great men do, be it good or yll, meane menn commynelye loue to followe, as many learned men in many places do faye, and daylye experience doth playnelye shewe, in costlye apparrell and other lyke matters.

Therefore, seing that Lordes be lanternes to leade the lyfe of meane men, by their example, eyther to goodnesse or badnesse, to whether soeuer they lifte : and seinge also they haue libertie to lyfte what they will, I pray God they haue will to lift that which is good, and as for their playing, I wyll make an ende with this faying of Chaucer.

Lords might finde them other maner of pleye
Honest ynough to drive the daye awaye.

But to be shorte, the best medicine for all fortes of men both high and lowe, yonge and oulde, to put awaye suche vnlawfull games is by the contrarye, lyke-wyse as all physicions do alowe in physike. So let youthe in steade of suche vnlefull games, whiche stande by ydlenesse, by folitarinessse, and corners, by night and darkenesse, by fortune and chaunce, by crafte and subteltie, vs suche pastimes as stand by labour : vpon the daye light, in open fyght of men, hauynge suche an ende as is come to by conning, rather then by crafte : and so shulde vertue encreafe, and vice decaye. For contrarye pastimes, must nedes worke contrary mindes in men, as all other contrary thinges doo.

And thus we fe Philologe, that shoting is not onely
the moost holesome exercise for the bodye, the moost honest pastime for the mynde, and that for all fortes of men: But also it is a moost redy medicine, to purge the hole realme of suche pestilent gamning, wher-with many tymes: it is fore troubled and ill at ease.

Phi. The more honestie you haue proued by shoting Toxophile, and the more you haue perswaded me to loue it, so moche trulye the forer haue you made me with this last sentence of yours, wherby you plainly proue that a man maye not greatly vse it. For if shoting be a medicine (as you saye that it is) it maye not be vfed very oft, lest a man shuld hurt him selfe with all, as medicines moche occupyed doo. For Aristotle him selfe sayeth, that medicines be no meate to lyue withall: and thus shoting by the same reason, maye not be moche occupyed.

Tax. You playe your oulde wontes Philologe, in dalying with other mens wittes, not so moche to proue youre owne matter, as to proue what other men can say. But where you thinke that I take awaye moche vse of shoting, in lykening it to a medicine: because men vse not medicines every daye, for so shoulde their bodyes be hurt: I rather proue dalye vse of shoting therby. For although Aristotle sayeth that some medicines be no meate to lyue withall, whiche is true: Yet Hippocrates sayth that our Hippo, de med, purg. daylye meates be medicines, to withstande euyll withall, whiche is as true. For he maketh two kyndes of medicines, one our meate that we vfe dailye, whiche purgeth softlye and slowlye, and in this sim-ilitude maye shoting be called a medicine, wherewith dayly a man maye purge and take away al vnlefull desyres to other vnlefull pastymes, as I proued before. The other is a quicke purging medicine, and feldomer to be occupyed, excepte the matter be greater, and I coulde describe the nature of a quicke medicine, which shoulde within a whyle purge and plucke outhe all the vnthristie games in the Realme, through which the commune wealth oftentimes is fycke. For not
only good quicke wittes to learnyng be thereby brought out of frame, and quite marred: But also manly wittes, either to attempt matters of high courage in warre tyme, or els to atcheue matters of weyght and wisdome in peace tyme, be made therby very quafie and faynt. • For loke throughoute all hitlories written in Greke, Latyne, or other language, and you shal neuer finde that realme prosper in the whiche fuche ydle pastymes are vfed. As concerning the medicyne, although some wolde be miscontent, if they hearde me meddle anye thynge with it: Yet betwixte you and me here alone, I maye the boldlyer faye my fantasie, and the rather bycaufe I wyll onelye wyfh for it, whiche standeth with honestie, not determyne of it which belongeth to authoritie. The medicine is this, that wolde to God and the kynge, all these vnthriftie ydle pastymes, whiche be very bugges, that the Pfalme meaneth on, walking on the nyght and in corners, were made felonye, and some of that punyshment ordeyned for them, which is appoynted for the forgers and falsifyers of the kynges coyne. Which punishment is not by me now inuented, but longe agoo, by the mooft noble oratour Demosthenes: which meru- ayleth greatly that deathe is appoynted for falsifyers and forgers of the coyne, and not as greate punyshmente ordeyned for them, whiche by theyr meanes forges and falsifyes the commune wealthe. And I suppoфе that there is no one thynge that chaungeth sooner the golden and fyluer wytttes of men into copperye and brassy wayes then difing and fuche vnllefull pastymes.

And this quicke medicine I beleue wolde so throwlye pourge them, that the daylye medicines, as shotynge and other pastymes ioyned with honest labour shoulde easelyer withstande them.

Phil. The excellent commodityes of shotynge in peace tyme, Toxophil, you haue very wel and sufficiently declared. Wherby you haue so persuaded me,
that God wyllyng hereafter I wyll both loue it the better, and also vse it the ofter. For as moche as I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tunge, the nofe, the handes and the feete be no fytter membres, or instrumentes for the body of a man, then is shotinge for the hole bodye of the realme. God hath made the partes of men which be beft and moost neceffarye, to serue, not for one purpose onelye, but for manye: as the tunge for speaking and taf ting, the nofe for smelling, and also for auoyding of all excrementes, which faule oute of the heed, the handes for receuynge of good things, and for puttyng of all harmefull things, from the bodye. So shotinge is an exercyfe of healtbe, a pastyme of honest pleafure, and fuche one also that ftoppeth or auoydeth all noyfome games gathered and encreased by ill rule, as noughtye humours be, whiche hurte and corrupte fore that parte of the realme, wherin they do remayne.

But now if you can shewe but halfe fo moche pro fyte in warre of shotynge, as you haue proued pleafure in peace, then wyll I surelye iudge that there be fewe things that haue fo manifolde commodities, and vſes ioyned vnto them as it hath.

T. The vpperhande in warre, nexte the goodness of God (of whome al victorie commeth, as scripture fayth) standeth cheffely in thre thinges: in the wysedome of the Prince, in the fleyghtes and pollicies of the capitaynes, and in the strengthe and cherefull forwardnesse of the fouldyers. A Prince in his herte muft be full of mercy and peace, a vertue moost pleafaunt to Chriftr, moost agreeable to mans nature, moost profytable for ryche and poore.

For than the riche man enioyeth with great pleafure that which he hath: the poore may obtayne with his labour, that which he lacketh. And although there is nothing worse then war, wherof it taketh his name, through the which great men be in daunger, meane men without fuccoure, ryche men in feare, bycaufe they haue somwhat: poore men in care,
bycaufe they haue nothing: And so eyuer man in thought and miserie: Yet it is a ciuill medicine, where-with a prince maye from the bodye of his commune wealth, put of that daunger whiche maye faule: or elles recouer agayne, whatsoeuer it hath loft. And therfore as Isocrates doth faye, a prince muſt be a warriour in two thinges, in con-ninge and knowledge of all fleyghtes and feates of warre, and in haung al necessarye habilimentes belonging to the fame. Whiche matter to entreate at large, were ouerlonge at this tyme to declare, and ouer-moche for my learning to perfourme.

After the wisdome of the prince, are valiant capi-taynes moost necessary in warre, whose office and dutye is to knowe all fleightes and pollicies for all kyndes of warre, which they maye learne. ii. wayes, either in daylye folowing and haunting the warres or els bicaufe wisdome bought with strypes, is many tymes ouercostielye: they maye bestowe sometyme in Vegetius, which entreateth suche matters in Latin metelye well, or rather in Polyenus, and Leo the Emperour, which fetteth out al pollicies and duties of capitàynes in the Greke tongue very excellentlye. But chefelye I wolde wishe (and if I were of autho-ritie) I wolde counfel al the yong gentlemen of this realme, neuer to lay out of theyr handes. ii. authours Xenophon in Greke, and Cæsar in Latyn, where in they shulde folowe noble Scipio Africanus, as Tullie doeth faye: In whiche. ii. authours beydes eloquence a thinge moſte necessary of all other, for a captayne, they shulde learne the hole course of warre, whiche thoose. ii. noble menne dyd not more wyfelye wryte for other men to learne, than they dyd manfully exercife in the fyleilde, for other men to followe.

The strengthe of war lyeth in the fouldier, whose chyefe prayfe and vertue, is obedience towards his captayne, sayth Plato. And Xenophon being a gentyle authour, moſte christianlye doeth faye, euen by these woordes, that
that fouldyer which firfte serueth god, and than obeyeth hys captayne, may boldelie with all courage, hope to ouerthrowe his enemy. Agayne, without obedience, neither valiant man, flout horfe, nor goodly harnes doth any good at al. which obedience of ye fouldier toward his captane, brought the whole empyre of ye worlde, into the Romanes handes, and whan it was brought, kepte it lenger, than euer it was kept in any common welth before or after.

And this to be true, Scipio Africanus, the moste noble captayne that euer was amounge the Romaynes, shewed very playnly, what tyme as he went into Afryke, to destroye Cartage. For he reftinge hys hoofle by the waye in Sicilie, a daye or twoo, and at a tyme standing with a great man of Sicilie, and looking on his fouldiers how they exercisef themselues in kepynge of araye, and other feates, the gentleman of Sicilie asked Scipio, wherin lay hys chyefe hope to ouercome Cartage: He anfwered, in yonder feloes of myne whom you fe play: And why faythe the other, bycaufe saythe Scipio, that if I commaundde them to runne in to the toppe of this high castel, and caft them selues doune backeward vpon these rockes, I am fure they wolde do it.

Salluift also doth write, yat there were mo Romanes put to death of theyr captaynes for fetting on theyr enemyes before they had licence, than were for running away out of the fyelde, before they had foughten. These two examples do proue, that amonges the Romaynes, the obedience of the fouldyer was wonderfull great, and the feueritie of the Captaynes, to fe the same kepte wonderfull slrayte. For they wel perceyued that an hofte full of obedyence, falleth as feldom into the handes of theyr enemies as that bodye fawleth into Jeoperdye, the whiche is ruled by reason. Rea son and Rulers beynge lyke in office, (for the one ruleth the body of man, the other ruleth the bodye of the common wealth) ought to be lyke of condicions, and oughte to be obeyed in
all maner of matters. Obedience is nourished by fear and love. Fear is kept in by true justice and equity, Love is gotten by wisdom, joined with liberality: For where a soldier seeth righteousness to rule, that a man can neither do wrong nor yet take wrong, and that his captain for his welfare, can mayntayne hym, and for his liberalitie will maintayne him, he must needs both love him and fear him, of the which proceedeth true and vnrayned obedience. After this inwarde vertue, the nexte good point in a soldier, is to have and to handle his weapon wel, whereof the one must be at the appoyntment of the captain, the other lyeth in the courage and exercise of the souldier: yet of all weapons the best is, as Euripides doth say, wherwith with leeft danger of our self we maye hurt our enemy most. And that is (as I suppose) artillarie. Artillarie now a dayes is taken for. ii. thinges: Gunnes and Bows, which how moch they do in war, both dayly experience doeth teache, and also Peter Nannius a learned man of Louayn, in a certayne dialoGE doth very well set out, wherein this is most notable, that when he hath shewed exceeding commodities of both, and some discommodities of gunnes, as infinite cost and charge, combersome carriage: and yf they be greate, the uncertainayne leuelyng, the peryll of them that stand by them, the eyuer auoydyng by them that stande far of: and yf they be lytle, the leffe both fear and ieoperdy is in them, befyde all contrary wether and wynde, whiche hyndereth them not a lytle: yet of all shotyng he cannot reherse one discommoditie. In Herc. fu.

That I meruayle greatly at, seing Nannius is so well learned, and so exercised in the authours of both the tanges: for I my selfe do remembre that shotying in war is but smally prayed, and that of divers captaynes in dyuers authors. For first in Euripides (whom you so highly praife) and very well, for Tullie thynketh euereye verfe in him to be an authoritie, what I praye you, doth Lycus that ouercame Thebes, say as con-
cernyng shoting? whose words as farre as I remem-

bre, be these, or not muche vnlyke.

What prayse hath he at al, whiche neuer durst abide,
The dint of a spaires poynth thrust against his side
Nor neuer bouldlie buckeler bare yet in his lefte hande
Face to face his enemies bront stifelie to wynthlande,
But alwayr trusflth to a bowe and to a fethered slicke
Harnes euere most fit for him which to flye is quicke,
Bowe and shafte is Armoure metest for a cowarde
Which dare not ones abide the bronte of battel sharpe and harde.

But he a man of manhode most is by mine afferent
Which with harte and corage boulde, fullie hath him bent,
His enemies looke in euery flouere floutelie to a bide,
Face to face, and fote to fote, tide what may be tide.

Agayne Teucer the best Archer amonges all the
Grecians, in Sophocles is called of Mene-
laus, a boweman, and a shooter as in
villaynie and reproche, to be a thing of no
price in warre. Moreouer Pandarus the best shooter in
the worlde, whome Apollo hym selfe taught to shoote,
bothe he and his shotynge is quyte con-
temned in Homer, in so much that Homer
(which vnder a made fable doth alwayes hyde hys
judgement of things) doeth make Pandarus him selfe
crye out of shooting, and cast his bowe awaye, and
take him to a speare, makynge a vote that if euer he
came home, he woulde breake his shaftes, and burne
his bowe, lamentynge greatly, that he was fo fonde to
leaue at home his horfe and charyot wyth other
weapons, for the trust yat he had in his bowe. Homer
signifieng thereby, that men shoulde leue shoting out
of warre, and take them to other wepons more fitte
and able for the fame, and I trowe Pandarus woordes
be muche what after thys forte.

Ill chaunce ill lucke me hyther broughte
Ill fortune me that daye befell,
Whan first my bowe fro the pneum I roughte
For Hectors sake, the Grekes to quell.
The schale of shotting.

But yf that God so for me shap
That home agayne I maye ones come,
Let me neuer inioye that hap,
Nor euer twyse looke on the sonne,
If bowe and shastes I do not burne
Whyche nowe so euel doth serue my turne.

But to let passe al Poetes, what can be forer said 
agaynft any thing, than the iudgement of 
Cyrus is agaynft shotynge, whiche doth 
caufe his Perfians beyng the best shooters 
to laye awaye theyr bowes and take them to swardes 
and buckelers, speares and dartes, and other lyke 
hande weapons. The which thing Xenophon fo wyfe 
a philosopher, fo experte a captayne in warre hym 
felse, woulde neuer haue written, and specially in that 
booke wherein he purposed to shewe, as Tullie sayeth in 
dede, not the true historie, but the example 
of a perfite wife prince and common welthe, 
excepte that iudgement of chaungyng 
Artillerie, in to other wepons, he had alwayes thought 
best to be folowed, in all warre. Whose 
counfell the Parthians dyd folowe, whan 
they chafed Antonie ouer the mountaines of 
Media, whiche being the best shoters of the worlde, lefte 
theyr bowes, and toke them to speares and morispike.

And these fewe examples I trowe, of the best shooters, 
do well proue that the best shotinge is not the best 
thinge as you call it in warre.

Tax. As concernynge your first example, taken 
oute of Euripides, I maruayle you wyl bring it for ye 
disprayse of shotynge, seyng Euripides doth make 
those verses, not bicause he thinketh them true, 
but bicause he thinketh them fit for the person 
that spake them. For in deede his true iudgement 
of shoting, he doth expresse by and by after 
in the oration of the noble captaine Amphytrio 
agaynste Lycus, wherein a man maye doubte, whether 
he hath more eloquentlye confuted Lycus sayenge, or 
more worthelye fette oute the prayse of shotynge.
And as I am advised, his wordes be muche hereafter as I shall saye.

Gifts of shooting in a bowe
Fonde and lend wordes thou lendlie dost out throwe,
Whiche, if thou wilt hear of me a word or twaine
Quicklie thou mayst learne howe fondlie thou dost blame,

Firshe he that with his harneis him selfe doth wal about,
That scarce is lefte one hole through which he may pepe out,
Such bondmen to their harneis to fight are nothinge mete
But some of all other are troden vnder fete.

If he be stronge, his feloweys saynt, in whom he putteth his trust,
So loded with his harneis museth nedes lie in the dust,
Nor yet from death he cannot stahte, if ones his weapon breke,
Howe sloute, howe strong, howe great, howe longe,
so ever be suche a freke.

But who so ever can handle a bowe stronglie stiffe and stronge
Wherwith lyke haylemanie shaftes he shootes into the thickest thronge:
This profite he takes, that standing a far his enemie he maye spill
Whan he and his full safe shall stande out of all daunger and ill.
And this in War is wifedome moste, which workes our enemies woo.
Whan we shal be far from all feare and ieoperdie of our foo.

Secondarily euene as I do not greatlye regarde what
Menelaus doth say in Sophocles to Teucer, bycause
he spake it bothe in anger, and alfo to hym that he hated, euene so doo I remembre very well in Homer,
that when Hector and the Troians woulde haue set fyre on the greke shippes, Teucer with his bowe made
them recule backe agayne, when Menelaus

Took hym to his feete, and ranne awaye.

Thirdlye as concerning Pandarus, Homer doth not
disprayse the noble gyfte of shotynge, but therby euery
man is taught, that whatsoeuer, and how good foeuer a
weapon a man doth vse in war, yf he be hym
selfe a couetouse wretche, a foole wythoute counsell, a peacebreake as Pandarus was, at last he
shall through the punishment of God fall into his
enemyes handes, as Pandarus dydde, whome Diomedes
through the helpe of Minerua miserablye slue.

And bycause you make mention of Homer, and
Troye matters, what can be more prayfe for anye thynge, I praye you, than that is for shootyng, that Troye coulde never be destroyed without the helpe of Hercules shaftes, whiche thinge doeth signifie, that although al the worlde were gathered in an army togyther, yet without shotinge they can neuer come to theyr purpose, as Vlysses in Sophocles very plainlye doth faye vnto Pyrrhus, as concernyng Hercules shaftes to be caried vnto Troye.

*Nor you without them, nor without you they do ought.* Soph. phil.

Fourthlye where as Cyrus dyd chaunge parte of his bowemen, wherof he had plente, into other menne of warre, wherof he lacked, I will not greatelye dispute whether Cyrus did well in that poynht in those dayes or no, bycaufe it is not playne in Xenophon howe strong shooters the Persians were, what bowes they had, what shaftes and heads they occupyped, what kynde of warre theyr enemies vsed.

But truely as for the Parthians, it is playne, in Plutarche, that in chaungyng theyr bowes in to fperes, they brought theyr selye into vter destruction. For when they had chafed the Romaynes many a myle, through reason of theyr bowes, at the latt the Romaynes ashamed of their fleing, and remembrance theyr ownde nobleneffe and courage, yimagined thys waye, that they woulde kneele downe on theyr knees, and so couer all theyr body wyth theyr sylvres and targattes, that the Parthians shaftes might flyde ouer them, and do them no harme, which thing when the Parthians perceyued, thinking that ye Romaynes wer forweryed with labour, watche, and hungre: they layed downe their bowes, and toke speares in their handes, and so ranne vpon them: but the Romaynes perceyuinge them without their bowes, rose vp manfully, and flewe them euery mother fon, faue a fewe that faued them selues with runnyng awaye. And herein our archers of Englande far paffe the Parthians, which for fuche a purpose, when they
shall come to hande strokes, hath euery redy, eyther at
his backe hangyng, or els in his next fellowes hande a
leaden maule, or suche lyke weapon, to beate downe
his enemies withall.

Phi. Well Toxophile, seing that those examples whiche
I had thought to haue ben cleane agaynst shotinge, you
haue thus turned to the hygh prayfe of shotinge: and
all this prayfe that you haue now sayd on it, is rather
come in by me than sough that of you: let me heare
I praye you nowe, those examples whiche you haue
marked of shotyng your selue: whereby you are, and
thinke to persuade other, yat shoting is so good in warre.

Tor. Examples surely I haue marked very many:
from the beginnyng of tyme had in memorie of wryt-
yng, throughout all commune wealthes, and Empires
of the worlde: wherof the moost part I wyll passe
ouer, lest I shoude be tediouse: yet some I wyll
touche, bycaurse they be notable, bothe for me to tell
and you to heare.

And bycaurse the storye of the Iewes is for the tyme
moost auncient, for the truthe moost credible, it shalbe
moost fitte to begynne with them. And although I
knowe that God is the onely gyuer of victorie, and not
the weapons, for all strenght and victorie (sayth Iudas
Machabeus) cometh from heauen: Yet
furely strong weapons be the instrumentes
wherwith god doth overcome yat parte,
which he wil haue ouerthrown. For God
is well pleased wyth wyfe and wittie feates of warre:
As in metinge of enemies, for truse takyng, to haue
priuilye in a bushment harneft men layd
for feare of treason, as Iudas Machabeus
dyd wyth Nicanor Demetrius capitatynye: And to haue
engines of warre to beate downe cities with all: and
to haue scout watche amonges our enemies to knowe
their counsayles, as the noble captaine
Ionathas brother to Iudas Machabeus did
in the countrie of Amathie against the mighty hoстве of
Demetrius. And befyde al this, god is pleased to haue
goodly tombs for them which do noble feates in warre, and to haue their ymages made, and also their cote Armours to be set aboue theyr tombs, to their perpetual laude and memorie: as the valiaunt capitayne Symon, dyd caufe to be made for his brethren Iudas Machabeus and Ionathas, when they were slayne of the Gentiles. And thus of what authoritie feates of warre, and strong weapons be, shortly and playnelye we maye learne: But amongs the Iewes as I began to tell, I am sure there was nothing fo occupyped, or dydde fo moche good as bowes dyd: insomoche that when the Iewes had any great vpperhande ouer the Gentiles, the fyrste thinge alwayes that the captayne dyd, was to exhort the people to gyue all the thankes to God for the victorye, and not to theyr bowes, wherwith they had slayne their enemies: as it is playne that the noble Iosue dyd after fo many kynges thrust downe by hym.

God, when he promyfeth helpe to the Iewes, he vfeth no kynde of fpakeyng fo moche as this, that he wyll bende his bowe, and die his shaftes in the Gentiles blood: whereby it is manifest, that eyther God wyll make the Iewes shoote stronge shotes to ouerthrowe their enemies: or at leefe that shotinge is a wonderful mightie thing in warre, whervnto ye hygh power of God is lykened. Dauid in the Pfalmes calleth bowes the vesseles of death, a bytter thinge, and in an other place a myghty power, and other wayes mo, which I wyll let passe, bycause euerye man readeth them daylye: But yet one place of scription I must nedes remembre, which is more notable for ye prayse of shoting, then any yat euere I red in any other storie, and that is, when Saul was slayne of ye Philisians being mightie bowmen, and Ionathas his nonne with him, that was fo good a shoter, as ye scription Fayth, that he neuer shot Shaft in vayne, and yat the kyngdome after Saules deathe came vnto Dauid: the fyrst statute and lawe that euere Dauid
made after he was king, was this, that al ye children of Israel shulde learne to shote, according to a lawe made many a daye before yat tyme for the fetting out of shoting as it is written (fayeth Scripture) in libro Iuslorum, whiche booke we haue not nowe: And thus we se plainelye what greate vfe of shoting, and what prouision euen from the begynnynge of the worlde for shotyng, was amonge the Iewes.

The Ethiopians which inhabite the furthest part South in the worlde, were wonderfull bowmen: in fomoche that when Cambyes king of Persie being in Egipt, sent certayne ambassadours into Ethiope to the kynge there, with many great gyftes: the king of Ethiop percyuinge them to be espyes, toke them vp sharplye, and blamed Cambyes greatly for such vniufl enterprifes: but after that he had princely enterrayned them, he sent for a bowe, and bente it and drewe it, and then vnbent it agayne, and fayde vnto the ambassadours, you shall commend me to Cambyes, and gyue him this, bowe fro me, and byd him when any Persian can flotte in this bowe, let him fet vpon the Ethiopians: In the meane whyle let hym gyue thankes vnto God, whiche doth not put in the Ethiopians mynde to conquer any other mans lande. This bowe, when it came amonge the Persians, neuer one man in suche an infinite hoft (as Herodotus doth faye) could flyrre the ftryng, faue onely Smerdis the brother of Cambyes, whiche flyrred it two fingers, and no further: for the which act Cambyes had suche enuy at him, that he afterward flewe him: as doth appeare in the fstorye.

Sesostris the moost mightie king that euer was in Egipt, ouercame a great parte of the worlde, and that by archers: he subdued the Arabians, the Iues, the Assyrians: he went farther into Scythia then any man els: he ouercame Thracia, euen to the borders of Germanie. And in token how he ouercame al men he fet vp in many places great ymages to his owne lykenesse, hauynge in the one hande a bowe, in the
other a sharpe heeded shaste: that men myght knowe, what weapon is hoofte 
vsed, in conqueryng fo manye people. 

Cyrus, counted as a god amonges the Gentyles, for 
his nobleneffe and felicitie in warre: yet at 
the laft when he set vpon the Maffagetanes 
(which people neuer went without their bowe nor their 
quiuer, nether in warre nor peace) he and all his were 
flayne, and that by shotyng, as appeareth in the florye. 

Polycrates the prince of Samos (a very little yle) 
was lorde ouer all the Greke fees, and with-
ftode the power of the Persians, onely by 
the helpe of a thousande archers. 

The people of Scythia, of all other men loued, and 
vsed moft shotyng, the hole rychesfe and househoulde 
fluffe of a man in Scythia, was a yocke of oxen, a 
plough, his nagge and his dogge, his bowe and his 
quiuer: which quiuer was couered with the skynne of 
a man, whiche he toke or flewe fyrste in battayle. 
The Scythians to be inuincible by reaſon of their 
shothng, the greate voyages of fo manye noble con-
quorours spent in that countrie in vayne, doeth well 
proue: But specially that of Darius the myghtie kyng 
of Persie, which when he had taryed there a great 
ſpace, and done no good, but had forweryed his 
hoſte with traualye and hunger: At laſt the men 
of Scythia fent an ambaffadour with. iii. 
gyftes: a byrde, a frogge, a mouse, and. 
v. ſhaftes. Darius meruaylyng at the ſtraungenesſe 
of the gyftes, asked the meſſenger what they ſigniſyed: 
the meſſenger anſwered, that he had no further com-
maundement, but onely to deſtyer his gyftes, and 
retourne agayne with all ſpede: but I am ſure (fayeth 
he) you Persians for your great wyſdome, can foone 
boult out what they meane. When the meſſenger was 
gone, euer man began to ſay his verdite. Darius 
Judgment was this, that ye Scythians gaue ouer into 
the Persians handes, their lyues, their hole power, 
both by lande and see, ſigniſyinge by the mouſe the
earthe, by the frogge the water, in which they both liue, by ye birde their lyues which lyue in the ayer, by the shaft their hole power and Empire, that was maynteyned alwayes by shotinge. Gobryas a noble and wyfe captayne amongeth the Persians, was of a cleane contrary minde, saying, nay not so, but the Sythians meane thus by their gyftes, that except we get vs wynges, and flye into the ayer lyke birdes, or run into ye holes of the earthe lyke myfe, or els lye lurkyng in fennes and marisses lyke frogges, we shall neuer returne home agayne, before we be ytterly vndone with their shaftes: which sentence fanke fo fore into their hertes, yat Darius with all fpede possible, brake vp his campe, and gat hym selfe homewarde. Yet howe moche the Persians them selues set by shotinge, wherby they encreased their empire so moche, doth appeare by. iii. manifest reasons: firste that they brought vppe theyr youth in the schole of shoting, vnto. xx. yere of age, as dyuerse noble Greke authours do faye.

Agayne, bycause the noble kyng Darius thought hym selfe to be prayfed by nothyng so moch, as to be counted a good shoter, as doth appeare by his sepulchre, wherein he causeth to be written this sentence.

\[\text{Darius the King lieth buried here} \quad \text{Strab. n.}\]
\[\text{That in shoting and riding had neuer pere.} \quad \text{Strab. n.}\]

Thirdlye the coyne of the Persians, both golde and filuer had the Armes of Persie vpon it, as is customably vsed in other realmes, and that was bow and arowes: by the which feate they declared, how moch they set by them.

The Grecians also, but specially the noble Atheniennes, had all their strengthe lyinge in Artillarie: and for yat purpose the citie of Athens had a thousand. men which were onely archers, in dayly wages, to watche and kepe the citie from aleoperdie and sodein daunger: which archers also shuld cary to prifon and warde any misdoer at ye commaunde-
ment of the hygh officers, as playnely doth appeare in Plato. And surel ye bowmen of Athens did wonderful feates in many battels, but specially when Demosthenes the valiaunt captayne flue and toke prisoners all the Lacedemonians befyde ye citie of Pylos, where Neftor fomtyme was lord: the shaftes went fo thicke that day (fayth Thucydides) that no man could fe theyr enemies. A Lacedemonian taken prisoner, was aske of one at Athens, whether they were floute fellowes that were flayne or no, of the Lacedemonians: he anfwere nothing els but this: make moche of thofe shaftes of youres, for they knowe neyther floute nor vnfloute: meanynge thereby, that no man (though he were neuer fo flout) came in their walke, that escaped without death.

Herodotus descrybing the mighty hooff of Xerxes especially doth marke out, what bowes and shaftes they vfed, signifying yat therin lay their chefe strength. And at the same tyme Attoffa, mother of Xerxes, wyfe to Darius, and daughter of Cyrus, doeth enquire (as Aeschylus sheweth in a Tragedie) of a certayne meffenger that came from Xerxes hofle, what stronge and fearfull bowes the Grecians vfed: wherby it is playne, that Artillarie was the thing, wherein both Europe and Afia at thofe dayes trusted moost vppon.

The beft parte of Alexanders hofle were archers as playnelye doth appeare in Arianus, and other yat wrote his life: and thofe fo stronge archers, that they onely, sundrye tymes ouercame their enemies, afore any other neded to fyght: as was fene in the battayl which Nearchus one of Alexanders capitaynes had befyde the ryuer of Thomeron. And therfore as concerning all these kyngdomes and commune wealthyes, I maye conclude with this fen- tence of Plinie, whose wordes be, as I suppose thus: If any man woulde remembre the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabians, the men of Inde,
of Scythia, so many people in ye east of the Sarmatianes, and all the kyngdomes of the Parthians, he shall well perceyue halfe the parte of the worlde, to lyue in subie6tion, overcome by the myght and power of shotinge.

In the commune wealth of Rome, which exceeded all other in vertue, noblenesse, and dominion little mention is made of shoting, not bycause it was little vsed amonges them, but rather bycause it was bothe so necessarye and commune, that it was thought a thing not necessarye or requyred of anye man to be spoken vpon, as if a man shoulde describe a greate feaste, he woulde not ones name bread, although it be mooste common and necessary for all: but surely yt a feaste beynge neuer so great, lacked bread, or had fewfly and noughty bread, all the other daynties shulde be vnfaufery, and litle regarded, and than woulde men talke of the commodity of bread, whan they lacke it, that would not ones name it afore, whan they had it: And euyn so dyd the Romaynes as concernynge shootyng. Seldome is shootinge named, and yea it dyd the mooste good in warre, as didde appere, verye playnlye in that battell, whiche Scipio Aphricanus had with the Numantines in Spayne, whome he coulde neuer ouercome, before he fette bowemen amonges his horfe men, by whose myght they were clean vanquished.

Agayne, Tiberius fyghtynge with Armenius and Inguiomerus princis of Germanie, had one wing of archers on horfeback, an other of archers on foot, by whose might the Germanes were slayne downe ryghte, and so scattered and beate oute of the feelde, that the chafe lafted. x. myles, the Germanes clame vp in to trees for seare, but the Romanes dyd fetche them downe with theyr shaftes as they had ben birdes, in whyche battell the Romaynes loft fewe or none, as doth appeare in the historie.

But as I began to faye, the Romaynes dyd not so muche prayse the goodnese of shootinge, whan they had it, as they dyd lament the lacke of it, whan they
 wanted it, as Leo the. v. the noble Emperour doth playnly teftifie in fundrie places in those bokes whiche he wrote in Greke, of the fleyghtes and pollicies of warre.\(^2\)

Phil. Surelie of that booke I haue not heard before, and howe came you to the fghte of it.

Tox. The booke is rare trulie, but this lafte yeare when master Cheke translated the sayd booke out of greke in to Latin, to ye kinges maieftie, he of his gentlenesse, wolde haue me very ofte in hys chamber, and for the familiaritie that I had wyth hym, more than manye other, woulde suffer me to reade of it, when I woulde, the whiche thinge to do, surelye I was very defirous and glad, because of the excellent handelynge of all thynges, that euery he taketh in hande. And verily Philologe, as ofte as I remembre the departynge of that man from the vnuerfitie, (whiche thinge I do not seldome) so ofte do I well perceyue our moft helpe and futheraunce to learnynge, to haue gon awaye with him. For by ye great commoditie yat we toke in hearyng hym reade priuatly in his chambre, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato, we feele the great discommoditie in not hearynge of hym, Aristotle and Demosthenes, whiche. ii. authours with all diligence laft of all he thought to haue redde vnto us. And when I consider howe manye men he succoured with his helpe, and hys ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were prouoked and flyrred vp, by his counsell and daylye example, howe they shulde come to learning, surely I perceyue that sentence of Plato to be true, which sayeth that there is nothyng better in any common wealthe, than that there shoulde be always one or other, excellent paffyng man, whose lyfe and vertue, shoulde plucke forwarde the will, diligence, laboure and hope of all other, that folowyng his footefleppes, they myght comme to the fame ende, wherevnto labour, lerning and vertue, had conueied him before. The great hinderance of learning, in lackinge thys man greatly I shulde lament, if this dif-
commoditie of ourse, were not ioyned with the commoditie and health, of ye hole realme, for which purpose, our noble king full of wysedome hath called vp this excellent man full of learnyng, to teache noble prince Edwarde, an office ful of hope, comforte and solace to al true herites of England: For whome al England dayly doth praye, yat he paasing his Tutour in learnyng and knowledge folowyng his father in wisedome and felicitie, accordyng to yat example which is set afore his eyes, may fo set out and mayntayne goddes worde to the abolifhment of al papistry, the confusion of al herefie, that thereby he feared of his enemies, loued of al his subieCTes, maye bring to his own glory, immortal fame and memorie, to this realme, welthe, honour, and felicitie, to true and vn-fayned religion perpetuall peace, concorde, and vnitie.

But to retourne to shootynge agayne, what Leo fayeth of shootynge amonges the Romaynes, hys woordes, be fo muche for the prayfe of shootynge, and the booke also fo rare to be gotten, that I learned the places by harte, whyche be as I suppofe, euen thus. Fyrfte in his fixte booke, as concerning what harneys is beft: Lette all the youth of Rome be compelled to vfe shootynge, eyther more or leffe, and alwayes to bear theyr bowe and theyr quiuer aboute with them, untill they be. xl. yeares oulde.

For fithens shootynge was necglected and decayed among the Romaynes, many a battayle and fyelde hath been lofte. Agayne in the II. booke and. 50. chapiter, (I call that by bookes and chapiters, whyche the greke booke deuideth by chapiters and paragraphs) Let your fouldyers haue theyr weapons wel appoynted and trimmed, but aboue all other thynes regarde moiste shootinge, and therfore lette men when there is no warre, vfe shootynge at home: For the leauynge of, onely of shotyne, hath broughte in ruyne and decaye, the hole Empire of Rome. Afterwarde he commaundeth agayne, hys capitayne by thefe wordes: Arme your hoistle as I
haue appoynted you, but specially with bowe and arrowes plentie. For shootynge is a thinge of muche myghte and power in warre, and chyefely agaynst the Sarracenes and Turkes, whiche people hath all their hope of victorie in theyr bowe and shaftes: Befydes all this, in an other place, he wryteth thus to his Captayne: Artillerie is easie to be prepared, and in time of great nede, a thinge moste profitable, therfore we straytlye commaunde you to make proclamation to al men vnder our dominion. which be eyther in war or peace, to all cities, borowes and townes, and fynally to all maner of men, that euerye feare perfone haue bowe and shaftes of his owne, and euerye house befyde this, to haue a standing bearyng bowe, and. xl. shaftes for all nedes, and that they exercife them selues in holtes, hilles, and dales, playnes and wodes, for all maner of chaunces in warre.

Howe muche shooing was vfed among the olde Romanes and what meanes noble captaynes and Emperours made, to haue it encrease amongst them, and what hurte came by the decaye of it, these worde, of Leo the emperour, which in a maner I haue reherfed woorde for woorde, playnly doth declare. And yet shootynge, although they fet neuer so muche by it, was neuer so good than, as it is nowe in Englande, whiche thing to be true, is very probable, in that Leo doth faye, that he woulde haue his fouldiers take of theyr arrowe heads, and one shote at an other, for theyr exercise, whiche playe yf Englyshe archers vfed, I thinke they shoulde fynde smal play and leffe pleasure in it at all.

The great upperrhande maynteyned alwayses in warre by artillery, doeth appeare verye playnlye by this reasone also, that whan the spanyardes, franchmen, and germans, grekes, macedonians, and egypytians, eche contry vsing one singuler weapon, for whyche they were greatelye feared in warre, as the Spanyarde Lannea, the Franche-man Gefa, the German Framea, the Grecian Machera,
the Macedonian Sarissa, yet coulde they not escape, but be subiectes to the Empire of Rome, whan the Pertians hauyng all their hope in artillerie, gaue no place to them, but overcame the Romanes, ofter than the Romaynes them, and kepte battel with them, many an hundred yeare, and flue the ryche Craffus and hys fon wyth many a floute Romayne more, with their bowes. They draue Marcus Antonius ouer the hylls of Media in Armenia, to his great fhame and reproch. They flue Iulianus Apostata, and Antonius Caracalla, they helde in perpetual pryfon, ye moft noble emperour Valerian in despite of all the Romaynes and many other princes, whiche wrote for his delyueraunce, as Bel folis called kynge of kynges, Valerius kynge of Cadufia, Arthabefdes kynge of Armenia, and many other princes more, whom ye Parthians by reafon of theyr artillerie, regarded never one whitte, and thus with the Romaynes, I maye conclude, that the borders of theyr empyre were not at the funne ryfinge and funne fettynge, as Tullye fayeth: but fo farre they went, as artillarie woulde gyue them leaue. For I thynke all the grounde that they had, eyther northewarde, farther than the borders of Scythia, or Eastewarde, farther than the borders of Parthia, a man myght haue boughte with a small deale of money, of whiche thynge surely shotyng was the caufe.

From the same contrie of Scythia the Gothians Hunnes, and Wandalianes came wyth the fame wepons of artillarie, as Paulus Diaconus doth fay, and fo berafte Rome of her empyre wyth fyre, spoyle, and wafte, fo yat in fuche a learned citie was lefte fcarce one man behynde, that had learnyng or leysoure to leue in writinge to them whiche shoulde come after howe fo noble an Empyre, in fo whyle, by a rable of banyfed bonde-men, wythoute all order and policie, faue onelye theyr naturalle and daylye exercice in artillarye, was broughte to fuche thraldome and ruine.

After them the Turkes hauing an other name, but yet
the same people, borne in Scythia, brought
vp onely in artillarie, by the same weapon
haue subdued and beraft from the Christen men all
Asia and Aphrike (to speake vpoun,) and the moost
noble countries of Europe, to the greate diminifhing of
Christe his religion, to the great reproche of cowardyfe
of al christianitie, a manifest token of gods high wrath
and displeasure ouer the fynne of the worlde, but
speciallye amonges Christen men, which be on flepe
made drunke with the frutes of the flesh, as insfidelitie,
disobedience to Goddes worde, and herefie, grudge,
illwyll, ftrye, open battayle, and priuie enuye,
coueytoufneffe, oppression, vnmercifulneffe, with in-
umerable fortes of vnspeakeable daylye bawdrye:
which thinges surely, yf God holde not his holy hand
ouer vs, and plucke vs from them, wyl bryng vs to a
more Turkifhneffe and more beafllye blynde barbarouf-
neffe: as callyng ill thinges good, and good thynges ill,
contemnyng of knowledge and learnynge, fettynge at
nought, and hauyng for a fable, God and his high
prouidence, wyll bring vs (I say) to a more vngracious
Turkishneffe (if more Turkishneffe can be then this)
than if the Turkes had fworne, to bring al Turkye
agaynft vs. For these frutes surelye muft neades
spryng of fuch feeede, and fuch effect nedes folowe
of fuche a caufe: if reaфон, truthe, and God, be not
altered, but as they are wont to be. For surely no
Turkyshe power can ouerthrowe vs, if Turkyfhe lyfe
do not cast vs downe before.

If god were wyth vs, it buted not the turke to be
agaynft vs, but our vnsaythful finfull lyuyng, which is
the Turkes moder, and hath brought hym vp hitherto,
mufte nedes turne god from vs, becaufe fyn and he
hath no felowshyp togither. If we banished ill liuyng
out of christendome, I am sure the Turke shulde not
onelye, not overcome vs, but scarce haue an hole to
runne in to, in his own countrye.

But Christendome nowe I may tell you Philologe is
muche lyke a man that hath an ytche on him, and lyeth
dronke also in his bed, and though these come to the door, and heaueth at it, to come in, and slye hym, yet he lyeth in his bed, hauinge more pleasure to lye in a slumber and scratche him selfe wher it ytcheth euon to the harde bone, than he hath redynes to ryse up lustelye, and dryue him awaye that woulde robbe hym and slye hym. But I truflte Chrifte wyl fo lyghten and lyfte vp Chriflen mennes eyes, that they mail not slype to death, nor that the turke Chrifles open enemy, mail euer boile that he hath quyte ouerthrown vs. But as I began to tell you, shootynge is the chefe thinge, wherewith God suffereth the turke to punyft our noughtie liuinge wyth all: The youthe there is brought vp in shootyng, his priuie garde for his own perfon, is bowmen, the might of theyr shootynge is wel knowen of the Spanyardes, whiche at the towne called Newecastell in Illirica, were quyte slayne vp, of the turkes arrowes: whan the Spanyardes had no vfe of theyr gunnes, by reason of the rayne. And nowe laft of all, the emperour his maieftie him selfe, at the Citty of Argier in Aphricke had his hoofte fore handeled wyth the Turkes arrowes, when his gonnnes were quite dispatched and flode him in no servise, bycaufe of the raine that fell, where as in fuche a chaunce of raine, yf he had had bowmen, furelye there shoote myghte peraduenture haue bene a litle hindred, but quite dispatched and marde, it coulde neuer haue bene.

But as for the Turkes I am weie to talke of them partlye because I hate them, and partlye bycaufe I am now affectioned euon as it were a man that had, bene longe wanderyng in straunge contries and would sayne be at home to fe howe well his owne frendes prosper and leade theyr lyfe, and furelye me thincke I am verie merie at my harte to remember how I shal finde at home in Engelande amonges Englyssh men, partlye by hyflories, of them that haue gone afore vs, agayne by experience of them whych we knowe, and lyue with vs as greate noble feates of warre doone by Artillarye, as euer was done at any tyme in any other common
welthe. And here I must nedes remember a certaine Frenchman called Textor, that writeth a boke whiche he nameth Officina,\(^4\) wherin he wreeueth vp many brokenended matters and fettes out much risraffe, pelfery, trumpery, baggage and beggerie ware clamparde vp of one that would feme to be fitter for a shop in dede than to write any boke. And amonges all other yll packed vp matters, he thrustes vp in a hepe togyther all the good shoters that ever hathe bene in the worlde as he saythe hymselfe, and yet I trow Philologe that of all the examples whiche I now by chaunce haue rehearsed out of the best Authors both in greke and latin, Textor hath but. ii. of them, which. ii. surely yf they were to reken agayne, I wold not ones name them, partly bycaufe they were noughtie perfons, and shoting somoche the worse, bycaufe they loued it, as Domitian and Commodus the emperours: partelye bycaufe Textor hath them in his boke, on whom I loked on bychaunce in the bookebynders mope, thynkynge of no suche matter. And one thing I wyl say to you Philologe, that if I were dispoed to do it, and you hadde leyfure to heare it, I could foone do as Textor doth, and reken vp suche a rable of shoters that be named here and there in poetes, as wolde holde vs talkyng whyles tomarowe: but my purpofe was not to make mention of those which were feyned of Poetes for thayr pleasure, but of suche as were proued in histories for a truthe: but why I bringe in Textor was this: At lafte when he hath rekened all shoters that he can, he sayeth thus, Petrus Crinitus\(^6\) wryteth, that the Scottes whiche dwell beyonde Englande be verye excellent shoters, and the best bowmen in warre. This sentence whether Crinitus wrote it more leudly of ignoraunce, or Textor confirmeth it more piuyfhye of enuye, may be called in queftion and doubt: but this surelye do I knowe very well that Textor hath both red in Gaguinus the Frenche hystorie,\(^6\) and also hath hearde his father or grandfather taulke (except perchaunce he was borne
and bred in a Cloyster) after that fort of the shotynge of Engliffhe men, that Textor neded not to haue gone fo piuishly beyonde Englande for shoting, but myght very foone, euen in the firft towne of Kent, haue founde fuche plentie of shotinge, as is not in al the realme of Scotland agayne. The Scottes surely be good men of warre in theyr owne feate as can be: but as for shotinge, they neyther can vfe it for any profyte, nor yet wil chalenge it for any prayfe, although mafter Textor of his gentlenesse wold gyue it them. Textor neaded not to haue fylled vppe his booke with fuche lyes, if he hadde read the storye of Scotlannde, whiche Ioannes Maior doeth wryte: wherein he myghte haue learned, that when Iames Stewart fyrfkyng of that name, at the Parliament holden at Saynt Iohnnes towne or Perthie, commaunded vnder payne of a greate forfyte, that euerye Scotte shoulde learne to shote: yet neyther the loue of theyr countrie, the feare of their enemies, the auoydying of punishment, nor the receyuinge of anye profyte that myght come by it, coulde make them to be good Archers: whiche be vnapte and vnfytte therunto by Gods prouidence and nature.

Therfore the Scottes them selues proue Textor a lyer, bothe with authoritie and also daily experience, and by a certayne Prouerbe that they haue amonges them in theyr communication, wherby they gyue the whole prayfe of shotynge honestlye to Englyffhe men, saying thus: that euery Englyffhe Archer beareth vnder hys gyrldle. xxiii. Scottes.

But to lette Textor and the Scottes go: yet one thynge woulde I wyffhe for the Scottes, and that is this, that seinge one God, one faythe, one compasse of the fee, one lande and countrie, one tungue in speakynge, one maner and trade in lyuynge, lyke courage and stomake in war, lyke quickneffe of witte to learning, hath made Englande and Scotlannde bothe one, they wolde suffre them no longer to be two: but cleane gyue ouer the Pope, which feketh none other thinge (as many a noble and wyfe Scottifh man doth
knowe) but to fede vp diffention and parties betwixt them and vs, procurynge that thynge to be two, which God, nature, and reason, wold haue one.

Howe profytable fuche an attonement were for Scottlande, both Iohannes Maior, and Ector Boetius whiche wrote the Scottes Chronicles do tell, and also all the gentlemen of Scottlande with the poore communaltie, do wel knowe: So that there is nothing that floppeth this matter, save onelye a fewe freers, and fuche lyke, whiche with the dregges of our Englyfh Papiflrie lurkyng now amonges them, study nothing els but to brewe battell and stryfe betwixte both the people: Wherby onely they hope to maynetayne theyr Papistical kyngdome, to the destruction of the noble blood of Scottlande, that then they maye with authoritie do that, whiche neither noble man nor poore man in Scottlande yet doeth knowe. And as for Scottifhe men and Englishe men be not enemyes by nature, but by cuftome: not by our good wyll, but by theyr owne follye: whiche shoulde take more honour in being coupled to Englands, then we shulde take profite in being ioyned to Scottlande.

Wales being headye, and rebelling many yeares agaynst vs, laye wylde, vntylled, vnhabited, without lawe, iustice, ciuilitie and ordre: and then was amonges them more flealing than true dealing, more suretie for them that stuyded to be noughte, then quyetnesse for them that laboured to be good: when nowe thanked be God, and noble Englands, there is no countrie better inhabited, more ciuile, more diligent in honest craftes, to get bothe true and plentiful lyuynge withall. And this felicitie (my mynde gyueth me) within these few dayes shal chaunce also to Scottlande, by the godly wyfedom of oure mooste noble Prince kynge Henrye the. viii. by whome God hath wrought more wonderfull thynges then euer by any prince before: as banishing the byshop of Rome and herifie, bringyng to light god his worde and veritie, establifhing fuche iustice and
equitie, through every parte of this his realme, as neuer was sene afore.

To suche a Prince of suche a wyfdom, God hath referred this mooste noble attonement: wherby neither we shalbe any more troubled, nor the Scottes with their bểft countries any more destroyed, nor ye fee, whiche God ordeyneth profytable for both, shal from eyther be any more flopped: to the great quietnesse, wealth, and felicitie of all the people dwellynge in this Ile, to the high renoume and prayše of our moost noble kyng, to the feare of all maner of nacions that owe ill wyll to either countrie, to the hygh pleasure of God, which as he is one, and hateth al diuision, so is he best of all pleased, to fe thinges which be wyde and amyffe, brought to peace and attonement. But Textor (I befhrowe him) hath almooste broughte vs from our communication of shoting. Now fir by my iudgement, the Artillarie of England farre excedeth all other realmes: but yet one thing I doubt and longe haue surely in that point doubted, when, or by whom, shotyng was first brought in to Englande, and for the same purpos as I was ones in companye wyth fyr Thomas Eliot knight, which surelie for his lerning in all kynde of knowlege bringeth much worshyp to all the nobilitie of Englande, I was so bould to aske hym, yf he at any tyme, had marked any thing, as concernyng the bryngyngein of shootynge in to Englande: he aunswered me gentlye agayne, that he had a worcke in hand which he nameth, De rebus memorabilibus Angliae, which I truft we shal se in print shortlye, and for the accomplishmente of that boke, he had read and perused ouer many olde monumentes of Englande, and in seking for that purpos, he marked this of shootynge in an excedyng olde cronicle, the which had no name, that what tyme as the Saxons came firft into this realme in kyng Vortigers dayes, when they had bene here a whyle and at laſt began to faull out with the Brittons, they troubled and subdued the Brittons wyth nothynge so much, as with theyr
bowe and shaftes, whiche wepon beynge straunge and not sene here before, was wonderfull terrible vnto them, and this beginninge I can thynke verie well to be true. But now as concerning many examples for the prayse of English archers in warre, surely I wil not be long in a matter yat no man doubteth in, and those few yat I wil name, shal either be proued by ye histories of our enemies, or els done by men that nowe liue.

Kynge Edward the thirde at the battel of Cressie ageinft Philip ye Frenche king as Gaguinus the french Historiographer plainlye doeth tell, flewe that daye all the nobilitie of Fraunce onlye wyth hys archers. Such lyke battel also fought ye noble black prince Edwardebeside Poeters, where Iohn ye french king with hys fonne and in a maner al ye peres of Fraunce were taken beside. xxx. thousand. which that daye were slayne, and verie few Englyshe men, by reason of theyr bowes.

Kynge Henrie the fifte a prince perelles and moiste vyctorious conqueroure of all that euer dyed yet in this parte of the world, at the battel of Agin court with. vii. thousand. fyghtynge men, and yet many of them sycke, beynge suche Archers as the Cronycle sayeth that mooste parte of them drewe a yarde, flewe all the Cheualrie of Fraunce to the nomber of .XL. thousand. and moo, and lost not past. xxvi. Englyshe men.

The bloudye Ciuil warre of Engliand betwixt the house of Yorke and Lancafter, where shaftes flewe of both fydes to the destruction of mannye a yoman of Englande, whom foreine battell coulde neuer haue subdewed bothe I wyll passe ouer for the pyttyefulnesse of it, and yet may we hyghelye prayse GOD in the remembrance of it, feynge he of hys prouydence hath so knytte together those. ii. noble houses, with so noble and pleafunte a flowre.

The excellent prince Thomas Hawarde nowe Duke of Northfolk, for whose good prosperite with al his noble familie al English hertes dayly doth pray with bowmen
of England flew kyng Iamie with many a noble Scot euen brant agenst Flodon hil, in which battel ye stoute archers of Cheshire and Lanchasshire for one day be-flowed to ye death for their prince and country fake, hath gotten immortall name and prayse for euer.

The feare onely of Englysh Archers hathe done more wonderfull thinges than euer I redde in anye historye greke or latin, and mooft wonderfull of all now of late beside Carlile betwixt Eske and Leuen at Sandy fikes, where the hoole nobilite of Scotlande for fere of the Archers of Englonde (next the stroke of God) as both Englysh men and Scotylhe men that were present hath tould me were drowned and taken prisoners.

Nor that noble acte also, whych althoughge it be almost loft by tyme, commeth not behynd in worthinesse, whiche my synguler good frende and Master Sir William Walgraue and Sir George Somerfet dyd with with a few Archers to ye number as it is sayd of. xvi. at the Turne pike byseide Hammes where they turned with fo fewe Archers, fo many Frenchemen to flight, and turned fo many oute of theyr Iackes, whych turne turned all fraunce to shame and reproche and thofe. ii. noble knightes to perpetuall prayse and fame.

And thus you fe Philologe, in al countries Asia, Aphrike and Europe, in Inde, Aethiop, Aegypt and Iurie, Parthia, Persia, Greece, and Italie, Schythia, Turky, and Englane, from the beginyninge of the world euen to thyse daye, that shotyne hath had the cheife stroke in warre.

Phil, These examples surelye apte for the prayse of shotyne, nor feyned by poetes, but proved by trewe histories, distinct by tyme and order, hath delyted me excedyng muche, but yet me thynke that all thyse prayse belongeth to stronge shootynge and drawynge of myghtye bowes not to prickynge and nere shotinge, for which cause you and many other bothe loue and vse shootyng.

 Vox. Euer more Philologe you wyl haue some ouertwhart reason to drawe forthe more communica-
tion withall, but neuertheless ye shall perceauce if you wyl, that vse of prickyng, and defyre of nere shootynge at home, are the onelye causes of stronge shootynge in warre, and why? for you se, that the strongest men, do not drawe alwayes the strongest shooote, whiche thyng prouethe that drawinge stronge, liethe not so muche in the strengthe of man, as in the vse of shootyng, And experience teacheth the same in other thynges, for you shal se a weake smithe, whiche wyl wyth a lypge and turnyng of his arme, take vp a barre of yron, yat another man thrise as stronge, can not stirre. And a stronge man not vfed to shote, hath his armes breste and shoulders, and other partes where-with he shuld drawe strongelye, one hindering and stop-pinge an other, euens as a dofen stronge horses not vfed to the carte, lettes and troubles one another. And fo the more stronge man not vfed to shote, shootes moost vnhanfumlye, but yet if a stronge man with vse of shooote could be applyed al the partes of hys bodye togyther to theyr moost strengthe, than should he both drawe stronger than other, and also shoote better than other. But nowe a stronge man not vfed to shoote, at a girde, can heue vp and plucke in sunder many a good bowe, as wild horses at a brunte doth race and pluck in peces many a stronge carte. And thus stronge men, without vse, can do nothyng in shoting to any purpose, neither in warre nor peace, but if they happen to shooote, yet they haue done within a shooote or two when a weake man that is vfed to shooote, shal serue for all tymes and purpuses, and shal shooote. x. shaftes, agaynst the others. iii. and drawe them vp to the poynyte, euerye tyme, and shoote them to the mooste aduauntage, drawyng and withdrawing his shafte when he lift, markynge at one man, yet let driuyng at an other man: whyche thynges in a set battayle, although a man, shal not alwayes vse, yet in bickerynges, and at ouerthwarte meatinges, when fewe archers be togyther, they do mooste good of all.

Agayne he that is not vfed to shooote, shal euermore
with vntowardnesse of houldynge his bowe, and nockynge his shaftes, not lookyng to his ftryling be-
tyme, put his bowe alwayes in ieoperdy of breakynge, and than he were better to be at home, moreouer he shal shoote very fewe shaftes, and thofe full vnhand-
famlye, some not halfe drawen, some to hygh and some
to lowe, nor he can not driue a shoote at a tyme, nor froppe a shoote at a neede, but oute mufe it, and
very ofte to euel profe.

Ph. And that is best I trow in war, to let it go, and
not to froppe it.

Tor. No not so, but sometime to houle a shaft at
the heade, whyche if they be but few archers, doth
more good with the feare of it, than it shoulde do if it
were shot, with the froke of it.

Ph. That is a wonder tome, yat the feare of a difplea-
fure, shoulde do more harme than the difpleafure it felfe.

Tor. Yes, ye knowe that a man whiche fereth to be
banifhed, out of hys cuntreye, can neyther be mery,
eate, drynke nor feape for feare, yet when he is ban-
ifhed in deede, he feepeth and eateth, as well as any
other. And many menne doubtyng and fearyng
whether they shoulde dye or no, euen for verye feare
of deathe, preuenteth them felfe with a more bytter
deathe then the other death shoulde haue bene in
deade. And thus feare is euer worfe than the thynge
feared, as is partelye proved, by the communication
of Cyrus and Tigranes, the kynges funne

Ciri, ped. 3.

Ph. I graunte Toxophile, that vfe of shotyng
maketh a man drawe strong, to shoote at most aduan-
tage, to kepe his gere, whiche is no small thinge in war,
but yet me thinke, that the customable shoting at
home, speciallye at buttes and prickes, make nothynge
at all for stronge shooting which doth moste good in
war. Threfore I suppofe yf men shulde vfe to goo
into the fyeldes, and learne to shoote myghty stronge
shootes. and neuer care for any marke at al, they
shulde do mucho better.
The truthe is, that fashion muche vfed, woulde do muche good, but this is to be feared, leaft that waye coulde not prouoke men to vfe muche shotyng, bycaufe ther shulde be lytle pleasure in it. And that in shoting is beste, yat prouoketh a man to vfe shotinge mofte: For muche vfe maketh men shoote, bothe strong and well, whiche two thinges in shotinge, euery man doeth defyre. And the chyefe mayntayner of vfe, in any thyng, is comparyson, and honeste contention. For whan a manne struyueth to be better than an other, he wyll gladly vfe that thing, though it be neuer fo paynful wherein he woulde excell, whiche thyng Aristotle verye pretelye doth note, fayenge.

Where is comparison, there is victorie: where is victorie, there is pleafure: And where is pleafure, no man careth what labour or payne he taketh, bycaufe of the prayfe, and pleafure, thathe shall haue, in doynge better than other men.

Agayne, you knowe, Hefiodus wryteth to hys brother Perfes, yat al craftes men, by contending one honestly with an other, do encreafe theyr cunning with theyr substance. And therfore in London, and other great Cities, men of one craft, mofte commonly, dwelle togyther, bycaufe in honest struyyng togyther, who shall do beft, euery one maye waxe bothe cunninger and rycher, fo lykewise in shotyng, to make matches to assemble archers togyther, to contende who shall shoote beft, and winne the game, encreaseth ye vfe of shotyng wonderfully amonges men.

Phi. Of Vfe you speake very much Toxophile but I am sure in al other matters, Vfe can do nothing, wythoute two other thinges be ioyned wyth it, one is a natural Aptnesse to a thinge, the other is a true waye or knowledge, howe to do the thing, to which. ii. yf Vfe be ioyned, as thirde felowe, of them thre, proceedeth perfectnesse and excellencie: If a manne lacke the firft two, Aptnesse and Cunnyng, Vfe can
do lytle good, at all. For he yat wouulde be an oratour
and is nothinge naturallye fitte for it, that is to saye
lacketh a good wytte and memorie, lacketh a good
voyce, countenaunce and body, and other suche like,
ye[t] yt he had all these thinges, and knewe not what,
howe, where, when nor to whome he shulde speake,
surelye the vfe of spekynge, woulde brynge out
none other frute but playne follye and bablyng,
so yat Vfe is the lafte and the leaft neceffarye, of all
thre, yet no thing can be done excellently without
them al thre. And therfore Toxophile I my selfe
becauze I neuer knewe, whether I was apte for shooteing
or no, nor neuer knewe waye, howe I shulde learne to
shoote I haue not vfed to shoote: and so I thinke fume
hundred more in Englande do besyde me. And
surelye yt I knewe that I were apte, and yat you woulde
teach me howe to shoote, I woulde become an archer,
and the rather, bycauze of the good communication,
the whiche I haue had with you this daye, of
shoyting.

Tur. Aptneyfe, Knowlege, and Vfe, euen as you
faye, make all thinges perfecte. Aptneyfe is the fyrst
and chyefest thinge, without whiche the other two do
no good at all. Knowledge doeth encreafe al maner
of Aptneyfe, bothe leffe and more. Vfe sayth Cicero,
is farre aboue al teachinge. And thus they all three
muste be had, to do any thinge very well, and yt anye
one be awaye, what so euer is done, is done verye
meanly. Aptneyfe is ye gyfte of nature, Knowlege,
is gotten by ye helpe of other: Vfe lyeth in our owne
diligence and labour. So that Aptneyfe and vfe be
ours and within vs, through nature and labour: Know-
ledge not ours, but commynge by other: and ther-
fore mooft dilligently, of all men to be fought for.
Howe thefe three thinges ftande with the artillery of
Englande, a woorde or twoo I will faye.

All Englishe men generally, be apte for shoyting,
and howe? Lyke as that grounde is plentifull and
frutefull, whiche withoute any tylynyge, bryngeth out
corne, as for example, yf a man shoule go to the myll or market with corne, and happen to spyl some in the waye, yet it wolde take roote and growe, bycause ye foyle is fo good: fo England may be thought very frutefull and apt to brynge oute shooters, where children euen from the cradell, loue it: and yong men without any teachyng fo diligentlye vse it. Agayne, lykewyse as a good grounde, well tylled, and well husbanded, bringeth out great plentie of byg eared corne, and good to the faule: fo if the youthe of Englande being apte of it felfe to shote, were taught and learned how to shote, the Archers of England shuld not be only a great deale ranker, and mo then they be: but also a good deale bygger and ftronger Archers then they be. This commoditie shoulde folowe also yf the youth of Englande were taught to shote, that euen as plowing of a good grounde for wheate, doth not onely make it mete for the feede, but also riueth and plucketh vp by the rootes, all thiflles, brambles and weedes, whiche growe of theyr owne accorde, to the destruction of bothe corne and grounde: Euen fo shulde the teaching of youth to shote, not only make them shote well, but also plucke awaye by the rootes all other defyre to noughtye pastymes, as difynge, cardyng, and boouling, which without any teaching are vfed every where, to the great harme of all youth of this realme. And lykewise as burnyng of thiflles and diligent weding them oute of the corne, doth not halfe fo moche ryd them, as when ye ground is falloed and tilled for good grayne, as I haue hearde many a good husbandman say: euen fo, neither hote punishment, nor yet diligent searching oute of suche vnthriftinesse by the officers, shal fo throwly wede these vngracious games out of the realme, as occupying and bringyng vp youth in shotynge, and other honest pastyme. Thirdly, as a grounde which is apt for corne and also wel tilled for corne: yet if a man let it lye ftill and do not occupye it. iii. or. iii. yeare: but then wyll sow it,
if it be wheate (fayth Columella) it wil turne into rye: so if a man be neuer fo apte to shote, nor neuer fo wel taught in his youth to shote, yet if he giue it ouer, and not vfe to shote, truly when he shalbe eyther compelled in war tyme for his country fake, or els prouoked at home for his pleasure fake, to faule to his bowe: he shal become of a fayre archer, a ftrake squyrter and dribber. Therefore in shotynge, as in all other thinges, there can neyther be many in number, nor excellent in dede: excepte these. iii. thynges, Aptneffe, Knowledge, and Vfe goo toggyther.

Phil. Very well fayde Toxophile, and I promyfe you, I agree to this judgement of yours algotgyther and therefore I can not a lytle maruayle, why Englyfshe men brynge no more helpe to shotynge, then nature it felfe gyueth them. For you fe that euen children be put to theyr owne shiftes in shotyng, hauing nothyng taughte them: but that they maye chose, and chaunce to shoote ill, rather then well, vn-aptlye oner then fitlye, vntowardlye, more easely then welfauouredlye, whiche thyng gaueth manye neuer begynne to shoote: and moo to leaue it of when they haue begone, and mooft of all to shoote both worfe and weaker, then they might shoote, if they were taught.

But peraduenture some men wyll faye, that wyth vfe of shotynge a man shallearne to shoote, true it is he shallearne, but what shal he leare? marye to shoote noughtly. For all Vfe, in all thynges, yf it be not flayed with Cunnyng, wyll verie easely brynge a man to do yat thyng, what so euer he goeth aboute with muche illfauorednes and deformitie. Which thinge how much harme it doth in learning both Craffus excellencie dothe proue in Tullie, and I my selfe hauie experience in my lytle shootyng. And theryfore Toxophile, you must nedes graunt me that ether Englishe men do il, in not ioynyng Knowlege of shootinge to Vfe, or els there is no knowlege or cunninge, which can be gathered of shootinge.
Learnyng to shoote is lytle regarded in England, for this consideration, bycaufe men be so apte by nature they haue a greate redy forwardnesse and wil to vse it, al though no man teache them, al though no man byd them, and so of theyr owne corage they runne hedlynge on it, and shoote they ill, shote they well, greate hede they take not. And in verie dede Aptneffe with Vfe may do sumwhat without Knowledge, but not the tenthe parte, if so be they were ioyned with knowledge.

Whyche thre thynges be feperate as you se, not of theyr owne kynde, but through the negligence of men whyche coupleth them not to gyther. And where ye doubteth whether there can be gadered any knowledge or arte in shootyng or no, surely I thynke that a man being wel exercised in it and sumwhat honestly learned with all, myght foone with diligent obseruynge and markynge the hole nature of shootynge, find out as it were an Arte of it, as Artes in other matters haue bene founde oute afore, feynge that shootyng stanteth by those things, which maye both be thorowlye perceued, and perfityly knowen, and suche that neuer failes, but be euery certayne, belonginge to one mooost perfect ende, as shootyng freight, and keping of a length bring a man to hit the marke, ye chefe end in shootynge: which two thynges a man may attaine vnsto, by diligent vyng, and well handlynge those instrumentes, which belong vnsto them. Therfore I can not see, but there lieth hyd in the nature of Shootynge, an Arte, whiche by notynge, and obseruynge of him, that is exercised in it, yf he be any thyng learned at al, maye be taught, to the greate forderaunce of Artillarie through out al this Realme. And trewlye I meruell gretelye, that Englyssh men woulde neuer yet, seke for the Arte of shootyng, feinge they be so apte vnsto it, so praysed of there frendes, so feared of there enemys for it. Vegetius woulde haue maysters appointed, whyche shoulde teache youthe to
fhoote faire. Leo the Emperour of Rome, fheweth the fame cuftome, to haue bene always amongst ye olde Romaynes: whych cuftome of teachyng youth to fhoote (faythe he) after it was omitted, and litle hede taken of, brought the hole Empire of Rome, to grete Ruine. Schola Persica, that is the Scole of the Persians, appoynted to brynge vp youthe, whiles they were. xx. yeres olde in fhooting, is as notably knowne in Histories as the Impire of ye Persians: whych fchole, as doth apere in Cornelius Tacitus, asfone as they gaue ouer and fell to other idle paftimes, brought bothe them and ye Parthians vnder ye subiection of the Romaines. Plato would haue common maifters and stipendes, for to teache youthe to fhoote, and for the fame purpose he would haue a brode feylde nere euerie Citie, made common for men to vfe fhotyng in, whyche fayeng the more reasonably it is fpoken of Plato, the more vnreasonable is theyr dede whiche woulde ditche vp thofe feeldes priuately for ther owne profyt, whyche lyeth open generallye for the common vfe: men by fuche goodes be made rycher not honeftr fayeth Tullie. Yf men can be pefwaded to haue fhootynge taughte, this aucthoritie whyche foloweth will pefwade them, or els none, and that is as I haue ones fayde before, of Kynge Dauyd, whose fyrfte acte and ordinaunce was after he was kynge that all Iudea fhould learne to fhoote. Yf fhotyng could fpake, she would accuse England of vnkyndnesse and flouthfulnesse, of vnkyndnesse toward her bycaufe she beyng left to a lytle blynd vfe, lackes her beft maintener which is cunnyng: of flouthfulnesse towarde theyr owne felfe, bycaufe they are content wyth that whych aptnesse and vfe doth graunt them in fhootynge, and wyl feke for no knowlege as other noble common welthes haue done: and the iuftier fhootynge myght make thys complaynt, feyne that of fence and weapons there is
made an Arte, a thyng in no wyse to be compared to shootynge.

For of fence all mooste in euerye towne, there is not onely Masters to teache it, wyth his Pro-ouostes Vther Scholers and other names of arte and Schole, but there hath not fayld also, whyche hathe diligently and well fauouredly written it and is set out in Printe that every man maye rede it.

What discommoditie doeth comme by the lacke of knowlege, in shootynge, it were ouer longe to rehearce. For manye that haue bene apte, and loued shootynge, bycause they knewe not whyche way to houlde to comme to shootynge, haue cleane tourned them selues from shootynge.

And I maye telle you Philologe, the lacke of teache-nyge to shoote in Englande, causeth very manye men, to playe with the kynges Aȝtes, as a man dyd ones eyther with the Mayre of London or Yorke I can not tel whether, whiche dyd command by proclamation, euerye man in the Citie, to hange a lanterne wyth a candell, afore his dore: whiche thyngye the man dyd, but he dyd not lyght it: And so manye bye bowes bicaufe of the acȝte, but yet they shote not: not of euyll wyll, but bycause they knewe not howe to shoote. But to conclude of this matter, in shotinge as in all other thynges, Aptenesse

is the fyrfte, and chyeye thyngye, whiche if it be awaye, neyther Cunnynge or Vfe, doeth anye good at all, as the Scottes and Fraunce men, wyth knowledge and Vfe of shootynge, shal become good Archers, whan a cunnynge shypwright shal make a ftronge shyppe, of a Salowe tree: or whan a husband-
man shal becom ryche, wyth fowyng wheat on New-
market heath. Cunnynge mufte be had, Cunnynge.

bothe to set out, and amende Nature, and also to ouerfee, and correcte vfe: which vfe yf it be not led, and gouerned wyth cunnyng, shal sooner go amiffe, than ftrayght.

Vfe maketh perfitnesse, in doinge that thyngye,
whervnto nature maketh a man apte, and knowlege maketh a man cunninge before. So yat it is not fo doubtfull, which of them three hath mooft stroke in shoting as it is playne and evident, that all thre must be had, in excellent shootynge.

Phi. For this communicacion Toxophile I am very glad, and yat for myn owne sake bicaufe I trust now, to become a shoter, And in dede I thought a fore, English men moft apte for shoting, and I fawe them dayelye yf shotyng, but yet I neuer founde none, that woulde talke of anye knowlege whereby a man might come to shotynge. Therfore I truft that you, by the yf you haue had in shoting, haue so thorowly marked and noted the nature of it, that you can teache me as it were by a trade or waye how to come to it.

Tor. I graunte, I haue yfed shootynge meetly well, that I myght haue marked it wel ynoughe, yf I had bene diligent. But my much shootynge, hath caused me studie little, so that thereby I lacke learnynge, whych shuldle set out the Arte or waye in any thynge. And you knowe that I was neuer so well sene, in the Posteriorums of Ariftotle as to inuent and searche out general Demonstrations for the setting forth of any newe Science. Yet by my trothe yf you wyll, I wyll goe with you into the fealdes at any tyme and tel you as much as I can, or els you maye stande some tyme at the prickes and looke on them which shooote beft and folearne.

Phi. Howe lytle you haue looked of Ariftotle, and how muche learnynge, you haue lost by shootynge I can not tell, but this I woulde faye and yf I loued you neuer so ill, that you haue bene occupyped in sumwhat els befbye shootynge. But to our purpose, as I wyll not requyre a trade in shootynge to be taught me after the sutteltye of Ariftotle, euen so do I not agre wyth you in this poynjt, that you wold haue me learme to shoote with lokyng on them which shoote beft, for so I knowe I should neuer come to shoote meanelye. For in shootyn as in all other thynges which be gotten by teachynge, there must be shewed a waye and a path.
which shal leade a man to ye best and cheiffest point whiche is in shootynge, whiche you do marke youre selse well ynoough, and vterred it also in your communication, when you sayde there laye hyd in ye nature of shootyng a certayne waye whych wel perceyued and thorowlye knowen, woulde bring a man wythout any wanderyng to ye beste ende in shotyng whych you called hitting of the pricke. Therfore I would refer all my (hootinge to that ende which is bed, and so shuld I come the foner to some meane. That whiche is befl hath no faulte, nor can not be amended. So shew to me best shootyne, not the beste shoter, which yf he be neuer so good, yet hath he many a faulte easelye of any man to be espyed. And therfore meruell not yf I requyre to folowe that example whych is without faulte, rather than that which hath so manye faultes. And thys waye every wyfe man doth folow in teachynge any maner of thynge. As Aristotle when he teacheth a man to be good he settes not before hym Socrates lyfe whyche was ye best man, but chiefe goodnesse it selse accordyng to whych he would haue a man direcste his lyfe.

This waye which you requyre of me Philologe, is to hard for me, and to hye for a shooter to taulke on, and taken as I suppose out of the middes of Philosopphie, to serche out the perfite ende of any thynge, ye which perfite ende to fynde out, sayth Tullie, is the hardeft thynge in the worlde, the onely occasyfon and cause, why so many sectes of Philosophers hathe bene alwayse in learnynge. And although as Cicero faith a man maye ymagine and dreame in his mynde of a perfite ende in any thynge, yet there is no experience nor vse of it, nor was neuer fene yet amonges men, as alwayses to heale the sycke, euer more to leade a shypppe without daunger, at al times to hit the prick: shal no Phyficion, no shyppmaster, no shoter euer do. And Aristotle faith that in all deades there are two pointes to be marked, possibilitie and excellencie, but
chefely a wise man must folowe and laye hand on possibility
for feare he leafe bothe. Therfore feynge that which is mooft perfect and best in shootyng as alwayes to hit ye pricke, was neuer fene nor hard tel on yet amonges men, but onelye ymaged and thought vpon in a man his mynde, me thinck this is the wifef counsel and best for vs to folow rather that which a man maye come to, than yat whyche is vnpossible to be attained to, lefte iustely that fayeng of ye wyfe mayde Ifmene in Sophocles maye be verfified on vs.

A foole he is that takes in hand he can not ende. Soph. Ant.

Phi. Well yf the perfite ende of other matters, had bene as perfitlye knowne, as the perfite ende of shotynge is, there had neuer bene so manye sectes of Philosophers as there be, for in shoting both man and boye is in one opinion, that alwayes to hit the pryck is mooft perfecte end that can be imagyned, so that we shall not neede gretly contend in this matter. But now fir, whereas you thynke yat a man in learning to shoote or any thyng els, shuld rather wyfelye folow possibilitie, than vainly feke for perfite excellencie, surelye I wyl proue yat every wyfe man, yat wisely wold learne any thyng, shal chiefly go aboute yat wherevnto he knoweth wel he shal neuer come. And you youre felfe I fuppose shal confeffe ye fame to be ye best way in teachyng, yf you wyl anfwere me to those thines whych I wyl aske of you.

Tax. And yat I wyl gladlye, both bycaufe I thynke it is vnpossible for you to proue it, and alfo bycaufe I desire to here what you can faye in it.

Phi. The studie of a good Physicion Toxophile, I trow be to know al diseases and al medicines fit for them.

Tax. It is so in dede.

Phi. Bicaufe I fuppose he would gladly at al tymes heale al diseases of al men.

Tax. Ye truely.

Phi. A good purpose surely, but was ther euer physicion yet among so many whyche had laboured
in thys study, that at al times coulde heale all diseases?

**Tor.** No trewly; nor I thyncke neuer shalbe.

**Phi.** Than Physicians by lyke, studie for yat, whiche none of them commeth vnto. But in learning of fence I pray you what is yat which men mooft labor for?

**Tor.** That they may hit a nother I trow and neuer take blow theyr selfe.

**Phi.** You say trothe, and I am fure every one of them would faine do so when fo euer he playethe. But was there euer any of them fo conning yet, which at one tyme or other hath not be[n] touched?

**Tor.** The best of them all is glad somtyme to escape with a blowe.

**Phi.** Than in fence also, men are taught to go aboute that thing, whiche the best of them all knowethe he shall neuer attayne vnto. Moreouer you that be shoters, I pray you, what meane you, whan ye take fo greate heade, to kepe youre standynge, to shooote compasse, to looke on your marke fo diligently, to cast vp graffe diuerfe tymes and other thinges more, you know better than I. What would you do than I pray you?

**Tor.** Hit ye marke yf we coulde.

**Phi.** And doth every man go about to hit the marke at euerie shoote?

**Tor.** By my trothe I trow fo, and as for my selfe I am fure I do.

**Phi.** But al men do not hit it at al tymes.

**Tor.** No trewlye for that were a wonder.

**Phi.** Can any man hit it at all tymes?

**Tor.** No man verilie.

**Phi.** Than by likely to hit the pricke alwayes, is vnpossible. For that is called vnpossible whych is in no man his power to do.

**Tor.** Vnpossible in dede.

**Phi.** But to shoote wyde and far of the marke is a thynge possyble.
Tor. No man wyll denye that.

Phil. But yet to hit the marke alwayse were an excellent thyng.

Tor. Excellent surelie.

Phil. Than I am fure those be wiser men, which couete to shoote wyde than those whiche couete to hit the prycke.

Tor. Why fo I pray you.

Phil. Because to shoote wyde is a thynge posyble, and therfore as you faye youre selfe, of euery wyse man to be folowed. And as for hittinge ye prick, bycause it is vnpossible, it were a vaine thyng to go aboute it; but in good fadnesse Toxophile thus you fe that a man might go throghe all craftes and sciences, and proue that anye man in his science coueteth that which he shal neuer gette.

Tor. By my trouth (as you faye) I can not denye, but they do fo: but why and wherfore they shulde do fo, I can not learne.

Philo. I wyll tell you, euerye crafte and science stondeth in two thynges: in Knowing of his crafte, and Working of his crafte: For perfyte knowlege bringeth a man to perfyte workyng. This knowe Paynters, karuers, Taylours, thomakers, and all other craftes men, to be true. Nowe, in euery crafte, there is a perfite excellencie, which may be better knowen in a mannes mynde, then folowed in a mannes dede: This perfytenesse, bycause it is generally layed as a brode wyde example afore al men, no one particular man is able to compasse it; and as it is generall to al men, fo it is perpetuall for al time whiche proueth it a thyng for man vnpossible: although not for the capacitie of our thinkyng whiche is heauenly, yet surelye for the habilitie of our workyng whyche is worldlye.

God gyueth not full perfytenesse to one man (fayth Tullie) lest if one man had all in any one science, ther shoulde be nothyng lefte for an other. Yet God suffereth vs to haue the perfyt knowledge of it, that such a knowledge dilligently
folowed, might bring forth accordyng as a man doth labour, perfyte woorkyng. And who is he, that in learnyng to wryte, woulde forfake an excellent ex-
ample, and folowe a worfe?

Therfore feing perfytenesse it felse is an example for
vs, let euerye man fudyte howe he maye come nye it, which is a poynt of wyfdome, not reason with God why he may not attaine vnto it, which is vayne curofitie.

Surely this is gaily said Philologe, but yet this one thinge I am afraide of, left this perfittneffe which you speke on will discouragge men to take any thynge in hande, bycausse afore they begin, they know, they shal neuer come to an ende. And thus dispayre shal dispactche, euyn at the fyrfte entrynge in, many a good man his purpose and intente. And I thinke both you your felse, and al other men to, woulde counte it mere folie for a man to tell hym whome he teacheth, that he shal neuer optaine that, whyche he would fainest learne. And therfore this fame hyghe and perfite waye of teachyng let vs leue it to hygher matters, and as for shootynge it shalbe content with a meaner waye well ynoughe.

Where as you faye yat this hye perfitneffe will discurage men, bycausse they knowe, they shal neuer attayne vnto it, I am sure cleane contrarie there is nothynge in the world shal incourage men more than it. And whye? For where a man feith, that though a nother man be neuer so excellente, yet it is possible for hym felse to be better, what Payne or labour wyl that man refuse to take? yf the game be once wonne, no man wyl set forth his foote to ronne. And thus perfitneffe beynge so hyghe a thynge that men maye looke at it, not come to it, and beynge so plentiful and indifferent to euerye bodye that the plentifulnesse of it may prouoke all men to labor, bycausse it hath ynoughe for all men, the indifferencye of it shal en-
courage euerye one to take more paine than his fel-
lowe, bycausfe euerye man is rewarded accordyng to his
nye commyng, and yet whych is moste meruel of al, ye more men take of it, the more they leue behynd for other, as Socrates dyd in wyfdome, and Cicero in elo- quens, whereby other hath not lacked, but hathe fared a greate deele ye better. And thus perfittenesse it felte bycaufe it is never obteyned, euyn therfore only doth it cause so many men to be so well fene and perfite in many matters, as they be. But where as you thinke yat it were fondnesse to teache a man to shoote, in lokyng at the most perfittenesse in it, but rather woulde haue a manne go some other way to worke, I trull no wyfe man wyl discomend that way, except he thincke himselfe wyfer than Tullye, whiche doeth playnye faye, that yf he teached any maner of crafe as he dyd Rhetorike he would labor to bringe a man to the knowlege of the mooft perfittenesse of it, whycye knowlege shoulde euer more leade and gyde a manne to do that thynge well whiche he went aboute. Whych waye in al maner of learnyng to be best, Plato dothe alsO declare in Euthydemus, of whome Tullie learned it as he dyd many other thynges mo. And thus you fe Toxophile by what reasons and by whose authoritie I do require of you this waye in teachynge me to shoote, which waye I praye you withoute any more delaye shew me as far forth as you haue noted and marked.

Tor. You cal me to a thyng Philologe which I am lothe to do. And yet yf I do it not beinge but a smale matter as you thinke, you wyll lacke frendeshypp in me, yf I take it in hande and not bring it to passe as you woulde haue it, you myghte thyncke great want of wyfdome in me.

But aduyse you, feing ye wyll nedes haue it so, the blame shalbe yours, as well as myne: yours for puttyng vpon me so instauntlye, myne in receyuynge fo fondly a greater burthen then I am able to beare. Therfore I, more wylyinge to fulfyll your mynde, than hopyng to accomplissh that which you loke for, shall speake of it, not as a master of shotynge, but as one not
altogether ignoraunt in shotynge. And one thynge I am glad of, the sunne drawinge downe so fast into the west, shall compell me to drawe a pace to the ende of our matter, so that his darkness shall somethyng cloke myne ignoraunce. And bycaufe you knowe the orderynge of a matter better then I: Aske me generallye of it, and I shall particularly answere to it. Phi. Very gladly Toxophile: for so by ordre, those thynges whiche I woulde knowe, you shal tell the bet- ter: and those thynges whiche you shALL tell, I shall remembre the better.
THE SECONDE BOOKE OF
the schole of shotyng.

What is the cheyfe poynte in shotyng, that euerye manne laboureth to come to?

To hyt the marke.

Howe manye thynges are required to make a man euuer more hyt the marke?

Twoo.

Whiche twoo?

Shotinge streyght and kepyngge of a lengthe.

Howe shoulde a manne shoote streyght, and howe shulde a man kepe a length?

In knowynge and hauynge thinges, belongynge to shotyng: and whan they be knowen and had, in well handlynge of them: whereof some belong to shotyng streyght, some to keping of a length, some commonly to them bothe, as shal be tolde seuerally of them, in place conuenient.

Thynges belonging to shotyng, whyche be they?

All thinges be outwarde, and some be instru-
mentes for every sere archer to brynge with him, proper for his owne use: other thynges be generall to every man, as the place and tyme serueth.

**Ph.** Which be instrumentes?

**Tor.** Bracer, shotyngegloue, stryng, bowe and shafte.

**Ph.** Whiche be general to all men?

**Tor.** The wether and the marke, yet the marke is euer vnder the rule of the wether.

**Ph.** Wherin standeth well handlynge of thynges?

**Tor.** All togyther wythin a man him selfe, some handlynge is proper to instrumentes, some to the wether, some to the marke, some is within a man hym selfe.

**Ph.** What handlyng is proper to the Instrumentes?

**Tor.** Standynge, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, low- fing, wherby commeth fayre shotynge, whiche neyther belong to wynde nor wether, nor yet to the marke, for in a rayne and at no marke, a man may shote a fayre shoote.

**Ph.** Well sayde, what handlyng belongeth to the wether?

**Tor.** Knowyng of his wynde, with hym, agaynst hym, fyde wynde, ful fyde wind, fyde wynde quarter with him, fyde wynde quarter agaynst hym, and so forthe.

**Ph.** Well than go to, what handlyng belongeth to the marke?

**Tor.** To marke his standynge, to shote compasse, to draw euermore lyke, to lowe euermore lyke, to confyder the nature of the pricke, in hylles and dales, in sirayte planes and winding places, and alfo to efpy his marke.

**Ph.** Very well done. And what is onely within a man hym selfe?

**Tor.** Good heede gyuynge, and auoydyng all affections: whiche thynges oftentymes do marre and make all. And these thynges spoken of me generally and brefely, yf they be wel knowen, had, and handled,
shall brynge a man to suche shootynge, as fewe or none euer yet came vnto, but surely yf he misse in any one of them, he can neuer hyt the marke, and in the more he doth misse, the farther he shoteth from his marke. But as in all other matters the fyrfte sleppe or slyyre to be good, is to know a mannes faulte, and than to amende it, and he that wyl not knowe his faulte, shal neuer amende it.

Phi. You speake now Toxophile, euen as I wold haue you to speake: But lette vs returne agayne vnto our matter, and thofe thynges whyche you haue packed vp, in fo shorte a roume, we wyll lowfe them forthe, and take every pyece as it were in our hande and looke more narowlye vpon it.

Tor. I am content, but we wyll rydde them as faft as we can, bycause the funne goeth fo faste downe, and yet somewhat muste needes be sayde of euerye one of them.

Phi. Well sayde, and I trowe we beganne wyth thofe thynges whiche be instrumenetes, whereof the fyrfte, as I supposse, was the Brauer.

Tor. Litle is to be sayd of the brauer. A bracer serueth for two causes, one to saue his arme from the strype of the strynge, and his doublet from wearynge, and the other is, that the strynge glydyngge sharpelye and quicklye of the bracer, may make the sharper shoote. For if the strynge shoulde lyght vpon the bare fleue, the strengthe of the shoote shoulde stoppe and dye there. But it is best by my iudgemente, to gyue the bowe somuche bent, that the strynge neede neuer touche a mannes arme, and so shoulde a man nede no bracer as I knowe manye good Archers, whiche occupye none. In a bracer a man muste take hede of. iii. thinges, yat it haue no nayles in it, that it haue no bucles, that it be faft on with laces wythout agglettes. For the nayles wyll shere in funder, a mannes firinge, before he be ware, and so put his bowe in ieoperdy: Buckles and agglettes at vnwares, shal race hys bowe, a thinge bothe euyll to the fyghte, and perilous for freatynge. And thus a
Bracer, is only had for this purpose, that the stringe maye haue redye passaige.

Phí. In my Bracer I am cunnyng ynough, but what faye you of the shootyng gloue.

Tor. A shootyng Gloue is chieflye, for to saue a mannes fyngers from hurtynge, that he maye be able to beare the sharpe string to the vttermost of his strengthe. And whan a man shooeth, the might of his shooote lyethe on the formooste fynger, and on the Ringman, for the myddle fynger whiche is the longest, lyke a lubber starteth backe, and beareth no weyghte of the stringe in a maner at all, therfore the two other fyngers, muste haue thicker lether, and that muste haue thickest of all, where on a man lowfeth most, and for sure lowfyng, the formooste finger is moste apte, bycause it holdeth best, and for yat purpose nature hath as a man woulde faye, yocket it with the thombe. Ledder, if it be nexte a mans skynne, wyl sweat, waxe hard and chafe, therefore scarlet for the softnes of it and thickness wyth all, is good to sewe wythin a mannes gloue. If that wylle not serue, but yet youre finger hurteth, you muste take a searlyng cloth made of fine virgin waxe, and Deres fewet, and put nexte your fynger, and so on wyth youre gloue. If yet you fele your fynger pinched, leaue shooetyng both because than you shall shooote nought, and agayn by litte and lytle, hurtynge your finger, ye shall make it longe and longe to or you shooote agayne. A newe gloue pluckes many shoootes bycause the stringe goeth not freelye of, and therefore the fingers muste be cut shorte, and trimmed with some ointment, that the string maye glyd wel awaye. Some wyth holdynge in the nocke of theyr shasfe too harde, rub the skyn of there fingers. For this there be. ii. remedies, one to haue a goode quyll splettyd and fewed againste the nockynge, betwixt the lining and the ledder, whyche shall helpe the shooote muche to, the other waye is to haue some roule of ledder fewed betwixt his fingers at the setting on of the fingers, which shall kepe his fingers so in funder, that they
shal not hold the nock so fast as they did. The shootyng gloue hath a purse whych shall serue to put fine linen cloth and wax in, twoo necessary thynges for a shooter, some men vs e gloues or other suche lyke thyng on their bow hand for chafyng, because they houlde so harde. But that commeth commonlye, when a bowe is not rounde, but somewhat square, fine waxe shall do verye well in such a case to laye where a man holdeth his bow: and thus muche as concernynge your gloue. And these thynges althoghhe they be trifles, yet bycause you be but a yonge shoter, I woulde not leue them out.

Phi. And so you shal do me moste pleasure: The string I trow be the next.

Tar. The nexte in dede. A thing though it be lytle, yet not a litle to be regarded. But here in you musst be contente to put youre truste in honest stringers. And surelly stringers ought more diligently to be looked vpon by the officers than ether bower or fletcher, bycause they may deceyue a a simple man the more easelyer. And ill stringe breketh the many a good bowe, nor no other thyng halfe so many. In warre if a stringe breke the man is loste and is no man, for his weapon is gone, and althoghhe he haue two stringes put one at once, yet he shal haue smale leasure and leffe roume to bend his bow, thersore god send vs good stringers both for war and peace. Now what a stringe ought to be made on, whether of good hempe as they do now a dayes, or of flaxe or of filke, I leaue that to the iugemente of stringers, of whome we musst bye them on. Eustathius

Eustathius

upon this verfe of homere.

Twang quoth the bow, and twang quoth the string, out quicklie the haft flue.

Iliad. 4.

doeth tel, that in oulde tyme they made theyr bowe stringes of bullox thermes, whiche they twyned to-gither as they do ropes, and thersore they made a great twange. Bowe stringes also hath bene made of the heare of an horse tayle called for the matter of
them Hippias as do the appear in manye good authors of the Greke tongue. Great Fauorinus.

stringes, and lytle stringes be for divers purposes: the great string is more sure for the bowe, more stable to pricke wythal, but flower for the caft, the lytle string is cleane contrarye, not so sure, therefore to be taken hede of lesse, with longe tarienge on, it breake your bowe, more fit to shoothe farre, than apte to pricke nere, therfore when you knowe the nature of bothe bigge and, lytle you must fit your bow, according to the occasion of your shooinge. In stringinge of your bowe (though this place belong rather to the handlyng than to the thynge it selfe, yet by-caufe the thynge, and the handlynge of the thynge, be so joiyned together, I must nede some tyme couple the one wyth the other,) you must mark the fitting length of your bowe. For yf the stringe be to short, the bending wyll gyue, and at the last flyp and so put the bowe in ieopardye. Yf it be longe, the bendynge must nedes be in the smal of the string, which beynde fore twined must nedes knap in funder to ye distruccion of manye good bowes. Moreouer you must looke that youre bowe be well noked for fere the sharpnesse of the horne thare a funder the stringe. And that chaunceth ofte when in bending, the string hath but one wap to strengthe it wyth all: You must marke also to fet youre stringe streygte on, or elles the one ende shall wriethe contrary to the other, and so breke your bowe. When the stringe begynnethe neuer so lytle to were, trust it not, but a waye with it for it is an yll fauied halpeny yat costes a man a crowne. Thus you se howe manye ieopardyes hangethe ouer the felye poore bowe, by reasone onlye of the stringe. As when the stringe is shorte, when it is longe, when eyther of the nockes be nought, when it hath but one wap, and when it taryethe ouer longe on.

Phi. I se wel it is no meruell, though so many bowes be broken.

Tax. Bowes be broken twife as many wayes befyde
these. But a gayne in stringynge youre bowe, you must loke for muche bende or lytle bende for they be cleane contrarye.

The lytle bende hath but one commoditie, whyche is in shootyng faster and farther shooote, and ye cause therof is, bycause the ftrynge hath so far a passage, or it parte wyth the shafte. The greate bende hath many commodities: for it maketh easyer shootynge the bowe beyng halfe drawen afore. It needeth no bracer, for the ftrynge stoppeth before it come at the arme. It wyl not so sone hit a mannes fleue or other geare, by the same reason: It hurteth not the shafte fedder, as the lowe bende doeth. It suffereth a man better to espie his marke. Therfore lette youre bowe haue good byg bend, a shaftemente and. ii. fyngers at the leaft, for these which I haue spoken of.

Phi. The brafer, gloue, and ftrynge, be done, nowe you muste come to the bowe, the chefe instrument of all.

Tor. Dyuers countryes and tymes haue vfed alwayes dyuers bowes, and of dyuers fashions.

Horne bowes are vfed in some places nowe, and were vfed also in Homerus dayes, for Pan- Iliad. 4. darus bowe, the best shooter among al the Troianes, was made of two Goete hornes ioyned to- gyther, the lengthe wherof sayth Homer, was. xvi hand- bredes, not far differing from the lengthe of our bowes.

Scripture maketh mention of brasse bowes. Iron bowes, and ftyle bowes, haue bene of longe tyme, and also nowe are vfed among the Turkes, but yet they must nedes be vnprofitable. For yf brasse, yron or ftyle, haue theyr owne strengthe and pith in them, they be farre aboue mannes strengthe: yf they be made meete for mannes strengthe, theyr pithe is nothyng worth to shooote any shooote wyth all.

The Ethiopians had bowes of palme tre, whiche seemed to be very stronge, but we haue none experience of them. The lengthe of them was. iii. cubites. The men of Inde had theyr
bowes made of a rede, whiche was of a great strengthe. And no maruayle though bowe and shaftes were made thereof, for the redes be so great in Inde, as Herodotus sayth, that of every joynete of a rede, a man may make a fyshers bote. These bowes, fayeth Arrianus in Alexanders lyfe, gaue so great a stroke, that no harneys or buckler though it were nouer so strong, could wythstand it. The length of suche a bowe, was euene wyth the length of hym, that vfed it. The Lycians vfed bowes made of a tree, called in Latyn Cornus, (as concernyng the name of it in English, I can foner proue that other men call it false, than I can tell the right name of it my felle) this wood is as harde as horne and very fit for shaftes, as shall be toulde after.

Ouid sheweth that Syringa the Nymphe, and one of the maydens of Diana, had a bowe of this wood whereby the poete meaneth, that it was verye excellent to make bowes of.

As for brafell, Elme, Wych, and Affte, experience doth proue them to be but meane for bowes, and so to conclude Ewe of all other thynges, is that, wherof perfite shootyng woulde haue a bowe made.

Thys woode as it is nowe generall and common amonges Englyshe men, so hath it continewed from longe tyme and had in mooft price for bowes, amonges the Romaynes, as doth apere in this halfe verse of Vyrgill.

\[\text{Taxi tormentur in arcus.}\]

\[\text{Virgilius.}\]

\[\text{Ewe fit for a bowe to be made on.}\]

Nowe as I faye, a bowe of Ewe muft be hadde for perfecte shootinge at the prickes; whiche marke, by-caufe it is certayne, and moste certaine rules may be gyuen of it, shall ferue for our communication, at this time. A good bowe is knownen, much what as good counfayle is knownen, by the ende and profe of it, and yet bothe a bowe and good counfell, maye be made bothe better and worfe, by well or vll handlynge
of them: as oftentimes chaunceth. And as a man both muste and wyll take counsell, of a wyse and honeste man, though he se not the ende of it, so must a shooter of necessitie, truste an honest and good bowyer for a bowe, afore he knowe the profe of it. And as a wyse man wyll take plentye of counfel afore hand what foouer need, so a shooter shulde haue alwayses. iii. or. iii. bowes, in store, what so ever chaunce.

Phì. But if I trusfe bowyers alwayses, sometyme I am lyke to be deceyued.

Tar. Therefore shall I tell you some tokens in a bowe, that you shal be the feeldomer deceyued. If you come into a shoppe, and fynde a bowe that is small, long, heauy and strong, lyinge st[re]yght, not windyng, not marred with knot, gaule, wyndeshake, we, freate or pynche, bye that bowe of my warrant. The beste colour of a bowe yat I fynde, is whan the backe and the bellye in woorkynge, be muche what after one maner, for such oftentimes in wearyng, do proue lyke virgin wax or golde, hauynge a fine longe grayne, euyn from the one ende of the bowe, to the other: the short graine although suche proue well somtyme, are for ye most parte, very brittle. Of the makynge of the bowe, I wyll not greatly meddle, lefte I shoulde seeme to enter into an other mannes occupation, whyche I can no skyll of. Yet I woulde defyre all bowyers to season their flaus well, to woorke them and synke them well, to giue them hettes conuenient, and tyllerynges plentye. For thereby they shoulde bothe get them selues a good name, (And a good name encreaseth a mannes profyte muche) and also do greate commodite to the hole Realme. If any men do offend in this poynthe, I am afrayde they be those iourny men whiche labour more spedily to make manye bowes for theyr owne monye fake, than they woorke dilligently to make good bowes, for the common welth fake, not layinge before theyr eyes, thys wyse proverbe.

Sone ynough, if weI ynough.
Wherwylth euere honest handye craftes man shuld mesure, as it were wyth a rule, his worke withal. He that is a iourney man, and rydeth vpon an other mannes horfe, yf he ryde an honest pace, no manne wyll dyfalowe hym: But yf he make Pofte haste, bothe he that oweth the horfe, and he peraduenture alfo that afterwarde shal bye the horfe, may chaunce to curse hym.

S suche hastinesse I am afrayde, maye also be found amonges some of them, whych through out ye Realme in diuerfe places worke ye kinges Artillarie for war, thinkynge yf they get a bowe or a sheafe of arrowes to some fashion, they be good ynough for bearynge gere. And thus that weapon whiche is the chiefe defence of the Realme, verye ofte doth lytle feruyce to hym that shoulde vse it, bycause it is so negligentlye wrought of him that shuld make it, when trewlye I suppofe that nether ye bowe can be to good and chefe woode, nor yet to well feasoned or truly made, wyth hetynges and tillerynges, nether that shasfe to good wood or to thorowely wrought, with the beft pinion fedders that can be gotten, wherwith a man shal serue his prince, defende his countrie, and faue hym selufe frome his enemye. And I truft no man wyll be angrye wyth me for spekyng thus, but thos which finde them selufe touched therin: which ought rather to be angrye wyth them selufe for doynge fo, than to be miscontent wyth me for saynge fo. And in no case they ought to be displeased wyth me, seinge this is spoken also after that forte, not for the notynge of anye perfon feuerallye, but for the amendynge of euerye one generallye. But turne we agayne to knowe a good shootynge bowe for oure purpoze.

Euyere bowe is made eyther of a boughe, of a plante or of the boole of the tree. The boughe commonlye is verye knotty, and full of pinnes, weak, of small pithe, and fone wyll folowe the stringe, and feldome werith to any fayre coloure, yet for chyldren and yonge beginners it maye serue well ynough. The plante proueth many times wel, yf it be of a good and clene groweth, and for
the pith of it is quicke ynoughe of cast, it wyll plye and bow far afore it breake, as al other yonge thinges do. The boole of ye tree is cleneft without knot or pin, hauinge a faste and harde woode by reasonne of hys full groweth, stronge and myghtye of cast, and beft for a bow, yf the ftaues be euen clouen, and be afterwarde wroughte not ouer[t]wharte the woode, but as the graine and freyght growyng of the woode leadethe a man, or elles by all reasonne it must fone breake, and that in many shiuers. This must be considered in the roughe woode, and when the bow ftaues be ouerwrought and facioned. For in dressing and pikynge it vp for a bow, it is to late to loke for it. But yet in these poynettes as I sayd before you muste truste an honest bowyer, to put a good bow in youre hand, somewhat lookinge your selfe to those tokens whyche I shewed you. And you muste not flicke for a grote or. xii. d. more than a nother man would giue yf it be a good bowe. For a good bow twife paide for is better than an ill bowe once broken.

Thus a shoote muste begin not at the makynge of hys bowe lyke a bower, but at the byinge of hys bow lyke an Archere. And when his bow is bought and brought home, afore he truste muche vpon it, let hym trye and trym it after thys forte.

Take your bow in to the feeld, shote in hym, sinke hym wyth deade heauye shaftes, looke where he commethe mooft, prouyde forthat place betymes, lefte it pinche and fo freate; when you haue thus shot in hym, and perceyued good shooteynge woode in hym, you must haue hym agayne to a good cunninge, and trustie woorkeman, whyche shall cut hym shorte, and pike hym and dresse hym fyetter, make hym comme rounde compace every where, and whippyng at the endes, but with discretion, left he whyp in funder or els freete, foner than he is ware of, he must also lay hym freght, if he be caste or other-wise nede require, and if he be flatte made, gather hym rounde, and so shall he bothe shoote the faster, for farre shooteynge, and alfo the furer for nere pryckynge.

Phi. What yf I come into a shoppe, and spye oute
a bow, which shal both than please me very wel when I by him, and be also very fit and meete for me when I shoote in hym: so that he be both weake ynoughe for easye shootynge, and also quycke and spedye ynoughe for farre caftynge, than I woulde thynke I shal nede no more businesse wyth him, but be contente wyth hym, and vfe hym well ynoughe, and so by that meanes, auoyde bothe greate trouble, and also some cost whiche you cunnynge archers very often put your felues vnto, beynge very Englyshe men, neuer caasyng piddelynge about your bowe and shaftes whan they be well, but eyther with shoryng and pik-ynge your bowes, or els with newe fetheryng, peec-ynge and headinge your shaftes, can neuer haue done vntyll they be starke nought.

Tor. Wel Philologe, furilye if I haue any judg-ment at all in shootynge, it is no very great good token in a bowe, whereof nothyng whan it is newe and freffhe, nede be cutte away, euyn as Cicero sayeth of a yonge mannes wit and style, which you knowe better than I. For euerye newe thynge muste alwayes haue more than it needeth, or elles it wyll not waxe better and better, but eueryr decaye, and be worfe and worfe. Newe ale if it runne not ouer the barrell whan it is newe tunned, wil fone leafe his pith, and his head afore he be longe drawen on.

And lyke wyse as that colte whyche at the fyrste takynge vp, nedeth lytle breakeyng and handlyng, but is fitte and gentle ynoughe for the saddel, feeldome or neuer proueth well, euyn so that bowe whyche at the fyrste byinge, wythout any more prooste and trimmynge, is fit and easie to shoote in, shal nemyther be profitable to lafte longe nor yet plefaunt to shoote well. And therfore as a younge horfe full of corage, wyth handlynge and breakinge, is brought vnto a fure pace and goynge, so shal a newe bowe freffhe and quicke of cafte, by sinkyng and cuttyng, be brought to a ftedfaft shootynge. And an easie and gentle bow whan it is newe, is not muche vnylyke a softe sprited
boye when he is younge. But yet as of an vnrule
boye with right handlyng, proueth ofteñest of al a
well ordered man ; so of an vnfit and staffysh bow
with good trimming, muște nedes folowe alwayes a
fledfaft shoytyng bowe.

And suche a perfite bowe, whiche neuer wyll de-
ceyue a man, excepte a man deceyue it, muñt be had
for that perfecte ende, whych you looke for in shootinge.

Phí. Well Toxophile, I see wel you be cunninger
in this geres than I: but put case that I haue thre
or fower suche good bowes, pyked and dreffed, as
you nowe speke of, yet I do remembre yat manye
learned men do faye, that it is easier to gette a good
thynge, than to faue and keepe a good thynge, wherfore
if you can teache me as concernynge that poynlte, you
haue satiﬁyed me plentifullye as concernynge a bowe.

Tox. Trulye it was the nexte thynge that I woulde
haue come vnto, for so the matter laye.

Whan you haue broughte youre bowe to suche a
poynlte, as I spake of, than you muñt haue an herden or
wullen cloth waxed, wherwith every day you muñt rubbe
and chafe your bowe, tyll it fhyne and glytter withall.
Whych thynge shall caufe it bothe to be cleane, well
faoured, goodlye of coloure, and shall also bryng as it
were a crufte, ouer it, that is to say, shall make it
every where on the outfyde, fo flyppery and harde,
that neyther any weete or wether can enter to hurte
it, nor yet any freate or pynche, be able to byte vpon
it: but that you shall do it great wrong before you
breake it. This muñt be done ofteñest but spe-
cially when you come from shootyng.

Beware also when you shooete, of youre shaft heides,
dagger, knyues, or agplettes, left they race your bowe,
a thing as I sayde before, bothe vnsemely to looke on,
and also daungerous for freates. Take heede also of
mistie and dankysh dayes, whiche shal hurte a bowe,
more than any rayne. For then you muñt eyther
alway rub it, or els leaue shooetyng.

Your bowecafe (this I dyd not promise to speake of,
bycause it is without the nature of shoot-ynge, or els I shoulde truble me wyth other thinges infinite more: yet seing it is a fauegarde for the bowe, somethynge I wyll faye of it) youre bowecase I faye, yf you ryde forth, mufe neyther be to wyde for youre bowes, for so shal one clap vpon an other, and hurt them, nor yet so ffrayte that fscarfe they can be thrust in, for that woulde laye them on fyde and wynde them. A bowecase of ledder, is not the beft, for that is ofttymes moyfte which hurteth the bowes very much. Therfore I haue fene good shooters which would haue for euerye bowe, a fere case made of wollen clothe, and than you maye putte. iii. or. iii. of them fo cased, into a ledder cafe if you wyll. This wollen cafe shall bothe kepe them in funder, and also wylle kepe a bowe in his full strengte, that it neuer gyue for any wether. At home these wood cases be verye good for bowes to flande in. But take hede yat youre bowe flande not to nere a ftone wall, for that wyll make hym moyfte and weke, nor yet to nere any fier for that wyll make him shorte and brittle. And thus muche as concernyng the fauyng and keping of our bowe; nowe you shal heare what thynges ye muft auoyde, for feare of breakyng your bowe.

A shooter chaunfeth to breake his bowe commonly. iii. wayes, by the ftrynge, by the shafte, by draw-ynge to far, and by freates; By the ftryng as I sayde afore, whan the ftrynge is eyther to shorte, to long, not surely put on, wyth one wap, or put croked on, or fhorne in fundre wyth an euell nocke, or suffered to tarye ouer longe on. Whan the ftryng fayles the bowe mufe nedes breake, and specially in the myddes; because bothe the endes haue nothyng to ftope them; but whippes so far backe, that the belly mufe nedes violentlye rise vp, the whyche you shal well perceyue in bendyng of a bowe backward. Therfore a bowe that foloweth the ftrynge is leaft hurt with breakyng of ftrynges. By the shafte a bowe is broken ether when it is to shorte, and so you fet it in your bow or when
the nocke breakes for lytlenesse, or when the strynge flyppes wythoute the nocke for wydennesse, than you poule it to your eare and lettes it go, which must nedes breake the shaft at the leafte, and putte styringe and bowe and al in iepardy, bycaufe the strength of the bowe hath nothyng in it to flop the violence of it.

Thys kynde of breakynge is mooft periloufe for the {landers by, for in such a case you shal fe sometyme the ende of a bow flye a hooole score from a man, and that mooft commonly, as I haue marked oft the vpper ende of the bowe. The bowe is drawne to far. ii. wayes. Eyther when you take a longer shaft then your owne, or els when you shyte your hand to low or to hye for shootynge far. Thys waye pouleth the backe in sunder, and then the bowe fleethe in manye peces.

So when you fe a bowe broken, hauynge the bellye risen vp both wayes or tone, the styringe brake it. When it is broken in twoo peces in a maner euen of and specyallye in the vpper ende, the shaft nocke brake it. When the backe is pouled a sunder in manye peeces to farre drawynge, brake it.

These tokens eyther alwayes be trewe or els verye feldome myffe.

The fourthe thyng that breketh a bow is fretes, whych make a bowe redye and apte to breake by any of the. iii. wayes afore sayde. Freetes be in a shaft as well as in a bowe, and they be mucho lyke a Canker, crepyngne and en-creasynge in thofe places in a bowe, whych be weaker then other. And for thys purpose muft your bowe be well trymmed and piked of a conning man that it may come rounde in trew compasse euery where. For freetes you muft beware, yf youre bow haue a knot in the backe, left the places whych be nexte it, be not alowed strong ynoughe to bere with the knotte, or elles the stronge knotte shall freate the weake places nexte it. Freates be fyrst litle pinches, the whych when you perceau, pike the places about the pinches, to make them somewhat weker, and as
well commynge as where it pinched, and so the pinches shall dye, and never encrease farther in to great freates.

Freates begynne many tymes in a pin, for there the good woode is corrupted, that it must needes be weke, and bycause it is weake, thersore it freates.

Good bowyers thersore do rayse euery pyn and alowe it moore woode for feare of freating.

Agayne bowes moost commonlye freate vnder the hande, not so muche as some men suppofoe for the moistnesse of the hande, as for the heete of the hand: the nature of heate sayth Aristotle is to lowfe, and not to knyt faft, and the more lowfer the more weaker, the weaker, the redier to freate.

A bowe is not well made, whych hath not woode plenty in the hande. For yf the endes of the bowe be ftaffyshe, or a mans hande any thyenge hoote the bellye must needes fone frete. Remedie for fretes to any purpose I neuer hard tell of any, but onelye to make the freated place as stronge or stronguer then any other. To fill vp the freate with lytle sheuers of a quill and glewe (as some fay wyll do wel) by reaason must be starke nought.

For, put cafe the freete dyd cease then, yet the caufe which made it freate a fore (and that is weakenesse of the place) bicause it is not taken away must needes make it freate agayne. As for cuttyng out of freates wythe all manner of pecyngge of bowes I wyll cleane exclude from perfite shootyng. For peced bowes be muche lyke owlde housen, whyche be more chargeable to repaye, than commodioufe to dwell in. Agayne to swadle a bowe much about wyth bandes, verye feldome dothe anye good, excepte it be to kepe downe a spel in the backe, otherwyse bandes eyther neede not when the bow is any thinge worthe, or els boote not when it is marde and paft best. And although I knowe meane and poore shooters, wyll vfe peced and banded bowes sometyme bycause they are not able to get better when they woulde, yet I am sure yf they confyder it well, they shall fynde it, bothe lesse charge
and more pleasure to ware at any tyme a couple of shyllynes of a new bowe than to beflowe. x. d. of peacynge an olde bowe. For better is coste vpon somewhat worth, than spence vpon nothing worth. And thys I speke also bycause you woulde haue me referre all to perfitnesse in shootynge.

Moreouer there is an other thynge, whyche wyl sone cause a bowe be broken by one of the. iii. wayes whych be first spoken of, and that is shotyng in winter, when there is any froste. Froste is wherefoeuer is any waterish humour, as is in al woodes, eyther more or lesse, and you knowe that al thynges frosten and Isie, wyl rather breke than bende. Yet if a man muft nudes shoote at any suche tyme, lette hym take hys bowe, and brynge it to the fyere, and there by litle and litle, rubbe and chafe it with a waxed clothe, whiche shal bring it to that poynt, yat he maye shote safelye ynough in it. This rubbyng with waxe, as I fayde before, is a great succour, agaynfl all wete and moyfnesse.

In the fyeldes also, in goyng betwyxt the pricks eyther wyth your hande, or elles wyth a clothe you mufte keepe your bowe in suche a temper. And thus muche as concernynge youre bowe, howe fyrste to knowe what wood is best for a bowe, than to chofe a bowe, after to trim a bowe, agayne to keepe it in goodnesse, lafte of al, howe to faue it from al harm and euylnesse.

And although many men can faye more of a bow yet I trut these thynges be true, and almofte sufficient for the knowlege of a perfecte bowe.

Phl. Surelye I beleue so, and yet I coulde haue hearde you talke longer on it: althogh I can not see, what maye be fayd more of it. Therfore excepte you wyll paufe a whyle, you may go forwarde to a shaste.

Tor. What shastes were made of, in oulde tyme authours do not fo manifestlye shewe, as of bowes. Herodotus doth tel, that in the flood of Nilus, ther was a beast, called a water horfe, of whose skinne after it was dried, the Egyptians made
shaftes, and dartes on. The tree called *Cornus* was so common to make shaftes of, that in good authours of ye latyn tongue, *Cornus* is taken for a shaft, as in Seneca, and that place of Virgill,  

*Volat Itala Cornus.*

Yet of all thynges that euer I warke of olde authours, either greke or latin, for shaftes to be made of, there is nothing so common as reedes. Herodotus in describynge the mightie hooft of Xerxes doth tell that thre great contrys vfed shaftes made of a rede, the Aethiopians, the Lycians (whose shaftes lacked fethers, where at I maruayle moste of all) and the men of Inde. The shaftes in Inde were verye longe, a yarde and an halfe, as Arrianus doth faye, or at the leaft a yarde. as Q. Curtius doth faye, and thersore they gaue ye greater ftrype, but yet bycaufe they were so long, they were the more vnhanfome, and lesse profitable to the men of Inde, as Curtius doeth tell.

In Crete and Italie, they vfed to haue their shaftes of rede also. The best redee for shaftes grewe in Inde, and in Rhenus a flood of Italy.

But bycaufe suche shaftes be neyther easie for Englishe men to get, and yf they were gotten scarce profitable for them to vfe, I wyll lette them passe, and speake of those shaftes whycbe Englysh men at this daye moste commonly do approue and allowe.

A shaft hath three principall partes, the ftele, the fethers, and the head: whereof euerye one muste be feuerallye spoken of.

* Steles be made of dyuerse woodes. as.*

Brafell.
Turkie wood.
Fufticke.
Sugerchesfe.
Hardbeame.
Byrche.
These wooddes as they be most commonly vsed, so they be moost fit to be vsed: yet some one fytter then an other for divers mennes shotinge, as shalbe toulde afterwarde. And in this pointe as in a bowe you muste trufte an honest fletcher. Neuerthelesse al thoughhe I can not teache you to make a bowe or a shafte, whiche belongeth to a bowyer and a fletcher to comme to theyr lyuyng, yet wyll I shewe you some tokens to knowe a bowe and a shafte, whiche per-tayneth to an Archer to come to good shootynge.

A ftele muste be well seasoned for Casteinge, and it must be made as the grayne lieth and as it groweth or els it wyl neuer flye clene, as clothe cut ouerwhart and agaynste the wulle, can neuer hoofe a manne cleane. A knottye ftele maye be suffered in a bygge shafte, but for a lytle shafte it is nothyng fit, bothe bycaufe it wyll neuer flye far, and besydes that it is euer in danger of breakynge, it fieth not far bycaufe the strengthe of the hoothe is hindred and stopped at the knotte, euen as a stone caft in to a plaine euen till water, wyll make the water moue a greate space, yet yf there be any whirlynge plat in the water, the mouynge ceasethe when it commethe at the whyrlynge plat, whyche is not muche vnlyke a knotte in a shafte yf it be considered wel. So every thyng as it is plaine and streight of hys owne nature so is it fittest for far mouynge. Therfore a ftele whyche is harde to flande in a bowe, without knotte, and streighte (I meane not artificiallye streyghte as the fletcher dothe make it, but
naturally streight as it groweth in the wood) is best to make a shaft of, eyther to go cleane, fly far or stand surely in any wedder. Now howe big, how small, how heuye, how lyght, how longe, how short, a shaft should be particularlye for euerye man (seyng we must taulke of the generall nature of shootynge) can not be toulde no more than you Rhethoricians can appoynty any one kynde of wordes, of sentences, of fygures fyt for every matter, but even as the man and the matter requyreth fo the fytteft to be voved. Therfore as concernynge those contraries in a shaft, evey man muste auoyde them and draw to the meane of them, whyche meane is best in al thynges. Yet yf a man happen to offende in any of the extremes it is better to offend in want and scantnesse, than in to muche and outragioufe excedyng. As it is better to haue a shaft a lytle to shorte than ouer longe, somewhat to lyght, than ouer lumpyffhe, a lytle to small, than a greate deale to big, whiche thyng is not onely trewlye sayde in shootynge, but in all other thynges that euer man goeth aboute, as in eatynge, taulkynge, and all other thynges lyke, whych matter was onse excellentlye disputed vpon, in the Scooles, you knowe when.

And to offend, in these contraries commeth much yf men take not hede, throughe the kynd of wood, wherof the shaft is made: Ffor some wood belonges to ye excedyng part, some to ye scant part, some to ye meane, as Brasell, Turkiewood, Fusticke, Sugar cheste, and such lyke, make deade, heuy lumpish, hobblyng shaftes. Againe Hulder, black thorne, Serues tree, Beche, Elder, Aspe, and Salowe, eyther for theyr wekenes or lyghtenesse, make holow, flarting, fludding, gaddynge shaftes. But Birche, Hardbeme, some Ooke, and some Affhe, beyng bothe stronge ynoughe to fiande in a bowe, and also lyght ynoughe to flye far, are best for a meane, whiche is to be foughte outhe in every thinge. And although I knowe that some men shooote fo strounge, that the deade woodes be lyghte ynoughe for them, and other some
fo weeke, that the lowfe woodes be lykewyse for them bigge ynough that generally for the mooft parte of men, the meane is the best. And so to conclude that, is always beste for a man, whiche is metest for him. Thus no wood of his owne nature, is eyther to lyght or to heuy, but as the shooter is him selfe whiche dothe vse it. For that shafte whiche one yeare for a man is to lyghte and scuddinge, for the same selfe man the next yeare may chance be to heuy and hobblynge. Therfore can not I expresse, excepte generally, what is best wood for a shafte, but let euery man when he knoweth his owne strength and the nature of euery wood, prouyde and fytt himselfe thereafter. Yet as concerning sheaffe Arrouse for war (as I supposse) it were better to make them of good Ashhe, and not of Aspe, as they be now a dayes. For of all other woodes that euery I proued Ashhe being big is twiftest and agayne heuy to giue a greate stripe with all, whiche Aspe shal not doo. What heuynes doth in a stripe euery man by experience can tell, therfore Ashhe being both swyfter and heuier is more fit for sheafe Arroes then Aspe, and thus muche for the best wood for shaftes.

Agayne lykewyse as no one wood can be greatlye meet for all kynde of shaftes, no more can one facion of the stele be fit for euery shooter. For those that be lytle brested and big toward the hede called by theyr lykenesse taperfashion, refhe grown, and of some merrye fellowes bobtayles, be fit for them whiche shote vnder hande bycaufe they shooote wyth a softe lowse, and stresse not a shafte muche in the breste where the weyghe of the bowe lyethe as you maye perceyue by the werynge of euery shafte.

Agayne the bygge brested shafte is fytte for hym, which shoteth right afore him, or els the brest being weke shoulde neuer wythstande that strong piththy kynde of shootynge, thus the vnderhande must haue a small breste, to go cleane awaye oute of the bowe, the forehande muste haue a bigge breste to bere the
great myghte of the bowe. The shafte must be made rounde nothynge flat wyth out gal or wemme, for thys purpose. For bycause roundnesse (whether you take example in heauen or in earthe) is fitteft shappe and forme both for fast mouing and also for fone percynge of any thynge. And therfore Aristotle faythe that nature hath made the raine to be round, bycause it shoulde the easelyer enter throughe the ayre.

The nocke of the shafte is dyuerfly made, for some be greate and full, some hanfome and lytle, some wyde, some narow, some depe, some shalowe, some round, some longe, some wyth one nocke, some wyth a double nocke, wherof euery one hathe his propertye.

The greate and full nocke, maye be well selte, and many wayes they faue a shafte from brekyng. The hanfome and lytle nocke wyll go clene awaye frome the hand, the wyde nocke is noughte, both for breakyng of the shafte and also for foden flyppynge oute of the styringe when the narrowe nocke doth auoyde bothe those harmses. The depe and longe nocke is good in warre for fure kepyng in of the styringe. The shalow, and rownde nocke is best for our purpose in prickyng for cleane delyueraunce of a shoote. And double nockyng is vfed for double fuerty of the shafte. And thus far as concernynge a hole the ftele.

Peeceynge of a shafte with brasell and holie, or other heauy woodes, is to make the ende compasse heauy with the fethers in flyng, for the stedfafter shotyng. For if the ende were plume heauy wyth lead and the wood neste it lyghte, the head ende woulde euery be downwardes, and neuer flye ftrayght. Two poyntes in peecing be ynough, left the moyftnes of the earthe enter to moche into the peecinge, and fo leufe the glue. Therefore many poyntes be more pleasaunt to the eye, than profitable for the vfe.

Summe vfe to peece theyr shaftes in the nocke wyth brasel, or holye, to counterwey, with the head, and I haue fene summe for the same purpose, bore an hole a
lytle bineth the nocke, and put leade in it. But yet none of these wayes be anye thing needful at al, for ye nature of a fether in flying, if a man marke it wel, is able to bear vp a wonderful weyght: and I thinke fuche peecing came vp first, thus: whan a good Archer hath broken a good shafte, in the fethers, and for the fantasie he hath had to it, he is lothe to leefe it, and therfore doeth he peece it. And than by and by other eyther bycaufe it is gaye, or elles becaus they wyll haue a shafte lyke a good archer, cutteth theyre hole shaftes, and peeceth them agayne: A thynge by my iudgement, more costlye than nedefull.

And thus haue you heard what wood, what faffhion, whatnockynge, what peecyngeastele mufte haue: Nowe foloweth the fetherynge.

Ph. I woulde neuer haue thought you could haue sayd halfe so muche of a stiele, and I thinke as concernyng the litle fether and the playne head, there is but lytle to faye.

Tor. Lytle, yes truelye: for there is no one thing, in al shoting, so moche to be loked on as the fether. For fyrfte a question maye be asked, whether any other thing besyde a fether, be fit for a shafte or no? if a fether onelye be fit, whether a goode fether onely, or no? yf a goode fether be beft, then whether there be any difference, as concernynge the fether of an oulde goode, and a yonge goode: a gander, or a goode: a fennye goode, or an vplandifh goode. Againe which is beft fether in any goode, the ryght wing or the left wing, the pinion fether, or any other fether: a whyte, blacke, or greye fether? Thirdly, in fettyng on of your fether, whether it be pared or drawen with a thicke rybbe, or a thinne rybbe (the rybbe is ye hard quill whiche deuydeth the fether) a long fether better or a shorte, set on nere the nocke, or farre from the nocke, set on freight, or som what bowyng? and whether one or two fethers runne on the bowe. Fourthly in couling or sheryng, whether high or lowe, whether somwhat fwyne backed (I mufte vfe
Shoters wordes) or fadle backed, whether rounde, or square shorne? And whether a shaft at any tyme ought to be plucked, and how to be plucked.

Phil. Surely Toxophile, I thinke manye fletchers (although daylye they haue these thinges in vre) if they were askef sodeynly, what they coulde saye of a fether, they could not saye so moch. But I praye you let me heare you more at large, expresse thole thynge in a fether, the whiche you packed vp in so narrowe a rowme. And whyth whether any other thynge may be vsed for a fether or not.

Tox. That was ye wythes poyncte in dede, and bycause there foloweth manye after, I wyll hyye apace ouer them, as one that had manye a myle to ride. Shaftes to haue had alwayes fethers Plinius Pl. 16. 36. in Latin, and Iulius Pollux in Greke, do playnlye shewe, yet onely the Lycians I reade in Herodotus to haue vsed shaftes without pedders. Onelye a pedder is fit for a shaftte for. ii. causes, wythes bycause it is leathe weake to giue place to the bowe, than bycause it is of that nature, that it wyll farte vp after ye bow. So, Plate, wood or horne can not ferue, bycause the[y] wil not gyue place. Againe, Cloth, Paper, or Parchment can not ferue, bycause they wyll not ryse after the bowe, therfore a pedder is onely mete, bycause it onelye wyl do bothe. Nowe to looke on the pedders of all maner of birdes, you shal se somme fo lowe weke and shorte, somme fo course, ftoore and harde, and the rib fo brickle, thin and narrow, that it can nether be drawen, pared, nor yet well set on, that except it be a swan for a dead shaftte (as I knowe somme good Archers haue vsed) or a ducke for a flyghte whiche lastes but one shooete, there is no fether but onelye of a goosse that hath all commodities in it. And trewelye at a shorte but, which somme man doth vs, ye Pecock fether dothfeldome kepe vp ye shaft eyther ryght or leuell, it is fo roughe and heuy, so that manye men which haue taken them vp for gayenesse, hathe layde them downe agayne for
proyte, thus for our purpose, the Goose is best fether, for the best fhoter.

Phil. No that is not fo, for the best fhoter that euer was vfed other fethers.

Taw. Ye are so cunninge in shootynge I praye you who was that.

Phil. Hercules whyche had his shaftes fethered with Egles fethers as Hesiodus dothe say.

Taw. Well as for Hercules, feynge nether water nor lande, heauen nor hell, coulde scarce contente hym to abyde in, it was no meruell thoughge a fely poore goufe fether could not plese him to shoote wythal, and agayne as for Egles they flye so hye and builde so far of, yat they be very hard to come by. Yet welfare the gentle goufe which bringeth to a man euens to hys doore so manye excedynge commodities.

For the goufe is mans comforte in war and in peace flepynge and wakynge. What prayse so euer is gyuen to shootynge the goufe may chalenge the beste parte in it. How well dothe she make a man fare at his table? Howe easelye dothe she make a man lye in his bed? How fit euens as her fethers be onelye for shootynge, so be her quylls fytte onelye for wrytyng.

PhiLa. In deade Toxophyle that is the beste prayse you gaue to a goufe yet, and surelye I would haue sayde you had bene to blame yf you had ouerfkypte it.

Taw. The Romaynes I trowe Philologe not so muche bycause a goufe wyth cryinge faued theyr Capitolium and head toure wyth their golden Jupiter as Propertius doth fay very pretely in thys verse.

Anferis et tutum uoce sui혜 Ioem.  

Propertius

Tbeues on a night had stolne Jupiter, had a goufe not a keked.

Dyd make a golden goufe and fet hir in the top of ye Capitolium, and appoynted also the Censores to alow out of ye common hutche yearly stipendes for ye findinge of certayne Geese, ye Romaynes did not I faye giue al thys honor to a goufe
for yat good dede onely, but for other infinit mo which comme dayly to a man byn Geese, and surely yf I should declame in ye prayse of any maner of beste lyuyng, I would chose a goufe, But the goufe hath made vs flee to farre from ourre matter. Nowe sir ye haue hearde howe a fether must be had, and that a goufe fether onely. It foloweth of a yonge gose and an oule, and the residue belonging to a fether: which thing I wyll shortlye course ouer: wherof, when you knowe the properties, you maye fitte your shaftes accordyng to your shotyng, which rule you must obserue in all other thynges too, bycause no one fashioned or quantitie can be fitte for every man, no more than a shooe or a cote can be. The oule goose fether is flyffe and stronge, good for a wynde, and fytteft for a deed shaft: the yonge goose fether is weake and fyne, best for a fwyfte shaft, and it must be couled at the first shering, somewhat hye, for with shoting, it wyll falle and faule very moche. The same thing (although not so moche) is to be confydered in a goose and a gander. A fenny goose, euen as her fleth is blacker, ftoorer, vnholser, so is her fether for the same cause courser ftoorer and rougher, and therfore I haue heard very good fletters saye, that the seconde fether in some place is better then the pinion in other some. Betwixt the winges is lytle difference, but that you must haue diuerse shaftes of one flight, fethered with diuerse winges, for diuerse windes: for if the wynde and the fether go both one way the shaft wyll be caryed to moche. The pinion fethers as it hath the firfte place in the winge, so it hath the fyrfte place in good fetheringe. You maye knowe it afore it be pared, by a bought whiche is in it, and agayne when it is colde, by the thinnesse aboue, and the thicknesse at the grounde, and also by the ftyfnes and finesse which wyll cary a shaft better, fatter and further, euen as a fine fayle cloth doth a shyppe.

The coulour of the fether is lefte to be regarded,
yet somewhat to be looked on: for a good whyte, you haue sometyme an yll greye. Yet fullye it standeth with good reason to haue the cocke fether black or greye, as it were to gyue a man warning to nocke ryght. The cocke fether is called that which standeth aboue in ryght nocking, which if you do not obserue the other fethers must nedes run on the bowe, and so marre your shote. And thus farre of the goodnesse and choyse of your fether: now foloweth the setting on. Wherin you must looke that your fethers be not drawen for hastinesse, but pared euen and strayghte with diligence. The fletcher draweth a fether when he hath but one swappe at it with his knyfe, and then playneth it a lytle, with rubbynge it ouer his knyfe. He pareth it when he taketh leysure and hede to make everie parte of the ryb apt to stand straignt, and euen on vpon the stele. This thing if a man take not heede on, he maye chaunce haue cause to saye so of his fletcher, as in dressinge of meate is communely spoken of Cookes: and that is, that God sendeth vs good fethers, but the deuyll noughtie Fletchers. Yf any fletchers heard me saye thus, they wolde not be angrye with me, excepte they were yll fletchers: and yet by reason, those fletchers too, ought rather to amend them selues for doing yll, then be angry with me for saying truth. The ribbe in a styffe fether may be thinner, for so it wyll stande cleaner on: but in a weake fether you must leaue a thicker ribbe, or els yf the ryb which is the foundacion and grounde, wherin nature hath set euerye cleft of the fether, be taken to nere the fether, it muste nedes folowe, that the fether shall faule, and droupe downe, euen as any herbe doeth whyche hath his roote to nere taken on with a spade. The lengthe and shortnesse of the fether, ferueth for diuers shaftes, as a long fether for a long heauy, or byg shafte, the shorte fether for the contrary. Agayne the shorte may stande farther, the longe nerer the nocke. Youre fether muste stande almooste straignt on, but yet after that forte, yat it maye turne
rounde in flyinge. And here I consider the wonderfull nature of shootynge, whiche standeth all togethery by that fashion, which is moste apte for quicke mouynge, and that is by roundenesse. For firste the bowe must be gathered rounde, in drawyng it must come rounde compass, the stringe musste be rounde, the stele rounde, the best nocke rounde, the feather shorne somwhat rounde, the shafte in flyenge, musste turne rounde, and if it flye far, it flyeth a rounde compase. For eyther aboue or benethe a rounde compase, hyndereth the flyinge. Moreover bothe the fletcher in makyng your shafte, and you in nockynge your shafte, musste take heede that two fethers equallye runne on the bowe. For yf one fether runne alone on the bowe, it shal quickly be wore, and shall not be able to matche with the other fethers, and agayne at the lowse, yf the shafte be lyght, it wyl starte, if it be heuye, it wil hoble. And thus as concernyng settyng on of your fether. Nowe of couluyng.

To thære a shafte hyghe or lowe, musste be as the shafte is, heauy or lyght, great or lytle, long or short. The swyne backed fashion, maketh the shafte deader, for it gathereth more ayer than the faddle backed, and therfore the faddle backe is furer for daunger of wether, and fitter for smothe flieving. Agayn to thære a shafte rounde, as they were wont sometime to do, or after the triangle fashion, whyche is muche vfed nowe a dayes, bothe be good. For roundenesse is apte for flieving of his owne nature, and al maner of triangle fashion, (the sharpe poynte goyng before) is also naturally apte for quycke entrynge, and therfore sayth Cicero, that cranes taught by nature, obserue in flyinge a triangle fashion alwayes, bycaufe it is so apte to perce and go thorowhe the ayer wythall. Laffe of all pluckynge of fethers is noughte, for there is no fuerty in it, therfore let euery archer haue such shaftes, that he maye bothe knowe them and truft them at euery chaunge of wether. Yet if they musste nedes be plucked, plucke them as litle as
can be, for so shal they be the leffe vnconstante. And thus I haue knit vp in as shorte a roume as I coulde, the best fethers fetheringe and coulinge of a shafte.

Phi. I thynke surely ye haue so taken vp the matter wyth you, yat you haue lefte nothynge behinde you. Nowe you haue brought a shafte to the head, whiche if it were on, we had done as concernyng all instrumentes belongyng to shootynge.

Tor. Necesfitie, the inuentour of all goodnesse (as all authours in a maner, doo saye) amonges all other thinges inuented a shafte heed, firste to saue the ende from breakyng, then it made it sharpe to ftycke better, after it made it of strong matter, to laft better: Laft of all experience and wyfeldome of men, hathe brought it to suche a perfitnesse, that there is no one thing so profitable, belongyng to artillarie, either to ftryke a mannes enemye forer in warre, or to shooote nerer the marke at home, then is a fitte heed for both purposes. For if a shafte lacke a heed, it is worth nothynge for neither vfe. Therfore seinge heedes be so necessary, they must be necessitie, be wel looked vpon. Heedes for warre, of longe tyme haue ben made, not onely of diuers matters, but also of diuers fashions. The Troians had heedes of yron, as this verfe spoken of Pandarus, sheweth:

\[ Vp to the pappe his ftring did he pull, his shaft to the harde yron. \]

Iliados. 4

The Grecians had heedes of brasse, as Vlysses shaftes were heeded, when he slewe Antinous, and the other wowers of Penelope.

\[ Quite through a dore, slewe a shafte with a brasse head. \]

Odysse. 21.

It is playne in Homer, where Menelaus was wounded of Pandaruns shafte, yat the heedes were not glewed on, but tyed on with a ftring, as the commentaries in Greke playnelye tell. And therfore shotres at that tyme to carry their shaftes without heedes, vntill they occupied them, and than
The schale of shooting.

fet on an heade as it apereth in Homer the. xxi. booke Odyssei, where Penelope brought Vlixes bowe downe amonges the gentlemen, whiche came on wow-ing to her, that he whiche was able to bende it and drawe it, might inioye her, and after her followed a mayde sayth Homer, carienge a bagge full of heads, bothe of iron and brasse.


The Germanes as Cornelius Tacitus doeth faye, had theyr shaftes headed with bone, and many countryes bothe of olde tyme and nowe, vsed heads of horne, but of all other yron and sytle muste nedes be the fittest for heads.

Iulius Pollux calleth otherwyse than we doe, where the fethers be the head, and that whyche we call the head, he calleth the poynte.

Fashion of heads is diuers and that of olde tyme: two maner of arrowe heads sayeth Pollux, was vsed in olde tyme. The one he calleth ἕγκυνος descrybynge it thus, hauyng two poyntes or barbes, lookyng backewarde to the ftele and the fethers, which surely we call in Englishe a brode arrowe head or a swalowe tayle. The other he calleth γλωξις, hauing. ii. poyntes stretchyng forwarde, and this Englyshe men do call a forke-head: bothe these two kyndes of heads, were vsed in Homers dayes, for Teucer vsed forked heads, sayinge thus to Agamemnon.

Eighte good shaftes haue I shot sith the I came, eche one wyth a forke heade. Iliad. 8.

Pandaruras heades and Vlyffes heades were broode arrow heades, as a man maye learne in Homer that woulde be curioufe in knowyng that matter. Hercules vsed forked heades, but yet they had thre pointes or forkes, when other mennes had but twoo. Plutarchus in Crasso.
they flewe ritche Craffus and his sone vfed brode Arrowe heads, whyche flocke so sore that the Romaynes could not poule them out agayne. Com-
modus the Emperoure vfed forked heads, whose facion Herodiane doeth lyuely and naturally describe, sayinge that they were lyke the shap of a new mone wherwyth he would smite of the heade of a birde and neuer miffe, other facion of heades haue not I red on. Our Englyshe heads be better in war than eyther forked heads, or brode arrowe heads. For fyrst the ende beynge lyghter they flee a great deele the faster, and by the same reason gyueth a far forer stripe. Yea and I suppose if ye same lytle barbes whiche they haue, were clene put away, they shuld be far better. For thys every man doth graunt, yat a shaft as long as it flyeth, turnes, and whan it leueth turnyng it leueth goyng any farther. And every thynge that enters by a turnynge and boring facion, the more flatter it is, the worse it enters, as a knife thoughge it be sharpe yet because of the edges, wil not bore so wel as a bodkin, for every rounde thynge enters befte and therefore nature, sayeth Ariftotle, made the rayne droppes rounde for quicke percyng the ayer. Thus, eyther shaftes turne not in flyeng, or els our flatte arrowe heads stoppe the shaft in entrynge.

Pfi. But yet Toxophile to holde your communica-
tion a lytle I suppose the flat heade is better, bothe bycaufe it maketh a greter hoole, and also bycause it flicks faster in.

Tor. These two reaons as they be bothe trewe, so they be both nought. For fyrst the lesse hoole, yf it be depe, is the worst to heale agayn: when a man shoteth at hys enemy, he defyreth rather yat it should enter far, than stick faft. For what remedye is it I praye you for hym whych is smitten with a depe wounde to poull out the shaft quickly, except it be to hafte his death spedely? thus heads whyche make a lytle hole and depe, be better in war, than thosse whiche make a great hole and sticke faft in.
Iulius Pollux maketh mention of certaine kindes of heads for war which beare fyre in them, and scripture alfo speaketh somwhat of the same. Herodotus doth tell a wonderfull pollicy to be done by Xerxes what tyme he befeged the great Toure in Athenes: He made his Archers binde there shafte heads aboute wyth towe, and than set it on fyre and shoote them, whych thyng done by many Archers set all the places on fyre, whych were of matter to burne; and befides that daied the men wythin, so yat they knewe not wyther to turne them. But to make an ende of all heades for warre I woulde wyfhe that the head makers of Englande shoulde make their sheafe arrowe heads more harder poynted then they be: for I my selfe haue fene of late such heads set vpon sheafe Arrowes, as ye officers yf they had fene them woulde not haue bene content wyth all.

Now as concernyng heads for pryckyng, which is oure purpose, there be dyuerfe kyndes, some be blonte heades, some sharpe, some both blonte and sharpe. The blont heads men vse bycause they perceauw them to be good, to kepe a lengthe wyth all, they kepe a good lengthe, bycause a man poulethe them no ferder at one tyme than at another. For in felynge the plompe ende alwayes equallye he may lowe them. Yet in a wynde, and agaynfte the wynd the wether hath so much power on the brode end, yat no man can kepe no fure lengthe, wyth such a heade. Therfore a blont hede in a caulme or downe a wind is very good, otherwyse none worse.

Sharpe heads at the ende wythout anye shoulders (I call that the shouder in a heade whyche a mans finger shall feele afore it come to the poynyte) wyll perche quycklye throughge a wynde, but yet it hath. ii. discommodities, the one that it wyll kepe no lengthe, it kepeth no lengthe, bycause no manne can poule it certaynly as far one tyme as at an other: it is not drawen certaynlye so far one tyme as at an other,
bycaufe it lacketh the shoulde rynde wherwyth as wyth a sere token a man mygte be warned when to lowse, and also bycaufe menne are afrayde of the sharpe poynt for fettyng it in ye bow. The seconde incommoditie is when it is lyghted on ye ground, ye smal poynte shal at every tyme be in ieopardye of hurtynge, whyche thynge of all other wyll fonest make the hafte lefe the lengthe. Now when blonte heades be good to kepe a lengthe wythall, yet noughte for a wynde, sharpe heads good to perch e the wether wyth al, yet nought for a length, certayne heademakers dwellyng in London perceyuyne the commoditie of both kynde of heads ioyned wyth a discommoditie, inuented newe files and other instrumentes where wyth [t]he[y] broughte heads for pryckyng to such a perfittesse, that all the commodities of the twoo other heads shoulde be put in one heade wyth out anye discommoditie at all. They made a certayne kynde of heads whyche men call hie rigged, creased, or shoul-dred heads, or fyluer fpone heads, for a certayne lykenesse that suche heads haue wyth the knob ende of some fyluer fpones.

These heads be good both to kepe a length withal and also to perch e a wynde wythall, to kepe a length wythall bycaufe a man maye certaynly poule it to the shoulde rynde euery shoote and no farther, to perch e a wynde wythall bycaufe the pointe from the shoulder forwarde, breketh the wether as al other sharpe thynges doo. So the blonte shoulde serueth for a sere lengthe kepynge, the poynte also is euer fit, for a roughe and greate wether percyng. And thus much as shortlye as I could, as concerning heads both for war and peace.

Phí. But is there no cunning as concerning setting on of ye head?

Táx. Wel remembred. But that poynt belongeth to fletchers, yet you may defyre hym to set youre heade, full on, and close on. Ful on is whan the wood is be[n]t hard vp to the ende or ftoppynge of the heade, close on, is when there is lefte wood on euerye fyde
The schole of shooting.

the shafte, ynoughe to fyll the head withall, or when it is neyther to little nor yet to greate. If there be any faulte in any of these poyntes, ye head whan it lyghteth on any hard stone or grounde wil be in ieoperdy. eyther of breakynge, or els otherwyse hurtynge. Stoppynge of heades eyther wyth leade, or any thynge els, shall not nede now, bycause every siluer spone, or showldred head is stopped of it selfe. Shorte heads be better than longe: For firste the longe head is worfe for the maker, to fyle strayght compace every waye: agayne it is worse for the fletcher to set strayght on: thyrldye it is alwayes in more ieoperdie of breakinge, whan it is on. And nowe I trowe Philologe, we haue done as concernythge all Instrumentes belonging to shootynge, whiche everyfere archer ought, to prouyde for hym selfe. And there remayneth. ii. thynges behinde, whiche be generall or common to euery man the Wether and the Marke, but bicaufe they be so knit wyth shootynge strayght, or kepynge of a lengthe, I wyll deferre them to that place, and now we will come, (God wylyng) to handle our instrumetes, the thing that euery man desireth to do wel.

Phi. If you can teache me so well to handle these instrumentes as you haue described them, I supposse I shalbe an archer good ynough.

TAR. To learne any thing (as you knowe better than I Philologe) and speciallye to do a thing with a mannes handes, must be done if a man woulde be excellent, in his youthe. Yonge trees in gardens, which lacke al senfes, and beastes without reason, when they be yong, may with handling and teaching, be brought to won-derfull thynges. And this is not onely true in natural things, but in artificiall things to, as the potter moft connyngly doth caft his pottes whan his claye is softe and workable, and waxe taketh printe whan it is warme, and leathie weke, not whan claye and waxe be hard and oulde: and euen so, euerye man in his youthe, bothe with witte and body is mofte apte and pliable to receyue any connyng that shulde be taught hym.
This communication of teaching youthe, maketh me to remembre the right worshipfull and my singuler good mayster, Sir Humfrey Wingfelde, to whom nexte God, I ought to refer for his manifolde benefites bestowed on me, the poore talent of learnyng, whiche god hath lent me: and for his fake do I owe my seruice to all other of the name and noble house of the Wyngfeldes, bothe in woord and dede. Thys worshipfull man hath euer loued and vsed, to haue many children brought vp in learnyng in his house amonges whome I my felfe was one. For whom at terme tymes he woulde bryng downe from London bothe bowe and shaftes. And when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him felfe in to the fyelde, and fe them shote, and he that shot fayrest, shulde haue the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot ilsaououredlye, shulde be mocked of his felowes, til he shot better.

Woulde to god all Englande had vsed or wolde vs to lay the foundacion of youth, after the example of this worshipful man in bringyng vp chyldren in the Booke and the Bowe: by whiche two thynge, the hole common welth both in peace and warre is chefelye ruled and defended wythall.

But to our purpose, he that muste come to this high perfectnes in shootyng which we speake of, muste nedes begin to learne it in hys youthe, the omitting of whiche thinge in Englande, both maketh fewer shooters, and alfo euery man that is a shoter, shote warfe than he myght, if he were taught.

Phí. Euen as I knowe that this is true, whiche you faye, eu en so Toxophile, haue you quyte discouraged me, and drawen my minde cleane from shootynge, feinge by this reason, no man yat hath not vsed it in his youthe can be excellent in it. And I suppose the same reason woulde discourage many other mo, yf they hearde you talke after this forte.

Tor. This thyng Philologe, shall discourage no man that is wyse. For I wyll proue yat widsome may worke the same thinge in a man, that nature doth in a chylde.
A chylde by thre thinges, is brought to excellencie. By Aptnesse, Defire, and Feare: Aptnesse maketh hym pliable lyke waxe to be formed and fashioned, euens as a man woulde haue hym. Defyre to be as good or better, than his felowes: and Feare of them whome he is vnder, wyl caufe hym take great labour and payne with diligent hede, in learnynge any thinge, wherof procedeth at the lafte excellency and perfeclnesse.

A man maye by wisdome in learnynge any thing, and spacially to shooote, haue thre lyke commodities also, wherby he maye, as it were become younge agayne, and so attayne to excellencie. For as a chylde is apte by naturall youth, so a man by vfyng at the firfte weake bowes, far vnderneth his strength, shal be as pliable and readye to be taught fayre shootyng as any chylde: and daylye vfe of the same, shal both kepe hym in fayer shootyng, and also at ye laft bryng hym to stronge shootynge.

And in ftede of the seruente defyre, which pro- uoketh a chylde to be better than hys felowe, lette a man be as muche stirred vp with shamefoffe and skeme of it, vsed to be worshe than all other. And the same place that feare hathe in a chylde, to compell him to take paye, the same hath loue of shootynge in a man, to cause hym forfayke no labour, withoute whiche no man nor chylde can be excellent. And thus whatsoeuer a chylde may be taught by Aptnesse, Defire, and Feare, the same thing in shootynge, maye a man be taughte by weake bowes, Shamefoffe and Loue.

And hereby you may se that that is true whiche Cicero fayeth, that a man by vfe, may be broughte to a newe nature. And this I dare be bould to faye, that any man whiche will wisely beginne, and constantlye perseuer in this trade of learnyng to shote, shal attayne to perfeclnesse therein.

Φί. This communication Toxophile, doeth please me verye well, and nowe I perceyue that moste gene-

rally and chefly youthe muste be taughte to shooote, and secondarilye no man is debarred therfrom excepte it be
more thorough his owne negligence for bicause he wyll not learne, than any disabilitie, bicause he can not lerne.

Therefore seyng I wyll be glad to folowe your counsell in chosyng my bowe and other instrumentes, and also am afoamed that I can shote no better than I can, moreouer hauynge suche a loue toward shotynge by your good reasons to day, that I wyll forfake no labour in the exercize of the fame, I beseche you imagyn that we had bothe bowe and shafthes here, and teache me howe I shoudd handele them, and one thynge I defyre you, make me as fayre an Archer as you can.

For thys I am fure in learnynge all other matters, nothynge is broughte to the mooft profytable vfe, which is not handlede after the mooft cumlye fashion. As masters of fence haue no stroke fit ether to hit an other or else to defende hym fylfe, whyche is not ioyned wyth a wonderfull cumlinessse. A Cooke can not chop hys herbes neither quickelye nor hansomlye excepte he kepe suche a mesure with hys choppynge kniues as woulde delyte a manne both to fe hym and heare hym. Everye hand craft man that workes best for hys owne profyte, workes moft femelye to other mens fight. Agayne in buyldeynge a house, in makynge a shyppe, ev ery parte the more hansomely, they be ioyned for profyt and lafte, the more cumlye they be fashioned to ev ery mans fyght and eye. Nature it fylfe taught men to ioyne alwayes welfauourednesse with profytablenesse. As in man, that ioynt or pece which is byanye chaunce depreiued of hys cumlynnesse the fame is also debarred of hys vfe and profytablenesse.

As he that is gogle eyde and lokes a squinte hath both hys countenaunce clene marred, and hys fight fore blemmyshed, and so in all other members lyke. Moreover what tyme of the yeare bryngeth mooft profyte wyth it for mans vfe, the fame also couereth and dekketh bothe earthe and trees wyth mooft cumlynnesse for mans pleasure. And that tyme whych takethe
awaye the pleasure of the grounde, carieth wyth hym also the profyt of the grounde, as euery man by expe-
rience knoweth in harde and roughe winters. Some thynge there be whych haue no other ende, but onely 
cumlynesse, as payntyng, and Daunfing. And vertue it 
selie is nothyng else but cumlynesse, as al Philo-
sophers do agree in opinion, therfore seyeynge that whych is best done in anye matters, is always mooft cumlyye 
done as both Plato and Cicero in manye places 
do proue, and daylye experience dothe teache in other 
thynges, I praye you as I sayde before teatche me to 
shoote as fayre, and welsauouredly as you can imagen.

Tyr. Trewlye Philologe as you proue verye well in 
other matters, the best shooteynge, is always the mooft 
cumlye shooteynge but thyss you know aswell as I that 
Craffus shewethe in Cicero that as cumlinesse is the 
chefe poynct, and mooft to be fought for in all thynges, 
of cumlynesse onyle, can neuer be taught by any Arte 
or craft. But maye be perceyued well when it is done, 
not described wel how it should be done.

Yet neuertheelie to comme to it there be manye 
wayne whych wayes men haue assayde in other matters, 
as yf a man would folowe in learnynge to shoote 
faire, the noble paynter Zeuxes in payntyng Helena, 
whyche to make his Image bewtisfull dyd chose out. v. 
of the fayrest maydes in al the countrie aboute, and in 
beholdynge them conceyued and drewe out suche an 
Image that it far exceeded al other, bycaufe the comel-
inesse of them al was broughte in to one mooft perfyte 
comelinesse: So lykewyse in fhotynge yf a man, woulde 
ets before hys eyes. v. or. vi. of the fayrest Archers that 
euer he faw shoote, and of one learne to flande, of a 
nother to drawe, of an other to lowfe, and so take of 
every man, what every man could do best, I dare faye 
he shoulde come to fuche a comlynesse as neuer man 
came to yet. As for an example, if the mooft comely 
poynte in shooteynge that Hewe Prophete the Kynges 
feruaunte hath and as my frendes Thomas and Raufe 
Cantrell doth vse with the mooft femelye facyons that.
iii. or iii. excellent Archers haue beseide, were al ioyned in one, I am sure all men woulde wonder at ye excellencie of it. And this is one waye to learne to shoote fayre.

Phi. This is very well truly, but I praye you teache me somewhat of shoote fayre youre selfe.

Tax. I can teache you to shoote fayre, euem as Socrates taught a man ones to knowe God, for when he axed hym what was God: naye fayeth he I can tell you better what God is not, as God is not yll, God is vnspakeable, vnsearcheable and so forth: Euen lyke-wyse can I faye of fayre shooteyng, it hath not this discommoditie with it nor that discommoditie, and at last a man maye so shifte all the discommodities from shooteynge that there shall be left no thynge behynde but fayre shooteynge. And to do this the better you must remember howe that I toould you when I descriybed generally the hole nature of shooteyng that fayre shooteyng came of these thynges, of standyng, nockynge, drawynge, howldynge and lowfynge, the whych I wyll go ouer as shortly as I can, describyng the discommodities that men commonly vfe in all partes of theyr bodies, that you yf you faulte in any fuch maye knowe it and so go about to amend it. Faultes in Archers do exceede the number of Archers, whych come wyth vfe of shooteynge wythoute teach-ynge. Vfe and cuflome separated from knowleage and learnynge, doth not onely hurt shooteynge, but the mooft weyghtye thynges in the worlde beseide: And therefor I marauyle moche at those people whych be the mayneteners of vfes withoute knowleage hauynge no other worde in theyr mouthe but thys vfe, vfe, cuftome, cuftome. Suche men more wylful than wyse, beseide other discommodities, take all place and occasion from al amendment. And thys I speake generally of vfe and cuftome.

Whych thynge yf a learned man had it in hande yat woulde applye it to anye one matter, he myght handle it wonderfullye. But as for shooteynge, vfe is the onely caufe of all fautes in it and therefor chylderne
more easly and soner maye be taught to shote excellentlye then men, bycaufe chylderne may be taught to shoothe well at the fyrfte, men haue more payne to vnlearne theyr yll ves, than they haue laboure afterwarde to come to good shootynge.

All the discoumodities whiche ill custome hath graffed in archers, can neyther be quycklye pulled out, nor yet sone reckened of me, they be so manye.

Some shooteth, his head forwarde as though he woulde byte the marke: an other stareth wyth hys eyes, as though they shulde flye out: An other winketh with one eye, and loketh with the other: Some make a face with writhing theyr mouthe and countenaunce so, as though they were doyng you wotte what: An other blereth out his tonge: An other byteth his lyppes: An other holdeth his necke a wrye. In drawyng some fet suche a compasse, as though they woulde tourne about, and blyffe all the feelde: Other heaue theyr hand nowe vp nowe downe, that a man can not decerne wherat they wolde shote, an other waggeth the vpper ende of his bow one way, the neyther ende an other waye. An other wil stand poyntinge his shafte at the marke a good whyle and by and by he wyll gyue hym a whip, and awaye or a man wite. An other maketh suche a wrestling with his gere, as though he were able to shooote no more as longe as he lyued. An other draweth softly to ye middes, and by and by it is gon, you can not knowe howe. An other draweth his shafte lowe at the brestle, as though he woulde shooote at a rouynge marke, and by and by he lifteth his arme vp pricke heyghte. An other maketh a wynchinge with hys backe, as though a manne pynched hym behynde.

An other coureth downe, and layeth out his buttockes, as though he shoulde shooote at crowes.

An other fetteth forwarde hys lefte legge, and draweth backe wyth head and showliders, as though he pouled at a rope, or els were afrayed of ye marke. An other draweth his shafte well, vntyll wythin. ii.
fyngers of the head, and than he stayeth a lyttle, to looke at hys marke, and that done, pouleth it vp to the head, and lowseth: whych waye although summe excellent shoters do vse, yet surely it is a faulte, and good mennes faultes are not to be folowed.

Summe men drawe to farre, summe to shorte, summe to lowlye, summe to quickly, summe holde ouer longe, summe let go ouer fone.

Summe sette theyr shafte on the grounde, and fetche them vpwarde. An other poynseth vp towarde the skye, and fo bryngeth hym downwarde.

Ones I fawe a manne whyche vfed a brasar on his cheke, or elles he had fcratched all the skynne of the one fyde, of his face, with his drawynge hand.

An other I fawe, whiche at euerye shoote, after the loofe, lyfted vp his ryght legge fo far, that he was euer in ieperdye of faulyng.

Summe stampe forwarde, and summe leape backwarde. All these faultes be eyther in the drawynge, or at the loofe: with many other mo whiche you may easelye perceyue, and fo go about to auoyde them.

Nowe afterwarde whan the shafte is gone, men haue manye faultes, whiche euell Cuftome hath broughte them to, and specially in cryinge after the shafte, and speakynge woordes scarce honest for suche an honest paityme.

Suche woordes be verye tokens of an ill mynde, and manifeste signes of a man that is subiecte to inmeasurable affections. Good mennes eares do abhor them, and an honest man therfore wyl auoyde them. And besydes those whiche muste nedes haue theyr tongue thus walkynge, other men vse other fautes as some will take theyr bowe and wrihte and winche it, to poule in his shafte, when it flyeth wyde, as yf he draue a carte. Some wyll gyue two or. iii. strydes forwarde, daunfing and hoppynge after his shafte, as long as it flyeth, as though he were a madman. Some whiche feare to be to farre gone, runne backwarde as it were to poule his shafte backe. Another runneth forwarde, whan he feareth to be short, heau-
nyge after his armes, as though he woulde helpe his shafte to flye. An other writhes or runneth a fyde, to poule in his shafte strayght. One lifteth vp his heele, and fo holdeth his foote still, as longe as his shafte flyeth. An other cafteth his arme backewarde after the lowfe. And an other swynges hys bowe aboute hym, as it were a man with a shaffe to make roume in a game place. And manye other faultes there be, whiche nowe come not to my remembraunce. Thus as you haue hearde, manye archers wyth marrynge theyr face and countenaunce, wyth other partes, of theyr bodye, as it were menne that shoulde daunce antiques, be farre from the comelye porte in shootynge, whiche he that woulde be excellent muste looke for.

Of these faultes I haue verie many my selfe, but I talke not of my shootynge, but of the generall nature of shootynge. Nowe ymagin an Archer that is cleane wythout al these faultes and I am sure euerye man would be delyted to se hym shoote.

And althoughte fuche a perfyte cumlynesse can not be expressed wyth any precepte of teachyng, as Cicero and other learned menne do faye, yet I wyll speake (accorndyng to my lytle knowlge) that thing in it, whych yf you folowe, althoughte you shall not be wythout fault, yet your fault shal neyther quickly be perceued, nor yet greatly rebuked of them that stande by. Standyng, nockyng, drawynge, holdyng, lowfyng, done as they shoulde be done, make fayre shootynge.

The fyrste poyncte is when a man shoulde shote, to take fuche footyng and standyng as shal be both cumlye to the eye and profytabe to hys vse, fettyng hys countenaunce and al the other partes of hys bodye after fuche a behauiour and porte, that bothe al hys strengthe may be employed to hys owne mooft a[d]uantage, and hys shoot made and handled to other mens pleasure and delyte. A man must not go to haftely to it, for that is raslnesse, nor yet make to much to do about it, for yat is curiositie, ye one fote must not flande to far from the other, lest he floupe to muche whyche is vnfemelye, nor yet to nere
together, lest he stande to streyght vp, for so a man shall
neyther vse hys strengthe well, nor yet stande stedfastlye.
The meane betwyxt bothe must be kept, a thing
more pleasaunte to behoulde when it is done, than easie
to be taught howe it shoulde be done.
To nocke well is the easiest poynete of all, and there
in is no cunninge, but onelye dylygente hede
gyuynge, to set hys shafte neyther to hye nor
to lowe, but euyn streyght ouertwharte hys bowe, Un-
constante nockynge maketh a man leefe hys lengthe.

And besydes that, yf the shafte hande be hye and
the bowe hande lowe, or contrarie, bothe the bowe is
in ieopardye of brekyng, and the shafte, yf it be lytle,
wyll flart: yf it be great it wyll hobble. Nocke the
cocke fether vpward alwayes as I toulde you when I
described the fether. And be sure alwayes yat your
stringe slip not out of the nocke, for then al is in
ieopardye of breakynge.

Drawynge well is the best parte of
shootyng. Men in oulde tyme vfed other
maner of drawynge than we do. They vfed to drawe
low at the breft, to the ryght pap and no farther, and this
to be trew is playne in Homer, where he descrybeth
Pandarus shootynge.

\[\text{Iliad. 4.}\]

\[Vp to the pap his stringe dyd he pul, his shafte to the hard heed.\]

The noble women of Scythia vfed the same fashyon
of shootyng low at the breft, and bicause there lefte
pap hindred theyr shootynge at the lowe they cut it
of when they were yonge, and therfore be they called
in lackynge theyr pap Amazones. Nowe a dayes
corraye wyfe we drawe to the ryghte eare and not to
the pap. Whether the olde waye in drawynge low to
the pap, or the new way to draw a loft to

\[\text{Procopius Hist. Pers.}\]

\[\text{Greke called Procopius doth faye hys mynde, shewyny}
yat the oulde fashyon in drawing to ye pap was
nought of no pithe, and therfore faith Procopius: is
Artyllarye disprayfed in Homer whych calleth it\]

\[\text{obriâròv. I.}\]

\[\text{Weake and able to do no good. Draw-}\]
yng to the eare he prayseth greatly, whereby men shoote bothe stronger and longer: drawynge thersore to the eare is better than to drawe at the breste. And one thyng commeth into my remembrance nowe Philologe when I speake of drawynge, that I never red of other kynde of shootyng, than drawing wyth a mans hand ether to the breste or eare: This thyng haue I sought for in Homer Herodotus and Plutarch, and thersore I meruayle how crosbowes came fyrfte vp, of the which I am sure a man shal finde lytle mention made on in any good Author.

Leo the Emperoure woulde haue hys fouldyers drawe quycklye in warre, for that maketh a shaft flie a pace. In shootyng at the pryckes, hafty and quicke drawing is neyther sure nor yet cumlye. Therfore to drawe easely and unifornely, that is for to faye not waggyng your hand, now vpwarde, now downewarde, but alwayes after one fashion vntil you come to the rig or shouldring of ye head, is best both for profit and femelinenesse, Holdynge must not be longe, for it bothe putteth a bowe in ieopardy, and also marreth a mans shoote, it must be so lytle yat it may be perceyued better in a mans mynde when it is done, than seene with a mans eyes when it is in doyng.

Lowsynege musste be muche lyke. So quycke and hard yat it be wyth oute all girdes, fo softe and gentle that the shafte flye not as it were fente out of a bow case. The meane betwixte bothe, whyche is perfyte lowsynege is not so hard to be folowed in shootyng as it is to be defcrybed in teachyng. For cleane lowsynege you must take hede of hyttyng any thynge aboute you. And for the same purpose Leo the Emperour would haue al Archers in war to haue both their heads pouled, and there berdes shauen lefte the heare of their heads shuld flot the fyght of the eye, the heere of theyr berdes hinder the course of the stryng.

And these preceptes I am sure Philologe ye you folowe in standyng, nockyng, drawynge, holdynge, and lowsynege, shal bryng you at the laft to excellent fayre shootyng.
All these thynges Toxophile although I bothe nowe perceyue them thorowlye, and also wyll remember them dilligently: yet to morowe or some other day when you haue leasure we wyll go to the pryckes, and put them by lytle and lytle in experience. For teachynge not followed, doeth euen as muchegood as bookes neuer looked vpon. But nowe feing you haue taught me to fhotefayre, I praye you tel me somwhat, how I shoude shooote nere lest that prouerbe myght be sayd iuſtlye of me sometime. He shooetes lyke a gentle man fayre and far of.

He that can shooete fayre, lacketh nothyng but shooetyng freyghte and kepyng of a length wherof commeth hyttynge of the marke, the ende both of shooetyng and alfo of thys our communication. The handlyng of ye wether and the marke bicaufe they belong to shooetyng freyghte, and kepynge of a lengthe, I wyll ioyne them togyther, shewinge what thinges belonge to kepynge of a lengthe, and what to shooetyng freyght.

The greatest enemy of shooetyng is the wynde and the wether, wherby true kepyng a lengthe is cheſely hindred. If this thing were not, men by teaching might be brought to wonderful neare shooetyng. It is no maruayle if the litle poore ſhafte being ſent alone, fo high in to the ayer, into a great rage of wether, one wynde toſſinge it that waye, an other thys waye, it is no maruayle I faye, though it leefe the lengthe, and misſe that place, where the shooter had thought to haue founde it. Greter matters than fhotynge are vnder the rule and wyll of the wether, as faylynge on the sea. And lykewise as in fayling, the chefe poyn of a good master, is to knowe the tokens of chaunge of wether, the course of the wyndes, that therby he maye the better come to the Hauen: euen fo the beſt propertie of a good shooter, is to knowe the nature of the wyndes, with hym and agaynte hym, that thereby he maye the nerer ſhote at hys marke. Wyſe mayſters whan they canne not winne the beſte hauen, they are gladde of the nexte: Good shooters also, yat can not whan they would hit
the marke, wil labour to come as nigh as they can. All things in this worlde be vnperfecte and vnconstant, therfore let every man acknowlege his owne weake-nesse, in all matters great and smal, weyghtye and merye, and glorifie him, in whome only perfyte perfite-nesse is. But nowe sir, he that wyll at all adventures vse the feas knowinge no more what is to be done in a tempef than in a caulme, shal foon foame becumme a marchaunt of Eele fkinnes: so that shoter whicche putteth no difference, but shooteth in all lyke, in rough wether and fayre, shal alwayes put his wyn-

ninges in his eyes.

Lytle botes and thinne boordes, can not endure the rage of a tempeft. Weake bowes, and lyght shaftes can not flande in a rough wynde. And lykewyse as a blynde man which shoulde go to a place where he had neuer ben afore, that hath but one strayghte waye to it, and of eyther syde hooles and pyttes to faule into, nowe falleth in to this hole and than into that hole, and neuer commeth to his journey ende, but wandereth alwaies here and there, farther and farther of: So that archer which ignorauntly shoteth considering neyther fayer nor foule, standynge nor nockynge, fether nor head, drawynge nor lowlyng, nor yet any compace, shal alwayes shote shorte and gone, wyde and farre of, and neuer comme nere, excepte perchaunce he flumble sumtyme on the marke. For ignoraunce is nothynge elles but mere blyndenesse.

A mayster of a shipp irfte learneth to knowe the cummyng of a tempeft, the nature of it, and howe to behaue hym selfe in it, eyther with chaungynge his course, or poulyynge downe his hye toppes and brode fayles, beyng glad to eschue as muche of the wether as he can: Euen so a good archer wyll fyrt wyth dilligent vse and markynge the wether, learne to knowe the nature of the wynde, and wyth wyfedome, wyll measure in hys mynde, howe muche it wyll alter his shooete, eyther in lengthe kepynge, or els in ftreyght shotynge, and so with chaunging his standynge, or takynge an other shaft, the whiche he knoweth per-
lytlye to be fitter for his purpose, eyther bycause it is lower fethered, or els bycause it is of a better wyng, wyll so handle wyth discretion hys shoote, that he shal feeme rather to haue the wether vnder hys rule, by good hede gyuynge, than the wether to rule hys shaffe by any sodayne chaungyng.

Therefore in shootynge there is as muche difference betwixt an archer that is a good wether man, and an other that knoweth and marketh nothynge, as is betwixte a blynde man and he that can fe.

Thus, as concernynge the wether, a perfyte archer muste firste learne to knowe the sure flyghte of his shaftes, that he may be boulde alwayes, to truft them, than muste he learne by daylye experience all maner of kyndes of wether, the tokens of it, when it wyl cumme, the nature of it when it is cumme, the diuersitie and alteryng of it, when it chaungeth, the decreafe and diminishing of it, when it ceaseth. Thirdly, thefe thinges known, and eve ry shoote dili-gentlye marked, than muft a man compare alwayes, the wether and his footyng togyther, and with discretion measure them so, that what so ever the roughe wether shall take awaye from hys shoote the fame shal iufte footyng restore agayne to hys shoote.

Thys thynge well knowen, and discretelye handeled in shootynge, bryngeth more profite and commendation and prayse to an Archer, than any other thynge befylde.

He that woulde knowe perfectly the winde and wether, muste put differences betwixte tymes. For diuersitie of tyme caufeth diuersitie of wether, as in the whole yeare, Sprynge tyme, Somer, Faule of the leafe, and Winter; Lykewyse in one day Mornynge, Noonetyme, After noone, and Euentyde, bothe alter the wether, and chaungeth a mannes bowe wyth the strengthe of man also. And to knowe that this is so, is ynough for a shoter and artillerie, and not to serche the cause, why it shoulde be so: whiche belongeth to a learned man and Philosophie.

In confydering the tyme of the yeare, a wyse Archer wyll folowe a good Shipman. In Winter and rough
wether, small bootes and lytle pinkes forfake the feas: And at one tyme of the yeare, no Gallies come abrode; So lykewyfe weake Archers, vflyng small and holowe shaftes, with bowes of litle pith, muste be content to gyue place for a tyme.

And this I do not faye, eyther to difcommende or discourage any weake fhooter: For lykewyfe, as there is no shipppe better than Gallies be, in a softe and a caulme fea, fo no man shooteth cumlier or nerer hys marke, than some weake archers doo, in a fayre and cleare daye.

Thus euery archer muft knowe, not onelye what bowe and shaft is fitteft for him to shoute withall, but also whattyme and seafon is best for hym to shote in. And surely, in al other matters to, amonge al degrees of men, there is no man which doth any thing eyther more discretely for his commendation, or yet more profitable for his aduauntage, than he which wyll knowe perfity for what matter and for what tyme he is mooft apte and fit. Yf men woulde go aboute matters whych they shoulde do and be fit for, and not suche thynges whych wyffullye they defyre and yet be vnfit for, verely greater matters in the common welthe than shootyng shoulde be in better cafe than they be. This ignoraunce in men whych know not for what tyme, and to what thynge they be fit, caufeth some wyfhe to be riche, for whome it were better a greate deale to be poore: other to be medlynge in euery mans matter, for whome it were more honeftie to be quiete and flyll. Some to defire to be in the Courte, whiche be borne and be fitter rather for the carte. Somme to be maysters and rule other, whiche neuer yet began to rule them felfe: some alwayes to iangle and taulke, whych rather shoulde heare and kepe silence. Some to teache, which rather shoulde learne. Some to be prefets, whiche were fytrer to be clerkes. And thys peruerfe judgement of ye worlde, when men mefure them felfe a misfe, bringeth muche myforder and greate vnsemelynesse to the hole body of the common wealth, as yf
a manne shoulde were his hoofe vpon his head, or a woman go wyth a fworde and a buckeler euery man would take it as a greate vn_cumlynesse although it be but a tryfle in respecte of the other.

Thys peruerfe judgement of men hindreth no thynge so much as learnynge, bycause commonlye those whych be vnfitteft for learnyng, be cheyfly set to learnyng.

As yf a man nowe a dayes haue two fonnes, the one impotent, weke, fickly, lispynge, fluttynge, and flamerynge, or hauynge any misshape in hys bodye: what doth the father of suche one commonlye faye? This boye is fit for nothyng els, but to fet to learnynge and make a preft of, as who would say, yat outcastes of the worlde, hauyng neyther countenaunce toung nor wit (for of a peruerfe bodye cummeth commonly a peruerfe mynde) be good ynough to make those men of, whiche shalbe appoynted to preache Goddes holye woorde, and minifter hys blessed sacramentes, besydes other mooft weyghte matters in the common weelthe put ofte tymes, and worthelye to learned mennes disposition and charge: whan rather suche an offyce fo hygh in dignitie, fo godlye in administration, shulde be committed to no man, whiche shulde not have a countenaunce full of cumlynesse to allure good menne, a bodye full of manlye authoritie to feare ill men, a witte apte for al learnynge with tongue and voyce, able to perswade all men. And although fewe suche men as these can be founde in a common wealth, yet surelye a godly disposed man, will bothe in his mynde thynck the fit, and with al his studie labour to get such men as I speke of, or rather better, if better can be gotten for suche an hie administration, whiche is moost properlye appoynted to goddes owne matters and businesse.

This peruerfe iugement of fathers as concernynge the fitnesse and vnfitnesse of theyr chyldren causeth the common wealth the haue many vnfit ministers: And feyng that ministeres be, as a man woulde say, instrumentes wherwith the common wealthe doeth worke all her matters withall, I maruayle howe it chaunceth
yat a pore shomaker hath so much wit, yat he will prepare no instrument for his science neither knyfe nor aule, nor nothing els whiche is not very fitte for him: the common wealthe can be content to take at a fonde fathers hande, the rifraffe of the worlde, to make those instrumentes of, wherwithal the shoulde worke ye hieft matters vnder heauen. And surely an aule of lead is not so vnprofitable in a shomakers shop, as an vnfit minister, made of grosse metal, is vnsemely in ye common welth. Fathers in olde time among ye noble Persians might not do with theyr children as they thought good, but as the judgement of the common welth al wayes thought beft. This fault of fathers bringeth many a blot with it, to the great deformitie of the common wealthe: and here surely I can prayfe gentlewomen which haue alwayes at hande theyr glaffes, to fe if any thinge be amiffe, and so will amende it, yet the common wealth hauing ye glaffe of knowlege in euery mans hand, doth fe such vncumlines in it: and yet winketh at it. This faulte and many suche lyke, myght be fone wyped awaye, yf fathers woulde bestow their children on yat thing alwayes, whervnto nature hath ordeined them mosfte apte and fit. For if youth be grafted freyght, and not a wrye, the hole common welth wil florish therafter. Whan this is done, than mufle euery man beginne to be more ready to amende hym selfe, than to checke an other, measuring their matters with that wife prouerbe of Apollo, *Knowe thy selfe*: that is to faye, learne to knowe what thou arte able, fitte, and apt vnto, and folowe that.

This thinge shulde be bothe cumlie to the common wealthe, and mosft profitable for euery one, as doth appere very well in all wife mennen deades, and specially to turne to our communication agayne in shootynge, where wife archers haue alwayes theyr instrumentes fit for theyr strengthe, and wayte euermore suche tyme and wether, as is mosft agreable to their gere. Therfore if the wether be to fore, and vnfit for your shootynge, leaue of for that daye, and
wayte a better season. For he is a foole yat wyl not go, whome necessitie drieueth.

Phile, This communication of yours pleased me so well Toxophile, that surelye I was not haftie to calle you, to defcrybe forthe the wether but with all my harte woulde haue suffered you yet to haue stande longer in this matter. For these thinges touched of you by chaunfe, and by the waye, be farre aboue the matter it selfe, by whose occasion ye other were broughte in.

Tory. Weyghtye matters they be in dede, and fit bothe in an other place to be spoked: and of an other man than I am, to be handled. And bycause meane men muft meddle wyth meane matters, I wyl go forwarde in describyng the wether, as concernynge shooting: and as I toulde you before, In the hole yere, Spring tyme, Somer, Fal of the leafe, and Winter: and in one day, Morning, Noone tyme, After noone, and Euentyde, altereth the course of the wether, the pith of the bowe, the strengthe of the man. And in euery one of these times the wether altereth, as sumtyme wyndie, sumtyme caulme, sumtyme cloudie, sumtyme clere, sumtyme hote, sumtyme coulde, the wynde sumtyme moistye and thicke, sumtyme drye and smothe. A litle winde in a moyftie day, ftoppeth a haftie more than a good whiskenge wynde in a clere daye. Yea, and I haue seen when there hath bene no winde at all, the ayer so mistie and thicke, that both the markes haue ben wonderfull great. And ones, when the Plage was in Cambrige, the downe winde twelue score marke for the space of. iii. weekes, was. xiii. score, and an halfe, and into the wynde, beynge not very great, a great deale aboue. xiii. score.

The winde is sumtyme playne vp and downe, whiche is commonly moste certayne, and requireth least knowlege, wherin a meane shoter with meane geare, if he can shoote home, maye make best shifte. A syde wynde tryeth an archer and good gere verye muche. Sumtyme it bloweth a loftie, sumtyme hard by the grounde: Sumtyme it bloweth by blastes, and sumtyme it continueth al in one: Sumtyme full sife
wynde, sumtyme quarter with hym and more, and lyke-wyse agaynst hym, as a man with castynge vp lyght grasfe, or els if he take good hede, shall sensibly learne by experience. To fe the wynde, with a man his eyes, it is vnpossible, the nature of it is fo fyne, and subtile, yet this experience of the wynde had I ones my felfe, and that was in the great snowe that fell. iii. yeares agoo: I rode in the hye waye betwixt Topcliffe vpon Swale, and Borowe bridge, the waye beyng sumwhat trodden afore, by waye fayrynge men. The feeldes on bothe fides were playne and laye almoft yearde depe with snowe, the nyght afore had ben a litle froste, so yat the snowe was hard and crufled aboue. That morning the fun shone bright and clere, the winde was whistleinge a lofte, and sharpe accordynge to the tyme of the yeare. The snowe in the hye waye laye lowfe and troden wyth horfe feete: so as the wynde blewe, it toke the lowfe snow with it, and made it so slide vpon the snowe in the felde whyche was harde and crufed by reason of the frost ouer nyght, that therby I myght fe verye wel, the hole nature of the wynde as it blewe yat daye. And I had a great delyte and pleasure to marke it, whyche maketh me now far better to remember it. Sometyme the wynd would be not paft. ii. yeardes brode, and so it would carie the snowe as far as I could fe. An other tyme the snow woulde blowe ouer halfe the felde at ones. Sometyme the snowe woulde tomble softly, by and by it would flye wonderfull faft. And thys I percyued alfo that ye wind goeth by streames and not hole togither. For I shoulde fe one streame wyth in a Score on me, than the space of. ii. score no snow would stirre, but after fo muche quantitie of grounde, an other streame of snow at the same very tyme should be caried lykewyse, but not equally. For the one would fstande ftyll when the other flew a pace, and so contynewe somtyme swiftlyer sometime flowlyer, sometime broder, sometime narrower, as far as I could fe. Nor it flewe not ftreight, but somtyme it crooked thys waye somtyme that waye, and somtyme it ran
round aboute in a compafe. And somtyme the snowe wold be lyft clene from the ground vp in to the ayre, and by and by it would be al clapt to the grounde as though there had bene no winde at all, straightway it woulde rife and flye agayne.

And that whych was the moost meruayle of al, at one tyme. ii. driftes of snowe flewe, the one out of the West into ye East, the other out of the North in to ye East: And I saw. ii. windes by reason of ye snow the one crosse ouer the other, as it had bene two hye wayes. And agayne I shoulde here the wynd blow in the ayre, when nothing was stirred at the ground. And when all was still where I rode, not verye far from me the snow should be lifted wonderfully. This experience made me more meruaile at ye nature of the wynde, than it made me conning in ye knowlge of ye wynd: but yet therby I learned perfectly that it is no meruayle at al though men in a wynde leafe their length in shooting, feyng so many wayes the wynde is so variable in blowynge.

But feyng that a Mayster of a shyp, be he neuer so cunnyng, by the vncertaynty of the wynde, leavest many tymes both lyfe and goodes, surelye it is no wonder, though a ryght good Archer, by the self same wynde so variable in hys owne nature, so vnfenfyble to oure nature, leese manye a shoothe and game.

The more vncertaine and disceyuable the wynd is, the more hede muyst a wyfe Archer gyue to know the gyles of it.

He yat doth mistrust is feldome begiled. For although therby he shal not attayne to that which is best, yet by these meanes he shal at leaste auoyde yat whyche is worst. Befyde al these kindes of windes you muyst take hede yf you se anye cloude apere and gather by lytle and little agaynst you, or els yf a showre of raine be lyke to come vpon you: for than both the dryuing of the wether and the thyckynge of the ayre increaseth the marke, when after ye showre al thynges are contrary clere and caulme, and the marke for the moost parte new to begyn agayne. You muyst take
hede also yf euer you shote where one of the markes or both stondes a lytle short of a hye wall, for there you may be easlye begyled. Yf you take grasse and caste it vp to se howe the wynde standes, manye tymes you shal supposse to shooote downe the wynde, when you shote cleane agaynst the wynde. And a good reason why. For the wynd whych commeth in dede against you, redoundeth bake agayne at the wal, and whyrleth backe to the prycke and a lytle farther and than turneth agayne, euyn as a vehement water doeth agaynfte a rokke or an hye braye whych example of water as it is more fenisible to a mans eyes, so it is neuer a whyt the treuer than this of the wynde. So that the grasse caste vp shal flee that waye whych in dede is the longer marke and deceyue quycklye a shooter that is not ware of it.

This experience had I ones my selfe at Norwytych in the chapel felde wythin the waullles. And thys waye I vfed in shootynge at those markes.

When I was in the myd way betwixt the markes whych was an open place, there I toke a fether or a lytle lyght grasse and so as well as I coulde, learned how the wynde floode, that done I wente to the prycke as faste as I coulde, and according as I had founde ye wynde when I was in the mid waye, so I was fayne than to be content to make the best of my shooote that I coulde. Euen fuche an other experience had I in a maner at Yorke, at the prickes, lying betwixte the castell and Ouse fyde. And although you smyle Philologe, to heare me tell myne owne fondenes: yet feing you wil nedes haue me teach you somwhat in shotynge, I musf nedes somtyme tel you of myne owne experience, and the better I may do so, by-cause Hippocrates in teachynge phyfike, take heede also when you shooote nere the fea cote, although you be. ii. or. iii. miles from the fea, for there diligent markinge shal effie in the most clere daye wonderfull chaunginge. The same is to be considered lykewyfe by a riuer side speciallie if
it ebbe and flowe, where he yat taketh diligent hede of ye tide and wether, shal lightly take away al yat he shooteth for. And thus of ye nature of windes and wether according to my marking you haue hearde Philologe: and hereafter you shal marke farre mo your selle, if you take hede. And the wether thus marked as I tolde you afore, you muste take hede, of youre standing, yat therby you may win as much as you shal loose by the wether.

Phil. I fe well it is no maruell though a man misse many tymes in shootyng, feing ye wether is so vnconstant in blowing, but yet there is one thing whiche many archers vfe, yat shall cause a man haue leffe nude to marke the wether, and that is Ame gyuing. Tax. Of gyuing Ame, I can not tel wel, what I shuld fay. For in a straunge place it taketh away al occasion of foule game, which is ye only prayse of it, yet by my judgement, it hindreth ye knowlege of shootyng, and maketh men more negligente: ye which is a disprayse. Though Ame be giuen, yet take hede, for at an other mans shote you can not wel take Ame, nor at your owne neither, bycaufe the wether wil alter, euin in a minute; and at the one marke and not at the other, and trouble your shafte in the ayer, when you shal perceyue no wynde at the ground, as I my selle haue sene shaftes tumble a loft, in a very fayer daye. There may be a fault alfo, in drawing or lowfyng, and many thynges mo, whiche all togyther, are required to kepe a iuft length. But to go forward the nexte poynte after the marking of your wether, is the takyng of your standing. And in a side winde you must stand sumwhat crosse in to the wynde, for so shall you shoote the furer. When you haue taken good footing, than must you looke at your shafte, yat no earthe, nor weete be lefte vpon it, for so shou'd it leefe the lengthe. You must loke at the head alfo, left it haue had any frype, at the last shoote. A stripe vpon a stone, many tymes will bothe marre the head, croke the shafte, and hurte the fether, wherof the left of them all, wyll cause a man leafe
his lengthe. For suche things which chaunce euery shooete, many archers vfe to haue somme place made in theyr cote, fitte for a lytle fyle, a flone, a Hun-fyshkin, and a cloth to dresse the shaft fit agayne at all nedes. Thys muft a man looke to euery when he taketh vp his shaft. And the heade maye be made to smothe, which wil cause it flye to far: when youre shaft is fit, than muft you take your bow euen in the middes or elles you shall both leafe your lengthe, and put youre bowe in ieopardye of breakynge. Nock-ynge iustle is next, which is mueh of the same nature. Than drawe equallye, lowfe equallye, wyth houldynge your hande euuer of one heighte to kepe trew compasse. To looke at your shaftes hede at the lowfe, is the greatest helpe to kepe a lengthe that can be, whych thyng yet hindreth excellent shotyng, bicaufe a man can not shote freyght perfitye excepte he looke at his marke: yf I should shooote at a line and not at the marke, I woulde always loke at my shaft ende, but of thys thyng some what afterwarde. Nowe if you marke the wether diligentlye, kepe your stand-ynge iustely, houlde and nocke trewlye, drawe and lowfe equallye, and kepe your compace certaynelye, you hall neuer miste of your lengthe.

\textbf{Phj.} Then there is nothynge behinde to make me hit ye marke but onely shooting freyght. 

\textbf{Tor.} No trewlye. And yryste I wyll tell you what shyftes Archers haue founde to shooote freyght, than what is the beft waye to shooote freyght. As the wether belongeth specially to kepe a lengthe (yet a fide winde belongeth also to shote freyght) euen fo the nature of the pricke is to shote freyght. The lengthe or shortnesse of the marke is always vnder the rule of the wether, yet sumwhat there is in ye marke, worthye to be marked of an Archer. Yf the prickes stand of a freyght plane ground they be ye beft to shote at. Yf ye marke stand on a hyl fyde or ye ground be vnequal with pittes and turninge wayes betwyxte the markes, a mans eye shal take that
to be slreight whyche is croked: The experience of this thing is fene in payntyngne, the cause of it is known by learnynge.

And it is ynoughe for an archer to marke it and take hede of it. The cheife cause why men can not shoote slreight, is bicaufe they loke at theyr shafft: and this fault commeth bycause a man is not taught to shoote when he is yong. Yf he learne to shoote by himselfe he is a frayde to pull the shaffe throughe the bowe, and therfore looketh alwayes at hys shaffe: yll vse confirmeth thys faulte as it doth many mo.

And men continewe the longer in thys faulte bycause it is so good to kepe a lengthe wyth al, and yet to shoote slreight, they haue inuanted some waies, to espie a tree or a hill beyonde the marke, or elles to haue summe notable thing betwixt ye markes: and ones I fawe a good archer whiche did caste of his gere, and layd his quiuer with it, euen in the midway betwixt ye prickes. Summe thought he dyd so, for sauegarde of his gere: I suppose he did it, to shoote slreight withall. Other men vse to espie summe marke almoost a bow wide of ye pricke, and than go about to kepe him selve on yat hande that the prycke is on, which thing hoe much good it doth, a man wil not beleue, that doth not proue it. Other and those very good archers in drawyng, loke at the marke vntill they come almoost to ye head, than they looke at theyr shaffe, but at ye very lowse, with a seconde fight they fynde theyr marke agayne. This way and al other afore of me reherfed are but shiftes and not to be folowed in shotynge slreyght. For hauyng a mans eye alwaye on his marke, is the only waye to shoote slreight, yea and I suppose so redye and easie a way yf it be learned in youth and confirmed with vse, yat a man shall neuer miffe therin. Men doubt yet in loking at ye mark what way is best whether betwixt the bowe and the stringe, aboue or beneth hys hand, and many waies moo: yet it maketh no great matter which way a man looke at his marke yf it be ioyned with comly shotynge. The diuerfitie of mens standyng and drawing caufeth
diuerse men [to] looke at their marke diuerse wayes: yet they al lede a mans hand to shoote streight yt nothyng els stoppe. So that cumlyness is the only iudge of best lokyng at the marke. Some men wonder why in casting a mans eye at ye marke, the hand shoule go streyght. Surely ye he confydered the nature of a mans eye, he wolde not wonder at it: For this I am certayne of, that no seruaunt to hys mayster, no chylde to hys father is so obedient, as euerye ioynte and pece of the body is to do what foyuer the eye biddes. The eye is the guide, the ruler and the succourer of al the other partes. The hande, the foote and other members dare do nothynge without the eye, as doth appere on the night and darke corners. The eye is the very tonge wherwith wyt and reafon doth speke to every parte of the body, and the wyt doth not fo fone signifye a thynge by the eye, as euery parte is redye to folow, or rather preuent the byddyng of the eye. Thys is playne in many thinges, but most euident in fence and feyghtynge, as I haue heard men faye. There euery parte stondynge in feare to haue a blowe, runnes to the eye for helpe, as yonge chyldren do to ye mother: the foote, the hand, and al wayteth vpon the eye. Yf the eye byd ye hand either beare of, or fmite, or the foote ether go forward, or backeward, it doth fo: And that whyche is moost wonder of all the one man lookynge fittedfastly at the other mans eye and not at his hand, wyl, euens as it were, rede in his eye where he purposeth to fmyte nexte, for the eye is nothyng els but a certayne wyndowe for wit to shote oute hir head at.

Thys wonderfull worke of god in makynge all the members fo obedient to the eye, is a pleafaunte thynge to remember and looke vpon: therfore an Archer maye be sure in learnynge to looke at hys marke when he is yong, alwayes to shote streyghte. The thynges that hynder a man whyche looketh at hys marke, to shote streyght, be these: A fyde wynde, a bowe either to fstronge, or els to weake, an ill arme, whan the fether runneth on the bowe to much, a byg brefted shafte, for
hym that shoteth vnder hande, bycause it wyll hobble: a little brefted shafte for hym yat shoteth aboue ye hande, bicaue it wyl farte: a payre of windynge prickes, and many other thinges mo, which you shal marke your felfe, and as ye knowe them, so learne to amend them. If a man woulde leaue to looke at his shafte, and learne to loke at his marke, he maye vfe this waye, whiche a good shooter tolde me ones that he did. Let him take his bowe on the nyght, and fhoote at. ii. lightes, and there he shall be compelled to looke alwayes at his marke, and neuer at his shafte: This thing ones or twyse vfed wyl cause hym forfake lokynge at hys shafte. Yet let hym take hede of fettyinge his shafte in the bowe.

Thus Philologe to shooote streyght is the leafte maystrie of all, yf a manne order hym felfe thereafter, in hys youthe. And as for keypynge a lengthe, I am sure the rules whiche I gaue you, will neuer disceyue you, so that there shal lacke nothynge, eyther of hittinge the marke alwayes, or elles verye nere shotynge, excepte the faulte be onely in youre owne felfe, whiche maye come. ii. wayes, eyther in hauing a faynt harte or courage, or elles in sufferynge your felfe ouer muche to be led with affection: yf a mans mynde sayle hym, the bodye whiche is ruled by the mynde, can neuer do his duetie, yf lacke of courage were not, men myght do mo mastries than they do, as doeth appere in leapynge and vaultinge.

All affections and specially anger, hurteth bothe mynde and bodye. The mynde is blynde therby: and yf the mynde be blynde, it can not rule the bodye aright. The body both blood and bone, as they say, is brought out of his ryght course by anger: Wherby a man lacketh his right strengthe, and therfore can not shooote wel. Yf these thynges be auoyded (wherof I wyll speake no more, both bycaue they belong not properly to shoting, and also you can teache me better, in them, than I you) and al the preceptes which I haue gyuen you, dilligently marked, no doubt ye shal shooote as well as euer man dyd yet, by the grace of God.
Thys communication handled by me Philologe, as I knowe wel not perfytly, yet as I suppose truelye you must take in good worthe, wherin if diuers things do not all togyther please you, thanke youre selfe, whiche woulde haue me rather faulte in mere follye, to take that thynge in hande whyche I was not able for to perfourme, than by any honeste shamefaftnes withsay your request and minde, which I knowe well I haue not satisfied. But yet I wyl thinke this labour of mine the better bestowed, if tomorow or some other daye when you haue leysour, you wyl spende as much tyme with me here in this same place, in entretanginge the question De origine animae. and the ioynynge of it with the bodye, that I maye knowe howe far Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoicians haue waded in it.

Phi. How you haue handeled this matter Toxophile I may not well tel you my selfe nowe, but for your gentlenesse and good wyll towardes leernyng and shotyng, I wyl be content to shewe you any pleasure whensoever you wyl: and nowe the funne is doune therfore if it please you, we wil go home and drynke in my chambre, and there I wyl tell you playnelye what I thinke of this communication and alfo, what daye we will appoynt at your request for the other matter, to mete here agayne.

Deo gratias.

LONDONI. 

In ædibus Edouardi VVhytchurc'h.

Cum privilegio ad impri-
mendum folum.

1545.
I. Toxophilus, the foundation of Ascham's after-fortunes. In a humorous letter to Queen Elizabeth, on 10. Oct. 1567. (87.) : Ascham divides his idea of her into two; and asking her in one personality as his friend, to intercede with her other personality, as queen, to relieve him from his difficulties, recounts to her the history of his pension.

"I wrote once a little book of shooting; King Henry, her moft noble father, did so well like and allow it, as he gave me a living for it; when he left his life I left my living; but noble King Edward again did first revive it by his goodness, then did increase it by his liberality; thirdly, did confirm it by his authority under the great seal of England, which patent all this time was both a great pleasure and profit to me, saving that one unpleasant word in that patent, called "during pleasure," turned me after to great displeasure; for when King Edward went, his pleasure went with him, and my whole living went away with them both. But behold God's goodness towards me, and his providence over me, in Queen Mary, her highness' sister's time, when I had lost all, and neither looked nor hoped for any thing again, all my friends being under foot, without any labour, without my knowledge I was suddenly sent for to come to the council. I came with all will, and departed with much comfort, for there I was sworn secretary for the Latin tongue, because some of them knew that King Edward had given me that office when I was absent in Germany, by good Mr Secretary's procurement, and because some did think I was fitter to do that office than those were that did exercise it. When I saw other so willing to do for me, I was the bolder somewhat to speak for myself. I saw Winchester did like well the manner of my writing; I saw also that he only was Dominus regit me that time. I told him that my patent and living for my Book of Shooting was lost. Well, said he, cause it to be written again, and I will do what I can I did so, and here I will open to your majesty a pretty subtilty in doing happily a good turn to myself, whereat perchance your majesty will smile; for surely I have laughed at it twenty times myself, and that with good cause, for I have lived somewhat the better for it ever since. I caused the same form of the patent to be written out, but I willed a vacant place to be left for the sum. I brought it so written to the bishop: he asked me why the old sum was not put in. Sir, quoth I, the fault is in the writer, who hath done very ill beside, to leave the vacant place so great, for the old word ten will not half fill the room, and therefore surely, except it please your lordship to help to put in twenty pounds, that would both fill up the vacant place well now and also fill my purse the better hereafter, truly I shall be put to new charges in causing the patent to be new written again. The bishop fell in a laughter, and forthwith went to Queen Mary and told what I had said, who, without any
more speaking, before I had done her any service, of her own bountifull goodnefs made my patent twenty pounds by year during my life, for her and her succiforrs."

That this account is but partially correct, and that he was making a telling ftory to amufe the Queen, appears from his letter to Gardiner, at the time of the renewal of his pension.

(170.) To Bishop Gardiner. [About April 1554.]

In writing out my patent I have left a vacant place for your wisdom to value the sum; whereof I trust to find further favour; for I have both good caufe to ask it, and better hope to obtain it, partly in confideration of my unrewarded pains and undischarged cofts, in teaching King Edward's perfon, partly for my three years' service in the Emperor's court, but chiefly of all when King Henry first gave it me at Greenwich, your lordfhip in the gallery there afking me what the king had given me, and knowing the truth, your lordfhip faid it was too little, and moft gently offered me to speak to the king for me. But then I moft happily defired your lordfhip to referve that goodnefs to another time, which time God hath granted even to these days, when your lordfhip may now perform by favour as much as then you wished by good will, being as easy to obtain the one as to ask the other. And I befeech your lordfhip fee what good is offered me in writing the patent: the fpace which is left by chance doth feem to crave by good luck some words of length, as viginti or triginta, yea, with the help of a little dash quadraginta would ferve beft of all. But fure as for decem it is fomewhat with the fhorteft: nevertheless I for my part fhall be no less contented with the one than glad with the other, and for either of both more than bound to your lordfhip. And thus God prosper your lordfhip. Your lordfhip's moft bounden to serve you.

R. Askam.

To the Rt Reverend Father in God,
My Lord Bishop of Winchester his Grace, thefe.

2. The Byzantine Emperor Leo vi [b 865—ascended the throne 1. Mar. 886—d 911], furnamed in flattery the Philosopher, is reputed to have written, besides other works, one entitled Τῶν ἐν πολέμωις τακτικῶν συντομός παράδοσις; (A fummary exposition of the art of war). Sir John Cheke's translation into Latin, of this book, in 1543 or 1544, was published at Basle in 1554, under the title of Leonis Imperatoris. De bellico apparatus Liber, e greco in latinum conuertus, Ioan Checo Cantrabrigensi Interp.

3. The Dutchman Peter Nanning, latimized Nannius, [b 1500—d 21 July 1557] was Professor of Latin, in college of ‘the three languages' in the University of Louvain. He wrote a short tract of 34 pp, De milite peregrino: in which, in a dialogue
between Olympius and Xenophon, he discourses Archery-v-Guns. This tract is attached to another entitled Oratio de obiudione Louanienfæ. Both were published at Louvain in September 1543.

4. The Frenchman John Ravisius Textor [b about 1480—d 3 Dec: 1524]: became Rector of the University of Paris. His Officina was first published in 1522. The passage that provoked Ascham’s ire is, Crinitus ait Scotos (qui vicini sunt Britannis) in dirigendis fugittis acres esse et egregios. Fol 158. Ed. 1532.

5. The Florentine Peter Riccio or latinized Crinitus [b 1465—d about 1504.], an Italian biographer and poet. In December, 1504 was published his Commentarii de Honestâ Disciplina.


7. The Scot John Major, latinized Ioannes Major, D.D. [b 1478—d 1540] was for many years Professor of Theology and one of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, at Paris. He published his Historia Maioris Britanniae, tam Anglie quam Scotie, per Ioannem Maiorem, nomine quidem Scotum, professione autem Theologum, e veterum monumentis concinnata. 4to Paris. 1521. "This history is divided into six books wherein he gives a summary account of the affairs of Scotland from Fergus I. till the marriage of King James III., in the year 1469, with which he concludes his work." Mackenzie. Writers of the Scottish Nation, ii. 315.

8. Hector Boethius, or Boece, or Boeis [b about 1470—d about 1550] a native of Dundee, became Principal of King’s College, Aberdeen. wrote Scotorum historia a prima genitis origine. &c. in 17 books, first published in Paris in 1526, and subsequently enlarged in later editions.

9. Sir Thomas Elyot [d 1546.] The work referred to by Ascham, does not appear ever to have been published.
JOSEPH ADDISON.

Criticism

on

MILTON's

Paradise Lost.

FROM 'THE SPECTATOR.'
31 December, 1711—3 May, 1712.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,
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JOHN MILTON'S PUBLIC SELF-DEDICATION TO THE COMPOSITION OF A GREAT ENGLISH EPIC.

About Feb. 1642, Milton, at 32, in his third contribution to the Smeatonian controversy, The Reason of Church-government urg'd against Prelatry, to show how little delight he had in that which he believed 'God by his Secretary conscience injuncted' upon him therein; he thus magnificently announces his self-dedication to the magnificent purpose of writing a great Epic in his mother tongue:

"I should not chuse this manner of writing wherein knowing myself inferior to my self, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand. And though I should be foolish in saying more to this purpose, yet since it will be such a folly as wisest men going about to commit, have only confess and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly to have courteous pardon. For although a Poet soaring in the high region of his fancies with his garland and singing robes about him might without apology speak more of himself then I mean to do, yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortall thing among many readers of no Empyreall conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of my selfe, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me. I must say therefore that after I had from my first yeeres by the ceaselesse diligence and care of my father, whom God recompence, bin exercis'd to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to mine own choice in English, or other tongue, prosing and versing, but chiefly this latter, the stile by certain vital signes it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the privat Academies of Italy, whither I was favor'd to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, compos'd at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was lookt for, and other things which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were receiv'd with written Encouragements, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps. I began thus farre to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not lesse to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joynd with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possesse me, and these other. That if I were certain to write as men buy Leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had, then to Gods glory by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latines, I appl'y'd my selfe to that resolution which Ariosto follow'd against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end, that were a toyslom vanity, but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sages things among mine own Citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my proportion with this over and above of being a Christian, might doe for mine: not caring to be once nam'd abroad, though perhaps I could attaine to that, but content with these British Islands as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilfull handling of monks and mecanicks.

Time servs not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home in the spacious circuits of her musing hath liberty to propose to her self, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting, whether that Epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the book of Iob a brief model: or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be follow'd, which in them that know art, and use judgement is no transgression, but an inriching of art. And lastly what King or Knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Chris-
And as Tasso gave to a Prince of Italy his choy whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the imboldning of art ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing aduers in our climat, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashnesse from an equal diligence and inclination to present the like offerin in our own ancient stories. Or whether those Dramatick constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides raigne shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation, the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral Drama in the Song of Salomon consisting of two persons and a double Chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypps of Saint John is the majestick image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn Scenes and Acts with a sevenfold Chorus of halleluija's and harping symphonies; and this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus commenting that booke is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead to imitat those magnifick Odes and Hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty: But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition may be easily made appear over all kinds of Lyrick poesy, to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired guift of God rarely bestow'd, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every Nation: and are of power beside the office of a pulpit, to inbred and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune, to celebrate in glorious and lofty Hymns the throne and equipage of Gods Almightynesse, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his Church, to sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and Saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious Nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ, to deplore the general relapses of Kingdoms and States from justice and Gods true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in vertu aimable, or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is call'd fortune from without, or the wily suttleties and reflexes of mans thoughts from within, all these things with a solid and treatable smoothnesse to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and vertu through all the instances of example with such delight to those especially of soft and delicious temper who will not so much as look upon Truth herselpe, unless they see her elegantly drest, that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appeare to all men both easy and pleasant though they were rugged and difficult indeed. . . . The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have liv'd within me ever since I could conceiv my self any thing worth to my Countrie, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath pluckt from me by an abortive and foredat discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above mans to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavou'rd, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost averse of my self, as farre as life and free leasure will extend, and that the Land had once infranchis'd her self from this impertinent yoke of prelaty, under whose inquisitorious and tyrannical duncery no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither doe I think it shame to covnant with any knowing reader, that for some few yeers yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be rays'd from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at wast from the pen of some vulgar Amorist, or the trencher fury of a riming parasite, not to be obtain'd by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternall Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallow'd fire of his Altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases: to this must be added industrious and select reading, steddy observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affaires, till which in some measure be compast, at mine own peril and cost I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loath to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them.—pp. 37—41. Ed. 1641.
Criticism on 'Paradise Lost.'

INTRODUCTION.

In the ordinary course of writing for The Spectator, Addison determined upon a summary exposition of Paradise Lost; intending in some four or half a dozen papers, 'to give a general Idea of its Graces and Imperfections.' Though his subject was a recent masterpiece, it was then comparatively unknown and certainly inadequately appreciated. Addison's purpose was to make Milton's great Epic popular. His sense of the indifference and prejudices to be overcome, may be gathered, not only from his, at first, guarded and argued praise of Milton; his large comparative criticism of Homer and Virgil, as if to make Milton the more acceptable; but also from his announcement, see page 25: where, under the cover of a Commentary on the great and accepted-great name of Aristotle, he endeavours to get a hearing for the unknown Milton.

In accordance with this intention, at the close of his sixth paper, Addison announces the termination of the criticism on the following Saturday. The essays, however, had met with an unexpected success. So that their author—the subject growing easily under his hand—was induced, instead of offering samples of the Beauties of the poem, in one essay, to give a separate paper to those in each of the twelve books of Paradise Lost. His caution however prevented him even then, from announcing his fresh purpose, until he was well on in his work; entering upon the consideration of the Fourth Book. §

These conditions of production not only show the tentativeness of the criticism, but account in part for the treatment of the subject. In particular, for the repetition in expanded form in its later essays, of arguments, opinions, &c., epitomized in the earlier

+ p. 49.

§ p. 75.
ones. As, for instance; the impropriety of Allegory in Epic poetry.

Before the appearance of the last of the Milton papers, Volume IV. of the second (first collected) edition of *The Spectator*, which included the first ten essays, had probably been delivered to its subscribers. The text of this edition shows considerable additions and corrections. So that Addison was revising the earlier, possibly before he had written the later of these papers. The eight last papers formed part of Volume V. of the second edition, which was published in the following year, 1713.

Subsequently—in the Author's lifetime—at least one important addition was made to the text; but the scarcity of early editions of *The Spectator* has prevented any further collation. In this way the growing text grew into final form: that in which it has come down to us.

In the present work, the text is that of the original issue, in folio. The variations and additions of the second edition, in 8vo, are inserted between [ ]. Words in the first, omitted in the second edition are distinguished by having * affixed to them. Subsequent additions are inserted between { }; which also contain the English translations of the mottoes. These have been verified with those in the earliest edition in which I have found them, that of 1744. The reader can therefore watch not only the expansion of the criticism, but Addison's method of correcting his work.

These papers do not embody the writer's entire mind on the subject. Limited as he was in time, to a week; in space, to the three or four columns of the Saturday folio; he was still more limited by the capacity, taste, and patience of his readers. Addison shows not a little art in the way in which, meting out his thought with the measure of his readers' minds, he endeavours rather to awaken them from indifference than to express his complete observations. The whole four months' lesson

† pp. 54, 55.
in criticism must be apprehended, as much with reference to those he was teaching to discriminate and appreciate, as to the fettered expression of the critic's own opinion.

The accepted standards in Epic poetry were Homer and Virgil. All that Addison tries to do is to persuade his countrymen to put Milton by their side.

Paganism could not furnish out a real action for a fable greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid, and therefore an Heathen could not form a higher notion of a Poem than one of that kind, which they call an Heroic. Whether Milton's is not of a sublimier nature I will not presume to determine, it is sufficient that I shew there is in Paradise Lost all the Greatness of Plan, Regularity of Design, and masterly Beauties which we discover in Homer and Virgil.†

Possibly it is owing to the then absence of an equal acknowledgment in England of Dante, Addison’s consequent limitation of purpose, and the conditions of the production of this criticism, that there is no recognition therein of the great Italian Epic poet.

These papers constitute a Primer to Paradise Lost. Most skilfully constructed both to interest and instruct, but still a Primer. As the excellent setting may the better display the gem of incalculable value: so may Addison's thought help us to understand Milton's 'greatness of Soul, which furnished him with such glorious Conceptions.' Let us not stop at the Primer, but pass on to a personal apprehension of the great English Epic; in the persuasion, that in no speech under heaven, is there a poem of more Sublimity, Delight, and Instruction than that which Milton was maturing for a quarter of a century: and that there is nothing human more wonderful and at the same time more true, than those visions of 'the whole System of the intellectual World, the Chaos and the Creation; Heaven, Earth, and Hell' over which—in the deep darkness of his blindness—Milton's spirit so long brooded, and which at length he revealed to Earth in his astonishing Poem.

† p. 45.
ADDISON'S CRITICISM ON MILTON'S 'PARADISE LOST.'

* Editions not seen.

The various editions of The Spectator are omitted, for want of space, because the scarcity of its early issues, prevents an exact list being given. See note on the three earliest issues, at p. 10.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.
   I. As a separate publication.

1719. London. Notes on the Twelve Books of Paradise Lost, Col-lected from the SPECTATOR. Written by Mr. Addison.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.
   I. As a separate publication.

1 Aug. London.  
1868. 1 vol. 8vo.  

II. With other works.


1762. London. A familiar Exposition of the Poetical Works of Milton. To which is prefixed Mr. Addison's Criticism on 'Paradise Lost.' With a preface by the Rev. Mr. Dodd. The criticism occupies pp. 1-144.


Joseph Addison,

CRITICISM

ON

Milton's

PARADISE LOST.

FROM 'THE SPECTATOR.'

*Three Poets, in three distant Ages born, Greece, Italy, and England did adorn. The First in loftiness of thought Surpas'd, The Next in Majesty; in both the Last. The force of Nature cou'd no farther goe: To make a Third she joynd the former two.*

DRYDEN. Under Milton's picture in Tonson's folio (the fourth) edition of Paradise Lost, &c. 1688.*
NOTE ON THE EARLY ISSUES OF 'THE SPECTATOR.'

1711. No. 1 of The Spectator appears 'To be Continued every Day.'
Mar. 1. It is a foolscap folio, printed in two columns on each of its two pages; advertisements occupying the greater part of the fourth column. The serial continues for ninety-three weeks.

June 1. No. 80 appears.
June 2. No. 81 appears.
Sept. 13. No. 169 appears.
Nov. 20. No. 227 has the following announcement. "There is now Printing by Subscription two Volumes of the SPECTATORS on a large character in Octavo; the Price of the two Vols. well Bound and Gilt two Guineas. Those who are inclined to Subscribe, are desired to make their first Payments to Jacob Tonson, Bookseller in the Strand; the Books being so near finished, that they will be ready for the Subscribers' use before Christmas next."

Dec. 18. No. 251 appears.
19. No. 252 appears.
31. No. 262. The papers on Milton are announced.

1712.
Jan. 5. No. 267. The first paper on Paradise Lost appears.
8. No. 269 has this announcement. "The First and Second Volumes of the SPECTATOR in 8vo are now ready to be delivered to the Subscribers, by J. Tonson at Shakespear's Head over-against Catherine-street in the Strand."
18. No. 278 advertises "This Day is Published, A very neat Pocket Edition of the SPECTATOR, in 2 Vols. 12o, Printed for Sam. Buckley at the Dolphin in Little-Britain, and J. Tonson at Shakespear's Head over-against Catherine-street in the Strand."

There is no announcement in the Original issue, when Vols. III and IV were ready for delivery to the subscribers of the first two, of which they were issued, with an Index, as a completion. Vol. III contains a List of the subscribers to the second edition of these earlier numbers of The Spectator. The list contains 402 names, including a large proportion of aristocratic titles; and among other the names of Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Blackmore, &c. The probability is that as the subscribers would naturally complete their sets, the reprinting would go on a little in arrear of the Original issue, and that these volumes were delivered some time in April. The 4 volumes apparently realized £1,608.

Aug. 10. Annc. c. 18 comes into force. It imposes a Stamp duty of an Halfpenny upon every Pamphlet or Paper contained in Half a Sheet, and One Shilling upon every printed advertisement.—Statutes ix. 617. This stamp is still seen on many copies.

Nov. 11. No. 533 advertises "This Day is Publish'd, A very neat Pocket edition of the 3d and 4th Volumes of the SPECTATOR in 12o, To which is added a compleat Index to the whole 4 Volumes. &c." Dec. 6. No 555, Steele announcing, in his own name, the conclusion of the series, states, "I have nothing more to add, but having swelled this Work to 555 Papers, they will be disposed into seven Volumes, four of which are already publish'd, and the three others in the Press. It will not be demanded of me why I now leave off, tho' I must own my self obliged to give an Account to the Town of my Time hereafter, since I retire when their Partiality to me is so great, that an Edition of the former Volumes of SPECTATORS of above Nine thousand each Book is already sold off, and the Tax on each half Sheet has brought into the Stamp-Office one Week with another above 20L. A Week arising from this single Paper, notwithstanding it at first reduced it to less than half the number that was usually Printed before this Tax was laid." He is evidently referring to the original daily issues.

Two years later, The Spectator was revived for about six months.

SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE PAPERS CONSTITUTE 'THE SPECTATOR.'
Think myself highly obliged to the Publick for their kind Acceptance of a Paper which visits them every Morning, and has in it none of those Seasonings that recommend so many of the Writings which are in vogue among us.

As, on the one Side, my Paper has not in it a single Word of News, a Reflection in Politicks, nor a Stroke of Party; so, on the other, there are no fashionable Touches of Infidelity, no obscene Ideas, no Satyrs upon Priesthood, Marriage, and the like popular Topicks of Ridicule; no private Scandal, nor any thing that may tend to the Defamation of particular Persons, Families, or Societies.

There is not one of these abovementioned Subjects that would not fell a very indifferent Paper, could I think of gratifying the Publick by such mean and base Methods: But notwithstanding I have rejected every thing that favours of Party, every thing that is loose and immoral, and every thing that might create Uneasiness in the Minds of particular Persons, I find that the Demand for my Papers has increased every Month since their first Appearance in the World. This does not perhaps reflect so much Honour upon my self, as on my Readers, who give a much greater Attention to Discourses of Virtue and Morality, than ever I expected, or indeed could hope.
When I broke loose from that great Body of Writers who have employed their Wit and Parts in propagating Vice and Irreligion, I did not question but I should be treated as an odd kind of Fellow that had a Mind to appear singular in my Way of Writing: But the general Reception I have found, convinces me that the World is not so corrupt as we are apt to imagine; and that if those Men of Parts who have been employed in viciating the Age had endeavoured to rectify and amend it, they needed not to have sacrificed their good Sense and Virtue to their Fame and Reputation. No Man is so sunk in Vice and Ignorance, but there are still some hidden Seeds of Goodness and Knowledge in him; which give him a Relish of such Reflections and Speculations as have an Aptness in* them* to improve the Mind and to make the Heart better.

I have shewn in a former Paper, with how much Care I have avoided all such Thoughts as are loose, obscene, or immoral; and I believe my Reader would still think the better of me, if he knew the Pains I am at in qualifying what I write after such a Manner, that nothing may be interpreted as aimed at private Persons. For this Reason when I draw any faulty Character, I consider all those Persons to whom the Malice of the World may possibly apply it, and take care to dash it with such particular Circumstances as may prevent all such ill-natured Applications. If I write anything on a black Man, I run over in my Mind all the eminent Persons in the Nation who are of that Complection: When I place an imaginary Name at the Head of a Character, I examine every Syllable and Letter of it, that it may not bear any Resemblance to one that is real. I know very well the Value which every Man sets upon his Reputation, and how painful it is to be exposed to the Mirth and Derision of the Publick, and should therefore scorn to divert my Reader at the Expense of any private Man.

As I have been thus tender of every particular Person's Reputation, so I have taken more than ordi-
nary Care not to give Offence to those who appear in the higher Figures of Life, I would not make my self merry even with a Piece of Pasteboard that is invested with a publick Character; for which Reason I have never glanced upon the late designed Procession of his Holiness and his Attendants, notwithstanding it might have afforded Matter to many ludicrous Speculations. Among those Advantages which the Publick may reap from this Paper, it is not the least, that it draws Mens Minds off from the Bitterness of Party, and furnishes them with Subjects of Discourse that may be treated without Warmth or Passion. This is said to have been the first Design of those Gentlemen who set on Foot the Royal Society; and had then a very good Effect, as it turned many of the greatest Genius's of that Age to the Disquisitions of natural Knowledge, who, if they had engaged in Politicks with the same Parts and Application, might have set their Country in a Flame. The Air-Pump, the Barometer, the Quadrant, and the like Inventions, were thrown out to those busy Spirits, as Tubs and Barrels are to a Whale, that he may let the Ship fail on without Disturbance, while he diverts himself with those innocent Amusements.

I have been so very scrupulous in this Particular of not hurting any Man's Reputation, that I have forborn mentioning even such Authors as I could not name with Honour. This I must confess to have been a Piece of very great Self-denial: For as the Publick relishes nothing better than the Ridicule which turns upon a Writer of any Eminence, so there is nothing which a Man that has but a very ordinary Talent in Ridicule may execute with greater Ease. One might raise Laughter for a Quarter of a Year together upon the Works of a Person who has published but a very few Volumes. For which Reasons I am astonished, that those who have appeared against this Paper have made so very little of it. The Criticisms which I have hitherto published, have been made with an Intention rather to discover Beauties and Excellencies in the
Writers of my own Time, than to publish any of their Faults and Imperfections. In the mean while I should take it for a very great Favour from some of my underhand Detractors, if they would break all Measures with me so far, as to give me a Pretence for examining their Performances with an impartial Eye: Nor shall I look upon it as any Breach of Charity to criticize the Author, so long as I keep clear of the Person.

In the mean while, till I am provoked to such Hostilities, I shall from Time to Time endeavour to do Justice to those who have distinguished themselves in the politer Parts of Learning, and to point out such Beauties in their Works as may have escaped the Observation of others.

As the first Place among our English Poets is due to Milton, and as I have drawn more Quotations out of him than from any other, I shall enter into a regular Criticism upon his Paradise lost, which I shall publish every Saturday till I have given my Thoughts upon that Poem. I shall not however presume to impose upon others my own particular Judgment on this Author, but only deliver it as my private Opinion. Criticism is of a very large Extent, and every particular Matter in this Art has his favourite Passages in an Author, which do not equally strike the best Judges. It will be sufficient for me if I discover many Beauties or Imperfections which others have not attended to, and I should be very glad to see any of our eminent Writers publish their Discoveries on the same Subject. In short, I would always be understood to write my Papers of Criticism in the Spirit which Horace has expressed in those two famous Lines;

---Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.

If you have made any better Remarks of your own, communicate them with Candour; if not, make use of these I present you with.
HERE is nothing in Nature so irksome as general Discourses, especially when they turn chiefly upon Words. For this Reason I shall wave the Discussion of that Point which was started some Years since, Whether Milton's Paradise Lost may be called an Heroick Poem? Those who will not give it that Title, may call it (if they please) a Divine Poem. It will be sufficient to its Perfection, if it has in it all the Beauties of the highest kind of Poetry; and as for those who say [allege] it is not an Heroick Poem, they advance no more to the Diminution of it, than if they should say Adam is not Æneas, nor Eve Helen.

I shall therefore examine it by the Rules of Epic Poetry, and see whether it falls short of the Iliad or Æneid, in the Beauties which are essential to that kind of Writing. The first Thing to be considered in an Epic Poem, is the Fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the Action which it relates is more or less so. This Action should have three Qualifications in it. First, It should be but one Action. Secondly, It should be an entire Action; and Thirdly, It should be a great Action. To consider the Action of the Iliad, Æneid, and Paradise Lost in these three several Lights. Homer to preserve the Unity of his Action hastens into the midst of things, as Horace has observed: Had he gone up
to Leda's Egg, or begun much later, even at the Rape of Helen, or the Investing of Troy, it is manifest that the Story of the Poem would have been a Series of several Actions. He therefore opens his Poem with the Discord of his Princes, and with great Art interweaves in the several succeeding parts of it, an account of every thing [material] which relates to the Story [them], and had passed before that fatal Diffension. After the same manner Aeneas makes his first appearance in the Tyrrhene Seas, and within sight of Italy, because the Action proposed to be celebrated was that of his Settling himself in Latium. But because it was necessary for the Reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of Troy, and in the preceding parts of his Voyage, Virgil makes his Hero relate it by way of Episode in the second and third Books of the Aeneid. The Contents of both which Books come before those of the first Book in the Thread of the Story, tho' for preserving of this Unity of Action, they follow them in the Disposition of the Poem. Milton, in Imitation of these two great Poets, opens his Paradise Lost with an Infernal Council plotting the Fall of Man, which is the Action he proposed to celebrate; and as for those great Actions, which preceded in point of time, the Battel of the Angels, and the Creation of the World, (which would have entirely destroyed the Unity of his Principal Action, had he related them in the same Order that they happened) he cast them into the fifth, sixth and seventh Books, by way of Episode to this noble Poem.

Aristotle himself allows, that Homer has nothing to boast of as to the Unity of his Fable, tho' at the same time that great Critick and Philosopher endeavours to palliate this Imperfection in the Greek Poet, by imputing it in some Measure to the very Nature of an Epic Poem. Some have been of Opinion, that the Aeneid labours also in this particular, and has Episodes which may be looked upon as Excrecencies rather than as Parts of the Action. On the contrary, the
Similitude. An Animal, no bigger than a Mite, cannot appear perfect to the Eye, because the Sight takes it in at once, and has only a confused Idea of the whole, and not a distinct Idea of all its Parts; If on the contrary you should suppose an Animal of ten thousand Furlongs in length, the Eye would be so filled with a single Part of it, that it could not give the Mind an Idea of the whole. What these Animals are to the Eye, a very short or a very long Action would be to the Memory. The first would be, as it were, lost and swallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. Homer and Virgil have shewn their principal Art in this Particular; the Action of the Iliad, and that of the Æneid, were in themselves exceeding short, but are so beautifully extended and diversified by the Intervention [Invention] of Episodes, and the Machinery of Gods, with the like Poetical Ornaments, that they make up an agreeable Story sufficient to employ the Memory without overcharging it. Milton’s Action is enriched with such a variety of Circumstances, that I have taken as much Pleasure in reading the Contents of his Books, as in the best invented Story I ever met with. It is possible, that the Traditions on which the Iliad and Æneid were built, had more Circumstances in them than the History of the Fall of Man, as it is related in Scripture. Besides it was easier for Homer and Virgil to dash the Truth with Fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the Religion of their Country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very few Circumstances upon which to raise his Poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest Caution in every thing that he added out of his own Invention. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the Restraints he was under, he has filled his Story with so many surprising incidents, which bear so close an Analogy with what is delivered in Holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate Reader, without giving Offence to the most scrupulous.
The Modern Criticks have collected from several Hints in the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* the Space of Time, which is taken up by the Action of each of those Poems; but as a great Part of Milton's Story was transacted in Regions that lie out of the reach of the Sun and the Sphere of Day, it is impossible to gratifie the Reader with such a Calculation, which indeed would be more curious than instructive; none of the Criticks, either Ancient or Modern, having laid down Rules to circumscribe the Action of an Epic Poem with any determined number of Years, Days, or Hours.†

*This piece of Criticism on Milton's Paradise Lost, shall be carried on in following [Saturdays] Papers.*

† See p. 151.
HAVING examined the Action of Paradise Lost, let us in the next place consider the Actors. These are what Aristotle means by [This is Aristotle's Method of considering; first] the Fable, and [secondly] the Manners, or, as we generally call them in English, the Fable and the Characters.

Homer has excelled all the Heroic Poets that ever wrote, in the multitude and variety of his Characters. Every God that is admitted into his Poem, acts a Part which would have been suitable to no other Deity. His Princes are as much distinguished by their Manners as by their Dominions; and even those among them, whose Characters seem wholly made up of Courage, differ from one another as to the particular kinds of Courage in which they excell. In short, there is scarce a Speech or Action in the Iliad, which the Reader may not ascribe to the Person that speaks or acts, without seeing his Name at the Head of it.

Homer does not only out-shine all other Poets in the Variety, but also in the Novelty of his Characters. He has introduced among his Gracian Princes a Person, who had lived thrice the Age of Man, and conversed with Theseus, Hercules, Polyphemus, and the first Race of Heroes. His principal Actor is the Off-spring [Son] of a Goddess, not to mention the Son [Off-spring] of Aurora [other Deities], who has [have] likewise a Place in his Poem, and the venerable Trojan Prince, who was the Father of so many Kings and Heroes. There is in these several Characters of Homer,
a certain Dignity as well as Novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the Nature of an Heroic Poem. Tho', at the same time, to give them the greater variety, he has described a Vulcan, that is, a Buffoon among his Gods, and a Therfites among his Mortals.

Virgil falls infinitely short of Homer in the Characters of his Poem, both as to their Variety and Novelty. Aeneas is indeed a perfect Character, but as for Achates, tho' he is stiled the Hero's Friend, he does nothing in the whole Poem which may deserve that Title. Gyas, Mnesleus, Sergeius, and Cloanthus, are all of them Men of the same Stamp and Character,

--- Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum [Virg.]

There are indeed several very natural Incidents in the Part of Ascanius; as that of Dido cannot be sufficiently admired. I do not see any thing new or particular in Turnus. Pallas and Evander are [remote] Copies of Hector and Priam, as Lausus and Mezentius are almost Parallels to Pallas and Evander. The Characters of Nisus and Eurialus are beautiful, but common. [We must not forget the Parts of Sinon, Camilla, and some few others, which are beautiful Improvements on the Greek Poet.] In short, there is neither that Variety nor Novelty in the Persons of the Æneid, which we meet with in those of the Iliad.

If we look into the Characters of Milton, we shall find that he has introduced all the Variety that his Poem was capable of receiving. The whole Species of Mankind was in two Persons at the time to which the Subject of his Poem is confined. We have, however, four distinct Characters in these two Persons. We see Man and Woman in the highest Innocence and Perfection, and in the most abject State of Guilt and Infirmity. The two last Characters are, indeed, very common and obvious, but the two first are not only more magnificent, but more new than any Characters either in Virgil or Homer, or indeed in the whole Circle of Nature.

Milton was so sensible of this Defect in the Subject of his Poem, and of the few Characters it would afford
him, that he has brought into it two Actors of a Shadowy and Fictitious Nature, in the Persons of Sin and Death, by which means he has interwoven in the Body of his Fable a very beautiful and well invented Allegory. But notwithstanding the Fineness of this Allegory may a-tone for it in some measure; I cannot think that Persons of such a Chimerical Existence are proper Actors in an Epic Poem; because there is not that measure of Probability annexed to them, which is requisite in Writings of this kind. [as I shall shew more at large hereafter.]

Virgil has, indeed, admitted Fame as an Actrefs in the Aeneid, but the Part she acts is very short, and none of the most admired Circumstances in that Divine Work. We find in Mock-Heroic Poems, particularly in the Dispenfary and the Lutrin, several Allegorical Persons of this Nature, which are very beautiful in those Compositions, and may, perhaps, be used as an Argument, that the Authors of them were of Opinion, that such Characters might have a Place in an Epic Work. For my own part, I should be glad the Reader would think so, for the sake of the Poem I am now examining, and must further add, that if such empty unsubstantial Beings may be ever made use of on this occasion, there were never any more nicely imagined, and employed in more proper Actions, than those of which I am now speaking.†

Another Principal Actor in this Poem is the great Enemy of Mankind. The Part of Ulysses in Homer's Odyssey is very much admired by Aristotle, as perplexing that Fable with very agreeable Plots and Intricacies, not only by the many Adventures in his Voyage, and the Subtilty of his Behaviour, but by the various Concealments and Discoveries of his Person in several parts of that Poem. But the Crafty Being I have now mentioned, makes a much longer Voyage than Ulysses, puts in practice many more Wiles and Stratagems, and hides himself under a greater variety of Shapes and Appearances, all of which are severally detected, to the great Delight and Surprize of the Reader.

† See also pp. 45: 70-72: 133-135.
We may likewise observe with how much Art the Poet has varied several Characters of the Persons that speak in his infernal Assembly. On the contrary, how has he represented the whole Godhead exerting itself towards Man in its full Benevolence under the Three-fold Distinction of a Creator, a Redeemer and a Comforter!

Nor must we omit the Person of Raphael, who amidst his Tenderness and Friendship for Man, shews such a Dignity and Condescension in all his Speech and Behaviour, as are suitable to a Superior Nature. [The Angels are indeed as much diversified in Milton, and distinguished by their proper Parts, as the Gods are in Homer or Virgil. The Reader will find nothing ascribed to Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, or Raphael, which is not in a particular manner suitable to their respective Characters.]

There is another Circumstance in the principal Actors of the Iliad and Æneid, which gives a particular [peculiar] Beauty to those two Poems, and was therefore contrived with very great Judgment. I mean the Authors having chosen for their Heroes Persons who were so nearly related to the People for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Æneas the remote Founder of Rome. By this means their Countrymen (whom they principally proposed to themselves for their Readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their Story, and sympathized with their Heroes in all their Adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the Escapes, Successes and Victories of Æneas, and be grieved at any Defeats, Misfortunes, or Disappointments that befel him; as a Greek must have had the same regard for Achilles. And it is plain, that each of those Poems have lost this great Advantage, among those Readers to whom their Heroes are as Strangers, or indifferent Persons.

Milton's Poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its Readers, whatever Nation, Country or People he may belong to, not to be related to the Persons who are the principal Actors in it; but what is still infinitely more to its Advantage, the principal Actors in this Poem are not only our
Progenitors, but our Representatives. We have an actual Interest in every thing they do, and no less than our utmost Happines or *Misery* is concerned, and lies at Stake in all their Behaviour.

I shall subjoin as a Corollary to the foregoing Remark, an admirable Observation out of Aristotle, which hath been very much misrepresented in the Quotations of some Modern Criticks. 'If a Man of perfect and consummate Virtue falls into a Misfortune, it raises our Pity, but not our Terror, because we do not fear that it may be our own Case, who do not resemble the Suffering Person. But as that great Philosopher adds, 'If we see a Man of Virtues mixt with Infirmities, fall into any Misfortune, it does not only raise our Pity but our Terror; because we are afraid that the like Misfortunes may happen to our selves, who resemble the Character of the Suffering Person.

I shall take another Opportunity to observe, that a Person of an absolute and consummate Virtue should never be introduced in Tragedy, and shall only remark in this Place, that this [the foregoing] Observation of Aristotle, tho' it may be true in other Occasions, does not hold in this; because in the present Case, though the Persons who fall into Misfortune are of the most perfect and consummate Virtue, it is not to be considered as what may possibly be, but what actually is our own Case; since we are embark'd with them on the same Bottom, and must be Partakers of their Happines or Misery.

In this, and some other very few Instances, Aristotle's Rules for Epic Poetry (which he had drawn from his Reflections upon Homer) cannot be supposed to quadrate exactly with the Heroic Poems which have been made since his Time; as it is plain his Rules would have been still more perfect, cou'd he have perused the *Aeneid* which was made some hundred Years after his Death.

*In my next I shall go through other parts of Milton's Poem; and hope that what I shall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only serve as a Comment upon Milton, but upon Aristotle.*
E have already taken a general Survey of the Fable and Characters in Milton's Paradise Lost: The Parts which remain to be consider'd, according to Aristotle's Method, are the Sentiments and the Language. Before I enter upon the first of these, I must advertifie my Reader, that it is my Design as soon as I have finish'd my general Reflections on these four several Heads, to give particular Instances out of the Poem which is now before us of Beauties and Imperfections which may be observed under each of them, as also of such other Particulars as may not properly fall under any of them. This I thought fit to premise, that the Reader may not judge too hastily of this Piece of Criticism, or look upon it as Imperfect, before he has seen the whole Extent of it.

The Sentiments in an [all] Epic Poem are the Thoughts and Behaviour which the Author ascribes to the Persons whom he introduces, and are just when they are conformable to the Characters of the several Persons. The Sentiments have likewise a relation to Things as well as Persons, and are then perfect when they are such as are adapted to the Subject. If in either of these Cases the Poet argues, or explains, magnifies or diminishes, raises Love or Hatred, Pity or Terror, or any other Passion, we ought to consider whether the Sentiments he makes ufe of are proper for these [their] Ends. Homer is cenfured by the Criticks for
his Defect as to this Particular in several parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, tho' at the same time those who have treated this great Poet with Candour, have attributed this Defect to the Times in which he lived. It was the fault of the Age, and not of *Homer*, if there wants that Delicacy in some of his Sentiments, which appears in the Works of Men of a much inferior Genius. Besides, if there are Blemishes in any particular Thoughts, there is an infinite Beauty in the greatest part of them. In short, if there are many Poets who wouldn't have fallen into the mean[en]efs of some of his Sentiments, there are none who could have rise[n] up to the Greatness of others. *Virgil* has excelled all others in the Propriety of his Sentiments. *Milton* shines likewise very much in this Particular: Nor must we omit one Consideration which adds to his Honour and Reputation. *Homer* and *Virgil* introduced Persons whose Characters are commonly known among Men, and such as are to be met with either in History, or in ordinary Conversation. *Milton*'s Characters, most of them, lie out of Nature, and were to be formed purely by his own Invention. It shews a greater Genius in *Shakespeare* to have drawn his Caly- ban, than his *Hotspur* or *Julius Caesar*: The one was to be supplied out of his own Imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon Tradition, History and Observation. It was much easier therefore for *Homer* to find proper Sentiments for an Assembly of Grecian Generals, than for *Milton* to diversifie his Infernal Council with proper Characters, and inspire them with a variety of Sentiments. The Loves of *Dido* and *Æneas* are only Copies of what has passed between other Persons. *Adam* and *Eve*, before the Fall, are a different Species from that of Mankind, who are descended from them, and none but a Poet of the most unbounded Invention, and the most exquisite Judgment, cou'd have filled their Conversation and Behaviour with such Beautiful Circumstances during their State of Innocence.
Nor is it sufficient for an Epic Poem to be filled with such Thoughts as are *Natural*, unless it abound also with such as are *Sublime*. *Virgil* in this Particular falls short of *Homer*. He has not indeed so many Thoughts that are Low and Vulgar; but at the same time has not so many Thoughts that are Sublime and Noble. The truth of it is, *Virgil* seldom rises into very astonishing Sentiments, where he is not fired by the *Iliad*. He everywhere charms and pleases us by the force of his own Genius; but seldom elevates and transports us where he does not fetch his Hints from *Homer*.

*Milton’s* chief Talent, and indeed his distinguishing Excellence, lies in the Sublimity of his Thoughts. There are others of the Moderns who rival him in every other part of Poetry; but in the greatness of his Sentiments he triumphs over all the Poets both Modern and Ancient, *Homer* only excepted. It is impossible for the Imagination of Man to distend itself with greater Ideas, than those which he has laid together in his first, [second,] and sixth Book[s]. The seventh, which describes the Creation of the World, is likewise wonderfully Sublime, tho’ not so apt to stir up Emotion in the Mind of the Reader, nor consequently so perfect in the Epic way of Writing, because it is filled with less Action. Let the Reader compare what *Longinus* has observed on several Passages of *Homer*, and he will find Parallels for most of them in the *Paradise Lost*.

From what has been said we may infer, that as there *are* two kinds of Sentiments, the Natural and the Sublime, which are always to be pursued in an Heroic Poem, there are also two kinds of Thoughts which are carefully to be avoided. The first are such as are affected and unnatural; the second such as are mean and vulgar. As for the first kind of Thoughts we meet with little or nothing that is like them in *Virgil*: He has none of those little Points and Puerilities that *are so* often to be met with in *Ovid*, none of the
Epigrammatick Turns of Lucan, none of those swelling Sentiments which are so frequent[ly] in Statius and Claudian, none of those mixed Embellishments of Tasso. Everything is just and natural. His Sentiments shew that he had a perfect Insight into Human Nature, and that he knew every thing which was the most proper to affect it. *I remember but one Line in him which has been objected against, by the Criticks, as a point of Wit. It is in his ninth Book, where Juno speaking of the Trojans, how they survived the Ruins of their City, expresses herself in the following Words;

Num capi potuere capi, num incenfa cremarunt Pergama?

Were the Trojans taken even after they were Captives, or did Troy burn even when it was in Flames?

Mr. Dryden has in some Places, which I may hereafter take notice of, misrepresented Virgil's way of thinking as to this Particular, in the Translation he has given us of the Æneid. I do not remember that Homer any where falls into the Faults above mentioned, which were indeed the false Refinements of later Ages. Milton, it must be confessed, has sometimes erred in this Respect, as I shall shew more at large in another Paper; tho' considering how all the Poets of the Age in which he writ, were infected with this wrong way of thinking, he is rather to be admired that he did not give more into it, than that he did sometimes comply with that [the] vicious Taste which prevails so much among Modern Writers.

But since several Thoughts may be natural which are low and groveling, an Epic Poet should not only avoid such Sentiments as are unnatural or affected, but also such as are low and vulgar. Homer has opened a great Field of Raillery to Men of more Delicacy than Greatness of Genius, by the Homeliness of some of his Sentiments. But, as I have before said, these

* From 'I remember' to 'Flames?' omitted in second edition.
are rather to be imputed to the Simplicity of the Age in which he lived, to which I may also add, of that which he described, than to any Imperfection in that Divine Poet. Zoilus, among the Ancients, and Mon-fieur Perrault, among the Moderns, pushed their Ridicule very far upon him, on account of some such Sentiments. There is no Blemish to be observed in *Virgil* under this Head, and but very few in *Milton*.

I shall give but one Instance of this Impropriety of Sentiments in *Homer*, and at the same time compare it with an Instance of the same nature, both in *Virgil* and *Milton*. Sentiments which raise Laughter, can very seldom be admitted with any decency into an Heroic Poem, whose Business it* is to excite Passions of a much nobler Nature. *Homer*, however, in his Characters of *Vulcan* and *Thersites*, in his Story of *Mars* and *Venus*, in his Behaviour of *Irus*, and in other Passages, has been observed to have lapsed into the Burlesque Character, and to have departed from that serious Air which seems essential to the Magnificence of an Epic Poem. I remember but one Laugh in the whole *Æneid*, which rises in the Fifth Book upon *Monates*, where he is represented as thrown overboard, and drying himself upon a Rock. But this Piece of Mirth is so well timed, that the severest Critick can have nothing to say against it, for it is in the Book of Games and Diversions, where the Reader's Mind may be supposed to be sufficiently relaxed for such an Entertainment. The only Piece of Pleasantery in *Paradise Lost*, is where the Evil Spirits are described as rallying the Angels upon the Success of their new invented Artillery. This Passage I look upon to be the silliest [most exceptional] in the whole Poem, as being nothing else but a string of Punns, and those too very indifferent ones.

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*Satan beheld their Plight,*

*And to his Mates thus in derision call'd.*

*O Friends, why come not on those Victors proud*
E'er while they fierce were coming, and when we,
To entertain them fair with open Front,
And Breast, (what could we more) propounded terms
Of Composition, straight they chang'd their Minds,
Flew off, and into strange Vagaries fell,
As they would dance, yet for a Dance they seem'd
Somewhat extravagant, and wild, perhaps
For Joy of offer'd Peace; but I suppose
If our Proposals once again were heard,
We should compel them to a quick Refult.

To whom thus Belial in like gamesome mood.
Leader, the Terms we sent, were Terms of weight,
Of hard Contents, and full of force urg'd home,
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And stumbled many: who receives them right,
Had need, from Head to Foot, well understand;
Not understood, this Gift they have besides,
They shew us when our Foes walk not upright.

Thus they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing——

Become too familiar to the Ear, and
And of Meanness by passing through the
vulgar, a Poet should take particular
Guard himself against Idiomateck ways of
Ovid and Lucan have many Poornesse of
Expression upon this account, as taking up with the
rft Phrases that offered, without putting themselves
to the trouble of looking after such as would not only
have been natural, but also elevated and sublime.
Milton has but few Failings in this kind, of which,
The SPECTATOR.

Ne quicunque Deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
Regali conspectus in auro nuper & ostro,
Migret in Obscuras humili fermone tabernas:
Aut dum vitat humum, nubes & inania captet. Hor.

{But then they did not wrong themselves so much,
To make a God, a Hero, or a King
(Stript of his golden Crown, and purple Robe)
Descend to a Mechanick Dialect;
Nor (to avoid such Meaneness) soaring high,
With empty Sound, and airy Notions, fly.
·Roscommon.}


HAVING already treated of the Fable, the Characters, and Sentiments in the Paradise Lost, we are in the last place to consider the Language; and as the learned World is very much divided upon Milton as to this Point, I hope they will excuse me if I appear be supposed to be sufficiently and encline to those entertainments. The only Piece of Plead Author.
die Lost, is where the Evil Spirits are on Heroic rallying the Angels upon the Success of the. In invented Artillery. This Passage I look upon vant-the silliest [most exceptionable] in the whole as being nothing else but a string of Punns, and the too very indifferent ones.

—Satan beheld their Pight,
And to his Mates thus in derision call'd.
O Friends, why come not on those Victors proud
The language should be perspicuous and sublime.

—God and his Son except, Created thing nought valu'd he nor shunn'd.

And that in which he describes Adam and Eve.

Adam the goodliest Man of Men since born His Sons, the fairest of her Daughters Eve.

It is plain, that in the former of these Passages, according to the natural Syntax, the Divine Persons mentioned in the first Line are represented as created Beings; and that in the other, Adam and Eve are confounded with their Sons and Daughters. Such little Blemishes as these, when the Thought is great and natural, we should, with Horace, dispute to a pardonable Inadvertency, or to the Weakness of Human Nature, which cannot attend to each minute Particular, and give the last finishing to every Circumstance in so long a Work. The Ancient Criticks therefore, who were acted by a Spirit of Candour, rather than that of Cavilling, invented certain figures of Speech, on purpose to palliate little Errors of this nature in the Writings of those Authors, who had so many greater Beauties to atone for them.

If Clearness and Perspicuity were only to be consulted, the Poet would have nothing else to do but to cloath his Thoughts in the most plain and natural Expressions. But, since it often happens, that the most obvious Phrases, and those which are used in ordinary Conversation, become too familiar to the Ear, and contract a kind of Meanenes by passing through the Mouths of the Vulgar, a Poet should take particular care to guard himself against Idiomatick ways of speaking. Ovid and Lucan have many Poornesses of Expression upon this account, as taking up with the first Phrases that offered, without putting themselves to the trouble of looking after such as would not only have been natural, but also elevated and sublime. Milton has but few Failings in this kind, of which, c
however, you may see an Instance or two [meet with some Instances, as] in the following Passages.

*Embroid's and Idiots, Eremites and Fryars,*  
White, Black, and Grey, with all their Trumpery,  
*Here Pilgrims roam*—

—*Awhile Discourse they hold,*  
No fear left Dinner cool; *when thus began Our Author—*  
*Who of all Ages to succeed, but feeling The Evil on him brought by me, will curse My Head, ill fare our Ancestor impure,*  
For this we may thank *Adam—*

The great Masters in Composition know very well that many an elegant Phrase becomes improper for a Poet or an Orator, when it has been debased by common use. For this reason the Works of Ancient Authors, which are written in dead Languages, have a great Advantage over those which are written in Languages that are now spoken. Were there any mean Phrases or Idioms in *Virgil and Homer,* they would not shock the Ear of the most delicate Modern Reader, so much as they would have done that of an old *Greek* or *Roman,* because we never hear them pronounced in our Streets, or in ordinary Conversation.

It is not therefore sufficient, that the Language of an Epic Poem be Peripcuous, unless it be also Sublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common Forms and ordinary Phrases of Speech. The Judgment of a Poet very much discovers itself in shunning the common Roads of Expression, without falling into such ways of Speech as may seem stiff and unnatural; he must not swell into a false Sublime, by endeavouring to avoid the other Extremes. Among the *Greeks, Eschylus,* and sometimes *Sophocles,* were guilty of this Fault; among the *Latins, Claudian* and *Statius,* and among our own Countrymen, *Shakespear* and *Lee.* In these Authors the Affectation of Greatness often hurts the Peripciuity of the Stile, as in
many others the Endeavour after Perfpicuity prejudices its Greatnefs.

Aristotle has observed, that the Idiomatick Stile may be avoided, and the Sublime formed, by the following Methods. Firſt, by the uſe of Metaphors, like thole of Milton.

Imparadis'd in one anothers Arms,
——And in his Hand a Reed
Stood waving tipt with Fire;—
The gratefull Clouds now calv'd.—

In these and ſeveral [innumerable] other Inſtances, the Metaphors are very bold but beautiful; I muſt however obſerve, that the Metaphors are not thick fown in Milton, which always favours too much of Wit; that they never clash with one another, which as Aristotle obſerves, turns a Sentence into a kind of an Enigma or Riddle; and that he ſeldom makes ſue of them where the proper and natural Words will do as well.

Another way of raising the Language, and giving it a Poetical Turn, is to make ſue of the Idioms of other Tongues. Virgil is full of the Greek Forms of Speech, which the Criticks call Hellenifms, as Horace in his Odes abounds with them much more than Virgil. I need not mention the ſeveral Dialects which Homer has made ſue of for this end. Milton, in conformity with the Practice of the Ancient Poets, and with Aristotle's Rule has infuſed a great many Latinifms, as well as Græcis, [and sometimes Hebraifms] into the Language of his Poem; as towards the Beginning of it.

Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce Pains not feel.
[Yet to their Gen'ral's Voice they soon obey'd.]  
——Who ſhall tempt with wandring Feet
The dark unbottom'd Infinite Abyfs,  
And through the palpable Obscure find out his way,
His uncouth way, or spread his airy Flight
Upborn with indefatigable Wings
Over the vast Abrupt!—_

[———So both ascend
In the Visions of God———] B. 2.

Under this Head may be reckoned the placing the Adjective after the Substantive, the transposition of Words, the turning the Adjective into a Substantive, with several other Foreign Modes of Speech, which this Poet has naturalized to give his Verse the greater Sound, and throw it out of Prose.

The third Method mentioned by Aristotle, is that which [what] agrees with the Genius of the Greek Language more than with that of any other Tongue, and is therefore more used by Homer than by any other Poet. I mean the lengthening of a Phrase by the Addition of Words, which may either be inserted or omitted, as also by the extending or contracting of particular Words by the Inserion or Omission of certain Syllables. Milton has put in practice this Method of raising his Language, as far as the nature of our Tongue will permit, as in the Passage above-mentioned, Eremite, [for] what is Hermit[e], in common Discourse. If you observe the Measure of his Verse, he has with great Judgment suppressed a Syllable in several Words, and shortned those of two Syllables into one, by which Method, besides the abovementioned Advantage, he has given a greater Variety to his Numbers. But this Practice is more particularly remarkable in the Names of Persons and of Countries, as Beëlzebub Hessebon, and in many other Particulars, wherein he has either changed the Name, or made use of that which is not the most commonly known, that he might the better deviate from the Language of the Vulgar.

The same Reason recommended to him several old Words, which also makes his Poem appear the more venerable, and gives it a greater Air of Antiquity.

I must likewife take notice, that there are in Milton
several Words of his own Coining, as Cerberean, miscreated, Hell-doom'd, Embryon Atoms, and many others. If the Reader is offended at this Liberty in our English Poet, I would recommend him to a Discourse in Plutarch, which shews us how frequently Homer has made use of the same Liberty.

Milton, by the above-mentioned Helps, and by the choice of the noblest Words and Phrases which our Tongue would afford him, has carried our Language to a greater height than any of the English Poets have ever done before or after him, and made the Sublimity of his Stile equal to that of his Sentiments.

I have been the more particular in these Observations of Milton's Stile, because it is that part of him in which he appears the most singular. The Remarks I have here made upon the Practice of other Poets, with my Observations out of Aristotle, will perhaps alleviate the Prejudice which some have taken to his Poem upon this Account; tho' after all, I must confess, that I think his Stile, tho' admirable in general, is in some places too much stiffened and obscured by the frequent use of those Methods, which Aristotle has prescribed for the raising of it.

This Redundancy of those several ways of Speech which Aristotle calls foreign Language, and with which Milton has so very much enriched, and in some places darkened the Language of his Poem, is [was] the more proper for his use, because his Poem is written in Blank Verse. Rhyme, without any other Assistance, throws the Language off from Prose, and very often makes an indifferent Phrase pass unregarded; but where the Verse is not built upon Rhymes, there Pomp of Sound, and Energy of Expression, are indispensible necessary to support the Stile, and keep it from falling into the Flatness of Prose.

Those who have not a Taste for this Elevation of Stile, and are apt to ridicule a Poet when he departs from the common Forms of Expression, would do well to see how Aristotle has treated an ancient Author,
called *Euclid*, for his insipid Mirth upon this Occasion. Mr. *Dryden* used to call this sort of Men his Prose-Criticks.

I should, under this Head of the Language, consider Milton's Numbers, in which he has made use of several Elisions, that are not customary among other *English* Poets, as may be particularly observed in his cutting off the Letter *Y*, when it precedes a Vowel. This, and some other Innovations in the Measure of his Verse, has varied his Numbers in such a manner, as makes them incapable of satiating the Ear and cloying the Reader, which the same uniform Measure would certainly have done, and which the perpetual Returns of Rhyme never fail to do in long Narrative Poems. I shall close these Reflections upon the Language of Paradise Lost, with observing that Milton has copied after Homer, rather than Virgil, in the length of his Periods, the Copiousness of his Phrases, and the running of his Verses into one another.
The SPECTATOR.

—Ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendor maculis, quas aut Incuria fudit,
Aut Humana parum cavit Natura—  Hor.

{But in a Poem elegantly writ,
I will not quarrel with a slight Mistake,
Such as our Nature's frailty may excuse.
Roscmon.}

Saturday, February 2. 1712.

I have now consider'd Milton's Paradise Lost under those four great Heads of the Fable, the Characters, the Sentiments, and the Language; and have shewn that he excels, in general, under each of these Heads. I hope that I have made several Discoveries that [which] may appear new, even to those who are vers'd in Critical Learning. Were I indeed to chuse my Readers, by whose Judgment I would stand or fall, they should not be such as are acquainted only with the French and Italian Criticks, but also with the Ancient and Moderns who have written in either of the learned Languages. Above all, I would have them well versed in the Greek and Latin Poets, without which a Man very often fancies that he understands a Critick, when in reality he does not comprehend his Meaning.

It is in Criticism, as in all other Sciences and Speculations; one who brings with him any implicit Notions and Observations which he has made in his reading of the Poets, will find his own Reflections methodized and explained, and perhaps several little Hints that had passed in his Mind, perfected and im-
proved in the Works of a good Critick; whereas one who has not these previous Lights, is very often an utter Stranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong Interpretation upon it.

Nor is it sufficient, that a Man who sets up for a Judge in Criticism, should have perused the Authors above-mentioned, unless he has also a clear and Logical Head. Without this Talent he is perpetually puzzled and perplexed amidst his own Blunders, mistakes the Sense of those he would confute, or if he chances to think right, does not know how to convey his Thoughts to another with Clearness and Perspicuity. Aristotle, who was the best Critick, was also one of the best Logicians that ever appeared in the World.

Mr. Lock's Essay on Human Understanding would be thought a very odd Book for a Man to make himself Master of, who would get a Reputation by Critical Writings; though at the same time it is very certain, that an Author who has not learned the Art of distinguishing between Words and Things, and of ranging his Thoughts, and setting them in proper Lights, whatever Notions he may have, will lose himself in Confusion and Obscurity. I might further observe, that there is not a Greek or Latin Critick, who has not shewn, even in the style of his Criticisms, that he was a Master of all the Elegance and Delicacy of his Native Tongue.

The truth of it is, there is nothing more absurd, than for a Man to set up for a Critick, without a good Insight into all the Parts of Learning; whereas many of those who have endeavoured to signalize themselves by Works of this Nature among our English Writers, are not only defective in the above-mentioned Particulars, but plainly discover by the Phrases which they make use of, and by their confused way of thinking, that they are not acquainted with the most common and ordinary Systems of Arts and Sciences. A few general Rules extracted out of the French Authors, with a certain Cant of Words, has sometimes set up an Illiterate heavy Writer for a most judicious and formidable Critick.
One great Mark, by which you may discover a Critick who has neither Taste nor Learning, is this, that he seldom ventures to praise any Passage in an Author which has not been before received and applauded by the Publick, and that his Criticism turns wholly upon little Faults and Errors. This part of a Critick is so very easy to succeed in, that we find every ordinary Reader, upon the publishing of a new Poem, has Wit and Ill-nature enough to turn several Passages of it into Ridicule, and very often in the right Place. This Mr. Dryden has very agreeably remarked in those two celebrated Lines,

Errors, like Straws, upon the Surface flow;
He who would search for Pearls must dive below.

A true Critick ought to dwell rather upon Excellencies than Imperfections, to discover the concealed Beauties of a Writer, and communicate to the World such things as are worth their Observation. The most exquisite Words and finest Strokes of an Author are those which very often appear the most doubtful and exceptionable, to a Man who wants a Relish for polite Learning; and they are these, which a fewer [four] undistinguishing Critick generally attacks with the greatest Violence. Tully observes, that it is very easy to brand or fix a Mark upon what he calls Verbum ardens, or, as it may be rendered into English, a glowing bold Expression, and to turn it into Ridicule by a cold ill-natured Criticism. A little Wit is equally capable of exposing a Beauty, and of aggravating a Fault; and though such a Treatment of an Author naturally produces Indignation in the Mind of an understanding Reader, it has however its effect among the generality of those whose Hands it falls into, the Rabble of Mankind being very apt to think that every thing which is laughed at with any mixture of Wit, is ridiculous in it self.

Such a Mirth as this, is always unseasonable in a Critick, as it rather prejudices the Reader than con-
SIMPLE RIDICULE UNFAIR IN WORKS OF CRITICISM.

vinces him, and is capable of making a Beauty, as well as a Blemish, the Subject of Derision. A Man, who cannot write with Wit on a proper Subject, is dull and stupid, but one who shews it in an improper place, is as impertinent and absurd. Besides, a Man who has the Gift of Ridicule is very apt to find Fault with any thing that gives him an Opportunity of exerting his beloved Talent, and very often cenfures a Passage, not because there is any Fault in it, but because he can be merry upon it. Such kinds of Pleasantry are very unfair and disingenuous in Works of Criticism, in which the greatest Masters, both Ancient and Modern, have always appeared with a serious and instructive Air.

As I intend in my next Paper to shew the Defects in Milton's Paradise Lost, I thought fit to premise these few Particulars, to the End that the Reader may know I enter upon it, as on a very ungrateful Work, and that I shall just point at the Imperfections, without endeavouring to enflame them with Ridicule. I must also observe with Longinus, that the Productions of a great Genius, with many Lapses and Inadvertencies, are infinitely preferable to the Works of an inferior kind of Author, which are scrupulously exact and conformable to all the Rules of correct Writing.

I shall conclude my Paper with a Story out of Boccaccini, which sufficiently shews us the Opinion that Judicious Author entertained of the sort of Criticks I have been here mentioning. A famous Critick, says he, having gathered together all the Faults of an Eminent Poet, made a Present of them to Apollo, who received them very graciously, and resolved to make the Author a suitable Return for the Trouble he had been at in collecting them. In order to this, he set before him a Sack of Wheat, as it had been just threshed out of the Sheaf. He then bid him pick out the Chaff from among the Corn, and lay it aside by itself. The Critick applied himself to the Task with great Industry and Pleasure, and after having made the due Separation, was presented by Apollo with the Chaff for his Pains.
The SPECTATOR.

velut si
Egregio inspersos reprendas corpore navos. Hor.
{As perfect beauties often have a Mole. Creech.}

Saturday, February 9, 1712.

After what I have said in my last Saturday's Paper, I shall enter on the Subject of this without farther Preface, and remark the several Defects which appear in the Fable, the Characters, the Sentiments, and the Language of Milton's Paradise Lost; not doubting but the Reader will pardon me, if I alledge at the same time whatever may be said for the Extenuation of such Defects. The first Imperfection which I shall observe in the Fable is, that the Event of it is unhappy.

The Fable of every Poem is according to Aristotle's Division either Simple or Implex. It is called Simple when there is no change of Fortune in it, Implex when the Fortune of the chief Actor changes from Bad to Good, or from Good to Bad. The Implex Fable is thought the most perfect; I suppose, because it is most proper to stir up the Passions of the Reader, and to surprize him with a greater variety of Accidents.

The Implex Fable is therefore of two kinds: In the first the chief Actor makes his way through a long Series of Dangers and Difficulties, till he arrives at Honour and Prosperity, as we see in the Stories of Ulysses and *Æneas.* In the second, the chief Actor in the Poem falls from some eminent pitch of Honour and Prosperity, into Misery and Disgrace. Thus we see Adam and Eve sinking from a State of Innocence and Happiness, into the most abject Condition of Sin and Sorrow.
The most taking Tragedies among the Ancients were built on this last fort of Implex Fable, particularly the Tragedy of *OEdipus*, which proceeds upon a Story, if we may believe Aristotle, the most proper for Tragedy that could be invented by the Wit of Man. I have taken some pains in a former Paper to shew, that this kind of Implex Fable, wherein the Event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an Audience than that of the first kind; notwithstanding many excellent Pieces among the Ancients, as well as most of those which have been written of late Years in our own Country, are raised upon contrary Plans. I must however own, that I think this kind of Fable, which is the most perfect in Tragedy, is not so proper for an Heroic Poem.

*Milton* seems to have been sensible of this Imperfection in his Fable, and has therefore endeavoured to cure it by several Expedients; particularly by the Mortification which the great Adversary of Mankind meets with upon his return to the Assembly of Infernal Spirits, as it is described in that [a] beautiful Passage of the tenth Book; and likewise by the Vision, wherein *Adam* at the close of the Poem sees his Offspring triumphing over his great Enemy, and himself restored to a happier *Paradise* than that from which he fell.

There is another Objection against *Milton's* Fable, which is indeed almost the same with the former, tho' placed in a different Light, namely, That the Hero in the *Paradise Lost* is unsuccessful, and by no means a Match for his Enemies. This gave occasion to Mr. *Dryden*’s Reflection, that the Devil was in reality *Milton's* Hero. I think I have obviated this Objection in my first Paper. The *Paradise Lost* is an Epic, [or a] Narrative Poem, he that looks for an Hero in it, searches for that which *Milton* never intended; but if he will needs fix the Name of an Hero upon any Person in it, ’tis certainly the *Messiah* who

† See p. 147.
SUCCESSFUL, AND IT HAS TOO MANY DIGRESSIONS.

is the Hero, both in the Principal Action, and in the [chief] Epilogue[s]. Paganism could not furnish out a real Action for a Fable greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid, and therefore an Heathen could not form a higher Notion of a Poem than one of that kind, which they call an Heroic. Whether Milton's is not of a greater [sublimier] Nature I will not presume to determine, it is sufficient that I shew there is in the Paradise Lost all the Greatness of Plan, Regularity of Design, and masterly Beauties which we discover in Homer and Virgil.

I must in the next Place observe, that Milton has interwoven in the Texture of his Fable some Particulars which do not seem to have Probability enough for an Epic Poem, particularly in the Actions which he ascribes to Sin and Death, and the Picture which he draws of the Lymbo of Vanity, with other Passages in the second Book. Such Allegories rather favour of the Spirit of Spencer and Ariosto, than of Homer and Virgil.

In the Structure of his Poem he has likewise admitted of too many Digressions. It is finely observed by Aristotle, that the Author of an Heroic Poem should seldom speak himself, but throw as much of his Work as he can into the Mouths of those who are his Principal Actors. Aristotle has given no Reason for this Precept; but I presume it is because the Mind of the Reader is more awed and elevated when he hears Æneas or Achilles speak, than when Virgil or Homer talk in their own Persons. Besides that assuming the Character of an eminent Man is apt to fire the Imagination, and raise the Ideas of the Author. Tully tells us, mentioning his Dialogue of Old Age, in which Cato is the chief Speaker, that upon a Review of it he was agreeably imposed upon, and fancied that it was Cato, and not he himself, who utter'd his Thoughts on that Subject.

If the Reader would be at the pains to see how the Story of the Iliad and the Æneid is delivered by those
Persons who act in it, he will be surprized to find how little in either of these Poems proceeds from the Authors. *Milton* has, in the general disposition of his Fable, very finely observed this great Rule; insofar, that there is scarce a third part of it which comes from the Poet; the rest is spoken either by *Adam* and *Eve*, or by some Good or Evil Spirit who is engaged either in their Destruction or Defence.

From what has been here observed it appears, that Digressions are by no means to be allowed of in an Epic Poem. If the Poet, even in the ordinary course of his Narration, should speak as little as possible, he should certainly never let his Narration sleep for the sake of any Reflections of his own. I have often observed, with a secret Admiration, that the longest Reflection in the *Aeneid* is in that Passage of the Tenth Book, where *Turnus* is represented as dressing himself in the Spoils of *Pallas*, whom he had slain. *Virgil* here lets his Fable stand still for the sake of the following Remark. *How is the Mind of Man ignorant of Futurity, and unable to bear prosperous Fortune with Moderation?* The time will come when *Turnus* shall wish that he had left the Body of *Pallas* untouched, and curse the Day on which he dressed himself in these Spoils. As the great Event of the *Aeneid*, and the Death of *Turnus*, whom *Aeneas* flew because he saw him adorned with the Spoils of *Pallas*, turns upon this Incident, *Virgil* went out of his way to make this Reflection upon it, without which so small a Circumstance might possibly have slipped out of his Reader's Memory. *Lucan*, who was an Injudicious Poet, lets drop his Story very frequently for the sake of [his] unnecessary Digressions or his *Diverticula*, as Scaliger calls them. If he gives us an Account of the Prodigies which preceded the Civil War, he declaims upon the Occasion, and shews how much happier it would be for Man, if he did not feel his Evil Fortune before it comes to pass, and suffer not only by its real Weight, but by the Apprehension of it. *Milton's Complaint*
of his Blindness, his Panegyrick on Marriage, his Reflections on *Adam* and *Eve*’s going naked, of the Angels eating, and several other Passages in his Poem, are liable to the fame Exception, tho’ I must confess there is so great a Beauty in these very Digressions, that I would not wish them out of his Poem.

I have, in a former Paper, spoken of the Characters of *Milton’s Paradise Lost*, and declared my Opinion, as to the Allegorical Persons who are introduced in it.

If we look into the Sentiments, I think they are sometimes defective under the following Heads; First, as there are some [several] of them too much pointed, and some that degenerate even into Punns. Of this last kind I am afraid is that in the First Book, where, speaking of the Pigmies, he calls them.

--- The small Infantry

*Warr’d on by Cranes*---

Another Blemish that appears in some of his Thoughts, is his frequent Allusion to Heathen Fables, which are not certainly of a Piece with the Divine Subject, of which he treats. I do not find fault with these Allusions, where the Poet himself represents them as fabulous, as he does in some Places, but where he mentions them as Truths and Matters of Fact. The Limits of my Paper will not give me leave to be particular in Instances of this kind: The Reader will easily remark them in his Perusal of the Poem.

A Third Fault in his Sentiments, is an unnecessary Ostentation of Learning, which likewise occurs very frequently. It is certain that both *Homer* and *Virgil* were Masters of all the Learning of their Times, but it shews it self in their Works after an indirect and concealed manner. *Milton* seems ambitious of letting us know, by his Excursions on Free-will and Predestination, and his many Glances upon History, Astronomy, Geography and the like, as well as by the Terms and Phrases he sometimes makes use of, that he was acquainted with the whole Circle of Arts and Sciences.
If, in the last place, we consider the Language of this great Poet, we must allow what I have hinted in a former Paper, that it is [often] too much laboured, and sometimes obscured by old Words, Transpositions, and Foreign Idioms. Seneca’s Objection to the Stile of a great Author, *Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ed placidum, nihil lene*, is what many Criticks make to Milton: as I cannot wholly refute it, so I have already apologized for it in another Paper; to which I may further add, that Milton’s Sentiments and Ideas were so wonderfully Sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have represented them in their full Strength and Beauty, without having recourse to these Foreign Assurances. Our Language sunk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of Soul, which furnished him with such glorious Conceptions.

A second Fault in his Language is, that he often affects a kind of Jingle in his Words, as in the following Passages, and many others:

*And brought into the World a World of woe.*

---*Begirt th’ Almighty Throne*

*Befeeching or besieging*---

*This tempted our attempt*---

*At one Slight bound high overleapt all bound.*

I know there are Figures of this kind of Speech, that some of the greatest Ancients have been guilty of it, and that Aristotle himself has given it a place in his Rhetorick among the Beauties of that Art. But as it is in itself poor and trifling, it is I think at present universally exploded by all the Masters of polite Writing.

The last Fault which I shall take notice of in Milton’s Stile, is the frequent use of what the Learned call *Technical Words*, or Terms of Art. It is one of the great Beauties of Poetry, to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse of itself in such easy Language as may be understood by ordinary Readers: Besides that the Knowledge of a Poet should rather seem born with him, or inspired, than
drawn from Books and Systems. I have often wondered how Mr. Dryden could translate a Passage of Virgil after the following manner.

_Tack to the Larboard, and stand off to Sea, Veer Star-board Sea and Land._

_Milton_ makes use of _Larboard_ in the same manner. When he is upon Building, he mentions _Doric Pillars, Pilasters, Cornice, Freeze, Architrave._ When he talks of Heavenly Bodies, you meet with _Ecliptick, and Eccentric, the trepidation, Stars dropping from the Zenith, Rays culminating from the Equator._ To which might be added many Instances of the like kind in several other Arts and Sciences.

_I shall in my next Saturday's* Paper [Papers] give an Account of the many particular Beauties in _Milton_, which would have been too long to insert under those general Heads I have already treated of, and with which I intend to conclude this Piece of Criticism._
Some choose the clearest Light,
And boldly challenge the most piercing Eye. Roscommon.

Saturday, February 16, 1712.

Have seen in the Works of a Modern Philosopher, a Map of the Spots in the Sun. My last Paper of the Faults and Blemishes in Milton's Paradise Lost, may be consider'd as a Piece of the same Nature. To pursue the Allusion: As it is observ'd, that among the bright parts of the Luminous Body above-mentioned, there are some which glow more intensely, and dart a stronger Light than others; so, notwithstanding I have already shewn Milton's Poem to be very beautiful in general, I shall now proceed to take notice of such Beauties as appear to me more exquisite than the rest. Milton has proposed the Subject of his Poem in the following Verses,

Of Mans first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought Death into the World and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, 'till one greater Man
Reslove us, and regain the blissful Seat,
Sing Heav'nly Muse—

These Lines are perhaps as plain, simple and unadorned as any of the whole Poem, in which particular the Author has conform'd himself to the Example of Homer, and the Precept of Horace.

His Invocation to a Work which turns in a great
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measure upon the Creation of the World, is very properly made to the Muse who inspired Moses in those Books from whence our Author drew his Subject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first Production of Nature. This whole Exordium rises very happily into noble Language and Sentiment, as I think the Transition to the Fable is exquisitely beautiful and natural.

The nine Days Astonishment, in which the Angels lay entranced after their dreadful Overthrow and Fall from Heaven, before they could recover either the use of Thought or Speech, is a noble Circumstance, and very finely imagined. The Division of Hell into Seas of Fire, and into firm Ground impregnated with the same furious Element, with that particular Circumstance of the exclusion of Hope from those Infernal Regions, are Instances of the same great and fruitful Invention.

The Thoughts in the first Speech and Description of Satan, who is one of the principal Actors in this Poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full Idea of him. His Pride, Envy and Revenge, Obstnacy, Despair and Impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven. In short, his first Speech is a Complication of all those Passions which discover themselves separately in several other of his Speeches in the Poem. The whole part of this great Enemy of Mankind is filled with such Incidents as are very apt to raise and terrifie the Reader's Imagination. Of this Nature, in the Book now before us, is his being the first that awakens out of the general Trance, with his Posture on the burning Lake, his rising from it, and the Description of his Shield and Spear.

Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate,
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blazed, his other parts beside
Prone on the Flood, extended long and large,
Lay floating many a rood—
Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty Stature; on each hand the flames
Driv'n backwards slope their pointing Spires, and rowl'
In Billows, leave it the midst a horrid vale.
Then with expanded wings he fleers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky Air
That felt unusual weight——
———His ponderous Shield
Ethereal temper, maffie, large and round
Behind him cast; the broad circumference
Hung on his Shoulders like the Moon, whose orb
Thro' Optick Glafs the Tuscan Artifs view
At Ev'ning from the top of Fefole,
Or in Valdarno to defcry new Lands,
Rivers or Mountains on her spotty Globe.
His Spear to equal which the tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian Hills to be the Mast
Of some great Amiral, were but a wand
He walk'd with to support uneasie Steps
Over the burning Marl——

To which we may add his Call to the fallen Angels
that lay plunged and stupified in the Sea of Fire.

He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell refounded——

But there is no single Passage in the whole Poem
worked up to a greater Sublimity, than that wherein
his Person is described in those celebrated Lines:

——— He, above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a Tower, &c.

His Sentiments are every way answerable to his Cha-
acter, and are* suitable to a created Being of the most
exalted and most depraved Nature. Such is that in
which he takes Possession of his Place of Torments.
Hail Horrors, hail
Infernal World, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor, one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time.

And afterwards,

Here at least
We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure, and in my choice
To reign is worth ambition, tho' in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.

Amidst those Impieties which this Enraged Spirit utters in other Places of the Poem, the Author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a Religious Reader; his Words, as the Poet himself describes them, bearing only a semblance of Worth, not Substance. He is likewise with great Art described as owning his Adversary to be Almighty. Whatever perverse Interpretation he puts on the Justice, Mercy, and other Attributes of the Supreme Being, he frequently confesses his Omnipotence, that being the Perfection he was forced to allow him, and the only Consideration which could support his Pride under the Shame of his Defeat.

Nor must I here omit that beautiful Circumstance of his bursting out in Tears, upon his Survey of those innumerable Spirits whom he had involved in the fame Guilt and Ruin with himself.

He now prepared
To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
With all his Peers: Attention held them mute.
Thrice he assay'd, and thrice in spite of Scorn
Tears such as Angels weep, burst forth——

The Catalogue of Evil Spirits has a great deal [Abundance] of Learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of
Poetry, which rises in a great measure from his describing the Places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of Rivers so frequent among the Ancient Poets. The Author had doubtless in this place Homer's Catalogue of Ships, and Virgil's Lift of Warriors in his view. The Characters of Moloch and Belial prepare the Reader's Mind for their respective Speeches and Behaviour in the second and sixth Book. The Account of Thammuz is finely Romantick, and suitable to what we read among the Ancients of the Worship which was paid to that Idol.


Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual Wound in Lebanon allur'd
The Syrian Damsels to lament his fate,
In am'rous Ditties all a Summer's day,
While smooth Adonis from his native Rock
Ran purple to the Sea, suppos'd with Blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the Love-tale
Infected Sion's Daughters with like Heat,
Whose wanton Passions in the sacred Porch
Ezekiel saw, when by the Vision led
His Eye survey'd the dark Idolatries
Of alienated Judah.

The Reader will pardon me if I insert as a Note on this beautiful Passage, the Account given us by the late ingenious Mr. Maundrell of this Antient Piece of Worship, and probably the first Occasion of such a Superstition. 'We came to a fair large River . . . . 'doubtless the Antient River Adonis, so famous for the Idolatrous Rites perform'd here in Lamentation of 'Adonis. We had the Fortune to see what may be 'suppos'd to be the Occasion of that Opinion which 'Lucian relates, concerning this River, viz. That this 'Stream, at certain Seasons of the Year, especially about

† This passage was added in the author's life-time, but subsequent to the second edition. The earliest issue with it in that I have seen, is Notes upon the Twelve Books of 'Paradise Lost.' London 1719. p. 43.
the Feast of *Adonis*, is of a bloody Colour; which the Heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of Sympathy in the River for the Death of *Adonis*, who was killed by a wild Boar in the Mountains, out of which this Stream rises. Something like this we saw actually come to pass; for the Water was stain’d to a surprising redness; and, as we observed in Travelling, had discolor’d the Sea a great way into a reddish Hue, occasion’d doubtless by a sort of Minium, or red Earth, washed into the River by the violence of the Rain, and not by any stain from *Adonis’s* Blood.)

The Passage in the Catalogue, explaining the manner how Spirits transform themselves by Contraction, or Enlargement of their Dimensions, is introduced with great Judgement, to make way for several surprizing Accidents in the Sequel of the Poem. There follows one, at the very End of the First Book, which is what the French Critics call Marvellous, but at the same time probable by reason of the Passage last mentioned. As soon as the Infernal Palace is smimed, we are told the Multitude and Rabble of Spirits immediately shrunk themselves into a small Compass, that there might be Room for such a numberless Assembly in this capacious Hall. But it is the Poet’s Refinement upon this Thought, which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in its self. For he tells us, that notwithstanding the vulgar, among the fallen Spirits, contracted their Forms, those of the first Rank and Dignity still preserved their natural Dimensions.

*Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest Forms
Reduc’d their Shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without Number still amidst the Hall
Of that infernal Court. But far within,
And in their own Dimensions like themselves,
The Great Seraphick Lords and Cherubim,
In close recesss and Secret conclave sate,
A thousand Demy Gods on Golden Seats,
Frequent and full———*
The Character of Mammon, and the Description of the Pandemonium, are full of Beauties.

There are several other Strokes in the First Book wonderfully poetical, and Instances of that Sublime Genius so peculiar to the Author. Such is the Description of Azazel’s Stature, and of the Infernal Standard, which he unfurls; and [as also] of that ghastly Light, by which the Fiends appear to one another in their Place of Torments.

*The Seat of Desolation, void of Light,*

*Save what the glimmering of those livid Flames Casts pale and dreadful—*

*The Shout of the whole Host of fallen Angels when drawn up in Battle Array:*

——*The Universal Host up sent*  
*A Shout that tore Hells Concave, and beyond Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.*

*The Review, which the Leader makes of his Infernal Army:*

———*He thro’ the armed files*  
*Darts his experienc’d eye, and soon traverse The whole Battalion views, their order due, Their Vizages and Stature as of Gods, Their number laft he sums. And now his Heart Diflends with Pride, and hard’ning in his strength Glories———*

*The Flash of Light, which appeared upon the drawing of their Swords;*

*He spake; and to confirm his words outflew Millions of flaming Swords, drawn from the Thighs Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze Far round illumin’d Hell———*

*The sudden Production of the Pandemonium;*

*Anon out of the Earth a Fabrick huge Rose like an Exhalation, with the Sound Of dulcet Symphonies and Voices sweet. The Artificial Illuminations made in it,*
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From the arched Roof
Pendent by subtle Magick, many a Row
Of Starry Lamps and blazing Crefcets, fed
With Naptha and Afphaltus yielded Light
As from a Sky——

There are also several noble Similies and Allusions in the first Book of Paradise Lost. And here I must observe, that when Milton alludes either to Things or Persons, he never quits his Simile till it rises to some very great Idea, which is often foreign to the Occasion which [that] gave Birth to it. The Refemblance does not, perhaps, last above a Line or two, but the Poet runs on with the Hint, till he has raised out of it some glorious Image or Sentiment, proper to inflame the Mind of the Reader, and to give it that sublime kind of Entertainment, which is suitable to the Nature of an Heroic Poem. Those, who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of Writing, cannot but be pleased with this kind of Structure in Milton's Similitudes. I am the more particular on this Head, because ignorant Readers, who have formed their Taste upon the quaint Similies, and little Turns of Wit, which are so much in Vogue among Modern Poets, cannot relish these Beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to censure Milton's Comparifons, in which they do not see any surprizing Points of Likeness. Monsieur Perrault was a Man of this viciated Relish, and for that very Reason has endeavoured to turn into Ridicule several of Homer's Similitudes, which he calls Comparaisons à longue queue, Long-tail'd Comparifons. I shall conclude this Paper on the First Book of Milton with the Answer which Monsieur Boileau makes to Perrault on this Occasion; 'Comparifons, says he, in Odes and Epic Poems are not introduced only to illustrate and embellish the Diffcourfe, but to amufe and relax the Mind of the Reader, by frequently difengaging him from too 'painful an Attention to the principal Subject, and
leading him into other agreeable Images. Ho-

other, says he, excelled in this Particular, whose Com-

parisons abound with such Images of Nature as are

'proper to relieve and diversifie his Subjects. He

'continually instructs the Reader, and makes him

'take notice, even in Objects which are every Day

'before our Eyes, of such Circumstances as we shoud

'not otherwise have observed. To this he adds, as a

'Maxim universally acknowledged, that it is not neces-

'sary in Poetry for the Points of the Comparison to

'correspond with one another exactly, but that a

'general Resemblance is sufficient, and that too much

'nicety in this Particular favours of the Rhetorician

'and Epigrammatift.'

In short, if we look into the Conduct of Homer,

Virgil and Milton, as the great Fable is the Soul of

each Poem, so to give their Works an agreeable

Variety, their Episodes are so many short Fables, and

their Similies so many short Episodes; to which you

may add, if you please, that their Metaphors are so

many short Similies. If the Reader considers the

Comparisons in the First Book of Milton, of the Sun

in an Eclipfe, of the Sleeping Leviathan, of the Bees

swarming about their Hive, of the Fairy Dance, in the

view wherein I have here placed them, he will eafily

discover the great Beauties that are in each of thofe

Passages.
Have before observed in general, that the Persons whom Milton introduces into his Poem always discover such Sentiments and Behaviour, as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective Characters. Every Circumstance in their Speeches and Actions, is with great justness and delicacy adapted to the Persons who speak and act. As the Poet very much excels in this Consistency of his Characters, I shall beg leave to consider several Passages of the Second Book in this Light. That superior Greatness and Mock-Majesty, which is ascribed to the Prince of the fallen Angels, is admirably preserved in the beginning of this Book. His opening and closing the Debate; his taking on himself that great Enterprize at the Thought of which the whole Infernal Assembly trembled; his encountering the hideous Phantom who guarded the Gates of Hell, and appeared to him in all his Terrors, are Instances of that proud and daring Mind which could not brook Submission even to Omnipotence.

Satan was now at hand, and from his Seat
The Monster moving onward came as fast
With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he images. *Ho-
Th*' undaunted Fiend what this might be whose Com-
Admir'd, not fear'd——

The same Boldness and Intrepidity of Behaviou. He
covers it self in the several Adventures which he meet in with during his Passage through the Regions of uniform'd Matter, and particularly in his Address to those tremendous Powers who are described as presiding over it.

The Part of *Moloch* is likewise in all its Circum-
stances full of that Fire and Fury, which distinguish this Spirit from the rest of the fallen Angels. He is described in the first Book as besmear'd with the Blood of Human Sacrifices, and delighted with the Tears of Parents, and the Cries of Children. In the second Book he is marked out as the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven; and if we consider the Figure which he makes in the Sixth Book, where the Battel of the Angels is described, we find it every way answer able to the same furious enraged Character.

Where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce Ensigns pierc'd the deep array
Of Moloc, furious King, who him defy'd,
And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound
Threaten'd, nor from the Holy one of Heav'n
Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon
Down cloven to the waste, with shatter'd arms
And uncouth pain fled bellowing.—

It may be worth while to observe, that *Milton* has represented this violent impetuous Spirit, who is hurried on by such precipitate Passions, as the first that rises in the Assembly, to give his Opinion upon their present Posture of Affairs. Accordingly he declares himself abruptly for War, and appears incensed at his Companions, for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his Sentiments are Rash, Audacious and Desperate. Such is that of arming themselves with their Tortures, and turning their Punishments upon him who inflicted them.
—No, let us rather chuse,
Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once
O'er Heavens high tow'rs to force resisfilefs way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Against the Torturer; when to meet the Noise
Of his almighty Engine he shall hear
Infernal Thunder, and for Lightning see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels; and his throne it self
Mixt with Tartarean Sulphur, and strange fire,
His own invented Tooments——

His preferring Annihilation to Shame or Misery, is
also highly suitable to his Character, as the Comfort
he draws from their disturbing the Peace of Heaven,
namely, that if it be not Victory it is Revenge, is a
Sentiment truly Diabolical, and becoming the Bitter-
ness of this implacable Spirit.

Belial is described, in the First Book, as the Idol of
the Lewd and Luxurious. He is in the Second Book,
puruant to that Description, characterized as timorous
and slothful; and if we look into the Sixth Book, we
find him celebrated in the Battel of Angels for nothing
but that Scoffing Speech which he makes to Satan,
on their supposed Advantage over the Enemy. As
his Appearance is uniform, and of a Piece, in these
three several Views, we find his Sentiments in the
Infernal Assembly every way conformable to his Cha-
racter. Such are his Apprehensions of a second Battel,
his Horrors of Annihilation, his preferring to be
miserable rather than not to be. I need not observe, that
the Contraft of Thought in this Speech, and that which
precedes it, gives an agreeable Variety to the Debate.

Mammon's Character is so fully drawn in the First
Book, that the Poet adds nothing to it in the Second.
We were before told, that he was the first who taught
Mankind to ranfack the Earth for Gold and Silver,
and that he was the Architect of Pandemonium, or
the Infernal Palace, where the Evil Spirits were to
meet in Council. His Speech in this Book is every way [where] suitable to so depraved a Character. How proper is that Reflection, of their being unable to taste the Happiness of Heaven were they actually there, in the Mouth of one, who while he was in Heaven, is said to have had his Mind dazed with the outward Poms and Glories of the Place, and to have been more intent on the Riches of the Pavement, than on the Beatific Vision. I shall also leave the Reader to judge how agreeable the following Sentiments are to the same Character.

———This deep world
Of Darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick cloud and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling Sire
Chuse to reside, his Glory unobscured,
And with the Majesty of darkness round
Covers his Throne; from whence deep thunders roar
Must ring their rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell?
As he our darkness, cannot we his light
Imitate when we please? This desart Soil
Wants not her hidden lustre, Gems and Gold;
Nor want we Skill or Art, from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heav'n shew more?

Beelzebub, who is reckon'd the second in Dignity that fell, and is in the First Book, the second that awakens out of the Trance, and confers with Satan upon the situation of their Affairs, maintains his Rank in the Book now before us. There is a wonderful Majesty described in his rising up to speak. He acts as a kind of Moderator between the two opposite Parties, and proposes a third Undertaking, which the whole Assembly gives into. The Motion he makes of detaching one of their Body in search of a new World is grounded upon a Project devised by Satan, and curiously proposed by him in the following Lines of the first Book.

Space may produce new Worlds, whereof so rise
There went a fame in Heav'n, that he e'er long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven:
Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere:
For this infernal Pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor th' Abyfs
Long under Darkness's cover. But these thoughts
Full Counself must mature:

It is on this Project that Beelzebub grounds his Proposal.

What if we find
Some easier enterprize? There is a place
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heav'n
Err not) another World, the happy Seat
Of some new Race call'd Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less
In power and excellence, but favoured more
Of him who rules above; so was his Will
Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,
That shou'd Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.

The Reader may observe how just it was, not to omit in the First Book the Project upon which the whole Poem turns: As also that the Prince of the fall'n Angels was the only proper Person to give it Birth, and that the next to him in Dignity was the fittest to second and support it.

There is besides, I think, something wonderfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the Reader's Imagination, in this ancient Prophecy or Report in Heaven, concerning the Creation of Man. Nothing could shew more the Dignity of the Species, than this Tradition which ran of them before their Existence. They are represented to have been the Talk of Heaven, before they were created. Virgil, in compliment to the Roman Common-Wealth, makes the Heroes of it appear in their State of Pre-existence; But Milton does a far greater Honour to Mankind in general, as he gives us a Glimpse of them even before they are in Being.
The rising of this great Assembly is described in a very Sublime and Poetical manner.

Their rising all at once was as the sound
Of Thunder heard remote——

The Diversions of the fallen Angels, with the particular Account of their Place of Habitation, are described with great Pregnancy of Thought, and Copiousness of Invention. The Diversions are every way suitable to Beings who had nothing left them but Strength and Knowledge misapplied. Such are their Contents at the Race, and in Feats of Arms, with their Entertainment in the following Lines.

Others with vast Typhæan Rage more fell
Rend up both Rocks and Hills, and ride the Air
In Whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.

Their Musick is employed in celebrating their own criminal Exploits, and their Discourse in founding the unfathomable Depths of Fate, Free-will, and Foreknowledge.

The several Circumstances in the Description of Hell are very finely imagined; as the four Rivers which disgorge themselves into the Sea of Fire, the Extrems of Cold and Heat, and the River of Oblivion. The monstrous Animals produced in that infernal World are represented by a single Line, which gives us a more horrid Idea of them, than a much longer Description would have done.

———Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worfe
Than Fables yet have feign’d, or fear conceiv’d,
Gorgons, and Hydra’s, and Chimera’s dire.

This Episode of the fallen Spirits, and their Place of Habitation, comes in very happily to unbend the Mind of the Reader from its Attention to the Debate. An ordinary Poet would indeed have spun out so many
Circumstances to a great Length, and by that means have weakened, instead of illustrated, the principal Fable. The Flight of Satan to the Gates of Hell is finely imaged.

I have already declared my Opinion of the Allegory concerning Sin and Death, which is however a very finished Piece in its kind, when it is not considered as a Part of an Epic Poem. The Genealogy of the several Persons is contrived with great Delicacy. Sin is the Daughter of Satan, and Death the Offspring of Sin. The incestuous Mixture between Sin and Death produces those Monsters and Hell-hounds which from time to time enter into their Mother, and tear the Bowels of her who gave them Birth. These are the Terrors of an evil Conscience, and the proper Fruits of Sin, which naturally rise from the Apprehensions of Death. This last beautiful Moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the Speech of Sin, where complaining of this her dreadful Issue, she adds,

Before mine eyes in opposition fits,
Grim Death thy Son and foe, who sets them on.
And me his Parent would full soon devour
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His end with mine involv'd——

I need not mention to the Reader the beautiful Circumstance in the last Part of this Quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three Persons concerned in this Allegory are tempted by one common Interest to enter into a Confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the Portrefs of Hell, and the only Being that can open the Gates to that World of Tortures. The descriptive Part of this Allegory is likewise very strong, and full of Sublime Ideas. The Figure of Death, [the Regal Crown upon his Head,] his Menace to Satan, his advancing to the Combat, the Outcry at his Birth, are Circumstances too noble to be past over in Silence, and extremly suitable to this King of Terrors. I need not mention the Justness of Thought which is observed in the Generation of these
several Symbolical Persons; that Sin was produced upon the first Revolt of Satan, that Death appeared soon after he was cast into Hell, and that the Terrors of Conscience were conceived at the Gate of this Place of Torments. The Description of the Gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton's Spirit.

———On a sudden open fly
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound
Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh Thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
Of Erebus. She open'd, but to shut
Excell'd her Power; the Gates wide open flood,
That with extended wings a banner'd Host
Under spread Ensigns marching might pass through
With Horse and Chariots rank'd in loose array;
So wide they flood, and like a furnace mouth
Cast forth redounding smoak and ruddy flame.

In Satan's Voyage through the Chaos there are several Imaginary Persons described, as residing in that immense Waste of Matter. This may perhaps be conformable to the Taste of those Critics who are pleased with nothing in a Poet which has not Life and Manners ascribed to it; but for my own part, I am pleased most with those Passages in this Description which carry in them a greater Measure of Probability, and are such as might possibly have happened. Of this kind is his first mounting in the Smoak that rises from the infernal Pit: his falling into a Cloud of Nitre, and the like combustible Materials, that by their Explosion still hurried him forward in his Voyage; his springing upward like a Pyramid of Fire, with his laborious Passage through that Confusion of Elements, which the Poet calls

The Womb of Nature and perhaps her Grave.

The Glimmering Light which shot into the Chaos from the utmost Verge of the Creation, with the distant Discovery of the Earth that hung close by the Moon, are wonderfully beautiful and poetical.
The SPECTATOR.

Nec deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit—

{Never presume to make a God appear,
But for a Business worthy of a God. Roscommon.}

Saturday, March 1, 1712.

ORACE advises a Poet to consider thoroughly the Nature and Force of his Genius. Milton seems to have known, perfectly well, wherein his Strength lay, and has therefore chosen a Subject entirely conformable to those Talents, of which he was Master. As his Genius was wonderfully turned to the Sublime, his Subject is the noblest that could have entered into the Thoughts of Man. Every thing that is truly great and astonishing, has a place in it. The whole System of the intellectual World; the Chaos, and the Creation; Heaven, Earth and Hell; enter into the Constitution of his Poem.

Having in the First and Second Book represented the Infernal World with all its Horrors, the Thread of his Fable naturally leads him into the opposite Regions of Bliss and Glory.

If Milton's Majesty forsakes him any where, it is in those Parts of his Poem, where the Divine Persons are introduced as Speakers. One may, I think, observe that the Author proceeds with a kind of Fear and Trembling, whilst he describes the Sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his Imagination its full Play, but chooses to confine himself to such Thoughts as are drawn from the Books of the most Orthodox Divines, and to such Expressions as may be met with
CRITICISM OF BOOK III.

The Beauties, therefore, which we are to look for in these Speeches, are not of a Poetical nature, or so proper to fill the mind with Sentiments of Grandeur, as with Thoughts of Devotion. The Passions, which they are designed to raise, are a Divine Love and Religious Fear. The particular Beauty of the Speeches in the Third Book, consists in that Shortness and Perpendicularity of Stile, in which the Poet has couched the greatest Mysteries of Christianity, and drawn together, in a regular Scheme, the whole Dispensation of Providence, with respect to Man. He has represented all the abstruse Doctrines of Predestination, Free-will and Grace, as also the great Points of Incarnation and Redemption, (which naturally grow up in a Poem that treats of the Fall of Man,) with great Energy of Expression, and in a clearer and stronger Light than I ever met with in any other Writer. As these Points are dry in themselves to the generality of Readers, the concise and clear manner in which he has treated them, is very much to be admired, as is likewise that particular Art which he has made use of in the interpersing of all those Graces of Poetry, which the Subject was capable of receiving.

The Survey of the whole Creation, and of every thing that is transacted in it, is a Prospect worthy of Omniscience; and as much above that, in which Virgil has drawn his Jupiter, as the Christian Idea of the Supreme Being is more rational and Sublime than that of the Heathens. The particular Objects on which he is described to have cast his Eye, are represented in the most beautiful and lively manner.

Now had th' Almighty Father from above,  
From the pure Empyrean where he sits  
High thr'd above all height, bent down his Eye,  
His own Works and their Works at once to view.  
About him all the Sanctities of Heav'n  
Stood thick as Stars, and from his Sight receiv'd
Beatitude past utterance: On his right
The radiant image of his Glory fat,
His only Son; On earth he first beheld
Our two first Parents, yet the only two
Of Mankind, in the happy garden plac’d,
Reaping immortal fruits of Joy and Love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrival’d love,
In blissful Solitude; he then survey’d
Hell and the Gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the Wall of Heav’n on this side night
In the dun air sublime, and ready now
To stoop with wearied wings, and willing feet
On the bare outside of this world, that seem’d
Firm land impos’d without firmament,
Uncertain which, in Ocean or in Air.
Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future he beholds,
Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.

Satan’s Approach to the Confines of the Creation,
is finely imaged in the beginning of the Speech,
which immediately follows. The Effects of this Speech
in the blessed Spirits, and in the Divine Person, to whom
it was addressed, cannot but fill the Mind of the Reader
with a secret Pleasure and Complacency.

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill’d
All Heav’n, and in the blessed Spirits elect
Sense of new Joy ineffable diffus’d:
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious, in him all his Father shone
Substantially express’d; and in his face
Divine Compassion visibly appear’d,
Love without end, and without measure Grace.

I need not point out the Beauty of that Circumstance,
wherein the whole Host of Angels are represented as
standing Mute; nor shew how proper the Occasion
was to produce such a Silence in Heaven. The Close
of this Divine Colloquy, with the Hymn of Angels
CRITICISM OF BOOK III.

that follows upon it, are so wonderfully beautiful and poetical, that I should not forbear inserting the whole Passage, if the bounds of my Paper would give me leave.

No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, but all
'The multitude of Angels with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest Voices, uttering Joy, Heav'n rung
With Jubilee, and loud Hosanna's fill'd
Th' eternal regions; &c. &c.—

Satan's Walk upon the Outside of the Universe, which, at a Distance, appeared to him of a globular Form, but, upon his nearer Approach, looked like an unbounded Plain, is natural and noble: As his roaming upon the Frontiers of the Creation, between that Mafs of Matter, which was wrought into a World, and that shapeless unform'd Heap of Materials, which still lay in Chaos and Confusion, strikes the Imagination with something astonishingly great and wild. I have before spoken of the Limbo of Vanity, which the Poet places upon this outermost Surface of the Universe, and shall here explain myself more at large on that, and other Parts of the Poem, which are of the same Shadowy nature.

Aristotle observes, that the Fable of an Epic Poem should abound in Circumstances that are both credible and astonishing; or as the French Critics chuse to phrase it, the Fable should be filled with the Probable and the Marvellous. This Rule is as fine and just as any in Aristotle's whole Art of Poetry.

If the Fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true History; if it is only Marvellous, it is no better than a Romance. The great Secret therefore of Heroic Poetry is to relate such Circumstances, as may produce in the Reader at the same time both Belief and Astonishment. This often happens [is brought to pass] in a well chozen Fable, by the Account of such things as have really happened, or at least of such things as have
happen'd, according to the received Opinions of Mankind. Milton's Fable is a Master-piece of this Nature; as the War in Heaven, the Condition of the fallen Angels, the State of Innocence, the Temptation of the Serpent, and the Fall of Man, though they are very astonishing in themselves, are not only credible, but actual Points of Faith.

The next Method of reconciling Miracles with Credibility, is by a happy Invention of the Poet; as in particular, when he introduces Agents of a superior Nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful, and what is not to be met with in the ordinary course of things. Ulysses's Ship being turned into a Rock, and Æneas's Fleet into a Shoal of Water Nymphs, though they are very surprising Accidents, are nevertheless probable, when we are told that they were the Gods who thus transformed them. It is this kind of Machinery which fills the Poems both of Homer and Virgil with such Circumstances as are wonderful, but not impossible, and so frequently produce in the Reader the most pleasing Passion that can rise in the Mind of Man, which is Admiration. If there be any Instance in the Æneid liable to Exception upon this Account, it is in the beginning of the third Book, where Æneas is represented as tearing up the Myrtle that dropped Blood. To qualify this wonderful Circumstance, Polydorus tells a Story from the Root of the Myrtle, that the barbarous inhabitants of the Country having pierced him with Spears and Arrows, the Wood which was left in his Body took Root in his Wounds, and gave birth to that bleeding Tree. This Circumstance seems to have the Marvellous without the Probable, because it is represented as proceeding from Natural Causes, without the Interposition of any God, or rather Supernatural Power capable of producing it. The Spears and Arrows grow of themselves, without so much as the Modern help of an Enchantment. If we look into the Fiction of Milton's Fable, though we find it full of surprising Incidents,
they are generally suited to our Notions of the Things and Persons described, and temper’d with a due measure of Probability. I must only make an Exception to the Lymbo of Vanity, with his Episode of Sin and Death, and some of the imaginary Persons in his Chaos. These Passages are astonishing, but not credible; the Reader cannot so far impose upon himself as to see a Possibility in them; they are the Description of Dreams and Shadows, not of Things or Persons. I know that many Critics look upon the Stories of Circe, Polypheme, the Sirens, nay the whole Odyssey and Iliad, to be Allegories; but allowing this to be true, they are Fables, which considering the Opinions of Mankind that prevailed in the Age of the Poet, might possibly have been according to the Letter. The Persons are such as might have acted what is ascribed to them, as the Circumstances in which they are represented, might possibly have been Truths and Realities. This appearance of Probability is so absolutely requisite in the greater kinds of Poetry, that Aristotle observes the Ancient Tragick Writers made use of the Names of such great Men as had actually lived in the World, tho’ the Tragedy proceeded upon such Adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the Subject more Credible. In a Word, besides the hidden Meaning of an Epic Allegory, the plain literal Sense ought to appear probable. The Story should be such as an ordinary Reader may acquiesce in, whatever Natural Moral or Political Truth may be discovered in it by Men of greater Penetration.

Satan, after having long wandered upon the Surface, or outmost Wall of the Universe, discovers at last a wide Gap in it, which led into the Creation, and which is described as the Opening through which the Angels pass to and fro into the lower World, upon their Errands to Mankind. His Sitting upon the brink of this Passage, and taking a Survey of the whole Face of Nature that appeared to him new and fresh in all its
Beauties, with the Simile illustrating this Circumstance, fills the Mind of the Reader with as surprizing and glorious an Idea as any that arises in the whole Poem. He looks down into that vast hollow of the Universe with the Eye, or (as Milton calls it in his first Book) with the Kenn of an Angel. He surveys all the Wonders in this immense Amphitheatre that lie between both the Poles of Heaven, and takes in at one View the whole Round of the Creation.

His Flight between the several Worlds that shined on every side of him, with the particular Description of the Sun, are set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant Imagination. His Shape, Speech and Behaviour upon his transforming himself into an Angel of Light, are touched with exquisite Beauty. The Poet's Thought of directing Satan to the Sun, which in the Vulgar Opinion of Mankind is the most conspicuous Part of the Creation, and the placing in it an Angel, is a Circumstance very finely contriv'd, and the more adjusted to a Poetical Probability, as it was a receiv'd Doctrine among the most famous Philosophers, that every Orb had its Intelligence; and as an Apostle in Sacred Writ is said to have seen such an Angel in the Sun. In the Answer which this Angel returns to the disguised Evil Spirit, there is such a becoming Majesty as is altogether suitable to a Superior Being. The part of it in which he represents himself as present at the Creation, is very noble in itself, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requisite to prepare the Reader for what follows in the Seventh Book.

\[\text{I saw when at his word the formless Mafs,}\]
\[\text{This worlds material mould, came to a heap:}\]
\[\text{Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar}\]
\[\text{Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd;}\]
\[\text{Till at his second bidding darkness fled,}\]
\[\text{Light shon, &c.}\]

In the following part of the Speech he points out the Earth with such Circumstances, that the Reader
can scarce forbear fancying himself employ'd on the same distant view of it.

*Look downward on that Globe, whose hither side With light from hence, tho but reflected, shines; That place is Earth, the Seat of man, that light His day, &c.*

I must not conclude my Reflections upon this Third Book of *Paradise Lost*, without taking notice of that celebrated Complaint of *Milton* with which it opens, and which certainly deserves all the Praisings that have been given it; tho' as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as an Excrecence, than as an essential Part of the Poem. The same Observation might be applied to that beautiful Digression upon Hypocrisie, in the same Book.
HOSE, who know how many Volumes have
been written on the Poems of Homer and
Virgil, will easily pardon the Length of my
Discourse upon Milton. The Paradise Lost
is look'd upon, by the best Judges, as the
greatest Production, or at least the noblest Work of
Genius, in our Language, and therefore deserves to be
set before an English Reader in its full Beauty. For
this Reason, tho' I have endeavoured to give a
general Idea of its Graces and Imperfections in my Six
First Papers, I thought my self obliged to bestow one upon
every Book in particular. The Three First Books I have
already dispatched, and am now entering upon the
Fourth. I need not acquaint my Reader, that there are
Multitudes of Beauties in this great Author, especially
in the Descriptive Parts of his Poem, which I have not
touched upon, it being my Intention to point out those
only, which appear to me the most exquisite, or those
which are not so obvious to ordinary Readers. Every
one that has read the Critick's, who have written upon the
Odyssey, the Iliad and the Æneid, knows very well, that
though they agree in their Opinions of the great Beau-
ties in those Poems, they have nevertheless each of them
discovered several Master-Strokes, which have escaped
the Observation of the rest. In the same manner, I
question not, but any Writer, who shall treat of this
Subject after me, may find several Beauties in Milton,
which I have not taken notice of. I must likewise ob-
serve, that as the greatest Masters of Critical Learning
differ from one another, as to some particular Points in
an Epic Poem, I have not bound myself scrupulously to
the Rules, which any one of them has laid down upon
that Art, but have taken the Liberty sometimes to join
with one, and sometimes with another, and sometimes
to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the
Reason of the thing was on my side.

We may consider the Beauties of the Fourth Book
under three Heads. In the First are those Pictures of
Still-Life, which we meet with in the Descriptions of Eden,
Paradise, Adam's Bower, &c. In the next are the
Machines, which comprehend the Speeches and Beha-
viour of the good and bad Angels. In the last is the
Conduct of Adam and Eve, who are the principal Actors
in the Poem.

In the Description of Paradise, the Poet has observed
Aristotle's Rule of lavishing all the Ornaments of Diction
on the weak unactive Parts of the Fable, which are not
supported by the Beauty of Sentiments and Characters.
Accordingly the Reader may observe, that the Expres-
sions are more florid and elaborate in these Descriptions,
than in most other Parts of the Poem. I must further
add, that tho' the Drawings of Gardens, Rivers,
Rainbows, and the like dead Pieces of Nature, are
justly censured in an Heroic Poem, when they run out
into an unnecessary length; the Description of Para-
dise would have been faulty, had not the Poet been very
particular in it, not only as it is the Scene of the prin-
cipal Action, but as it is requisite to give us an Idea of
that Happiness from which our first Parents fell. The
Plan of it is wonderfully beautiful, and formed upon the
short Sketch which we have of it, in Holy Writ. Milton's
Exuberance of Imagination, has pour'd forth such a
redundancy of Ornaments on this Seat of Happiness
and Innocence, that it would be endless to point out
each Particular.

I must not quit this Head, without further observing,
that there is scarce a Speech of Adam or Eve in the whole Poem, wherein the Sentiments and Allusions are not taken from this their delightful Habitation. The Reader, during their whole Course of Action, always finds himself in the Walks of Paradije. In short, as the Criticks have remarked, that in those Poems, wherein Shepherds are Actors, the Thoughts ought always to take a Tincture from the Woods, Fields, and Rivers; so we may observe, that our first Parents seldom lose Sight of their happy Station in any thing they speak or do; and, if the Reader will give me leave to use the Expression, that their Thoughts are always Paradisaical.

We are in the next place to consider the Machines of the Fourth Book. Satan being now within Prospect of Eden, and looking round upon the Glories of the Creation, is filled with Sentiments different from those which he discovered whilst he was in Hell. The Place inspires him with Thoughts more adapted to it: He reflects upon the happy Condition from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a Speech that is softened with several transient Touches of Remorse and Self-accusation: But at length he confirms himself in Impenitence, and in his design of drawing Man into his own State of Guilt and Misery. This Conflict of Passions is raised with a great deal of Art, as the opening of his Speech to the Sun is very bold and noble.

O thou that with surpassing Glory crown'd
Look'st from thy Sole Dominion like the God
Of this new World, at whose Sight all the Stars
Hide their diminifh'd heads, to thee I call
But with no Friendly Voice, and add thy name,
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance from what State
I fell, how glorious once above thy Sphere.

This Speech is, I think, the finest that is ascribed to Satan in the whole Poem. The Evil Spirit afterwards proceeds to make his Discoveries concerning
our first Parents, and to learn after what manner they may be best attacked. His bounding over the Walls of \textit{Paradise}; his sitting in the Shape of a Cormorant upon the Tree of Life, which stood in the Center of it, and over-topp'd all the other Trees of the Garden; his alighting among the Herd of Animals, which are so beautifully represented as playing about \textit{Adam} and \textit{Eve}, together with his transforming himself into different Shapes, in order to hear their Conversation; are Circumstances that give an agreeable Surprize to the Reader, and are devised with great Art, to connect that Series of Adventures in which the Poet has engaged this great Artificer of Fraud.

[The Thought of Satan's Transformation into a Cormorant, and placing himself on the Tree of Life, seems raised upon that Passage in the \textit{Iliad}, where two Deities are described, as perching on the Top of an Oak in the Shape of Vulturs.]

His planting himself at the Ear of \textit{Eve} in the shape [under the Form] of a Toad, in order to produce vain Dreams and Imaginations, is a Circumstance of the same Nature; as his starting up in his own Form is wonderfully fine, both in the Literal Description, and in the Moral which is concealed under it. His Answer upon his being discovered, and demanded to give an Account of himself, are [is] conformable to the Pride and Intrepidity of his Character.

\textit{Know ye not then, said Satan, fill'd with Scorn,}
\textit{Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate}
\textit{For you, sitting where you durst not foare;}
\textit{Not to know me argues your-felves unknown,}
\textit{The lowest of your throng;—}

Zephon's Rebuff, with the Influence it had on Satan, is exquisitely Graceful and Moral. Satan is afterwards led away to \textit{Gabriel}, the chief of the Guardian Angels, who kept watch in \textit{Paradise}. His disdainful Behaviour on this occasion is so remarkable a Beauty, that the most ordinary Reader cannot but take notice of it.
Gabriel’s discovering his approach at a distance, is drawn with great strength and liveliness of Imagination.

_O Friends, I hear the tread of nimble Feet_  
_Hastening this way, and now by glimps discern_  
_Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade;_  
_And with them comes a third of Regal Port,_  
_But faded splendor wan; who by his gait_  
_And fierce demeanour seems the Prince of Hell,_  
_Not likely to part hence without contest;_  
_Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours._

The Conference between Gabriel and Satan abounds with Sentiments proper for the Occasion, and suitable to the Persons of the two Speakers. Satan’s cloathing himself with Terror when he prepares for the Combat is truly sublime, and at least equal to Homer’s Description of Discord celebrated by Longinus, or to that of Fame in Virgil, who are both represented with their Feet standing upon the Earth, and their Heads reaching above the Clouds.

While thus he spake, th’ Angelic Squadron bright  
Turn’d fiery red, sharpening in mooed Horns  
Their Phalanx, and began to hem him round  
With ported Spears, &c.

———On th’ other Side, Satan alarm’d,  
Collecting all his might dilated flood  
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov’d.  
His Stature reach’d the Sky, and on his Crest  
Sat horror plum’d;———

I must here take notice, that Milton is everywhere full of Hints, and sometimes literal Translations, taken from the greatest of the Greek and Latin Poets. But this I shall [may] reserve for a Discourse by itself, because I would not break the Thread of these Speculations that are designed for English Readers, with such Reflections as would be of no use but to the Learned.

I must however observe in this Place, that the breaking off the Combat between Gabriel and Satan, by the
So hanging out of the Golden Scales in Heaven, is a Refinement upon Homer's Thought, who tells us, that before the Battel between Hector and Achilles, Jupiter weighed the Event of it in a pair of Scales. The Reader may see the whole Passage in the 22d Iliad.

Virgil, before the last decisive Combat, describes Jupiter in the same manner, as weighing the Fates of Turnus and Æneas. Milton, though he fetched this beautiful Circumstance from the Iliad and Æneid, does not only insert it as a Poetical Embellishment, like the Authors above-mentioned; but makes an artful use of it for the proper carrying on of his Fable, and for the breaking off the Combat between the two Warriors, who were upon the point of engaging. [To this we may further add, that Milton is the more justified in this Passage, as we find the same noble Allegory in Holy Writ, where a wicked Prince, {some few Hours before he was assaulted and slain,} is said to have been weigh'd in the Scales and to have been found wanting.]

I must here take Notice under the Head of the Machines, that Uriel's gliding down to the Earth upon a Sun-beam, with the Poet's Device to make him descend, as well in his return to the Sun, as in his coming from it, is a Prettiness that might have been admired in a little fanciful Poet, but seems below the Genius of Milton. The Description of the Host of armed Angels walking their nightly Round in Paradise, is of another Spirit.

So saying, on he led his radiant files,
Dazling the Moon;——

As that Account of the Hymns which our first Parents used to hear them Sing in these their Midnight Walks, is altogether Divine, and inexpressibly amusing to the Imagination.

We are, in the last place, to consider the Parts which Adam and Eve act in the Fourth Book. The Description of them as they first appear'd to Satan, is
exquisitely drawn, and sufficient to make the fallen Angel gaze upon them with all that Astonishment, and those Emotions of Envy, in which he is represented.

Two of far nobler Shape erect and tall
God-like erect, with native honour clad
In naked majesty seem'd lords of all,
And worthy seem'd, for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker shin'd,
Truth, Wisdom, Sanctitude severe and pure;
Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd:
For contemplation he and valour form'd,
For softness she and sweet attractive Grace;
He for God only, she for God in him:
His fair large front, and eye sublime declar'd
Absolute rule, and Hyacinthin Locks
Round from his parted forelock many hung
Cluster'd, but not beneath his Shoulders broad:
She as a Vail down to her slender waist
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Dishevel'd, but in wanton ringlets wave'd.
So pass'd they naked on, nor shun'd the Sight
Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill:
So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair
That ever since in loves embraces met.

There is a fine Spirit of Poetry in the Lines which follow, wherein they are describ'd as sitting on a Bed of Flowers by the side of a Fountain, amidst a mixed Assembly of Animals.

The Speeches of these two first Lovers flow equally from Passion and Sincerity. The Professions they make to one another are full of Warmth; but at the same time founded on Truth. In a Word, they are the Gallantries of Paradise.

When Adam first of Men—
Sole Partner and sole part of all these joys,
Dearer thy self than all;—
But let us ever praise him, and extol
His bounty, following our delightful task,
To prune those growing plants, and tend these flowers,  
Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.  
To whom thus Eve repli'd: O thou for whom  
And from whom I was form'd, flesh of thy flesh,  
And without whom am to no end, my Guide  
And head, what thou hast said is just and right.  
For we to him indeed all praises owe,  
And daily thanks, I chiefly who enjoy  
So far the happier Lot, enjoying thee  
Preeminent by so much odds, while thou  
Like comfort to thy self canst no where find, &c.

The remaining part of Eve's Speech, in which she  
gives an Account of her self upon her first Creation,  
and the manner in which she was brought to Adam,  
is I think as beautiful a Passage as any in Milton, or  
perhaps in any other Poet whatsoever. These Passages  
are all work'd off with so much Art, that they are  
capable of pleasing the most delicate Reader, without  
offending the most severe.

That day I oft remember, when from Sleep, &c.

A Poet of less Judgment and Invention than this  
great Author, would have found it very difficult to have  
filled those [these] tender parts of the Poem with Sentiments proper for a State of Innocence; to have described the warmth of Love, and the Professions of it, without Artifice or Hyperbole; to have made the Man speak the most endearing things, without descending from his natural Dignity, and the Woman receiving them without departing from the Modesty of her Character; in a word, to adjust the Prerogatives of Wisdom and Beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper Force and Loveliness. This mutual Subordination of the two Sexes is wonderfully kept up in the whole Poem, as particularly in the Speech of Eve I have before-mentioned, and upon the Conclusion of it in the following Lines:—

So spake our general Mother, and with eyes  
Of Conjugal attraction unreprov'd,
And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd
On our first father, half her swelling breast
Naked met his under the flowing Gold
Of her loose tresses hid; he in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive charms
Smil'd with Superior Love,—

The Poet adds, that the Devil turn'd away with
Envy at the sight of so much Happiness.

We have another View of our First Parents in their
Evening Discourses, which is full of pleasing Images
and Sentiments suitable to their Condition and Cha-
racters. The Speech of Eve, in particular, is dress'd
up in such a soft and natural Turn of Words and
Sentiments, as cannot be sufficiently admired.

I shall close my Reflections upon this Book, with
observing the Masterly Transition which the Poet makes
to their Evening Worship, in the following Lines:—

Thus at their shadie lodge arriv'd, both flood,
Both turn'd, and under open Sky ador'd
The God that made both Sky, Air, Earth and Heav'n,
Which they beheld, the Moons resplendent Globe,
And Starry Pole: Thou also mad'st the night,
Maker omnipotent and thou the Day, &c.

Most of the Modern Heroic Poets have imitated the
Ancients, in beginning a Speech without premising,
that the Person said thus or thus; but as it is easy to
imitate the Ancients in the Omission of two or three
Words, it requires Judgment to do it in such a man-
ner as they shall not be miss'd, and that the Speech
may begin naturally without them. There is a fine
Influence of this Kind out of Homer, in the Twenty-
Third Chapter of Longinus.
E were told in the foregoing Book how the Evil Spirit practisèd upon Eve as she lay asleep, in order to inspire her with Thoughts of Vanity, Pride and Ambition. The Author, who shews a wonderful Art throughout his whole Poem, in preparing the Reader for the several Occurrences that arise in it, founds upon the above-mentioned Circumstance the first part of the Fifth Book. Adam upon his awaking, finds Eve still asleep, with an unusual Discomposure in her Looks. The Posture in which he regards her, is described with a wonderful Tenderness [not to be expressed*], as the Whisper with which he awakens her, is the softest that ever was conveyed to a Lover's Ears

His wonder was to find unawaken'd Eve
With Tresses discompos'd and glowing cheek
As through unquiet rest: he on his side
Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beauty, which whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar Graces; then with voice
Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake
My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
Awake, the morning shines, and the fresh field

+ See Errata, at the end of No. 369, in the original issue.
Calls us, we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tended plants, how blows the Citron Grove,
What drops the Myrrhe, and what the balmie Reed,
How Nature paints her colours, how the Bee
Sits on the bloom, extracting liquid sweet.
Such whispring wak'd her, but with startled Eye,
On Adam, whom embracing thus she spake.
O Sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My Glory, my perfection, glad I see
Thy face, and morn return'd—

I cannot but take notice that Milton, in his Con-
ferences between Adam and Eve, had his Eye very
frequently upon the Book of Canticles, in which there
is a noble Spirit of Eastern Poetry, and very often
not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is gene-
 rally placed near the Age of Solomon. I think there
is no question but the Poet in the preceding Speech
remembred those two Passages which are spoken on
the like occasion, and fill'd with the same pleasing
Images of Nature.

My beloved spake, and said unto me, Rife up, my love,
my fair one, and come away; For lo, the winter is past,
the rain is over and gone; the Flowers appear on the
earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the
Voice of the Turtle is heard in our Land. The Fig-tree
putteth forth her green figs, and the Vines with the tender
grape give a good smell. Arife, my love, my fair one,
and come away.

Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the Field;
let us get up early to the Vineyards, let us see if the
Vine flourish, whether the tender Grape appear, and
the Pomegranates bud forth.

His preferring the Garden of Eden to that

— Where the Sapient King
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian Spouse,

shews that the Poet had this delightful Scene in his
Mind.
Eve's Dream is full of those high Conceits engendering Pride, which we are told the Devil endeavoured to infil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where she fancies her self awaken'd by Adam in the following beautiful Lines.

Why sleep'st thou, Eve? now is the pleasant time,  
The cool, the silent, saxe where silence yields  
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake  
Tunes sweetest his Love-labour'd song; now reigns  
Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light  
Shadowy jets off the face of things; in vain  
If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,  
Whom to behold but thee, Natures desire,  
In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment  
Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.

An injudicious Poet would have made Adam talk through the whole Work, in such Sentiments as this [thefe]. But Flattery and Falshood are not the Courtship of Milton's Adam, and cou'd not be heard by Eve in her State of Innocence, excepting only in a Dream produced on purpose to taint her Imagination. Other vain Sentiments of the fame kind in this relation of her Dream, will be obvious to every Reader. Tho' the Catastrophe of the Poem is finely prefaged on this occasion, the Particulars of it are so artfully shadow'd, that they do not anticipate the Story which follows in the Ninth Book. I fhall only add, that tho' the Vision it self is founded upon Truth, the Circumstances of it are full of that Wildness and Inconsistency which are natural to a Dream. Adam, confromable to his superior Character for Wisdom, instructs and comforts Eve upon this occasion.

So cheer'd he his fair Spoufe, and she was cheer'd,  
But silently a gentle tear let fall  
From either eye, and wiped them with her hair;  
Two other precious drops that ready flood,  
Each in their chrysfal fluice, he e'er they fell
Kis'd as the gracious Signs of sweet remorse
And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended.

The Morning Hymn is written in Imitation of one of those Psalms, where, in the Overflowings of his Gratitude and Praise, the Psalmist calls not only upon the Angels, but upon the most conspicuous parts of the inanimate Creation, to join with him in extolling their Common Maker. Invocations of this Nature fill the Mind with glorious Ideas of God's Works, and awaken that Divine Enthusiasm, which is so natural to Devotion. But if this calling upon the dead parts of Nature, is at all times a proper kind of Worship, it was in a particular manner suitable to our first Parents, who had the Creation fresh upon their Minds, and had not seen the various Dispensations of Providence, nor consequently could be acquainted with those many Topicks of Praise which might afford matter to the Devotions of their Posterity. I need not remark that* [thc] beautiful Spirit of Poetry which runs through this whole Hymn, nor the Holiness of that Resolution with which it concludes.

Having already mentioned those Speeches which are assigned to the Persons in this Poem, I proceed to the Description which the Poet gives us* of Raphael. His Departure from before the Throne, and his Flight thro' the Quirefs [Choirs] of Angels, is finely imaged. As Milton every where fills his Poem with Circumstances that are marvellous and astonishing, he describes the Gate of Heaven as framed after such a manner, that it open'd of it self upon the approach of the Angel who was to pass through it.

—'till at the gate
Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide,
On golden Hinges turning, as by work
Divine the Sovereign Architect had fram'd.

The Poet here seems to have regarded two or three Passages in the eighteenth Iliad, as that in particu-
lar where, speaking of *Vulcan*, *Homer* says, that he had made Twenty *Tripodes*, running on Golden Wheels, which, upon Occasion, might go of themselves to the Assembly of the Gods, and, when there was no more use for them, return again after the same manner. *Scaliger* has rallied *Homer* very severely upon this Point, as Monf. *Dacier* has endeavoured to defend it. I will not pretend to determine, whether in this Particular of *Homer*, the Marvellous does not lose sight of the Probable. As the miraculous Workmanship of *Milton's* Gates is not so extraordinary as this of the *Tripodes*, so I am perswaded he would not have mentioned it, had not he been supported in it by a Passage in the Scripture, which speaks of Wheels in Heaven that had Life in them, and moved of themselves, or stood still, in Conformity with the Cherubims, whom they accompanied.

There is no question but *Milton* had this Circumstance in his Thoughts, because in the following Book he describes the Chariot of the *Messiah* with living Wheels, according to the Plan in *Ezekiel's Vision*.

---

**Forth rush'd with whirlwind found**

*The Chariot of Paternal Deity,*

**Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,**

*It self instinct with Spirit*---

I question not but *Bosiu*, and the two *Daciers*, who are for vindicating every thing that is cenfured in *Homer*, by somthing Parallel in Holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting *Vulcan's Tripodes* with *Ezekiel's Wheels*.

*Raphael's* Descent to the Earth, with the Figure of his Person, is represented in very lively Colours. Several of the *French*, *Italian*, and *English* Poets have given a loose to their Imaginations in the Description of Angels: But I do not remember to have met with any, so finely drawn and so conformable to the Notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in *Milton*. After having set him forth in all his Heavenly Plumage,
and represented him as alighting upon the Earth, the Poet concludes his Description with a Circumstance, which is altogether new, and imagined with the greatest Strength of Fancy.

—Like Maia's Son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that Heavenly fragrance fill'd
The Circuit wide——

Raphael's Reception by the Guardian Angels; his passing through the Wildness of Sweets; his distant Appearance to Adam, have all the Graces that Poetry is capable of bestowing. The Author afterwards gives us a particular Description of Eve in her Domestick Employments.

So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent,
What choice to chuse for delicacy best,
What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
Tastes, not well joyn'd, inelegant, but bring
Taste after Taste, upheld with kindliest change;
Befers her then &c.——

Though in this, and other Parts of the same Book, the Subject is only the Housewifry of our First Parent, it is set off with so many pleasing Images and strong Expressions, as make it none of the least agreeable Parts in this Divine Work.

The natural Majesty of Adam, and at the same time his submissive Behaviour to the Superiour Being, who had vouchsafed to be his Guest; the solemn Hail which the Angel beffows on the Mother of Mankind, with the Figure of Eve ministring at the Table, are Circumstances which deserve to be admir'd. Raphael's Behaviour is every way fuitable to the dignity of his Nature, and to that Character of a sociable Spirit, with which the Author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received Instructions to converse with Adam, as one Friend converfes with another, and to warn him of the Enemy, who was contriving his Destruction: Accordingly he is repre-
sented as sitting down at Table with Adam, and eating of the Fruits of Paradise. The Occasion naturally leads him to his Discourse on the Food of Angels. After having thus entered into Conversation with Man upon more indifferent Subjects, he warns him of his Obedience, and makes a natural Transition to the History of that fallen Angel, who was employed in the Circumvention of our First Parents.

Had I followed Monsieur Bossu's Method in my First Paper on Milton, I should have dated the Action of Paradise Lost from the Beginning of Raphael's Speech in this Book, as he supposes the Action of the Aeneid to begin in the second Book of that Poem. I could allude many Reasons for my drawing the Action of the Aeneid, rather from its immediate Beginning in the first Book, than from its remote Beginning in the Second, and shew why I have considered the Sacking of Troy as an Episod, according to the common Acceptation of that Word. But as this would be a dry un-entertaining Piece of Criticism, and perhaps unnecessary to those who have read my First Paper, I shall not enlarge upon it. Which-ever of the Notions be true, the Unity of Milton's Action is preferred according to either of them; whether we consider the Fall of Man in its immediate Beginning, as proceeding from the Resolutions taken in the Infernal Council, or in its more remote Beginning, as proceeding from the First Revolt of the Angels in Heaven. The Occasion which Milton assigns for this Revolt, as it is founded on Hints in Holy Writ, and on the Opinion of some great Writers, so it was the most proper that the Poet could have made use of.

The Revolt in Heaven is described with great Force of Imagination [Indignation], and a fine Variety of Circumstances. The Learned Reader cannot but be pleased with the Poet's Imitation of Homer in the last of the following Lines.

\[\textit{At length into the limits of the North}
\textit{They came, and Satan took his Royal Seat}\]
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a Mount, with Pyramids and towers
From Diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of Gold
The palace of great Lucifer (so call
That structure in the Dialect of men
Interpreted)

Homer mentions Persons and Things, which he tells us in the Language of the Gods are call'd by different Names from those they go by in the Language of Men. Milton has imitated him with his usual Judgment in this particular place, wherein he has likewise the Authority of Scripture to justify him. The part of Abdiel, who was the only Spirit that in this Infinite Host of Angels preferred his Allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us a noble Moral of religious Singularity. The Zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a becoming Warmth of Sentiments and Expressions, as the Character which is given us of him denotes that generous Scorn and Intrepidity which attends Heroic Virtue. The Author, doubtless, designed it as a Pattern to those who live among Mankind in their present State of Degeneracy and Corruption.

So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found,
Among the faithles, faithful only he;
Among innumerable false, unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified;
His Loyalty he kept, his Love, his Zeal:
Nor Number, nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
Though Single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
Long way through hostile Scorn, which he sustaine'd
Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought;
And with retorted Scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud Towers to swift Destruction doom'd.
We are now entering upon the Sixth Book of Paradise Lost, in which the Poet describes the Battel of Angels; having raised his Reader's Expectation, and prepared him for it by several Passages in the preceding Books. I omitted quoting these Passages in my Observations on the former Books, having purposely reserved them for the opening of this, the Subject of which gave occasion to them. The Author's Imagination was so inflamed with this great Scene of Action, that wher-ever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his Poem.

——Him the Almighty Power

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie,
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In Adamantine Chains and penal fire,
Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.

We have likewise several noble Hints of it in the Infernal Conference.

O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers
That led th' imbattel'd Seraphim to War,
Too well I see and rue the dire event,
That with sad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low.
But see the angry victor hath recall'd
His Ministers of Vengeance and pursuit
Back to the Gates of Heav'n: The Sulphurous hail,
Shot after us in Storm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery Surge, that from the precipice
Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling, and the thunder
Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his Shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.

There are several other very Sublime Images on the
same Subject in the First Book, as also in the Second.

What when we fled amain, pursu'd and strook
With Heav'n's afflicting Thunder, and besought
The deep to shelter us; this Hell then seem'd
A refuge from those wounds——

In short, the Poet never mentions any thing of this
Battel but in such Images of Greatness and Terour, as
are suitable to the Subject. Among several others, I
cannot forbear quoting that Passage where the Power,
who is describ'd as presiding over the Chaos, speaks
in the Third Book.

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old
With faultring speech and visage incompos'd,
Answer'd, I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heav'n's King, though overthrown.
I saw and heard, for such a numerous host
Fled not in Silence through the frighted deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n's Gates
Pour'd out by Millions her victorious bands
Pursuing——

It required great Pregnancy of Invention, and
Strength of Imagination, to fill this Battel with such
Circumstances as should raise and astonish the Mind
of the Reader; and, at the same time, an exactness
of Judgment to avoid every thing that might appear light or trivial. Those, who look into Homer, are surprized to find his Battels still rising one above another, and improving in Horror, to the Conclusion of the Iliad. Milton's Fight of Angels is wrought up with the same Beauty. It is ushered in with such Signs of Wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The First Engagement is carried on under a Cope of Fire, occasion'd by the Flights of innumerable burning Darts and Arrows, which are discharged from either Host. The second Onset is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial Thunders, which seem to make the Victory doubtful, and produce a kind of Confusion, even in the Good Angels. This is followed by the tearing up of Mountains and Promontories; till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of Majesty and Terror. The Pomp of his Appearance, amidst the Roarings of his Thunders, the Flashes of his Lightnings, and the Noise of his Chariot Wheels, is described with the utmost Flights of Human Imagination.

There is nothing in the first and last Days Engagement, which does not appear natural and agreeable enough to the Ideas most Readers would conceive of a Fight between two Armies of Angels.

The Second Day's Engagement is apt to startle an Imagination, which has not been raised and qualified for such a Description, by the reading of the Ancient Poets, and of Homer in particular. It was certainly a very bold Thought in our Author, to ascribe the first use of Artillery to the Rebel Angels. But as such a pernicious Invention may be well supposed to have proceeded from such Authors, so it entered very properly into the Thoughts of that Being, who is all along described as aspiring to the Majesty of his Maker. Such Engines were the only Instruments he could have made use of to imitate those Thunders, that in all Poetry, both Sacred and Prophane, are represented as the Arms of the Almighty. The tearing up
the Hills was not altogether so daring a Thought as the former. We are, in some measure, prepared for such an Incident by the Description of the Gyants War, which we meet with among the Ancient Poets. What still made this Circumstance the more proper for the Poets use, is the Opinion of many learned Men, that the Fable of the Gyants War, which makes so great a Noise in Antiquity, [and gave Birth to the sublimest Description in Hesiod’s Works,] was an Allegory founded upon this very Tradition of a Fight between the good and bad Angels.

It may, perhaps, be worth while to consider with what Judgment Milton, in this Narration, has avoided every thing that is mean and trivial in the Descriptions of the Latin and Greek Poets; and, at the same time, improved every great Hint which he met with in their Works upon this Subject. Homer in that Passage, which Longinus has celebrated for its Sublimeness, and which Virgil and Ovid have copied after him, tells us, that the Gyants threw Offa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Offa. He adds an Epithet to Pelion (εινοσιφυλλων) which very much swells the Idea, by bringing up to the Reader’s Imagination all the Woods that grew upon it. There is further a great Beauty in his fingling out by Name these three remarkable Mountains so well known to the Greeks. This last is such a Beauty as the Scene of Milton’s War could not possibly furnish him with. Claudian in his Fragment upon the Gyants War, has given full Scope to that wildness of Imagination which was natural to him. He tells us, that the Gyants tore up whole Islands by the Roots, and threw them at the Gods. He describes one of them in particular taking up Lemnos in his Arms, and whirling it to the Skies, with all Vulcan’s Shop in the midst of it. Another tears up Mount Ida, with the River Enipeus which ran down the sides of it; but the Poet, not content to describe him with this Mountain upon his Shoulders, tells us that the River flowed down his Back, as he held it up in that
Posture. It is visible to every judicious Reader, that such Ideas favour more of Burlesque than of the Sublime. They proceed from a Wantonness of Imagination, and rather divert the Mind than astonish it. Milton has taken every thing that is Sublime in these several Passages, and composes out of them the following great Image.

From their Foundations loofning to and fro
They pluck'd the feated Hills with all their load,
Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by the shaggy tops
Up-lifting bore them in their Hands:——

We have the full Majesty of Homer in this short Description, improved by the Imagination of Claudian, without its Puerilities.

I need not point out the Description of the fallen Angels, seeing the Promontories hanging over their Heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless Beauties in this Book, which are so conspicuous, that they cannot escape the Notice of the most ordinary Reader.

There are indeed so many wonderful Stroaks of Poetry in this Book, and such a variety of Sublime Ideas, that it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this Paper. Besides that, I find it in a great measure done to my Hand, at the end of my Lord Roscommon's Essay on Translated Poetry. I shall refer my Reader thither for some of the Master-Stroaks in the Sixth Book of Paradise Lost, tho' at the same time there are many others which that noble Author has not taken notice of.

Milton, notwithstanding the Sublime Genius he was Master of, has in this Book drawn to his Assistance all the helps he could meet with among the Ancient Poets. The Sword of Michael, which makes so great an havock among the bad Angels, was given him, we are told, out of the Armory of God.

———But the Sword
Of Michael from the Armory of God
Was giv'n him temper'd so, that neither keen
Nor solid might resi$ that edge: it met
The Sword of Satan with sleep force to s$mte
Descending, and in half cut sheere,

This Passage is a Copy of that in Virgil, wherein
the Poet tells us, that the Sword of Aeneas, which was
given him by a Deity, broke into pieces the Sword of
Turnus, which came from a Mortal Forge: As the
Moral in this place is Divine, so by the way we may
observe, that the bestowing on a Man who is favour'd
by Heaven such an Allegorical Weapon, is very con-
formable to the old Eastern way of Thinking. Not
only Homer has made use of it, but we find the Jewish
Hero in the Book of Maccabees, who had fought the
Battels of the choopen People with so much Glory and
Succes, receiving in his Dream a Sword from the
hand of the Prophet Jeremy [Jeremiah]. The follow-
ing Passage, wherein Satan is described as wounded
by the Sword of Michael, is in imitation of Homer.

The girding Sword with discontinuous wound
Pafs'd through him, but th' Ethereal substance closed
Not long divisible, and from the gash
A stream of Nectarous humour issuing flow'd
Sanguin, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,
And all his Armour slain'd——

Homer tells us in the same manner, that upon
Diomedes wounding the Gods, there flow'd from the
Wound an Ichor, or pure kind of Blood, which was
not bred from Mortal Viands; and that tho' the Pain
was exquisitely great, the Wound soon closed up and
healed in those Beings who are vested with Immor-
tality.

I question not but Milton in his Description of his
furious Moloch flying from the Battel, and bellowing
with the Wound he had receiv'd, had his Eye upon Mars
in the Iliad, who upon his being wounded, is repre-
sented as retiring out of the Fight, and making an
Outcry louder than that of a whole Army when it
begins the Charge. Homer adds, that the Greeks and Trojans, who were engaged in a general Battel, were terrified on each fide with the bellowing of this wounded Deity. The Reader will easily observe how Milton has kept all the horror of this Image without running into the Ridicule of it.

—— Where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce Ensigns pier'd the deep array
Of Moloc furious King, who him defy'd,
And at his Chariot wheels to drag him bound
Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of Heav'n
Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon
Down clov'n to the wafle, with shatter'd Arms
And uncouth pain fled bellowing.—

Milton has likewise rais'd his Description in this Book with many Images taken out of the Poetical Parts of Scripture. The Messiah's Chariot, as I have before taken notice, is form'd upon a Vision of Ezekiel, who, as Grotius observes, has very much in him of Homer's Spirit in the Poetical Parts of his Prophecy.

The following Lines in that glorious Commission which is given the Messiah to extirpate the Hoft of Rebel Angels, is drawn from a Sublime Passage in the Pfalms.

Go then thou mightieft in thy Father's might
Ascend my Chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That shake Heav'n's basis, bring forth all my War
My Bow, my thunder, my almighty arms,
Gird on thy fword on thy puiffant thigh.

The Reader will easily discover many other Strokes of the fame nature.

There is no question but Milton had heated his Imagination with the Fight of the Gods in Homer, before he entered upon this Engagement of the Angels. Homer there gives us a Scene of Men, Heroes and Gods mixed together in Battel. Mars animates
the contending Armies, and lifts up his Voice in such a manner, that it is heard distinctly amidst all the Shouts and Confusion of the Fight. *Jupiter* at the same time Thunders over their Heads; while *Neptune* raises such a Tempest, that the whole Field of Battel and all the tops of the Mountains shake about them, The Poet tells us, that *Pluto* himself, whose Habitation was in the very Center of the Earth, was so a[f]righted at the shock, that he leapt from his Throne. *Homer* afterwards describes *Vulcan* as pouring down a Storm of Fire upon the River *Xanthus*, and *Minerva* as throwing a Rock at *Mars*; who, he tells us, covered seven Acres in his Fall.

As *Homer* has introduced into his Battel of the Gods every thing that is great and terrible in Nature, *Milton* has filled his Fight of Good and Bad Angels with all the like Circumstances of Horrour. The Shout of Armies, the Rattling of Brazen Chariots, the Hurling of Rocks and Mountains, the Earthquake, the Fire, the Thunder, are all of them employed to lift up the Reader's Imagination, and give him a suitable Idea of so great an Action. With what Art has the Poet represented the whole Body of the Earth trembling, even before it was created.

*All Heaven refounded, and had Earth been then*
*All Earth had to its Center shook—*

In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole Heaven shaking under the Wheels of the Messiah's Chariot, with that Exception to the Throne of God?

*—Under his burning Wheels*
*The steadfast Empyrean shook throughout,*
*All but the Throne it self of God*—

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears cloathed with so much Terrour and Majesty, the Poet has still found means to make his Readers conceive an Idea of him, beyond what he himself was able to describe.
Yet half his strength he put not forth, but checkt
His thunder in mid volley, for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.

In a word, Milton's Genius which was so great in itself, and so strengthened by all the helps of Learning, appears in this Book every way Equal to his Subject[s], which was the most Sublime that could enter into the Thoughts of a Poet. As he knew all the Arts of affecting the Mind, had he not given [he knew it was necessary to give] it certain resting places and Opportunities of recovering it self from time to time: He has [therefore] with great Address interspersed several Speeches, Reflections, Similitudes, and the like Reliefs to diversifie his Narration, and ease the Attention of his [the] Reader, that he might come fresh to his great Action, and by such a Contrast of Ideas, have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his Description.

Addison corrected and re-corrected this last sentence. The first and last readings, as in the original and second editions, are as above. The intermediate reading, according to the Errata in No. 369, of the original issue, is as follows:

As he knew all the Arts of affecting the Mind, he has given it certain resting places and Opportunities of recovering it self from time to time: several Speeches, Reflections, Similitudes, and the like Reliefs being interspersed, to diversifie his Narration, and ease the attention of his Reader.
The SPECTATOR.

Vt his exordia primis
Omnia, & ipse tener Mundi concreverit orbis.
Tum durare folum, & diseludere Nerea ponto
Cæperit, & rerum paullatim sumere formas. Virg.

{He fung the secret Seeds of Natures Frame;
How Seas, and Earth, and Air, and active Flame,
Fell thro' the mighty Void, and in their Fall
Were blindly gather'd in this goodly Ball.
The tender Soil then stiff'ning by degrees
Shut from the bounded Earth the bounding Seas.
Then Earth and Ocean various Forms disclose,
And a new Sun to the new World arose. Dryden.}

Saturday, March 29. 1712.

ONGINUS has observed, that there may be a Loftiness in Sentiments, where there is no Passion, and brings Instances out of Ancient Authors to support this his Opinion. The Pathetick, as that great Critick observes, may animate and inflame the Sublime, but is not essential to it. Accordingly, as he further remarks, we very often find that those, who excell most in stirring up the Passions, very often want the Talent of Writing in the Great and Sublime manner; and so on the contrary. Milton has shewn himself a Master in both these ways of Writing. The Seventh Book, which we are now entering upon, is an Instance of that Sublime, which is not mixt and work'd up with Passion. The Author appears in a kind of composed and sedate Majesty; and tho' the Sentiments do not give so great [an] Emotion as those in the former Book, they abound with as magnificent Ideas.
The Sixth Book, like a troubled Ocean, represents Greatness in Confusion; the Seventh affects the Imagination like the Ocean in a Calm, and fills the Mind of the Reader without producing in it any thing like Tumult or Agitation.

The Critick abovementioned, among the Rules which he lays down for succeeding in the Sublime way of Writing, proposes to his Reader, that he should imitate the most celebrated Authors who have gone before him, and have been engaged in Works of the same nature; as in particular that if he writes on a Poetical Subject, he should consider how Homer would have spoken on such an Occasion. By this means one great Genius often catches the Flame from another, and writes in his Spirit, without copying fervilely after him. There are a thousand Shining Passages in Virgil, which have been lighted up by Homer.

Milton, though his own natural Strength of Genius was capable of furnishing out a perfect Work, has doubtless very much raised and ennobled his Conceptions, by such an Imitation as that which Longinus has recommended.

In this Book, which gives us an Account of the Six Days Works, the Poet received but very few Assiustances from Heathen Writers, who were Strangers to the Wonders of Creation. But as there are many Glorious Strokes of Poetry upon this Subject in Holy Writ, the Author has numberless Allusions to them through the whole Course of this Book. The great Critick, I have before mentioned, tho' an Heathen, has taken notice of the Sublime manner in which the Law-giver of the Jews has described the Creation in the first Chapter of Genesis; and there are many other Passages in Scripture, which rise up to the same Majesty, where this Subject is toucht upon. Milton has shewn his Judgment very remarkably, in making use of such of thefe as were proper for his Poem, and in duly qualifying those high Strains of Eastern Poetry,
which were fuiited to Readers whose Imaginations were set to an higher pitch than those of colder Climates.

Adam's Speech to the Angel, wherein he desires an Account of what had passed within the Regions of Nature before his [the] Creation, is very great and solemn. The following Lines, in which he tells him that the Day is not too far spent for him to enter upon such a Subject, are exquisite in their kind.

And the Great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race through sleep, suspens in Heav'n
Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he hears,
And longer will delay to hear thee tell
His Generation, &c.—

The Angel's encouraging our first Parent[s] in a modest pursuit after Knowledge, with the Causes which he assigns for the Creation of the World, are very just and beautiful. The Messiah, by whom, as we are told in Scripture, the Heavens were made, goes [comes*] forth in the Power of his Father, surrounded with an Host of Angels, and cloathed with such a Majesty as becomes his entering upon a Work, which, according to our Conceptions, looks like [appears] the utmost exertion of Omnipotence. What a beautiful Description has our Author raised upon that Hint in one of the Prophets. And behold there came four Chariots out from between two Mountains, and the Mountains were Mountains of Brass.

About his Chariot numberless were pour'd
Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
And virtues, winged Spirits, and Chariots wing'd,
From the Armoury of God, where fland of old
Myriads between two brazen mountains lodg'd
Against a solemn day, harness'd at hand;
Celestial Equipage; and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them spirit liv'd
Attendant on their lord: Heav'n open'd wide
Her ever-during Gates, Harmonious found
On golden Hinges moving——

I have before taken notice of these Chariots of
God, and of these Gates of Heaven, and shall here only add, that Homer gives us the same Idea of the latter as opening of themselves, tho' he afterwards takes off from it, by telling us, that the Hours first of all removed those prodigious heaps of Clouds which lay as a Barrier before them.

I do not know any thing in the whole Poem more Sublime than the Description which follows, where the Messiah is represented at the head of his Angels, as looking down into the Chaos, calming its Confusion, riding into the midst of it, and drawing the first Outline of the Creation.

On Heav'nly ground they flood, and from the shore
They view'd the vast immeasurable Abyfs
Outrages as a Sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds
And surging waves, as Mountains to assault
Heav'n's height, and with the Center mix the Pole.
Silence, ye troubled waves, and thou Deep, Peace,
Said then the Omnisic word, your Discord end:
Nor flaid, but on the wings of Cherubim
Up-lifted, in Paternal Glory rode
Far into Chaos, and the world unborn;
For Chaos heard his voice: him all his train
Follow'd in bright Procession to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then flaid the fervid wheels, and in his hand
He took the golden Compasses, prepared
In Gods eternal Store, to circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things:
One foot he Center'd, and the other turn'd,
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
This be thy just Circumference, O World.

The Thought of the Golden Compasses is conceiv'd altogether in Homer's Spirit, and is a very noble Incident in this wonderful Description. Homer, when he speaks of the Gods, ascribes to them several Arms and
Instruments with the same greatness of Imagination. Let the Reader only peruse the Description of Minerva's 
_Aegis_, or Buckler, in the Fifth Book, with her Spear, which could [would] overturn whole Squadrons, and her 
Helmet, that was sufficient to cover an Army, drawn out of an hundred Cities: The Golden Compasses, in 
the above-mentioned Passage appear a very natural Instrument in the Hand of him, whom _Plato_ somewhere 
calls the Divine Geometrician. As Poetry delights in cloathing abstracted Ideas in Allegories and sensible 
Images, we find a magnificent Description of the Creation form'd after the same manner in one of the 
Prophets, wherein he describes the Almighty Architect as measuring the Waters in the hollow of his Hand, 
meting out the Heavens with his Span, comprehending the Dust of the Earth in a Measure, weighing the 
Mountains in Scales, and the Hills in a Ballance. Another of them describing the Supreme Being in 
this great Work of Creation, represents him as laying the Foundations of the Earth, and stretching a Line 
upon it. And in another place as garnishing the Heavens, stretching out the North over the empty place, and hanging the Earth upon nothing. This last noble Thought _Milton_ has express'd in the fol-
lowing Verse:

_and Earth self-balanc'd on her Center hung._

The Beauties of Description in this Book lie so very thick, that it is impossible to enumerate them in this 
Paper. The Poet has employed on them the whole Energy of our Tongue. The several great Scenes of 
the Creation rise up to view one after another, in such a manner that the Reader seems present at this 
wonderful Work, and to assist among the Quires [Choirs] of Angels, who are the Spectators of it. How glorious 
is the Conclusion of the first Day.

--- _Thus was the first day Ev'n and Morn._
_Nor past uncelebrated, nor unsung_
_By the Celestial Quires, when Orient light_
Exhaling first from Darkness they beheld;  
Birth-day of Heav’n and Earth; with joy and shout  
The hollow universal Orb they fill’d.

We have the same elevation of Thought in the third Day; when the Mountains were brought forth, and the Deep was made.

Immediately the mountains huge appear  
Emergent, and their broad bare backs up heave  
Into the Clouds, their tops ascend the Sky.  
So high as heav’d the tumid hills, so low  
Down sunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,  
Capacious bed of Waters——

We have also the rising of the whole vegetable World described in this Day’s Work, which is filled with all the Graces that other Poets have lavished on their Descriptions of the Spring, and leads the Reader’s Imagination into a Theatre equally surprising and beautiful.

The several Glories of the Heav’ns make their appearance on the Fourth Day.

First in his East the glorious lamp was seen  
Regent of day, and all th’ Horizon round  
Invested with bright rays, jocond to run  
His Longitude through Heav’ns high rode: the Gray  
Dawn, and the Pleiades before him danced  
Shedding sweet influence: less bright the moon,  
But opposite in level’d West was set,  
His Mirror, with full face borrowing her light  
From him, for other light she needed none  
In that aspect, and still that distance keeps  
Till night; then in the East her turn she shines  
Revolv’d on Heav’ns great Axle, and her reign  
With thousand lesser lights individual holds,  
With thousand thousand flars, that then appear’d  
Spangling the Hemisphere——

One would wonder how the Poet could be so concise in his Description of the Six Days Works, as to
comprehend them within the bounds of an Episode, and at the same time so particular, as to give us a lively Idea of them. This is still more remarkable in his Account of the Fifth and Sixth Days, in which he has drawn out to our view the whole Animal Creation, from the Reptil to the Behemoth. As the Lion and the Leviathan are two of the noblest Productions in this World of living Creatures, the Reader will find a most exquisite Spirit of Poetry, in the Account which our Author gives us of them. The Sixth Day concludes with the Formation of Man, upon which the Angel takes occasion, as he did after the Battel in Heaven, to remind Adam of his Obedience, which was the principal Design of this his Visit.

The Poet afterwards represents the Messiah returning into Heaven, and taking a Survey of his great Work. There is something inexpressibly Sublime in this Part of the Poem, where the Author describes that great Period of Time, fill'd with so many Glorious Circumstances; when the Heavens and the Earth were finished; when the Messiah ascended up in Triumph through the Everlasting Gates; when he look'd down with pleasure upon his new Creation; when every Part of Nature seemed to rejoice in its Existence; when the Morning Stars fang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy.

So Ev'n and Morn accomplishead the Sixth day:
Yet not till the Creator from his Work
Desisting, tho' unwearied, up return'd,
Up to the Heav'n of Heav'ns his high abode,
Thence to behold this new created world
Th' addition of his empire; how it shew'd
In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair
Answering his great Idea. Up he rode
Follow'd with acclamation and the Sound
Symphonious of ten thousand harps that tun'd
Angelic Harmonies: the earth, the air
Resounded, (thou remember'st, for thou heard'st)
The Heavens and all the Constellations rung,
The Planets in their Station lift'ning flood,
While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.
Open, ye everlasting gates, they sung,
Open, ye Heav'ns, your living doors, let in
The great Creator from his work return'd
Magnificent, his six days work, a World.

I cannot conclude this Book upon the Creation, without mentioning a Poem which has lately appeared under that Title. The Work was undertaken with so good an Intention, and is executed with so great a Mastery, that it deserves to be looked upon as one of the most useful and noble Productions in our English Verse. The Reader cannot but be pleased to find the Depths of Philosophy enlivened with all the Charms of Poetry, and to see so great a Strength of Reason, amidst so beautiful a Redundancy of [the] Imagination. The Author has shewn us that Design in all the Works of Nature, which necessarily leads us to the Knowledge of its first Cause. In short, he has illustrated, by numberless and incontestable Instances, that Divine Wisdom, which the Son of Sirach has so nobly ascribed to the Supreme Being in his Formation of the World, when he tells us, that He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his Works.†

† In the advertisements immediately under this paragraph in the Original issue is the following:—
Lately Publish'd,
Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altae
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset.
Natus homo est———

A Creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was Man design'd;
Conscious of Thought, of more capacious Breast,
For Empire form'd, and fit to rule the rest. Dryden.}

Saturday, April 5, 1712.

The Accounts which Raphael gives of the Battel of Angels, and the Creation of the World, have in them those Qualifications which the Criticks judge requisite to an Episode. They are nearly related to the principal Action, and have a just Connection with the Fable.

The Eighth Book opens with a beautiful Description of the Impression which this Discourse of the Archangel made on our first Parent. Adam afterwards, by a very natural Curiosity, enquires concerning the Motions of those Celestial Bodies which make the most glorious Appearance among the six Days Works. The Poet here, with a great deal of Art, represents Eve as withdrawing from this part of their Conversation to Amusements that seem more suitable to her Sex. He well knew, that the Episode in this Book, which is filled with Adam's Account of his Passion and Esteem for Eve, would have been improper for her hearing, and has therefore devis'd very just and beautiful Reasons for her Retiring.

So spake our Sire, and by his Countenance seem'd Entring on studious thoughts abstruse: which Eve Perceiving where she sat retired in sight,
With lowliness's Majestick from her Seat
And Grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers
To visit how they prosper'd, bud and bloom,
Her Nursery; they at her coming sprung,
And touch'd by her fair tendance gladlier grew.
Yet went she not, as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her ear
Of what was high: Such pleasure she reserv'd
Adam relating, she sole Auditor's;
Her Husband the relater she preferr'd
Before the Angel, and of him to ask
Chose rather: he, she knew, would intermix
Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal Cares' : from his Lip
Not words alone pleas'd her. O when meet now
Such pairs in Love, and mutual honour join'd?

The Angel's returning a doubtful Answer to Adam's Enquiries, was not only proper for the Moral Reason which the Poet assigns, but because it would have been highly absurd to have given the Sanction of an Archangel to any particular System of Philosophy. The chief Points in the Ptolemaic and Copernican Hypothesis are described with great Conciseness and Perspicuity, and at the same time dressed in very pleasing and Poetical Images.

Adam, to detain the Angel, enters afterwards upon his own History, and relates to him the Circumstances in which he found himself upon his Creation; as also his Conversation with his Maker, and his first Meeting with Eve. There is no part of the Poem more apt to raise the attention of the Reader, than this Discourse of our great Ancestor; as nothing can be more surprizing and delightful to us, than to hear the Sentiments that arose in the first Man while he was yet new and fresh from the hands of his Creator. The Poet has interwoven every thing which is delivered upon this Subject in Holy Writ with so many beautiful Imaginations of his own, that nothing can be conceived
more just and natural than this whole Episode. As our Author knew this Subject could not but be agreeable to his Reader, he would not throw it into the relation of the six Days Works, but reserved it for a distinct Episode, that he might have an opportunity of expatiating upon it more at large. Before I enter on this part of the Poem, I cannot but take notice of two shining Passages in the Dialogue between Adam and the Angel. The first is that wherein our Ancestor gives an Account of the Pleasure he took in conversing with him, which contains a very noble Moral.

For while I sit with thee, I seem in Heav'n,
And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
Than fruits of Palm-tree pleasantest to thirst
And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
Of sweet repast; they satiate, and soon fill,
Tho' pleasant, but thy words with Grace divine
Imbu'd, bring to their sweetness no satiety.

The other I shall mention is that in which the Angel gives a reason why he should be glad to hear the Story Adam was about to relate.

For I that day was absent, as befell,
Bound on a Voyage uncouth and obscure,
Far on excursion towards the Gates of Hell;
Squad'rd in full Legion (such command we had)
To see that none thence issued forth a Spy,
Or enemy, while God was in his work,
Left he incendst at such eruption bold,
Destruction with Creation might have mix'd.

There is no question but our Poet drew the Image in what follows from that in Virgil's Sixth Book, where Æneas and the Sibyl stand before the Adamantine Gates which are there describ'd as shut upon the place of Torments, and listen to the Groans, the clank of Chains, and the noise of Iron Whips that were heard in those Regions of Pain and Sorrow.

Fast we found, fast shut
The dismal gates, and barricadoed strong;
But long e'er our approaching heard within
Noise, other than the sound of Dance or Song,
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.

Adam then proceeds to give an Account of his Condition and Sentiments immediately after his Creation. How agreeably does he represent the posture in which he found himself, the beautiful Landskip that surrounded him, and the gladness of Heart which grew up in him on that occasion.

——As new waked from soundest sleep
Soft on the flowry herb I found me laid
In balmy sweat, which with his beams the Sun
Soon dried, and on the reeking moisture fed.
Streight toward Heav'n my wondering eyes I turn'd.
And gaz'd a while the ample Sky, till rais'd
By quick instinctive motion up I sprung
As thitherward endeavouring, and upright
Stood on my feet; about me round I saw
Hill, Dale, and shady woods and funny plains,
And liquid lapfe of murmuring streams; by these
Creatures that liv'd, and mov'd, and walk'd, or flew,
Birds on the branches warbling; all things smii'd:
With fragrance, and with Joy my heart overflow'd.

Adam is afterwards described as surpriz'd at his own Existence, and taking a Survey of himself, and of all the Works of Nature. He likewise is represent'd as discovering by the Light of Reason, that he and every thing about him must have been the effect of some Being infinitely good and powerful, and that this Being had a Right to his Worship and Adoration. His first address to the Sun, and to those parts of the Creation which made the most distinguished Figure, is very natural and amusing to the Imagination.

——Thou Sun, said I, fair Light,
And thou enlight'ned earth, so fresh and gay,
Ye Hills and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods and Plains,
And ye that live and move, fair creatures tell,
Tell if you saw, how came I thus, how here?
CRITICISM OF BOOK VIII.

His next Sentiment, when upon his first going to Sleep he fancies himself losing his Existence, and falling away into nothing, can never be sufficiently admired. His Dream, in which he still preserves the Conscioufness of his Existence, together with his removal into the Garden which was prepared for his Reception, are also Circumstances finely imagined, and grounded upon what is delivered in Sacred Story.

These and the like wonderful Incidents, in this Part of the Work, have in them all the Beauties of Novelty, at the same time that they have all the Graces of Nature. They are such as none but a great Genius could have thought of, though, upon the perusal of them, they seem to rise of themselves from the Subject of which he treats. In a Word, though they are natural they are not obvious, which is the true Character of all fine Writing.

The Impression which the Interdiction of the Tree of Life left in the Mind of our first Parent, is described with great Strength and Judgment, as the Image of the several Beasts and Birds passing in review before him is very beautiful and lively.

--- Each Bird and Beast behold
Approaching two and two, these cowring low
With blandishment; each bird floop'd on his Wing:
I nam'd them as they pass'd---

Adam, in the next place, describes a Conference which he held with his Maker upon the Subject of Solitude. The Poet here represents the Supreme Being, as making an Essay of his own Work, and putting to the tryal that reasoning Faculty, with which he had endued his Creature. Adam urges, in this divine Colloquy, the Impossibility of his being happy, tho' he was the Inhabitant of Paradise, and Lord of the whole Creation, without the Conversations and Society of some rational Creature, who should partake those Blessings with him. This Dialogue, which is supported chiefly by the Beauty of the Thoughts, without other Poetical
Ornaments, is as fine a part as any in the whole Poem: The more the Reader examines the justness and delicacy of its Sentiments, the more he will find himself pleased with it. The Poet has wonderfully preserved the Character of Majesty and Condescension in the Creator, and at the same time that of Humility and Adoration in the Creature, as particularly in those beautiful Lines.

Thus I presumptuous; and the Vision bright,
As with a smile more brightned, thus reply'd. &c.

I with leave of speech implor'd
And humble deprecation thus reply'd,
Let not my Words offend thee, Heavenly power,
My maker, be propitious while I speak &c.

Adam then proceeds to give an account of his second Sleep, and of the Dream in which he beheld the Formation of Eve. The new Passion that was awakened in him at the sight of her is touched very finely.

Under his forming hands a Creature grew,
Manlike, but different Sex; so lovely fair,
That what seem'd fair in all the World seem'd now
Mean, or in her fumm'd up, in her contain'd,
And in her looks; which from that time infus'd
Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before,
And into all things from her air inspir'd
The spirit of Love and amorous delight.

Adam's Distress upon losing sight of this beautiful Phantom, with his Exclamations of Joy and Gratitude at the Discovery of a real Creature, who resembled the Apparition which had been presented to him in his Dream; the Approaches he makes to her, and his manner of Courtship, are all laid together in a most exquisite Propriety of Sentiments.

Tho' this part of the Poem is work'd up with great Warmth and Spirit, the Love, which is described in it, is every way suitable to a State of Innocence. If the Reader compares the Description which Adam here gives of his leading Eve to the Nuptial Bower, with
that which Mr. Dryden has made on the fame Occa-
sion in a Scene of his Fall of Man, he will be fenfive
of the great Care which Milton took to avoid all
Thoughts on fo delicate a Subject, that might be
offensive to Religion or Good-manners. The Sent-
iments are chaste, but not cold, and convey to the
Mind Ideas of the most transporting Passion, and of
the greatest Purity. What a noble Mixture of Rapture
and Innocence has the Author joined together, in the
Reflection which Adam makes on the Pleasures of
Love, compared to those of Senfe.

Thus have I told thee all my State, and brought
My Story to the Sum of earthly blifs
Which I enjoy, and must confefs to find
In all things else delight indeed, but fuch
As us’d or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement defire; these delicacies
I mean of tafte, fight, fnell, herbs, fruits and flowers.
Walks, and the melody of Birds; but here
Far otherwise, transported I behold,
Transported touch; here passion first I felt,
Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superiour and unmov’d, here only weak
Againft the Charm of beauties powerfull glance.
Or nature fail’d in me, and left some part
Not proof enough fuch object to fuflain,
Or from my fide fubduing, took perhaps
More than enough; at least on her befow’d
Too much of ornament, in outward fhew
Elaborate, of inward lefs exact.

—When I approach
Her lovelinesfs, fo absolute fhe feems
And in herfelf compleat, fo well to know
Her own, that what fhe wills to do or fay,
Seems wiufeft, virtuoufetf, difcreetef, beft:
All higher knowledge in her preffence falls
Degraded: Wisdom in difcourfe with her
Loses discountenance’d, and like folly fhews;
Authority and reason on her wait,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally; and to consummate all,
Greatness of mind and nobleness their Seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard Angelick plac'd.

These Sentiments of Love, in our first Parent, gave
the Angel such an Insight into Humane Nature, that he
seems apprehensive of the Evils which might befall the
Species in general, as well as Adam in particular, from
the Excess of this Passion. He therefore fortifies him
against it by timely Admonitions; which very artfully
prepare the Mind of the Reader for the Occurrences
of the next Book, where the Weakness of which Adam
here gives such distant discoveries, brings about that
fatal Event which is the Subject of the Poem. His
Discourse, which follows the gentle Rebuke he receiv'd from the Angel, shews that his Love, however
violent it might appear, was still founded in Reason,
and consequently not improper for Paradise.

Neither her outside form so fair, nor ought
In procreation common to all kinds
(Though higher of the genial bed by far,
And with myserious reverence I deem)
So much delights me as those graceful acts,
Those thousand decencies that daily flow
From all her words and actions mixt with love
And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
Union of mind, or in us both one Soul;
Harmony to behold in wedded pair.

Adam's Speech, at parting with the Angel, has in it
a Deference and Gratitude agreeable to an Inferior
Nature, and at the same time a certain Dignity and
Greatness, suitable to the Father of Mankind in his
State of Innocence.
If we look into the three great Heroic Poems which have appear'd in the World, we may observe that they are built upon very flight Foundations. Homer lived near 300 Years after the Trojan War, and, as the Writing of History was not then in use among the Greeks, we may very well suppose, that the Tradition of Achilles and Ulysses had brought down but very few Particulars to his Knowledge, tho' there is no question but he has wrought into his two Poems such of their remarkable Adventures as were still talked of among his Contemporaries.

The Story of Æneas, on which Virgil founded his Poem, was likewise very bare of Circumstances, and by that means afforded him an Opportunity of embellishing it with Fiction, and giving a full Range to his own Invention. We find, however, that he has interwoven, in the course of his Fable, the principal Particulars, which were generally believed among the Romans, of Æneas his Voyage and Settlement in Italy.

The Reader may find an Abridgment of the whole Story, as collected out of the Ancient Historians, and as it was received among the Romans, in Dionysius Halicarnassus.

Since none of the Criticks have considered Virgil's Fable, with relation to this History of Æneas, it may
not, perhaps, be amiss to examine it in this Light, so far as regards my present Purpose. Whoever looks into the Abridgment abovementioned, will find that the Character of Æneas is filled with Piety to the Gods, and a superflitious Observation of Prodigies, Oracles, and Predictions. Virgil has not only preserved this Character in the Person of Æneas, but has given a place in his Poem to those particular Prophecies which he found recorded of him in History and Tradition. The Poet took the matters of Fact as they came down to him, and circumstanced them after his own manner, to make them appear the more natural, agreeable or surprizing. I believe very many Readers have been shocked at that ludicrous Prophecy, which one of the Harpyes pronounces to the Trojans in the Third Book, namely, that before they had built their Intended City, they should be reduced by Hunger to eat their very Tables. But, when they heard that this was one of the Circumstances that had been transmitted to the Romans in the History of Æneas, they will think the Poet did very well in taking notice of it. The Historian abovementioned, acquaints us that a Prophetes had foretold Æneas, that he should take his Voyage Westward, till his Companions should eat their Tables, and that accordingly, upon his landing in Italy, as they were eating their Flesh upon Cakes of Bread, for want of other Conveniences, they afterwards fed on the Cakes themselves, upon which one of the Company said merrily, 'We are eating our Tables.' They immediately took the Hint, says the Historian, and concluded the Prophecy to be fulfilled. As Virgil did not think it proper to omit so material a Particular in the History of Æneas, it may be worth while to consider with how much Judgment he has qualified it, and taken off every thing that might have appeared improper for a Passage in an Heroic Poem. The Prophetes who foretells it is an hungry Harpy, as the Person who discovers it is young Ascanius.
Heus etiam mensas consumimus inquit Iulius!

Such an Observation, which is beautiful in the mouth of a Boy, would have been ridiculous from any other of the Company. I am apt to think that the changing of the Trojan Fleet into Water-Nymphs, which is the most violent Machine of the whole Eneid, and has given Offence to several Critics, may be accounted for the same way. Virgil himself, before he begins that Relation, premifes that what he was going to tell appeared incredible, but that it was justified by Tradition. What further confirms me that this change of the Fleet was a celebrated Circumstance in the History of Æneas, is, that Ovid has given a place to the same Metamorphosis in his account of the Heathen Mythology.

None of the Criticks, I have met with, having considered the Fable of the Æneid in this Light, and taken notice how the Tradition, on which it was founded, authorizes those Parts in it which appear the most Exceptionable; I hope the Length of this Reflection will not make it unacceptable to the curious Part of my Readers.

The History, which was the Basis of Milton's Poem, is still shorter than either that of the Iliad or Æneid. The Poet has likewise taken care to infer every Circumstance of it in the Body of his Fable. The Ninth Book, which we are here to consider, is raised upon that brief Account in Scripture, wherein we are told that the Serpent was more subtile than any Beast of the Field, that he tempted the Woman to eat of the Forbidden Fruit, that she was overcome by this Temptation, and that Adam followed her Example. From these few Particulars Milton has formed one of the most Entertaining Fables that Invention ever produced. He has disposed of these several Circumstances among so many beautiful and natural Fictions of his own, that his whole Story looks only like a Comment upon sacred Writ, or rather seems to be a full
and compleat Relation of what the other is only an Epitome. I have insisted the longer on this Consideration, as I look upon the Disposition and Contrivance of the Fable to be the Principal Beauty of the Ninth Book, which has more Story in it, and is fuller of Incidents, than any other in the whole Poem. Satan's traversing the Globe, and still keeping within the Shadow of the Night, as fearing to be discovered by the Angel of the Sun, who had before detected him, is one of those beautiful Imaginations [with] which [he] introduces this his second Series of Adventures. Having examined the Nature of every Creature, and found out one which was the most proper for his Purpose, he again returns to Paradise; and, to avoid Discovery, sinks by Night with a River that ran under the Garden, and rises up again through a Fountain that issued from it by the Tree of Life. The Poet, who, as we have before taken notice, speaks as little as possible in his own Person, and, after the example of Homer, fills every Part of his Work with Manners and Characters, introduces a Soliloquy of this Infernal Agent, who was thus reflected in the Destruction of Man. He is then describ'd as gliding through the Garden under the resemblance of a Mist, in order to find out that Creature in which he design'd to tempt our first Parents. This Description has something in it very Poetical and Surprising.

So saying, through each thicket Dank or Dry
Like a black Mist, low creeping, he held on
His Midnight Search, where soonest he might find
The Serpent: him fast sleeping soon he found
In Labyrinth of many a round self-roll'd,
His head the midst, well stor'd with subtle wiles.

The Author afterwards gives us a Description of the Morning, which is wonderfully suitable to a Divine Poem, and peculiar to that first Season of Nature; he represents the Earth before it was curst, as a great Altar breathing out its Incense from all parts, and
fending up a plesant Savour to the Nostrils of its Creator; to which he adds a noble Idea of Adam and Eve, as offering their Morning Worship, and filling up the univerfal Confort of Praife and Adoration.

Now when as sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flowers, that breathed
Their morning incenfe, when all things that breath
From th' Earth's great Altar fend up filent praife
To the Creatour, and his nostrils fill
With grateful fnell, forth came the human pair
And joyn'd their vocal worjhip to the Choir
Of Creatures wanting voice—

The Dispute which follows between our two firft Parents is represented with great Art: It arifes [proceeds] from a difference of Judgment, not of Passio, and is managed with Reason, not with Heat; it is such a Dispute as we may suppose might have happened in Paradise, had Man continued Happy and Innocent. There is a great Delicacy in the Moralities which are interspersed in Adam's Discourse, and which the moft ordinary Reader cannot but take notice of. That force of Love which the Father of Mankind fo finely describes in the Eighth Book, and which I inferred in my laft Saturday's Paper, fhews it felf here in many beautiful Instances: As in those fond Regards he cafts towards Eve at her parting from him.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Her long with ardent look his eye pursued} \\
\text{Delighted but defiring more her flay.} \\
\text{Oft he to her his charge of quick return} \\
\text{Repeated, she to him as oft engaged} \\
\text{To be return'd by noon amid the Bowre.}
\end{align*}\]

In his impatience and amufement during her Absence.

---Adam the while

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Waiting defirous her return, had worn} \\
\text{Of choicest flowers a Garland to adorn} \\
\text{Her Trefjes, and her rural labours crown,}
\end{align*}\]
As Reapers oft are wont their Harvest Queen.
Great joy he promised to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delay'd;

But particularly in that passionate Speech, where
seeing her irrecoverably lost, he resolves to perish with
her, rather than to live without her.

Some cursed fraud
Or enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruin'd; for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die;
How can I live without thee, how forego
Thy sweet converse and love so dearly join'd,
To live again in these wild woods forlorn?
Should God create another Eve, and I
Another rib afford, yet loss of thee
Would never from my heart; no, no, I feel
The link of nature draw me: Flesh of Flesh,
Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy State
Mine never shall be parted Blefs or Woe.

The beginning of this Speech, and the Preparation
to it, are animated with the same Spirit as the Con-
clusion, which I have here quoted.

The several Wiles which are put in Practice by the
Tempter, when he found Eve separated from her
Husband, the many pleasing Images of Nature, which
are intermixt in this part of the Story, with its gradual
and regular Progress to the fatal Catastrophe, are so
very remarkable, that it would be superfluous to point
out their several [respective] Beauties.

I have avoided mentioning any particular Simili-
tudes in my Remarks on this great Work, because I
have given a general account of them in my Paper on
the First Book. There is one, however, in this part
of the Poem which I shall here quote, as it is not only
very beautiful, but the closest of any in the whole
Poem; I mean that where the Serpent is describ'd as
rolling forward in all his Pride, animated by the evil
Spirit, and conducting Eve to her Destruction, while Adam was at too great a distance from her, to give her his Assistance. These several Particulars are all of them wrought into the following Similitude.

Hope elevates, and Joy

Brighten's his Crest, as when a wand'ring fire
Compact of unclouded vapour, which the night
Condenses, and the cold inaurons round,
Kindled through agitation to a flame,
(Which oft, they say, some evil spirit attends).
Hovering and blazing with delusive light,
Misleads the amaz'd Night-wanderer from his way
To boggs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
There swallow'd up and lost, from succour far:

That secret Intoxication of Pleasure, with all those transient flushings of Guilt and Joy which the Poet represents in our first Parents upon their eating the forbidden Fruit, to those flaggings of Spirit, damps of Sorrow and mutual Accusations which succeed it, are conceiv'd with a wonderful Imagination, and described in very natural Sentiments.

When Dido in the Fourth Æneid yielded to that fatal Temptation which ruin'd her, Virgil tells us, the Earth trembled, the Heavens were filled with flashes of Lightning, and the Nymphs howl'd upon the Mountain Tops. Milton, in the same Poetical Spirit, has describ'd all Nature as disturbed upon Eve's eating the forbidden Fruit.

So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the Fruit, she plucked, she eat:
Earth felt the wound, and nature from her Seat
Sighing through all her works gave signs of Woe
That all was lost——

Upon Adam's falling into the same Guilt, the whole Creation appears a second time in Convulsions.

He scrup'd not to eat
Against his better knowledge; not deceiv'd,
But fondly overcome with Female charm.
Earth trembled from her Entrails, as again
In pangs, and nature gave a second groan,
Sky lowred and muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at compleating of the mortal Sin——

As all Nature suffer'd by the guilt of our first Parents, these Symptoms of Trouble and Consternation are wonderfully imagin'd, not only as Prodigies, but as Marks of her Sympathizing in the Fall of Man.

Adam's Converse with Eve, after having eaten the forbidden Fruit, is an exact Copy of that between Jupiter and Juno, in the Fourteenth Iliad. Juno there approaches Jupiter with the Girdle which she had received from Venus, upon which he tells her, that she appeared more charming and desirable than she ever had done before, even when their Loves were at the highest. The Poet afterwards describes them as reposing on a Summet of Mount Ida, which produced under them a Bed of Flowers, the Lotus, the Crocus, and the Hyacinth, and concludes his Description with their falling asleep.

Let the Reader compare this with the following Passage in Milton, which begins with Adam's Speech to Eve.

For never did thy Beauty since the Day
I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd
With all Perfections so inflame my Sense
With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever, bounty of this virtuous Tree.

So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood
Of Eve, whose Eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he seised, and to a shady bank
Thick over-head with verdant roof embowr'd
He led her nothing loth: Flow'rs were the Couch,
Panfies, and Violets, and Asphodel,
And Hyacinth, Earth's freshest softest lap.
There they their fill of Love, and Loves disport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the Seal,
The Solace of their Sin, ’till dewy sleep
Oppress’d them———

As no Poet seems ever to have studied *Homer* more, or to have resembled him in the greatness of Genius than *Milton*, I think I shou’d have given but a very imperfect Account of his Beauties, if I had not observed the most remarkable Passages which look like Parallels in these two great Authors. I might, in the Course of these Criticisms, have taken notice of many particular Lines and Expressions which are translated from the *Greek* Poet, but as I thought this would have appeared too minute and over-curious, I have purposely omitted them. The greater Incidents, however, are not only set off by being shewn in the same Light, with several of the same Nature in *Homer*, but by that means may be also guarded against the Cavils of the Tasteless or Ignorant.
THE Tenth Book of Paradise Lost has a greater variety of Persons in it than any other in the whole Poem. The Author upon the winding up of his Action introduces all those who had any Concern in it, and shews with great Beauty the influence which it had upon each of them. It is like the last Act of a well written Tragedy, in which all who had a part in it are generally drawn up before the Audience, and represented under those Circumstances in which the determination of the Action places them.

I shall therefore consider this Book under four Heads, in relation to the Celestial, the Infernal, the Human, and the Imaginary Persons, who have their respective Parts allotted in it.

To begin with the Celestial Persons: The Guardian Angels of Paradise are described as returning to Heaven upon the Fall of Man, in order to approve their Vigilance; their Arrival, their manner of Reception, with the Sorrow which appeared in themselves, and in those Spirits who are said to Rejoice at the Conversion of a Sinner, are very finely laid together in the following Lines.

*Up into Heavn from Paradise in haste
Th’ angelick guards ascended, mute and sad
For man, for of his state by this they knew
Much wond’ring how the subtile Fiend had soln*

† This motto was changed in second edition for the one below it.
Entrance unseen. Soon as the unwelcome news
From earth arriv'd at Heaven Gate, displease'd
All were who heard, dim sadness did not spare
That time Celestial visages, yet mixt
With pity, violated not their bliss.
About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
Th' Aethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befell: They to'wards the throne supreame
Accountable made haste to make appear
With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance,
And easily approv'd; when the most High
Eternal father from his secret cloud,
Amidst in thunder utter'd thus his voice.

The fame Divine Person who in the foregoing parts
of this Poem interceded for our first Parents before
their Fall, overthrew the rebel Angels, and created the
World, is now represented as desc'nding to Paradise,
and pronouncing Sentence upon the three Offenders.
The cool of the Evening, being a Circumstance with
which Holy Writ introduces this great Scene, it is
Poetically described by our Author, who has also kept
religiously to the form of Words, in which the three
several Sentences were pass'd upon Adam, Eve, and
the Serpent. He has rather chosen to neglect the
numerousness of his Verse, than to deviate from those
Speeches which are recorded on this great occasion.
The Guilt and Confusion of our first Parents standing
naked before their Judge, is touch'd with great Beauty.
Upon the Arrival of Sin and Death into the Works of
the Creation, the Almighty is again introduced as
speaking to his Angels that surroundered him.

See with what heat these Dogs of Hell advance
To waste and havock yonder world, which I
So fair and good created, &c.

The following Pass'age is formed upon that glorious
Image in Holy Writ which compares the Voice of an
innumerable Host of Angels, uttering Hallelujahs, to
the Voice of mighty Thunderings, or of many Waters.
He ended, and the Heavenly Audience loud
Sung Hallelujah, as the sound of Seas,
Through multitude that fung: Just are thy ways,
Righteous are thy Decrees in all thy Works,
Who can extenuate thee?

Though the Author in the whole course of his Poem, and particularly in the Book we are now examining, has infinite Allusions to places of Scripture, I have only taken notice in my Remarks of such as are of a Poetical Nature, and which are woven with great Beauty into the Body of his [this] Fable. Of this kind is that Passage in the present Book, where describing Sin [and Death] as marching through the Works of Nature, he adds,

---Behind her Death
Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horse:

Which alludes to that Passage in Scripture so wonderfully Poetical, and terrifying to the Imagination. And I looked, and behold, a pale Horse, and his Name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with sickness, and with the beasts of the earth. Under this first head of Celestial Persons we must likewise take notice of the Command which the Angels received, to produce [the] several Changes in Nature, and fully the Beauty of the Creation. Accordingly they are represented as infecting the Stars and Planets with malignant Influences, weakening the Light of the Sun, bringing down the Winter into the milder Regions of Nature, planting Winds and Storms in several Quarters of the Sky, storing the Clouds with Thunder, and in short, perverting the whole frame of the Universe to the condition of its Criminal inhabitants. As this is a noble Incident in the Poem, the following Lines, in which we see the Angels heaving up the Earth, and
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placing it in a different posture to the Sun from what it had before the Fall of Man, is conceived with that sublime Imagination which was so peculiar to this great Author.

Some say he bid his angels turn ascanfe
The Poles of earth twice ten degrees and more
From the Sun's Axle; they with labour push'd
Oblique the Centrick Globe——

We are in the second place to consider the Infernal Agents under the View which Milton has given us of them in this Book. It is observed by those who would set forth the Greatness of Virgil's Plan, that he conducts his Reader thro' all the Parts of the Earth which were discover'd in his time. Asia, Africk and Europe are the several Scenes of his Fable. The Plan of Milton's Poem is of an infinitely greater extent, and fills the Mind with many more astonishing Circumstances. Satan, having surrounded the Earth seven times, departs at length from Paradise. We afterwards [then] see him steering his Course among the Constellations, and after having traversed the whole Creation, pursuing his Voyage through the Chaos, and entering into his own Infernal Dominions.

His first appearance in the Assembly of Fallen Angels is work'd up with Circumstances which give a delightful Surprize to the Reader; but there is no Incident in the whole Poem which does this more than the Transformation of the whole Audience, that follows the account their Leader gives them of his Expedition. The gradual change of Satan himself is described after Ovid's manner, and may vie with any of those celebrated Transformations which are looked upon as the most beautiful parts in that Poet's Works. Milton never fails of improving his own Hints, and bestowing the last finishing Touches to every Incident which is admitted into his Poem. The unexpected Hifs which rises in this Episode, the Dimensions and Bulk of Satan so much superior to those of the Infernal Spirits who lay under the same Transformation, with the
annual Change which they are supposed to suffer, are Instances of this kind. The Beauty of the Diction is very remarkable in this whole Episodpe, as I have observed in the Sixth Paper of these my Remarks the great Judgment with which it was contrived.

The Parts of Adam and Eve, or the Humane Persons, come next under our Consideration. Milton's Art is nowhere more shewn than in his conducting the parts of these our first Parents. The Representation he gives of them, without falsifying the Story, is wonderfully contrived to influence the Reader with Pity and Compassion towards them. Tho' Adam involves the whole Species in Misery, his Crime proceeds from a Weakness which every Man is inclin'd to pardon and commiserate, as it seems rather the frailty of Humane Nature, than of the Person who offended. Every one is apt to excuse a Fault which he himself might have fallen into. It was the Excess of Love for Eve that ruined Adam and his Posterity. I need not add, that the Author is justified in this particular by many of the Fathers, and the most Orthodox Writers. Milton has by this means filled a great part of his Poem with that kind of Writing which the French Criticks call the Tender, and which is in a particular manner engaging to all sorts of Readers.

Adam and Eve, in the Book we are now considering, are likewise drawn with such Sentiments as do not only interest the Reader in their Afflictions, but raise in him the most melting Passions of Humanity and Commiseration. When Adam fees the several Changes in Nature produced about him, he appears in a disorder of Mind suitable to one who had forfeited both his Innocence and his Happiness. He is filled with Horror, Remorse, Despair; in the anguish of his Heart he expostulates with his Creator for giving [having given] him an unasked Existence.

Did I request thee, Maker, from my Clay  
To mould me Man, did I solicit thee  
From darkness to promote me, or here place
In this delicious Garden? as my will
Concur'd not to my being, 'twere but right
And equal to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resign, and render back
All I receiv'd———

He immediately after recovers from his Presumption, owns his Doom to be just, and begs that the Death which is threaten'd him may be inflicted on him.

— — —Why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day? Why do I overlive,
Why am I mock'd with Death, and lengthen'd out
To Deathless pain? how gladly would I meet
Mortality my Sentence, and be earth
Infenfible, how glad would lay me down
As in my mothers lap? there should I rest
And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
Would thunder in my ears, no fear of worfe
To me and to my off-spring, would torment me
With cruel expectation.———

This whole Speech is full of the like Emotion, and varied with all those Sentiments which we may suppose natural to a Mind so broken and disturb'd. I must not omit that generous Concern which our first Father shows in it for his Posterity, and which is so proper to affect the Reader.

———Hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my height
Of Happines: yet well, if here would end
The mifery, I deserv'd it, and would bear
My own defervings; but this will not serve;
All that I eat, or drink, or fhall beget,
Is propagated Curse. O voice once heard
Delightfully, encrease and multiply,
Now Death to hear!———

———In me all
Posterity stands curst: Fair Patrimony
That I must leave you, Sons; O were I able
To waste it all my self, and leave you none!
So disinherited how would you bless
Me now your curse! Ah, why should all Mankind
For one Mans fault thus guiltless be condemn'd
If guiltless? But from me what can proceed
But all corrupt———

Who can afterwards behold the Father of Mankind
extended upon the Earth, uttering his Midnight Com-
plaints, bewailing his Existence, and wishing for Death,
without sympathizing with him in his Distress?

Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
Through the still night, not now, as e're man fell
Wholesome and cool and mild, but with black Air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom
Which to his evil Conscience represented
All things with double terror: on the Ground
Outstretched he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
Curs'd his Creation, Death as oft accus'd
Of tardy execution.—

The Part of Eve in this Book is no less passionate,
and apt to sway the Reader in her Favour. She is
represented with great Tenderness as approaching
Adam, but is spurn'd from him with a Spirit of
Upbraiding and Indignation conformable to the
Nature of Man, whose Passions had now gained the
Dominion over him. The following Passage, wherein
she is described as renewing her Addresses to him,
with the whole Speech that follows it, have something
in them exquisitely moving and pathetick.

He added not, and from her turn'd: but Eve
Not so repuls'd, with tears that ceas'd not flowing
And tresses all disorder'd, at his Feet
Fell humble, and embracing them, besought
His peace, and thus proceeding in her plaint.

Forsake me not thus Adam, witness Heav'n
What love sincere and reverence in my heart
I bear thee, and unwitting have offended,
Unhappily deceiv'd; thy Suppliant
I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not,
Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
My only strength and stay: Forlorn of thee
Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
While yet we live scarce one short hour perhaps,
Between us two let there be peace, &c.

Adam's Reconciliation to her is worked up in the same Spirit of Tenderness. Eve afterwards proposes to her Husband, in the Blindness of her Despair, that to prevent their Guilt from descending upon Posterity they should resolve to live Childless; or, if that could not be done, that they should seek their own Deaths by violent Methods. As those Sentiments naturally engage the Reader to regard the Mother of Mankind with more than ordinary Commiseration, they likewise contain a very fine Moral. The Resolution of dying to end our Miseries does not shew such a degree of Magnanimity as a Resolution to bear them, and submit to the Dispensations of Providence. Our Author has therefore, with great Delicacy, represented Eve as entertaining this Thought, and Adam as disapproving it.

We are, in the last place, to consider the Imaginary Persons, or Sin and Death, who act a large part in this Book. Such beautiful extended Allegories are certainly some of the finest Compositions of Genius; but, as I have before observed, are not agreeable to the Nature of an Heroic Poem. This of Sin and Death is very exquisite in its kind, if not considered as a Part of such a Work. The Truths contained in it are so clear and open that I shall not lose time in explaining them, but shall only observe, that a Reader who knows the strength of the English Tongue will be amazed to think how the Poet could find such apt Words and Phrases to describe the Action[s] of these [those] two imaginary Persons, and particularly in that Part where Death is exhibited as forming a Bridge over the Chaos: a Work suitable to the Genius of Milton.

Since the Subject I am upon gives me an Opportunity of speaking more at large of such Shadowy and
imaginary Persons as may be introduced into Heroic Poems, I shall beg leave to explain myself on [in] a Matter which is curious in its kind, and which none of the Criticks have treated of. It is certain *Homer* and *Virgil* are full of imaginary Persons, who are very beautiful in Poetry when they are just shown, without being engaged in any Series of Action. *Homer* indeed represents *Sleep* as a Person, and ascribes a short Part to him in his *Iliad*; but we must consider that tho' we now regard such a Person as entirely Shadowy and unsubstantial, the Heathens made Statues of him, placed him in their Temples, and looked upon him as a real Deity. When *Homer* makes use of other such Allegorical Persons it is only in short Expressions, which convey an ordinary Thought to the Mind in the most pleasing manner, and may rather be looked upon as Poetical Phrases than allegorical Descriptions. Instead of telling us that Men naturally fly when they are terrified, he introduces the Persons of *Flight* and *Fear*, who he tells us are inseparable Companions. Instead of saying that the Time was come when *Apollo* ought to have received his Recompence, he tells us that the *Hours* brought him his Reward. Instead of describing the Effects which *Minerva's* *Ægis* produced in Battell, he tells us that the Brims of it were encompassed by *Terror*, *Rout*, *Discord*, *Fury*, *Pursuit*, *Majacre* and *Death*. In the same Figure of speaking he represents *Victory* as following *Diomedes*; *Discord* as the Mother of Funerals and Mourning, *Venus* as dressed by the *Graces*, *Bellona* as wearing Terrors and Consternation like a Garment. I might give several other Instances out of *Homer*, as well as a great many out of *Virgil*. *Milton* has likewise very often made use of the same way of speaking, as where he tells us that *Victory* sat on the right hand of the Messiah, when he march'd forth against the Rebel Angels; that at the rising of the Sun the *Hours* unbar'd the Gates of Light; that *Discord* was the Daughter of *Sin*. Of the same nature are those Expressions where describing the singing of the Nightin-
gale, he adds, *Silence was pleased*; and upon the Messiah's bidding Peace to the *Chaos, Confusion heard his voice*. I might add innumerable other* Instances of our Poet's writing in this beautiful Figure. It is plain that these I have mentioned, in which Persons of an imaginary Nature are introduced, are such short Allegories as are not designed to be taken in the literal Sense, but only to convey particular Circumstances to the Reader after an unusual and entertaining Manner. But when such Persons are introduced as principal Actors, and engaged in a Series of Adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an Heroic Poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal Parts. I cannot forbear therefore thinking that *Sin* and *Death* are as improper Agents in a Work of this Nature, as *Strength* and *Violence* [*Necessity*] in one of the Tragedies of *Eschylus*, who represented those two Persons nailing down *Prometheus* to a Rock, for which he has been justly cenfured by the greatest Criticks. I do not know any imaginary Person made use of in a more Sublime manner of thinking than that in one of the Prophets, who describing God as descending from Heaven, and visiting the Sins of Mankind, adds that dreadful Circumstance; *Before him went the Pestilence*. It is certain this imaginary Person might have been described in all her purple Spots. The *Fever* might have march'd before her, *Pain* might have flood at her right *Hand*, *Phrenzy* on her left, and *Death* in her Rear. She might have been introduced as gliding down from the Tail of a Comet, or darted upon the Earth in a Flash of Lightning; She might have tainted the Atmosphere with her Breath; the very glaring of her Eyes might have scattered Infection. But I believe every Reader will think that in such Sublime Writings the mentioning of her as it is done in Scripture has something in it more just, as well as great, than all that the most fanciful Poet could have bestowed upon her in the Richness of his Imagination.
The SPECTATOR.

Crudelis ubique
Lucilus, ubique pavor, & plurima Mortis Imago. Virg.

{All Parts resound with Tumults, Plaints, and Fears, And grisly Death in sundry Shapes appears.

Dryden.}

Saturday, April 26, 1712.

MILTON has shewn a wonderful Art in describing that variety of Passions which arise in our first Parents upon the breach of the Commandment that had been given them. We see them gradually passing from the triumph of their Guilt thro' Remorse, Shame, Despair, Contrition, Prayer, and Hope, to a perfect and compleat Repentance. At the end of the Tenth Book they are represented as prostrating themselves upon the Ground, and watering the Earth with their Tears: To which the Poet joins this beautiful Circumstance, that they offer'd up their Penitential Prayers on the very place where their Judge appeared to them when he pronounced their Sentence.

They forthwith to the place
Repairing, where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confess'd
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears
Watring the Ground—

[There is a Beauty of the same kind in a tragedy of Sophocles, where Oedipus, after having put out his own Eyes, instead of breaking his Neck from the Palace Battlements (which furnishes so elegant an Entertainment for our English Audience) desires that he may be conducted to Mount Cithæron, in order to end his Life in that very Place where he was expos'd in his
Infancy, and where he should then have died, had the Will of his Parents been executed.]

As the Author never fails to give a Poetical turn to his Sentiments, he describes in the beginning of this Book the Acceptance which these their Prayers met with, in a short Allegory form'd upon that beautiful Passage in Holy Writ. And another Angel came and stood at the Altar, having a golden Cenfer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all Saints upon the Golden Altar, which was before the throne: And the smoak of the incense which came with the Prayers of the Saints, ascended up before God.

To Heav'n their prayers
   Flew up, nor mis'd the way, by envious winds
   Blown vagabond or frustrate: in they pass'd
   Dimentionless through Heav'nly doors, then clad
   With incense, where the Golden Altar fumed,
   By their great intercessor, came in sight
   Before the Father's throne—

We have the same Thought expressed a second time in the Intercession of the Messiah, which is conceived in very Emphatick Sentiments and Expressions.

Among the Poetical parts of Scripture which Milton has so finely wrought into this part of his Narration, I must not omit that wherein Ezekiel speaking of the Angels who appeared to him in a Vision, adds that every one had four faces, and that their whole bodies, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about.

The Cohort bright
   Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
   Had, like a double Janus, all their shape
   Spangled with eyes—

The assembling of all the Angels of Heaven to hear the Solemn Decree pass'd upon Man is represented in very lively Ideas. The Almighty is here describ'd as remembring Mercy in the midst of Judgment, and
commanding Michael to deliver his Message in the mildest terms, lest the Spirit of Man, which was already broken with the Sense of his Guilt and Misery, should fail before him.

——— Yet least they faint
At the sad Sentence rigorously urg'd,
For I behold them softened and with tears
Bewailing their excess, all terror hide.

The Conference of Adam and Eve is full of moving Sentiments. Upon their going Abroad after the melancholy Night which they had passed together, they discover the Lion and the Eagle pursuing each of them their Prey towards the Eastern Gates of Paradise. There is a double Beauty in this Incident, not only as it presents great and just Omens which are always agreeable in Poetry; but as it expresses that Enmity which was now produced in the Animal Creation. The Poet, to shew the like changes in Nature, as well as to grace his Fable with a noble Prodigy, represents the Sun in an Eclipfe. This particular Incident has likewise a fine effect upon the Imagination of the Reader, in regard to what follows: For, at the same time that the Sun is under an Eclipfe, a bright Cloud descends in the Western quarter of the Heavens, filled with an Host of Angels, and more luminous than the Sun it self. The whole Theatre of Nature is darkned, that this glorious Machine may appear in all its lustre and magnificence.

——— Why in the East
Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning light
More orient in that Western cloud that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something heav'nly fraught?
He err'd not; for by this the heav'nly bands
Down from a Sky of Jasper lighted now
In Paradise, and on a Hill made halt;
A glorious apparition———

I need not observe how properly this Author, who always suits his Parts to the Actors whom he intro-
duces, has employed Michael in the Expulsion of our first Parents from Paradise. The Arch-angel on this occasion neither appears in his proper Shape, nor in that familiar manner with which Raphael the sociable Spirit entertained the Father of Mankind before the Fall. His Person, his Port and Behaviour, are suitable to a Spirit of the highest Rank, and exquisitely describ'd in the following Passage.

——— Th’ Archangel soon drew nigh
Not in his shape Celestial; but as man
Clad to meet man; over his lucid arms
A military vest of purple flow’d
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by Kings and Heroes old
In time of truce; Iris had dipt the Wooff:
His starry helm, unbuckled, shew’d him prime
In Manhood where Youth ended; by his side
As in a glistening Zodiac hung the Sword,
Satan’s dire dread, and in his hand the Spear.
Adam bow’d low; he kingly from his state
Inclined not, but his coming thus declar’d.

Eve’s Complaint upon hearing that she was to be removed from the Garden of Paradise is wonderfully beautiful. The Sentiments are not only proper to the Subject, but have something in them particularly soft and womanish.

Must I then leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
Thee, native Soil, these happy walks and shades,
Fit haunt of Gods? Where I had hoped to spend
Quiet though sad the respite of that day
That must be mortal to us both. O flow’rs
That never will in other Climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At Even, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first opening bud, and gave you names,
Who now shall rear you to the Sun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from th’ ambrosial fount?
Thee lastly, Nuptial bowre, by me adorn’d
With what to fight or smell was sweet; from thee
How shall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower world, to this obscure
And wild, how shall we breath in other air
Less pure, accustom'd to immortal fruits?

Adam's Speech abounds with Thoughts which are equally moving, but of a more Masculine and elevated Turn. Nothing can be conceived more Sublime and Poetical, than the following Passage in it:

>This most afflicts me, that departing hence
As from his face I shall be hid, deprived
His blessed Countenance; here I could frequent.
With worship, place by place where he vouchsafed
Prefence divine, and to my Sons relate;
On this mount he appear'd, under this tree
Stood visible, among these Pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this fountain talk'd:
So many grateful Altars I would rear
Of grasse turf, and pile up every Stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory,
Or monument to ages, and thereon
Offer sweet smelling Gums and fruits and flowers:
In yonder nether world where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or footsteps trace?
For though I fled him angry, yet recall'd
To life prolong'd and promised race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost Skirts
Of Glory, and far off his Steps adore.

The Angel afterwards leads Adam to the highest Mount of Paradise, and lays before him a whole Hemisphere, as a proper Stage for those Visions which were to be represented on it. I have before observed how the Plan of Milton's Poem is in many Particulars greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid. Virgil's Hero, in the last of these Poems, is entertained with a sight of all those who are to descend from him; but tho' that Episode is justly admired as one of the noblest
Designs in the whole Æneid, every one must allow that this of Milton is of a much higher Nature. Adam’s Vifion is not confined to any particular Tribe of Man-kind, but extends to the whole Species.

In this great Review, which Adam takes of all his Sons and Daughters, the first Objects he is presented with exhibit to him the Story of Cain and Abel, which is drawn together with much Closeness and Propriety of Expression. That Curiosity and natural Horror which arises in Adam at the Sight of the first dying Man is touched with great beauty.

_But have I now seen death, is this the way_
_I must return to native dust? O Sight_
_Of terror foul and ugly to behold,_
_Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!_

The second Vifion sets before him the Image of Death in a great Variety of Appearances. The Angel, to give him a General Idea of those Effects, which his Guilt had brought upon his Posterity, places before him a large Hospital, or Lazar-house, fill’d with Persons lying under all kinds of Mortal Diseafes. How finely has the Poet told us that the sick Persons languished under Lingring and Incurable Diseafers by an apt and Judicious use of such Imaginary Diseafers by such Imaginary Beings, as those I mentioned in my last Saturday’s Paper.

_Dire was the toffing, deep the Groans, Despair_
_Tended the Sick, busie from Couch to Couch;_
_And over them triumphant Death his dart_
_Shook, but delay’d to strike, though oft invoked_
_With vows as their chief good and final hope._

The Passion which likewise rises in Adam on this Occasion is very natural.

_Sight so deform what Heart of rock could long_
_Dry-ey’d behold? Adam could not, but wept,_n_Tho’ not of Woman born; Compassion quell’d_
_His best of Man, and gave him up to tears._
The Discourse between the Angel and Adam which follows, abounds with noble Morals.

As there is nothing more delightful in Poetry, than a Contrast and Opposition of Incidents, the Author, after this melancholy prospect of Death and Sickness, raises up a Scene of Mirth, Love and Jollity. The secret Pleasure that steals into Adam's Heart, as he is intent upon this Vision, is imagined with great Delicacy. I must not omit the Description of the loose Female troupe, who seduced the Sons of God as they are call'd in Scripture.

For that fair female troupe thou saw'st that seemed
Of Goddesses so Blithe, so Smooth, so Gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists
Womans domestic honour and chief praise;
Born only and compleated to the taste
Of lustful appetite, to sing, to dance,
To dress, and trouble the tongue, and rouse the Eye.
To these that sober race of Men, whose lives
Religious titled them the Sons of God,
Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame
Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
Of those fair Atheists——

The next Vision is of a quite contrary Nature, and filled with the Horrors of War. Adam, at the sight of it, melts into Tears, and breaks out in that passionate Speech;

O what are these
Deaths ministers not Men, who thus deal death
Inhumanly to Men, and multiply
Ten thousand fold the Sin of him who slew
His Brother: for of whom such Massacre
Make they but of their Brethren, men of men?

Milton, to keep up an agreeable variety in his Visions, after having raised in the Mind of his Reader the several Ideas of Terror which are conformable to the Description of War, passes on to those softer Images of Triumphs and Festivals, in that Vision of Lewdness and Luxury, which ushered in the Flood.
As it is visible, that the Poet had his Eye upon Ovid's account of the universal Deluge, the Reader may observe with how much Judgment he has avoided everything that is redundant or puerile in the Latin Poet. We do not here see the Wolf swimming among the Sheep, nor any of those wanton Imaginations which Seneca has found fault with, as unbecoming this great Catastrophe of Nature. If our Poet has imitated that Verse in which Ovid tells us, that there was nothing but Sea, and that this Sea had no Shoar to it, he has not fet the Thought in such a light as to incur the Censure which Criticks have passed upon it. The latter part of that Verse in Ovid is idle and superfluous; but just and beautiful in Milton.

_Jamque mare & tellus nullum discrimen habebant, Nil nifi pontus erat, deerant quoque littora ponto._ Ovid.

_Sea cover'd Sea, Sea without Shoar_ Milton.

In Milton the former part of the Description does not foreshall the latter. How much more great and solemn on this occasion is that which follows in our English Poet,

_And in their palaces
Where luxury late reign'd, Sea Monsters whelp'd And Stab'd_

than that in Ovid, where we are told, that the Sea Calfs lay in those places where the Goats were used to browse? The Reader may find several other Parallel Passages in the Latin and English Description of the Deluge, wherein our Poet has visibly the Advantage. The Sky's being over-charged with Clouds, the descending of the Rains, the rising of the Seas, and the appearance of the Rainbow, are such Descriptions as every one must take notice of. The Circumstance relating to Paradise is so finely imagined and suitable to the Opinions of many learned Authors, that I cannot forbear giving it a place in this Paper.
Then shall this mount
Of Paradise by might of Waves be moved
Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees a drift
Down the great river to the opening Gulf,
And there take root an Island flat and bare,
The haunt of Seals and Orcs, and Sea-Mews clang:

The Transition which the Poet makes from the Vision of the Deluge, to the Concern it occasioned in Adam, is exquisitely graceful, and copied after Virgil, tho' the first Thought it introduces is rather in the Spirit of Ovid.

How didst thou grieve, then, Adam, to behold
The end of all thy Off-spring, end so sad,
Depopulation; thee another flood,
Of tears and sorrow, a flood thee also drown'd,
And funk thee as thy Sons: 'till gently rear'd
By th' Angel, on thy feet thou flood'st at last,
Though comfortlefs, as when a father mourns
His Children, all in view destroy'd at once.

I have been the more particular in my Quotations out of the Eleventh Book of Paradise Lost, because it is not generally reckoned among the most shining Books of this Poem. For which reason, the Reader might be apt to overlook those many Passages in it, which deserve our Admiration. The Eleventh and Twelfth are indeed built upon that single Circumstance of the Removal of our first Parents from Paradise; but tho' this is not in it self so great a Subject as that in most of the foregoing Books, it is extended and diversify'd with so many surprizing Incidents and pleasing Episodes, that these two last Books can by no means be looked upon as unequal Parts of this divine Poem. I must further add, that had not Milton represented our first Parents as driven out of Paradise, his Fall of Man would not have been compleat, and consequently his Action would have been imperfect.
Milton, after having represented in Vision the History of Mankind to the First great Period of Nature, dispatches the remaining Part of it in Narration. He has devised a very handsome Reason for the Angel's proceeding with Adam after this manner; though doubtless, the true Reason was the difficulty which the Poet would have found to have shadowed out so mixt and complicated a Story in visible Objects. I could wish, however, that the Author had done it, whatever Pains it might have cost him. To give my Opinion freely, I think that the exhibiting Part of the History of Mankind in Vision, and part in Narrative, is as if an History Painter should put in Colours one half of his Subject, and write down the remaining part of it. If Milton's Poem flags any where, it is in this Narration, where in some places the Author has been so attentive to his Divinity, that he has neglected his Poetry. The Narration, however, rises very happily on several Occasions, where the Subject is capable of Poetical Ornaments, as particularly in the Confusion which he describes among the Builders of Babel, and in his short Sketch of the Plagues of Egypt. The Storm of Hail and Fire, with the Darkness that overspread the Land for three Days, are described with great Strength. The beautiful Passage, which follows, is raised upon noble Hints in Scripture.
Thus with ten wounds
The River-Dragon tam'd at length submits
To let his Sojourners depart, and oft
Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as Ice
More harden'd after thaw, till in his rage
Pursuing whom he late dismis'd, the Sea
Swallows him with his hoist, but them lets pass
As on dry land between two Chrysal walls,
And by the rod of Moses so to stand
Divided——

The River-Dragon is an Allusion to the Crocodile, which inhabits the Nile, from whence Egypt derives her Plenty. This Allusion is taken from that Sublime Passage in Ezekiel. Thus faith the Lord God, behold, I am against thee Pharaoh King of Egypt, the great Dragon that lieth in the midst of his Rivers, which hath said, My River is mine own, and I have made it for my self. Milton has given us another very noble and Poetical Image in the fame Description, which is copied almost Word for Word out of the History of Moses.

All night he will pursue, but his approach
Darkness defends between till morning watch;
Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
God looking forth, will trouble all his hoast,
And craze their Chariot Wheels: when by command
Moses once more his potent Rod extends
Over the Sea; the Sea his Rod obeys;
On their Embattel'd ranks the waves return
And overwhelm their War:——

As the Principal Design of this Episode was to give Adam an Idea of the Holy Person, who was to reinstate Human Nature in that Happiness and Perfection from which it had fallen, the Poet confines himself to the Line of Abraham, from whence the Messiah was to Descend. The Angel is described as seeing the Patriarch actually travelling towards the Land of Promise, which gives a particular Liveliness to this part of the Narration.

I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith
He leaves his Gods, his Friends, and [his] native Soil
Ur of Chaldea, pausing now the Ford
To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
Of Herds and flocks, and numerous servitude;
Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth
With God, who call'd him, in a Land unknown.
Canaan he now attains; I see his tents
Pitch't about Sechem, and the neighbouring plain
Of Moreh, there by promise he receives
Gift to his Progeny of all that Land;
From Hamath Northward to the Desert South;
(Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd.)

As Virgil's Vision in the Sixth Æneid probably gave Milton the Hint of this whole Episode, the last Line is a Translation of that Verse, where Anchises mentions the Names of Places, which they were to bear hereafter.

Hae tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt fine nomine terræ.

The Poet has very finely represented the Joy and Gladness of Heart, which rises in Adam upon his Discovery of the Messiah. As he sees his Day at a distance through Types and Shadows, he rejoices in it; but when he finds the Redemption of Man compleated, and Paradise again renewed, he breaks forth in Rapture and Transport,

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce. &c.

I have hinted, in my Sixth Paper on Milton, that an Heroic Poem, according to the Opinion of the best Criticks, ought to end happily, and leave the Mind of the Reader, after having conducted it through many Doubts and Fears, Sorrows and Disquietudes, in a state of Tranquillity and Satisfaction. Milton's Fable, which had so many other Qualifications to recommend it, was deficient in this Particular. It is here therefore, that the Poet has shewn a most exquisite Judgment, as well as the finest Invention, by finding out a Method to supply this Natural Defect in his Subject. Accordingly he leaves the Adversary of Mankind, in
the last View which he gives us of him, under the lowest State of Mortification and Disappointment. We see him chewing Ashes, grovelling in the Dust, and loaded with Supernumerary Pains and Torments. On the contrary, our two first Parents are comforted by Dreams and Visions, cheered with Promises of Salvation, and, in a manner, raised to a greater Happiness than that which they had forfeited: In short, Satan is represented miserable in the height of his Triumphs, and Adam triumphant in the height of Misery.

Milton's Poem ends very nobly. The last Speeches of Adam and the Arch-angel are full of Moral and Instructive Sentiments. The Sleep that fell upon Eve, and the effects it had in quieting the Disorders of her Mind, produces the same kind of Consolation in the Reader, who cannot peruse the last beautiful Speech which is ascrib'd to the Mother of Mankind, without a secret Pleasure and Satisfaction.

\[
\text{Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know;} \\
\text{For God is also in Sleep, and dreams advise,} \\
\text{Which he hath sent propitious, some great good} \\
\text{Prefaging, since with Sorrow and Hearts distress'd} \\
\text{Weary'd I fell asleep: but now lead on;} \\
\text{In me is no delay: with thee to go} \\
\text{Is to stay here; without thee here to stay} \\
\text{Is to go hence unwilling: thou to me} \\
\text{Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou} \\
\text{Who for my wilful crime art banish'd hence.} \\
\text{This further Consolation yet secure} \\
\text{I carry hence; though all by me is lost} \\
\text{Such favour, I unworthy, am vouchsaf'd,} \\
\text{By me the promis'd Seed shall all restore.}
\]

The following Lines which conclude the Poem rise in a most glorious blaze of Poetical Images and Expressions.

Heliodorus in his \textit{Æthiopicks} acquaints us that the Motion of the Gods differs from that of Mortals, as the former do not stir their Feet, nor proceed Step by Step, but slide o'er the Surface of the Earth by an
uniform Swimming of the whole Body. The Reader may observe with how Poetical a Description Milton has attributed the fame kind of Motion to the Angels who were to take Possession of Paradise.

So spake our Mother Eve, and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but answer'd not; for now too nigh
Th' Arch-angel flood, and from the other hill
To their fix'd station, all in bright array
The Cherubim descended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening mist
Ris'n from a River, o'er the marshy glides,
And gathers ground fast at the laborers heel
Homeward returning. High in Front advance'd,
The brandish'd Sword of God before them blaz'd
Fierce as a Comet

The Author helped his Invention in the following Passage, by reflecting on the Behaviour of the Angel, who, in Holy Writ, has the Conduct of Lot and his Family. The Circumstances drawn from that Relation are very gracefully made use of on this Occasion.

In either hand the hastning Angel caught
Our lingering Parents, and to the Eastern gate
Led them direct; and down the Cliff as fast
To the subjected plain; then disappear'd.
They looking back &c.

The Prospect [Scene] which our first Parents are surprized with upon their looking back on Paradise, wonderfully strikes the Reader's Imagination, as nothing can be more natural than the Tears they shed on that Occasion.

They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy Seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming brand, the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery Arms:
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to chuse
Their place of rest, and providence their Guide:
If I might presume to offer at the smallet Alteration
in this Divine Work, I should think the Poem would end better with the Passage here quoted, than with the two Verses which follow.

_They hand in hand with wandering steps and flow,_  
_Through Eden took their solitary way._

These two Verses, though they have their Beauty, fall very much below the foregoing Passage, and renew in the Mind of the Reader that Anguish which was pretty well laid by that Consideration,

_The World was all before them, where to choose_  
_Their place of rest, and providence their Guide._

The number of Books in *Paradise Lost* is equal to those of the *Aeneid*. Our Author in his First Edition had divided his Poem into ten Books, but afterwards broke the Seventh and the Eleventh each of them into two different Books, by the help of some small Additions. This second Division was made with great Judgment, as any one may see who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the sake of such a Chimerical Beauty as that of resembling *Virgil* in this particular, but for the more just and regular Disposition of this great Work.

Those who have read Boffu, and many of the Criticks who have written since his time, will not pardon me if I do not find out the particular Moral which is inculcated in *Paradise Lost*. Tho' I can by no means think with the last-mentioned French Author, that an Epic Writer first of all pitches upon a certain Moral, as the Ground-work and Foundation of his Poem, and afterwards finds out a Story to it: I am, however, of Opinion, that no just Heroic Poem ever was, or can be made, from whence one great Moral may not be deduced. That which reigns in *Milton* is the most universal and most useful that can be imagined: it is in short this, _that Obedience to the Will of God makes Men happy, and that Disobedience makes them miserable_. This is visibly the Moral of the principal Fable which turns upon Adam and Eve, who
continued in *Paradise* while they kept the Command that was given them, and were driven out of it as soon as they had transgressed. This is likewise the Moral of the principal Episod, which shews us how an innumerable multitude of Angels fell from their State of Bliss, and were cast into Hell upon their Disobedience. Besides this great Moral, which may be looked upon as the Soul of the Fable, there are an infinity of Under-Morals which are to be drawn from the several parts of the Poem, and which make this Work more useful and instructive than any other Poem in any Language.

Those who have criticised on the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad*, and *Aeneid*, have taken a great deal of pains to fix the number of Months or Days contain'd in the Action of each of those Poems. If any one thinks it worth his while to examine this Particular in *Milton*, he will find that from Adam’s first Appearance in the Fourth Book, to his Expulsion from *Paradise* in the Twelfth, the Author reckons ten Days. As for that part of the Action which is described in the three first Books, as it does not pass within the Regions of Nature, I have before observ'd that it is not subject to any Calculations of Time.

I have now finish’d my Observations on a Work which does an Honour to the English Nation. I have taken a general View of it under those four Heads, the Fable, the Characters, the Sentiments and the Language, and made each of them the Subject of a particular Paper. I have in the next place spoken of the Censures which our Author may incur under each of these Heads, which I have confined to two Papers, tho’ I might have enlarged the number, if I had been disposed to dwell on so ungrateful a Subject. I believe, however, that the severest Reader will not find any little fault in Heroic Poetry, which this Author has fallen into, that does not come under one of those Heads among which I have distributed his several Blemishes. After having thus treated at large of *Paradise Lost*, I could not think it sufficient to have celebrated this Poem in the whole, without descending to Particulars. I have therefore bestowed a
Paper upon each Book, and endeavoured not only to shew [prove] that the Poem is beautiful in general, but to point out its particular Beauties, and to determine wherein they consist. I have endeavoured to shew how some Passages are beautiful by being Sublime, others by being Soft, others by being Natural; which of them are recommended by the Passion, which by the Moral, which by the Sentiment, and which by the Expression. I have [likewise] endeavoured to shew how the Genius of the Poet shines by a happy Invention, a distant Allusion, or a judicious Imitation; how he has copied or improved Homer or Virgil, and raised his own Imaginations by the use which he has made of several Poetical Passages in Scripture. I might have inserted [also] several Passages of Tasso, which our Author has likewise* imitated; but as I do not look upon Tasso to be a sufficient Voucher, I would not perplex my Reader with such Quotations, as might do more Honour to the Italian than the English Poet. In short, I have endeavoured to particularize those innumerable Kinds of Beauty, which it would be tedious to recapitulate, but which are essential to Poetry, and which may be met with in the Works of this great Author. Had I thought, at my first engaging in this Design, that it would have led me to so great a length, I believe I should never have entered upon it; but the kind Reception which it has met with among those whose Judgments I have a Value for, as well as the uncommon Demands which my Bookseller tells me has been made for these particular Discourses, give me no Reason to repent of the Pains I have been at in composing them.
English Reprints.

5TH ADDRESS. 1ST December 1869.

Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

The assumption, in May last, of the publication in addition to the editing of the Series; while it has ensured its perpetuation and increase, has inevitably somewhat slackened the appearance of new works. Nevertheless in the present year, 9 Reprints containing about 1350 pages will have been issued, as compared with 12 Reprints and 1592 pages in 1868. The aggregate 21 books containing the entire texts of 33 publications originally printed between 1482 and 1712, A.D.

In addition: the Large Paper Edition has been commenced and brought down to The Monk of Evesham. Many lovers of choice books have bestowed emphatic approval upon the issue in this form, quite apart from its very low price.

My most grateful thanks are due and tendered, for a large assistance and support constantly afforded to me, as well in the Production as in the Sales.

Looking forward: I have on this occasion to announce further growth in the Series; and in so doing to invite attention to sizes of pages and the like.

I. Foolscap 8vo. The Ordinary Issue. Seven Reprints, originally announced for this year, being carried on to 1870; I propose—unforeseen obstacles not preventing—undertaking, if possible, the following 8vo works, in the undermentioned order, and at the prices stated at pp. 8-14; which prices are approximate within a sixpence per work, as it is not easy to forecast exactly the varying expenses of so many books:

W. HABINGTON. Castara. 1640.
R. ASCHAM. The Scholemaster. 1570.
Tottel's Miscellany. Songs and Sonnettes by H. Howard, and other. 1557
Rev. T. LEVER. Sermons. 1550.
W. WEBBE. A Discourse of English Poetrie. 1586.
Sir W. RAILEIGH and G. MARKHAM. The Fight in the 'Revenge.' 1590-5.
T. SACKVILLE and T. NORTON. Ferrex and Porrex. 1560.
J. HALL. Horse Vacive.
T. TUSSER. Five Hundred Points of Husbandrie. 1580.
Sir T. ELYOT. The Governour. 1531.

Two large works will be interpolated, when ready—the "Harmony of Bacon's Essays," 3s., which is partially done. This, when finished, will be followed by J. Howell's Epistle Ho-Elianae, which will be issued at 6s. The prices in all instances being proportionate to the bulk of the work.
II. The Foolscap 4to, 'Large Paper Edition,' will be continued from time to time, at prices corresponding to the 8vo Issue.

I have now to introduce two new sizes.

III. Demy 4to. Previous to the first 'English Reprint'—Milton's Areopagitica—being sent to press, it was foreseen that the size then adopted—fcap. 8vo—though possessing many advantages, would be inconvenient in cases where a Reprint would exceed 800 or 1000 page in that size. Subsequent observation and experiment would seem to show Demy 4to, to be as small a form of page capable of carrying a host of letters, and yet at the same time clear, readable, handy and hand some, as may perhaps be found.

In this size, I purpose issuing, from time to time, works that now most of us never dream of possessing; either from the scarcity of the original texts, or the cost of any existing reprints. In fact, to reproduce an old folio or bulky quarto, at the price of an ordinary modern book as 5s., 7s. 6d., 10s., 15s., and the like. The present scale of cheapness being maintained.

Initial letters have been specially engraved for these 4tos. On alphabet, from the Gothic designs of Juan de Yciar in his scarce Orthographias practicas, published at Saragossa in 1548 and again in 1550; and other letters from those in use by our own early printers from John Day to the two Barkers. Altogether, with the best modern printing, these 4tos will be both beautiful and excessively cheap.

They will be issued in stiff covers, uncut edges.

Their contents will interest even more than their appearance. The pioneer volume, now in preparation, contains two translations, &c. by Richard Eden: which are criteria as to the general Cosmical knowledge in England in 1553, and in 1555.

(I.) The Treatise of Newe India, a translation from Sebastia Munster's Cosmographia, was published at an anxious time in 1553. The English fleet, under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, consisting of the Bona Speranza, 120 tons: the Edward Bonaventure 160 tons; the Bona Confi dentia, 90 tons—sent out 'by the right worshipful M. Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, governor of the mysterie and companie of the marchants adventurers for the discouerie of Regions Dominions, Islands and places unknown,' had not long left the English shores—Willoughby never to return—in its attempt to reach Cathay by the North-East. While there was no news, but a continual anxiety Eden thus shows his purpose in his Dedication of this work:

Yet sure I am aswel they which set forthe or take vpon them this viage, as also they which shall have hereafter attempt ye lyke, may in this small boke as in a little glasse see some cleare light, not only how to learne by the example, dammage, good suc cesse, and adventures of others, how to behauie them selues and direct theyr viage to their utmost commoditie, but also if due succeze herein should not chaunce according vnto theyr hope and expectation (as oftentimes chanceth in great affaires) yet not for one foyle or fal, so to be dismayed as wyth shame and dishonor to leave with losse, but rather to the death to persist in a godly honeste, and lawfull purpose, knowing that whereas one death is dewe to nature, the same is more honourably spent in such attemptes as may be to the glory of God and commoditie of our countrey, then it soft beddes at home, among the teares and weping of women.

(2.) Under the title of The decades of the newe world or west India
Eden compiled a number of translations from the works of Peter Martyr Angleria, Oviedo y Valdes, Lopez de Gomara, Pigafetta and others: giving striking and fresh accounts of the discovery and subjection of the New World and of the Circumnavigation of the Globe. Intermixed with these; are the first accounts of the two English voyages to Guinea in 1553 and 1554; and the earliest English notices of Russia, with the exception of the account of R. Chancellor’s voyage, omitted by Eden because of Clement Adam’s recent narration of it, from Chancellor’s own mouth.

For the multifarious contents of this first Demy 4to Reprint—equal in quantity to over 1200 Fcap. 8vo pages—see pp. 4-6. The price will be 10s.

IV. Imperial Folio. Yet a fourth form for large illustrated works is in contemplation. The first Reprint in this size will be of a work which has nearly perished out of mind, but which strikingly illustrates a subject that thrills every Englishman.

The engraver Augustine Ryther published in 1590 a somewhat condensed translation from the Italian of the Florentine Pietro Ubaldini (formerly Illuminator to Edward VI., but then a resident in London), Concerning the Spanishe fleete invadinge Englande in the yeare 1588 and overthrowne by Her Maiestie’s Nauie, &c. &c.

For this small 4to tract, Ryther engraved eleven Plates to scale, showing the positions of the fleets (by the representation of the ships) in the several actions. These plates are now being engraved in facsimile: and though the progress is slow, even to tediousness, I am in hopes that this volume will appear in 1870; and if possible be published for 10s. 6d.

It is therefore hoped, that, in one or other of these forms, the Series may be adequate to the production of any English book.

In conclusion: I shall as heretofore be thankful for any suggestions.

Every month or six weeks at most ought, to see some fresh Reprint. Should a longer interval occur: that is not to be imputed to an imaginary cessation of the Series, of which—the books now just clearing expenses—I have no anticipation whatever: but to my limited leisure time and difficulties in production.

Once more I remit the Sales to the ceaseless advocacy of every Supporter.

These Reprints come to us, like Ships out of the darkness and oblivion of the Past, laden with a varied and precious freight. Exact transcripts of the English language, skilled productions of English minds, ancient deed-rolls of English heroes, and photographs of English manners, are their burden. The speech, thought, and work of Old England are thus being imported into these later ages. Of such wealth may there ever be Store and enough for all English-reading races, both for Now and Aye.

Edward Arber.

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Demy 4to.

Will be ready about March 1870, in one Volume, 10s.

RICHARD EDEN.

I. A treatise OF THE NEWE INDIA, WITH OTHER NEW FOUNDE LANDES AND ISLANDS, ASWELL EASTWARDE AS WESTWARDE, as they are knowned and found in these oure dayes, after the descriptioun of SEBASTIAN MUNSTER, in his boke of vniuersall Cosmographie, &c. [London, 1553.]

1. Dedication to the Duke of Northumberland.
2. Rychard Eden to the reader.
3. Of the newe India, as it is knowned and found in these our dayes. In the yeares of our Lord M.D.L. III. After the description of Sebastian Munster in his Booke of the vniuersall Cosmographie, Libr. v. De terris Asia Maioris. And translated into English by Richard Eden.
4. Of the newe India and Ilandes in the West Ocean sea, how, when, and by whom they were found.


1. The [Dedicatory] Epistle [to King Philip and Queen Mary.]
2. Richard Eden to the Reader.
3. The [1st, 2d, and 3d only of the 8] Decades of the newe worlde or west India, Conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large lands and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. In the which the diligent reader may not only consider what commoditie may hereby chance to the hole christian world in tyme to come, but also learne many secretes touchynge the lande, the sea, and the starres, very necessarie to be knowned to al such as shal attempte any nauigations, or otherwise haue delite to beholde the strange and woonderful woorke of god and nature. Wrytten in the Latine tougne by PETER MARTYR of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by RYCHARDE EDEN.

(x) The first Decade [in ten Books]. Of the Ocean.
(x) The second Decade [in ten Books.] Of the supposed Continent or firme lande.
(x) Of the Landes and Ilandes lately founde: and of the maners of the inhabitantes of the same.

4. The Bull of Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, granting to the Spaniards, the Regions and Ilandes founde in the Weste Ocean by them.
5. The Hystorie of the West Indies by GONZALO FERNANDEZ OVIEDO Y VALDES.

Of the ordinary nauigation from Spayne to the Weste Indies.
Of twoo notable thynges as touchyng the West Indies: And of the great rychesse brought from thence into Spayne.

Of the mynes of golde, and the manner of workyng in theym.

Of the maner of fysshinge for perles.

Of the familiaritie which certyeue of the Indians haue wyth the deuylly, and how they receaue answere of hym of thynges to comone.

Of the temperature of the regions vnder neare to the burnt lyne cauled Torrida zone or the Equinocitial: and of the dyuers seasons of the yeare.

Of dyuers particular thynges, as woormes, serpentes, beasts, foules, trees, &c.

Of trees, fruities, and plantes. Of Reedes or Canes.

Of venemous apples wherwith they poysone theyr arrowes.

Of fysshinges and of the maner of fyssh-ingye.

Of the increase and decrease, (that is) rysynge and faultlyngye of our Ocean and South he sauled the sea of Sur.

Of the strayght or narowe passage of the lande lyynge betwene the North and South sea, by the which spyes may much sooner and easlyer be brought from the Islands of Molucca into Spayne by the West Ocean then by that way worship the Portugales sayle into East India.

Howe thynges that are of one kynde, dyffer in forme and qualitie, accordyng to the nature of the place where they are engendred or growe. And of the beasts cauled Tygers.

Of the maners and customes of the Indians of the firme lande, and oftheyr women.

Of the chief Ilandes Hispaniola and Cubi. [firme lande.]

Of the lande of Bucaloeos cauled Bucallearum, situate on the North syde of the

6. Of other notable thinges gathered out of dyuers autors.

(1) Of the vnuersal carde and newe worle.

(2) Of the vyage made by the Spanyards rounde abowte the worlde [by Ferdinand Magelhaens: Written in Italian by Antonio Pigafetta.]

(3) Of the prices of precious stones and Spices, with theyr weights and measures as they are accustomed to be soulethe bothe of the Moores and the gentyles: And of the places where they growe.

(4) The debate and stryf beytweene the Spanyardes and Portugales, for the diuision of the Indies and the trade of Spices. [Written in Spanish by Francisco Lopez de Gomara.]

(5) Of the Pole Antarikhe and the starres abowt the same, &c. [From Americus Vespitius, Andrea de Corsali, Aloisius Cadamustus.]

7. Of Moscouie and Cathay.

(1) A discourse of dyuers vyages and wyayes by the whiche Spices, Precious stones, and golde were brought in owlde tymes from India into Europe and other partes of the world.

Also of the vyage to Cathay and East India by the north sea: And of certyeue secrete fysshing the same vyage, declared by the duke of Moscouie his ambassador to an excellent lerned gentleman of Italie, named Galeatius Butrigarianus.

Lykwyse of the vyages of that worthy owlde man Sebastian Cabote, yet liyngye in Engandle, and at this present the governour of the coompnye of the marchantes of Cathay in the citle of London. [sterand Iacobus Bastaldus.]

(2) A briefe description of Moscouia after the later wytrters, as Sebastian Mun-

(3) Of the North regions and of the moderate and continuall heat in coulde regions aswell in the nyght as in the day in soumner season. Also howe those regions are habitable to the lynhhabitantes of the same, contrary to the[n]opinion of the owlle wytrters.

(4) The historie written in the latin toonge by Paulus Iovius byxshoppe of Nuceria in Italie, of the legation or ambassade of great Basilius Prince of Moscouia, to pope Clement the. vii. of that name: In which is conteyned the description of Moscouia with the regions confininge abowte the same even unto the great and ryche Empire of Cathay. [Sigismundus Liberus.]

(5) Other notable thynges concernyng Moscouia gathered owt of the bookes of

[After which Eden tells us. "As concernyng Moscouia and Cathay, I was mynded to have added hereunto dyuers other thynges, but that for certyeue considerations I was perswaded to proceade no further. Vnto whose requeste, herein satisfyeinge rather other then my selfe, wylynyng otherwise to haue accomplisshed this booke to further perfeccion, I was content to agree for two causes especially mouynge me, whereof the one is, that as touchyng these trades and vyages, as in maner in al
other sciences, there are certeyne seerectes not to bee publyshed and made common to all men. The other cause is, that the parteners at whose charge this booke is printed, although the copy whereof they haue wrought a longe space haue cost them nought doe not neuerthelesse cease dayly to caule vppon me to make an end and proceede no further; affirmynge that the booke wyll bee of to great a pryce and not euery mans money: fearyng rather theyr owne losse and hynderaunce, then carefull to bee beneficall to other, as is nowe in manner the trade of all men. Which ordinarie respecte of priuate commodite hath at this tyme so lyttle moued me, I take god to wytnesse, that for my paynes and traulyes taken herein such as they bee, I may vpoun just occasion thinke my selfe a looser manye wyues, except such men of good inclination as shall take pleasure and feele sum commoditte in the knowledge of these thynges, shall thinke me woorthy theyr good woorde, wherewith I shal repute my selfe and my traulyes so abundantly satysfied, that I shall repute other mens gaynes a recompense for my losses, as they may bee indeede, yt men bee not vn:thankfull, which only vice of ingratitude hath hyndered the worlde of many benefites.]

(6) The letters missiue of Edward VI. in 1553.

8. Other notable thynges as touchyng the Indies [chiefly out of the books of Francisco Lopez de Gomara, 'and partly also out of the carde made by Sebastian Cabot.]

Of the foreknowledge that the poet Seneca had of the fyndynghe this newe worlde and other regions not then known.
Of the great Ilande which Plato cauede Atlantica or Atlantide.
Of the colour of the Indians. Why they were cauede Indians.
The fyrste discouerye of the Weste Indies. [ledge of the Indies.
What manner of man Chrystopher Colon was: and howe he came fyrst to the know-
What labour and traulye Colon tooke in attemptynge his fyrst vyage to the Indies.
Of newe Spayne cauded Nova Hispana, or Mexico. Of Peru.
Of the great ryuer cauled Río de la Plata (that is) the ryuer of syluer.
Of the hygger East Indya caued India Tercera or Trecera.
Of the landes of Laborador and Baccalaos, lyinge west and northwest from Eng-
lande, and beinge parte of the firme lande of the West Indies.
The discouerye of the lande of Floryda. [about the same.
An opinion that Europa, Africa, and Asia, are Ilandes: and of certayne navigations That the Spanyardes haue sayled to the Antipodes (that is) suche as go fiente to fiente ageynst vs, &c.
Who fyrst founde the needle of the compass, and the vs thereof.
The Situacion and byggenes of the earth. What degrees are.

(1) Of the generation of metalles and theyr mynes with the maner of fyndinge the same: written in the Italien tongue by Vannucrius Birinquezius in his booke cauled Pyrotechnia.
(2) Of the myne of golde and the qualitie thereof in particular.
(3) Of the myne of siluer and the qualitie thereof.
(4) The maner of workyng in golde mynes of Egipte in owld tyme.

10. The description of the two viages made out of England into Guinea in Affricke [in 1553, 1554].

[Eden here writes. "That these vyages to Guinea are placed after the booke of Metals as separate from other vyages, the cause hereof is, that after I had deluyered the sayde booke of metalles to the handes of the printers, I was desyred by certeyne my frendes to make summe mention of these viages, that sum memorie thereof myght remaine to our posteritie." . . .

He thus concludes his description, "And to haue sayde thus much of these vyages t may suffice. For (as I haue sayd before) Whereas the parteners at whose charges this book is printed, wold longe sence haue me proceeded no further, I had not thought to haue written any thyng of these vyages but that the liberalitie of master Toy encouraged me to attempt the same. Which I spake not to the reproche of other in whome I thinke there lacked no good wyll, but that they thought the booke wolde be to chargeable."]

11. The maner of fyndynghe the Longitude of regions.

INDEX.
IMPERIAL FOLIO.

1. Petruccio Ubaldini—Augustine Ryther.

A Discourse concerninge the Spanishe fleete invadinge Engelande in the yeare 1588 and ouerthrowne by her Maiesties Nauie vnder the conduction of the Right-honorable the Lorde Charles Howarde highe Admirall of Engelande: written in Italian by PETRUCCIO VBALDINO citizen of Florence, and translated for A. RYTHER: vnto the which discourse are annexed certaine tables expressinge the generall exploites, and conflictes had with the said fleete.

These bookes with the tables belonginge to them are to be solde at the shoppe of A. RYTHER, being a little from Leaden hall next to the Signe of the Tower. [1590.] [In preparation.

DEMY QUARTO.

1. Richard Eden.

(1) A treatyse of the newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes, aswell eastwarde as westwarde, as they are knowne and found in these oure dayes, after the description of SEBASTIAN MUNSTER in his boke of vniuersall Cosmographie: . . . . Translated out of Latin into Englisssh. By Rycharde Eden. [Lond. 1553.]

(2) The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, Conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes of the moste ryche and large landes and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the Kinges of Spayne.

Wrytten in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe by Richarde Eden. [LONDINI. In oedibus Guilhelmi Powell. ANNO 1555. Ten Shillings. [To appear about March 1870.]

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TITLES, PRICES, &c. &c.


(1) A decree of the Starre-Chamber, concerning Printing, made the eleventh day of July last past. London, 1637.


SERMON ON THE PLoughERS. A notable Sermon of ye reverende father Master Hughe Latimer, whiche he preached in ye Shrouds at paules churche in London, on the xviii daye of January. The yere of our Loorde MDXLVIII.


(1) THE SCHOOLE OF ABUSE. Containing a pleasent invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such like Caterpillers of a Commonwealth; Setting up the Flagge of Defiance to their mischievous exercise, and overthrowing their Bulwarkes, by Prophane Writers, Naturall reason, and common experience. A discourse as pleasent for gentlemen that fauour learning, as profitable for all that wyll follow vertue. London. [August?] 1579.

(2) AN APOLOGIE OF THE SCHOOLE OF ABUSE, against Poets, Pipers, and their Excusers. London. [December?] 1579.

Published at 5 Queen Square, London, W.C.
   AN APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE. Written by the right noble, vertuous and learned Sir Philip Sidney, Knight. London. 1595.
   1 6  0 6

5. Edward Webbe, Chief Master Gunner.
The rare and most wonderful thinges which Edward Webbe an Englishman borne, hath scene and passed in his troublesome travailes, in the Citties of Ierusalem, Damasko, Bethel, and Galely: and in the Landes of Iewrie, Egipt, Gtecia, Russia, and in the land of Prester John. Wherein is set forth his extreme slauerie sustained many yeres together, in the Gallies and wars of the great Turk against the Landes of Persia, Tartaria, Spaine, and Portugall, with the manner of his releasement, and comming into London in May last. London. 1590.
   1 6  0 6

   TABLE TALK: being the Discourses of John Selden Esq.; or his Sence of various Matters of Weight and High Consequence relating especially to Religion and State. London. 1689.
   2 6  1 0

7. Roger Ascham.
   TOXOPHILUS. The schole of shooting conteyned in two booke. To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englane, pleasaunte for theyr pastime to rede, and profitable for theyr use to folow, both in warre and peace. London. 1545.
   2 6  1 0

   CRITICISMS OF MILTON'S PARADISE LOST. From The Spectator: being its Saturday issues between 31 December, 1711, and 3 May, 1712.
   2 6  1 0

9. John Lyly, M.A.
   (1) EUPHUES. THE ANATOMY OF WIT. Verie pleasaunt for all Gentlemen to read, and most necessarie to remember. Wherein are contained the delightes that Wit followeth in his youth by the pleasantnes of loue, and the happinesse he reapeth in age, by the perfectnesse of Wisedome. London. 1579.
   (2) EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND. Containing his voyage and adventures, myxed with sundrie pretie discourses of honest Loue,
the Description of the Countrey, the Court, and the manners of that Isle. Delightful to be read, and nothing hurtful to be regarded: wher-in there is small offence by lightnesse giuen to the wise, and lesse occasion of loosesnes proffered to the wanton. London, 1580.

Collated with early subsequent editions. 4 o


THE REHEARSAL. As it was Acted at the Theatre Royal London, 1672. With Illustrations from previous plays, &c. 10 o


(1) A remembravnce of the wel imploied life, and godly end of George Gaskoigne, Esquire, who deceassed at Stalmford in Lincoln shire, the 7 of October 1577. The reporte of GEOR WHETSTONS, Gent an eye witnes of his Godly and Charitable End in this world. Lond. 1577.

(2) Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or rime in English, vritten at the request of Master Edouardi Donati. 1575.

(3) THE STEELE GLAS. A Satyre compiled by George Gassoigne Esquire [Written between Apr. 1575 & Apr. 1576]. Together with

(4) THE COMPLAYNT OF PHYLOMENE. An Elegie compiled by George Gassoigne Esquire [between April 1562 and 3rd April 1576.] London. 1576.


MICRO-COSMOGRAPHIE, or a Peece of the World discovered, in Essays and Characters. London. 1628. With the additions in subsequent editions during the Author’s life time. 10 o


SEVEN SERMONS BEFORE EDWARD VI. (1) The fyrste sermon of Mayster Hugh Latimer, whiche he preached before the Kynges Maiest. wythin his graces palayce at Westmynster. M.D.XLIX. the viii of Marche. (‘)

(2) The seconde [to seventh] Sermon of Master Hughe Latemer, whych he preached before the Kynges majestie, withyn hys graces Palayce at Westminster ye. xv. day of March. 16 M.ccccc.xlix.

Published at 5 Queen Square, London, W.C.

**UTOPIA.** A frutetful pleasaunt, and wittie worke, of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new yle, called Utopia: written in Latine, by the right worthie and famous Sir Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englishe by RAPHE ROBYNSON, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and nowe by him at this seconde edition newlie perused and corrected, and also with divers notes in the margin augmented. London. [1556].

15. George Puttenham.

**THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE.** Contriued into three Bookes: The first of Poets and Poesie, the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament. London. 1589.

16. James Howell, Historiographer Royal to Charles II.

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.** Shewing by what cours, and in what compasse of time, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome, and arrive to the practicall knowledge of the Languages, to good purpose. London. 1642. Collated with the edition of 1650; and in its 'new Appendix for Travelling into Turkey and the Levant parts' added.

17. The earliest known English comedy.

Nicholas Udall, Master of Eton.

**ROISTER DOISTER, [from the unique copy at Eton College].** 1566.

18. **THE REVELATION TO THE MONK OF EVESHAM.** Here begynnyth a mervelous revelacion that was schewyd of almighty god by sent Nycholas to a monke of Eyeshamme yn the days of Kynge Richard the fyrst. And the yere of our lord. M.C.Lxxxvii. [From the unique copy, printed about 1482, in the British Museum].


(1) **THE ESSAYES OF A PRENTISE, IN THE DIVINE ARTE OF POESIE.** Edinburgh 1585.

(2) **A COUNTER BLASTE TO TO-BACCO.** London. 1604.
   Court of Wards.
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21. Thomas Watson, Student at law.
   (1) THE Εκατομπαθία or Passionate Century of Loue. Divided into two parts: whereof, the first expresseth the Authors sufferance in Loue: the latter, his long farewell to Loue and all his tyrannie. Composed by Thomas Watson Gentleman; and published at the request of certaine Gentlemen his very frendes. London [1582.]
   (2) MELIBŒUS T. Watsoni, sive, Ecloga in obitum F. Walsinghami, &c. Londini, 1590.
   (3) AN EGLOGUE, &c., Written first in latine [the above MELIBŒUS] by Thomas Watson Gentleman and now by himselfe translated into English. London, 1590.
   (4) THE TEARS OF FANCY, or Loue disdained. [From the unique copy, wanting Sonnets ix.-xvi., in the possession of S. Christie-Miller, Esq.] London, 1593. [In Dec. 1869. 1 6]

The following will, if possible, appear in the course of 1870:

22. William Habington.
   CASTARA. The third Edition. Corrected and augmented. London, 1640. With the variations of the two previous editions. 1 0

23. Roger Ascham.
   THE SCHOLEMASTER, Or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to vnderstand, write, and speake, the Latin tong, but specially purposed for the priuate brynging vp of youth in lantlemen and Noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such, as haue forgot the Latin tonge, and would, by themselues, without a Scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paines, recouer a sufficient habilitie, to vnderstand, write, and speake Latin. London. 1570. 1 0


(2) A Sermon preached the thrd Sunday in Lent before the Kynges Maiestie, and his honourable counsell. 1550.

(3) A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse, the xiii. day of December. 1550.


27. Sir W. Raleigh—G. Markham. *FIGHT IN THE 'REVENGE.'* (1) A report of the Truth of the fight about the Isles of Acores, this last Sommer. Betwvixt the Revenge, one of her Maiesties Shippes, And an Armada of the King of Spaine. London. 1591.

(2) The most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuille, Knight (.) Bramo assai, poco spero, nulla chieggio. [By Gervase Markham] London. 1595. [Two copies only are known, Mr. Grenville's cost £40.]

28. (1) The earliest known English tragedy; and also the earliest English play in blank verse. Thomas Sackville, afterwards Lord Buckhurst, and Earl of Dorset: and Thomas Norton, of Sharpenhoe ( Beds). 

*THE TRAGEDIE OF FERREX AND PORREX,* set forth without addition or alteration but altogether as the same as shewed on stage before the Queens Maiestie, about nine yeares past, viz. the xvij day of Januarie. 1561. by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. Lond. [1570.]

Collated with the surreptitious edition 'The Tragedie of Gorboduc,' of 1565.

(2) Sackville's *THE INDUCTION to The*
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<th>Title</th>
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<td>Complaynt of Henrye duke of Buckingham, from the second edition of A Myrrovr for Magistrates.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>29.</strong> John Hall.</td>
<td><strong>HORÆ VACIVÆ</strong>, or Essays. Some occasionall considerations.</td>
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<td><strong>30.</strong> Thomas Tusser.</td>
<td><strong>FIVE HUNDRED POINTES OF GOOD HUSBANDRIE</strong>, as well for the Champion, or open Countrie, as also for the woodland, or Seuerall, mixed in euerie Month with HUSWIFE-RIE, with diuers other lessons, as a diet for the former, of the properties of windes, plantes, hops, herbes, bees and approued remedies for sheepe and cattle, with many other matters both profitable and not vnpleasant for the Reader.</td>
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<td><strong>31.</strong> John Milton.</td>
<td>(1) The Life of Mr. John Milton [by his nephew EDWARD PHILLIPS]. From ‘Letters of State written by Mr. John Milton, bet. 1649-59.’</td>
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<td>(2) <strong>THE REASON ON CHURCH-GOVERNEMENT</strong> urg’d against Prelacy. By Mr. John Milton. In two Books.</td>
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<td>(3) Milton’s Letter <strong>OF EDUCATION</strong>. To Master Samuel Hartlib.</td>
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<td><strong>32.</strong> Rev. Phillip Stubbes.</td>
<td>(1) <strong>THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES</strong>: conteyning a discoverie or briefe Summarie of such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as now raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the World: but especialie in a verie famous ILANDE called AILGNA [i.e. Anglia]: Together with most fearefull Examples of Gods Judgementes, executed vpon the wicked for the same, aswell in AILGNA of late, as in other places, elsewhere</td>
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<td>(2) The Second part of <strong>THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES</strong>.</td>
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<td><strong>33.</strong> Sir Thomas Elyot.</td>
<td><strong>THE GOVERNOR</strong>. The boke named the Gouvernor, devised by ye Thomas Elyot Knight. Londini M.D.xxxi. Collated with subsequent editions.</td>
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Published at 5 Queen Square, London, W.C.
The dates in the first column are those with which the several works should certainly, or in all probability, be associated in the History and Literature of England. When these dates are asterisked *, the work was anterior to the date. If the date of composition, &c. differs from that of the particular edition reprinted, the latter is shown in a second column.

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LONDON: 5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.