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A CRITICAL EDITION OF ROGER ASCHAM'S TOXOPHILUS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Ann Edmondson Morehead, B.A., B.S., A.M.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1973

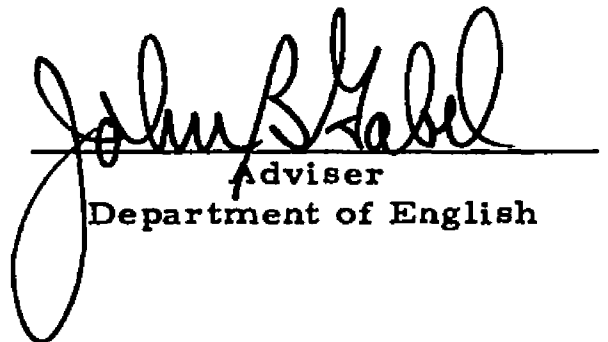
Reading Committee:

Professor John B. Gabel

Professor Ruth W. Hughey

Professor Edwin Robbins

Approved By


Adviser
Department of English

VITA

February 29, 1940 . . . Born - Columbus, Ohio

1961. B.A., B.S., The Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

1962. A.M., The University of Michigan, Ann
Arbor, Michigan

1962-1967. Teaching Assistant, Department of English,
The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1968-1973. Instructor, Department of English, City
College, San Francisco, California

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: English Literature of the Renaissance

Studies in the Renaissance. Professor Ruth Hughey

Studies in Bibliography and Textual Criticism. Professor Hughey
and Professor John B. Gabel

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Occasion and Reception of Toxophilus

Sometime during the first half of 1544, Roger Ascham wrote to Sir William Paget, secretary of state and currently favored councilor of Henry VIII: "I have . . . 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 numble learning."¹ This description of the then unfinished Toxophilus, the schole of shootinge conteyned in two bookes, concludes a list of qualifications which Ascham hoped would persuade Paget to recommend him for the Regius Professorship of Greek, left vacant by Sir John Cheke's departure from Cambridge.² However, Ascham's hopes were disappointed: on 14 July, before Toxophilus could be printed,

¹ Latin letter: Ascham to Paget in The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1865), I, 52; translated on p. xl.

² Giles, I, xxxi-xxxiii; Lawrence V. Ryan, Roger Ascham (Stanford, 1963), p. 41.

Henry sailed for France to undertake the siege of Boulogne,³ and Cheke was allowed to retain his chair until 1547.⁴

Although Ascham's original plan for Toxophilus miscarried, the work brought him later success. He recalled the manuscript from the printer's and on 13 February 1545 wrote to his friend, William Grindal, that he was totally occupied with working on it.⁵ Later in 1545 the treatise was published by Edward Whytchurch. Hoping to acquire a patron to replace Archbishop Lee, who had died in September 1544,⁶ Ascham sent copies of Toxophilus to Queen Catherine; the Queen's brother, William Parr, the Earl of Essex; the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Wriothesley; and other important members of Henry's court.⁷ Even more ambitiously, Ascham dedicated Toxophilus to the King: the council received the work enthusiastically and Henry, in turn, summoned Ascham to Greenwich, where he granted him an

³ Giles, I, xxxii.

⁴ Thompson Cooper, "Sir John Cheke," Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London, 1921-22), IV, 179.

⁵ Latin letter: Ascham to Grindal in Giles, I, 75.

⁶ Latin letters: Ascham to Cheke; Ascham to a Friend at York in Giles, I, 56-57, 58.

⁷ Latin letters: Ascham to the Earl of Essex; Ascham to Wriothesley; Ascham to Gardiner; Ascham to the Bishop of Worcester; Ascham to Fitzpatrick in Giles, I, 77-78, 78-79, 79-81, 81-82, 84-85.

annual pension of £ 10.⁸

Toxophilus won for Ascham the high regard of the learned as well as the influential. The treatise became the authoritative work on both the use of the longbow and the importance of physical exercise, and for over a century was both imitated and plagiarized. More important perhaps than the many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century borrowings from and harkenings back to Toxophilus was the direct praise which the treatise received during the period from writers of other works which also extolled the humanistic ideal of proper physical training and exercise as an important part of the education of the nobleman and the magistrate.⁹

Archery: "An Englishe Matter"

Archery was a subject especially suited to Ascham's talents and purposes. He himself was a skilled archer, well-qualified to

⁸ Latin letters: Ascham to Gardiner; Ascham to Denney in Giles, I, 79, 82-83.

⁹ Ryan, pp. 56-59 gives a complete list of the imitations and plagiarisms of Toxophilus as well as a full account of the more direct praise which Ascham received from contemporary writers such as Richard Mulcaster, James Cleland, and Henry Peacham. On this point also see Lawrence V. Ryan, "Roger Ascham's Toxophilus in Heroic Verse," HLQ, 23 (1959), 119-24.

write on the use of the longbow.¹⁰ Moreover, during his years at Cambridge, some of his fellows had judged that he spent so much time practicing with his bow that he neglected his books.¹¹ Thus, by defending his favorite pastime in a treatise grounded in classical learning, Ascham was also defending himself and disproving the claims of his detractors. Finally, Ascham knew that a treatise on archery would be well received by the King. An expert archer himself, Henry was currently attempting to revive the national enthusiasm for the longbow.¹² In 1512 he had renewed a statute of his father's prohibiting the use of crossbows without licences and encouraging the use of the

¹⁰In Toxophilus Ascham tells how he was brought up in shooting by Sir Humphrey Wingfield, a justice of the peace in whose house Ascham spent his boyhood.

¹¹Letter: Ascham to Cecil in Giles, II, 351-52.

¹²That Ascham's references in Toxophilus to Henry as an enthusiastic and expert shooter are true, we have contemporary testimony to support. Hall's Chronicle includes this information in a description of May Day festivities in 1510: "And so went every man with his bowe and arrowes shotyng to the wood, and so repaired again to the Courte . . . and at [Henry's] returnyng, many hearynge of his gooyng a Maiyng, were desirous to se hym shote, for at that time his grace shotte as strong and as greate a length as any of his garde" (Hall's Chronicle containing the History of England . . ., printed for J. Johnson, et al. [London, 1809], p. 515). John Taylor, clerk of the Parliament, included in his diary for 8 July 1513 this description of the King practicing shooting in a garden with the archers of his guard: "He cleft the mark in the middle, and surpassed them all, as he surpasses them in stature and personal graces" (Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. . . [1509-1514], ed. J. S. Brewer [London, 1862], I, 623, #4284 [hereafter referred to as L & P]).

longbow.¹³ In August 1537, he had urged his courtiers to exercise the art of shooting by being "overseers of the science of artillery, to wit, for longbows, cross-bows, and 'hand-gonnes'" by issuing a patent for the fraternity or guild of St. George.¹⁴ In 1541 under his direction, Parliament had passed an act "for the maynetenaunce of archerye and debarringe of unlawful games"; this statute required all men in good health to practice archery and to "trayne and bring upp their youthe in shotinge in the longe bowe. . . ."¹⁵

Archery was also an appropriate subject for an author wishing to write on an "Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men" (p. 70).¹⁶ Although nations in all parts of the world had used the

¹³ L & P, I, 319-20, #2082.

¹⁴ "Grants in August 1537," L & P (1537), XII, 526, #617. With this grant went special privileges: the members of the fraternity were "to be free to exercise the art of shooting with longbows, etc. at all manner of marks and butts and at the game of the popinjay and at other games . . . in the city of London, and in all other places in England, Ireland, Calais, and the Marshes of Wales, except royal forests, chases, and parks, without special warrant; and to wear an embroidery or cognizance of silver, and any manner of silk gowns and jackets, except purple and scarlet; and to be exempt from serving on any inquest or jury in London or elsewhere; with other privileges." This association survives as the Honorary Artillery Company.

¹⁵ This act is outlined in Warrant from Queen Elizabeth, The Egerton Papers, Publications of the Camden Society, ed. J. Payne Collier (London, 1840), XII, 218-20; Lilly C. Store, "English Sports and Recreations," in Life and Letters in Tudor and Stuart England, ed. L. B. Wright and V. A. LaMar (Ithaca, 1962), p. 432.

¹⁶ Citations to Toxophilus refer to the present text.

ordinary bow for centuries, the art of the longbow was an English monopoly of more recent origin. In 1188 Giraldus Cambrensis toured Wales to gain support for the Third Crusade; in the account of his progress, he remarked on the exceptional skill of the Welsh archers, whose crude but powerful longbow could drive an arrow through heavy armour.¹⁷ The use of the Welsh longbow gradually spread through England, and by the fourteenth century it had become the prescribed national weapon.¹⁸

Edward III was the first of a series of English monarchs to give strong legal encouragement to shooting with the longbow. In 1346 he issued a proclamation prohibiting "handball, football or hockey . . . coursing and cockfighting, or other such idle games," which might keep his subjects from practicing at the butts set up behind the church in every village.¹⁹ The strength of Edward's army was the archer, who received 6 d. a day for his service--the wages of a skilled, or even a master, craftsman.²⁰ Some of these archers were mounted,

¹⁷ Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Kambriae, et Descriptio Kambriae, ed. James F. Demock (London, 1868), p. 54.

¹⁸ May McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399 (Oxford, 1959), pp. 240-41.

¹⁹ Robert P. Elmer, Archery (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 80-81; George Macaulay Trevelyan, History of England, 3rd ed. (New York, 1952), I, 300-01.

²⁰ H. J. Hewitt, The Organization of War under Edward III (New York, 1966), pp. 34-35.

but, like dragoons, rode simply for mobility and were still rightly considered as infantry.²¹ Putting his trust in the yeoman as soldier and the longbow as weapon, Edward defeated armies of French knights at both Crecy (1346) and Poitiers (1356).²²

Even after the appearance of handguns, the English continued to rely on the longbow in combat. Fifty-eight years after the Battle of Poitiers at Agincourt, Henry V, relying heavily on his 6000 archers, won the most dazzling of all English victories against a French army which outnumbered his forces four to one.²³ During the Wars of the Roses the longbow was still the "lord of weapons"²⁴ at the decisive battles at Mortimer's Cross (1461), Barnet (1471), and Tewkesbury (1471).²⁵

²¹ J. W. Fortescue, A History of the British Army (London, 1911-35), I, 28.

²² McKisack, pp. 134-35, 138-39; Edouard Perroy, The Hundred Years War (New York, 1951), pp. 119, 130-31; A. E. Prince, "The Strength of English Armies in the Reign of Edward III," Eng. Hist. Rev., 46 (1931), 355-56, 363-64.

McKisack notes: "A good longbowman could shoot ten or twelve arrows a minute, as against the crossbowman's two; and it was this rapid hail of arrows hurling around the ears of an advancing enemy or, as at Crecy, maddening his horses, which made the longbow so deadly a weapon. By the time of Poitiers, the great six-foot bows of yew, maple, or oak were capable of penetrating chain mail and their maximum range may not have been far short of 400 yards" (p. 241).

²³ Hall, pp. 65-72; Perroy, p. 239. ²⁴ Trevelyan, I, 346.

²⁵ Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, printed for J. Johnson, et al. (London, 1808), III, 269-70, 312-14, 319.

Besides encouraging shooting as a national pastime, Henry VIII retained the longbow as the chief missile weapon of his army²⁶ and even dressed himself and his guard in green, the archer's color.²⁷ In 1513, with heavy odds against them, English archers crushed the Scottish king's forces at Flodden Field, just as they had a century and a half before at Neville's Cross.²⁸ English archers came off with credit again against the Scots at Solway Moss (1542) and Pinkie Cleugh (1547) and against the French at Boulogne (1544).²⁹ From the pulpit, Hugh Latimer told his congregation how his yeoman father had taught him to shoot and lamented the less wholesome pastimes of the current younger generation.³⁰ While Queen Mary introduced more modern weapons during her reign, she also retained the familiar bows and bills.³¹

²⁶ In 1519 Sebastian Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, reported: "In England they don't make use of men-at-arms, so that they could not raise a hundred in the whole island, and even their light cavalry would not exceed 1000. The real force of the country, consisting in its infantry, is supposed to amount to 150,000 men, whose peculiar weapon is the longbow. When they take the field, their arms consist of a breastplate, bow, arrows, sword, and two stakes . . . but all their prowess is in the bow" (from a dispatch translated in L & P [1519-1523], III, 142, #402).

²⁷ Fortescue, I, 117. ²⁸ Holinshed, III, 591-98; V, 383-84.

²⁹ Holinshed, III, 828-29, 870-87, 839-44.

³⁰ Hugh Latimer, "The Sixth Sermon preached before King Edward, April twelfth, 1549," Sermons (London, 1926), pp. 170-71.

³¹ Fortescue, I, 125.

The English affection for the longbow did not cease when it had been superseded by handgun and cannon. Both Elizabeth and the first two Stuart monarchs issued proclamations to encourage shooting--especially among the young.³² In the seventeenth century, when powder weapons had become the strength of armies, Englishmen associated the longbow with old and better days. In 1646 Thomas Fuller judged shooting to be "a noble recreation and half a liberal art."³³ And, from the perspective of the eighteenth century, even Dr. Johnson recalled that in the days when English youth had been brought up in shooting, English armies had been invincible.³⁴

The Structure of Toxophilus

As Lawrence Ryan points out, Ascham orders his defense of archery by means of three separate rhetorical structures, each one of classical origin.³⁵ First, following the traditions established by Plato and Cicero, and continued in the Renaissance by Castiglione and More,

³² The Egerton Papers, 218-20; Elmer, p. 82.

³³ Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and the Profane State (London, 1841), pp. 149-50.

³⁴ Samuel Johnson, "Life of Ascham," in Works (London, 1787), IV, 623.

³⁵ This section of my introduction is essentially an expanded rehearsal of Ryan's excellent analysis of the structural patterns of Toxophilus, pp. 69-80.

he casts his treatise in the form of a dialogue between two students, Philologus, a lover of the book, and Toxophilus, a lover of the bow. Like Socrates and Phaedrus in Plato's dialogue, these two interlocutors meet accidentally and their initial pleasantries lead them into a discussion of the subject at hand. The dialogue itself is divided into two books: in the first, Toxophilus defends his favorite pastime against the objections of his friend, recalling its noble origins and pointing out its intrinsic worth and use; in the second, he explains in detail the technique of shooting. Underlying the whole dialogue are the three divisions of the classical treatise on a sport, used by Xenophon in Cynegeticus, a discourse on hunting. Finally, the elaborate apologia of Book I is built on the plan of a deliberative oration, as outlined in Cicero's De Inventione.³⁶

In spite of these rigidly structured patterns and the burden of an immense amount of classical learning, Toxophilus is neither stiff nor bookish. On the contrary, the three interlacing rhetorical patterns complement one another; the dialogue allows Ascham to veil the parts of the formal deliberative oration and to move naturally through the three divisions of the sports treatise. Since these three patterns work together, to analyze each in isolation is difficult as well as artificial.

³⁶ Cicero, On Rhetorical Invention, in The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero, trans. C. D. Yonge (London, 1894), IV, 256.

Still, to demonstrate how Ascham uses classical models and techniques to persuade his audience of the value of shooting and to instruct them in its technique, such an analysis is necessary and should most naturally begin with the rhetorical design of Book I. After the pattern and method of Book I have been discussed, the different uses to which Ascham puts the dialogue and the dissertation on a sport can be more easily pointed out.

According to Cicero, the deliberative oration has its place in discussion and debate and represents a statement of opinion.³⁷ Ascham arranges his argument by means of the divisions suggested by Cicero for this form: the introduction (exordium), the relation of the facts of the case (narratio), the division of the different circumstances and topics (partitio), the bringing forward of evidence (confirmatio), the rebuttal of the opposition (refutatio), and the conclusion (peroratio).³⁸ Within the confirmatio, Ascham includes four lively digressions from the subject of shooting--on music in education, on gaming and dicing, on the Turkish menace, and on the good sense and commodity of a union between England and Scotland.

Ascham chooses a countryside setting for Toxophilus. As

³⁷ On Rhetorical Invention, p. 246.

³⁸ Ibid., 256; these parts are discussed in detail, pp. 256-307.

Book I opens, Philologus, out for an afternoon walk, discovers his friend Toxophilus deeply engrossed in a text of Plato. He warns Toxophilus against reading in the bright sun so soon after eating and expresses his surprise that his friend is not with the party of archers who have just passed by. Toxophilus answers that he has been reading Plato's description of "feathered souls" in the Phaedrus; he is pleased to stop and talk with his friend for his head aches from too much concentration and he regrets that he has missed the group of shooters. Drawing a metaphor from Toxophilus' opening comments, Philologus, citing Cicero, answers that scholars should be concerned with more weighty matters than shooting and that "it be a great dele more pleasure also, to se a soule flye in Plato, then a shafte flye at the prickes" (p. 86). But, Toxophilus rejoins, Cicero himself admits the necessity of relieving study with honest pastime. Looking at a nearby wheat field, Philologus argues that the good scholar, like the good husbandman, must not waste any of his "beste seede tyme" in sport if he plans to enjoy a full harvest of learning. Following the same metaphor for his own purposes, Toxophilus answers that scholars must leave their books closed occasionally just as farmers must sometimes leave their fields fallow. Drawing a second analogy from music, Toxophilus continues that scholars' minds, like good treble strings, require frequent loosening. The figure of the treble string leads Toxophilus naturally enough to the bow string and his third analogy:

he finds "good wittes, except they be let downe like a treble string, and vn bent like a good casting bowe, they wil neuer last and be able to continue in studie" (p. 89). Finally, he judges that shooting is the most honest of pastimes and "hindreth learning litle or nothing at all . . ." (p. 89). Philologus, of course, denies Toxophilus' claim, but he invites his friend to discuss the matter further "to se what can be sayed with it, or agaynste it, and speciallie in these dayes, whan so many doeth vse it, and euerie man in a maner doeth common of it" (p. 90).

This opening part of the dialogue between Toxophilus and Philologus constitutes both the exordium and the narratio of the underlying oration in defense of shooting. As an exordium, it brings "the mind of the hearer into a suitable state to receive the rest . . . attentive and willing to receive information," as Cicero would prescribe.³⁹ Further, this opening exchange meets Cicero's requirement that an exordium appear to be an integral part of the whole structure rather than an appendage:⁴⁰ Ascham moves gracefully and naturally into his defense with his carefully designed but seemingly artless conversation between two friends. As a narratio, this part of the dialogue contains

³⁹ On Rhetorical Invention, pp. 256-57.

⁴⁰ Cicero, De Oratore, trans. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham (London, 1959), I, 308-31.

"the whole principle of the dispute"--whether or not shooting is an honest and worthwhile pastime--and at the same time the witty opening conversation constitutes "some mirth not unsuitable to the business under discussion."⁴¹

Besides setting forth the subject and gaining the attention of the audience, the opening section establishes the character of the speakers. Both Toxophilus and Philologus are shown to be genial, urbane, and learned. But, Ascham takes particular care to establish that Toxophilus, who will defend archery in the dialogue, is no crude sportsman or lazy student. It is Toxophilus--not Philologus--who is reading a Greek text when the dialogue opens. Further, Toxophilus proves himself to be skillful at drawing analogies and turning metaphors and is quick to catch Philologus quoting Cicero out of context. Thus, this opening exchange supplies Aristotle's first mode of persuasion by establishing the good sense, good will, and good character of the speaker.⁴²

After Toxophilus has agreed to pursue the subject of shooting further, Philologus outlines the questions that the two should consider:

⁴¹ On Rhetorical Invention, pp. 262-63.

⁴² Aristotle, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, trans. Lane Cooper (New York, 1932), p. 8. Cicero also insists that the exordium should establish the good character of the speaker in On Rhetorical Invention, p. 258.

"firſte of the inuention of it, than what honeſtie and profit is in the vse of it, bothe for warre and peace, more than in other paſtimes, laſte of all howe it ought to be learned amonges men for the encrease of it. . . ." (p. 92). This ſingle ſpeech conſtitutes the partitio or diuiſion of the ſubject into points to be conſidered in the reſt of the dialogue. Before the two ſpeakers begin the full diſcuſſion of theſe ſeparate problems, however, Toxophilus protests that, although his learning will allow him to ſpeak on the firſt two topics, his lack of practice will hinder him in the third. Again, Aſcham is emphasizing that his representative in the dialogue is a learned man rather than a professional archer.

Toxophilus now begins to diſcuſs fully the noble origins and great worth of ſhooting. Firſt, he traces the origin of archery, like that of muſic, to the god Apollo. Next, drawing examples from nations ancient and modern, heathen and Chriſtian, he demonſtrates that archery has always been honored as a worthy paſtime, a neceſſary defense, and an indiſpenſable part of the education of the nobility. Both the Perſians and the Greeks were ſkillful archers. The Romans enacted laws to inſure the bringing up of their youth in ſhooting; when theſe laws began to be diſregarded, their great empire crumbled. Furthermore, ſhooting itſelf ſhould be eſteemed, for it is the moſt wholesome of exerciſes: it ſtrengthens all parts of the body, entertains the mind, and leads men into the ſun and freſh air, and away

from darkness and corners where lurk temptation and vice. Of all exercises and pastimes, shooting is the most fitted to relieve the sedentary life of the scholar.

In this section of the treatise Ascham fully clears himself of the charge that he has neglected his studies. Toxophilus, his representative in the dialogue, defends archery as a worthwhile pastime and a necessary defense by drawing examples and precepts from both the most ancient and the most modern sources of history, philosophy, medicine, and literature. In his discussion of the use of shooting in war, for example, he cites Homer, Euripides, Sophocles, Plato, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, Sallust, Caesar, Cicero, and Plutarch among the ancients; Gaguin, John Major, Hector Boece, Sir John Cheke, and Sir Thomas Elyot among the moderns. In addition, he draws evidence from several books of the Old Testament. Many of his authorities are laid under contribution more than once. Thus, in this section Ascham is relying primarily on what Aristotle would call non-artistic proofs or those that are derived from "witnesses" or some previously existing authority.⁴³ During Toxophilus' long explanation of the origins and use of shooting, Philologus stops him with objections and questions at every turn. This section, then, composes both the confirmatio or the speaker's case and the refutatio

⁴³ Aristotle, p. 8.

or the rebuttal of the opposition, and supplies a second of Aristotle's three modes of persuasion, that by arguments designed to demonstrate truth.⁴⁴

Besides presenting a case for the opposition, Philologus' questions and protests occasionally allow Toxophilus to leave the subject he is discussing for a few minutes to pursue one of its ramifications. For instance, when Philologus suggests that music would be as fit a recreation for scholars as shooting, Toxophilus answers with a lengthy evaluation of the place and condition of music in education. Again, when Philologus claims that he cannot see why card-playing and dicing should be condemned and shooting praised, Toxophilus answers with a long comparison of the two recreations that describes in lively detail the pits into which an honest man may fall if he associates with gamblers and dicers.

At the same time these digressions relieve the potentially tedious enumeration of proofs, they also serve as reinforcing proofs themselves. For instance, in a digression on the Turks, Toxophilus credits their gains against Christendom to the vice and immorality--the "turkishness"--of the Christian nations themselves. Were Christian men to leave their wickedness, they could conquer the Turks easily. "For surely no Turkysh power can ouerthrowe vs, if

⁴⁴Aristotle, p. 9.

Turkyshe lyfe do not cast vs downe before" (p.163). One of the ways of avoiding temptation and wickedness, we remember, is wholesome recreation, and Toxophilus has already established that the most wholesome recreation is shooting. Further, the Turkish forces have been victorious in the past because of their skill in shooting, "where-with God suffereth the turke to punysh our noughtie liuinge wyth all . . ." (p.164). Thus, the unstated conclusion of this digression-proof is that by reviving the proper use of shooting, Christian men can quit their wickedness, regain the favor of God, and finally destroy the Saracen.

Although the confirmatio-refutatio section of Book I depends primarily on arguments, it also demonstrates Ascham's use of the third of Aristotle's modes of persuasion--the appeal to the emotions of the audience.⁴⁵ Cicero dictates that, although the opening and conclusion of the argument are the best places for appeals to the emotions, it is often useful to digress in the middle for this purpose.⁴⁶ Thus, Ascham is perfectly justified by classical rhetorical theory when he uses his digressions on the Turks to move his readers to fear of a menace from which only God's hand protects them and to shame for their immoral ways or when, in the digression on gaming and dicing, he prods his audience to hatred of the thieves who cheat and rob an

⁴⁵ Aristotle, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁶ De Oratore, I, 185-213.

honest but misled man.

Although Philologus is finally convinced of the noble nature of shooting and its worth in both peace and war, he makes one final objection: "but yet me thynke that all thys prayse belongeth to stronge shootynge and drawynge of myghtye bowes not to prickynge and nere shotinge. . ." (p. 173). This last protest makes the transition to the peroratio or conclusion of the apology for shooting and at the same time leads naturally into the discussion of technique which will make up Book II.

In this final division of Book I, Toxophilus explains that the strongest men do not always draw the strongest shot, but that aptness, use, and knowledge together produce the skilled archer. Although Englishmen are generally most apt for shooting, they have neglected both proper training and adequate practice. Indeed, the English have been so lax in their pursuit of this worthy skill that "Yf shotyng could speake, she would accuse England of vnkyndnesse and slouthfulnesse, of vnkyndnesse toward her bycause she beyng left to a lytle blynd vse, lackes her best maintener which is cunnynge: of slouthfulnesse towarde theyr owne selfe, bycause they are content wyth that whych aptnesse and vse doth graunt them in shootynge, and wyl seke for no knowlege as other noble common welthes haue done. . ." (p. 184-85).

In answer to this highly emotional plea, Philologus enthusiastically demands that Toxophilus instruct him in the best technique of

shooting. After protesting at length the deficiencies of his own skill, Toxophilus, in accord with the Platonic ideal, finally admits that no human endeavor can attain perfection but agrees to instruct his friend as well as he can even though he is no professional archer. Thus, Ascham underlines once again that his representative in the dialogue is a student first and a shooter second and further lays the responsibility for the discussion of technique on Philologus, who has been the spokesman for the opposition. As the first book of the dialogue ends, Toxophilus establishes the pattern to be followed in the second book by requesting Philologus, who is more familiar with ordering matter than he, to ask him general questions which will lead him through the particulars of the technique of shooting.

The nature and plan of the second book of Toxophilus, which outlines the equipment and technique of shooting, prescribe a different relationship between the two speakers from that of Book I. The contrast serves well to point out the different ways in which Ascham uses the dialogue form in his treatise. While in Book I Philologus serves primarily as the skeptical opposition, in Book II he becomes the eager student. As Lawrence Ryan points out, while the dialogue of the first book is in the philosophical-literary tradition of the Phaedrus and the De Oratore, the dialogue of the second book is one of the catechetical or master-pupil types first used by Cicero in the De Partitione

Oratoria.⁴⁷

More specifically, in Book I Philologus' function is to provide an intelligent and well-versed opposition to Toxophilus' argument; he serves to anticipate objections of the audience which Ascham--in the guise of Toxophilus--can rebut on the spot without offending anyone. However, Ascham never depicts Philologus as a dupe or a fool. On the contrary, both his authoritative citations and sensible objections and questions show him to be intelligent, quick, and learned. Occasionally, Toxophilus catches him in a sophism or fallacy, but, by and large, Philologus' comments and questions indicate his wit rather than the lack of it.

In Book II Philologus' function is different: here, he acts as the questioner who represents the reader uninitiated in the art of shooting, and his queries serve to provide the transitions from one point of technique to the next. Toxophilus' role is also different in Book II. Now the teacher and authority rather than the unproved defender, he adopts a more authoritative tone. Although he still gathers some support for his explanations from recognized traditional sources, both his new role and the nature of his subject in this book require that he draw most of his information and advice from his own experience.

Thus, Book II seems less formal than Book I. Certainly, it is

⁴⁷ Ryan, p. 76.

less packed with classical learning and more heavily studded with commonplaces and homey precepts. Even the digressions in this part of Toxophilus are different in nature and tone. For instance, at one point Toxophilus, speaking for Ascham, leaves his topic to recall with affection his own "singuler good mayster, Sir Humfrey Wingfelde," who brought up his boys in the art of shooting (p. 245). At another point he breaks off in the middle of an explanation of the archer's knowledge of times and seasons to lament, first, most men's lack of proper timing in their affairs, and, then, parents' lack of discretion in selecting the time to send their children to the universities. Again, these digressions serve to keep the discussion of technique from becoming tedious and, at the same time, they lend a sense of immediacy and a personal tone to the subject.

Book II begins with a series of rapid-fire questions and answers which serve to break the topic into its parts:

What is the cheyfe poynte in shootyng . . . ?

To hyt the marke.

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

Twoo.

Whiche twoo?

Shotinge streyght and kepyng of a lengthe.

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

In knowynge and hauynge thinges, belongynge to shootyng: and whan they be knowen and had, in well handlyng of them . . . (p. 197).

Thus, in the manner of Cicero, Ascham first bisects his subject and thereby divides Book II into two major sections: understanding the

things belonging to shooting and handling the things belonging to shooting. Each of these primary divisions is in turn cut in half by another question from Philologus, and so on until both subdivisions have been scrupulously outlined and thoroughly discussed. In this book, then, Ascham proceeds by the logician's method of division--of the whole into its parts, the genus into its species, the subject into its adjuncts, etc.--a method recommended by Cicero as a help in teaching and remembering by making complex and intricate matters appear simple, plain, and certain.⁴⁸

In the first section of this book--understanding the things belonging to shooting--Toxophilus describes in detail the physical characteristics, kinds, uses, histories, advantages, and disadvantages of the bracer, the shooting glove, the bowstring, the bow, and the arrow. In the second primary division of Book II--handling the things belonging to shooting--Toxophilus begins by explaining that he who would be an expert shooter must be brought up in the skill. The child is brought to excellence by aptness, desire, and fear: a grown man who would learn to shoot may be taught only by weak bows, shame, and love.

The five necessary divisions in the practice of shooting are standing, nocking (fitting the arrow to the bowstring), drawing,

⁴⁸ On Rhetorical Invention, pp. 266-69.

holding, and loosing the shaft. Because he is under the rule of the elements, the skilled archer must know tokens of change in the weather and the nature and course of the wind, and he must practice in all conditions and in all seasons so that he can learn the time and season best for him to shoot in. In shooting, as in all other human affairs, there is a "fittest" time for each man. "Yf men woulde go aboute matters whych they should do and be fit for, not suche thynges whyche wylfullye they desyre and yet be vnfit for, verely greater matters in the common welthe than shootyng shoulde be in better case than they be" (p. 264).

Toxophilus concludes by instructing Philologus always to remain calm and to maintain courage, for the mind rules the body, and, if the mind is blind, it cannot rule well. After Philologus has thanked Toxophilus for his good will and patient instruction and the two have agreed to shoot together soon, they retire to Philologus' chamber and the dialogue ends.

The underlying pattern of the classical sports treatise in Toxophilus can now be seen clearly. Like Xenophon in the Cynegeticus, Ascham has divided his subject into three parts: the noble origins of the sport, its commodity both private and public, and its equipment and technique; Book I of Toxophilus covers the first two divisions,

while Book II discusses the third.⁴⁹ Besides the tripartite form, other similarities exist between the two treatises. In the Cynegeticus the discovery and the first use of hunting are also traced to the gods (p. 73).⁵⁰ Many of the great heroes of classical mythology were brought up in hunting, and training in its lore enabled them to perform some of their most important deeds (pp. 73-74). The hunter, like the archer, derives many physical benefits from the pursuit of his sport--good health, a quickening of the senses, and the defiance of old age (p. 118). Further, hunting, like shooting, is excellent training for men who may be called to defend their country in war and thus it is of great

⁴⁹ Ascham also had a native English tradition to draw on for his use of this genre. Lawrence Ryan mentions The Master of the Game and the "Treatyse of fysshynge wyth an angle" from The Boke of Saint Albans as the two sports treatises in English that preceded Toxophilus (p. 71).

The Master of the Game (1408) translated by Edward, second Duke of York, from Gaston, Comte de Foix's French work, is the first of such treatises to appear in English and follows Xenophon's theoretical argument in favor of hunting. The section in The Boke of Saint Albans dealing with fishing (1486), attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, a prioress, is most interesting for the claims it makes for fishing against those by the Duke of York for hunting: fishing, the prioress judges, is better for the soul because it is less laborious than hunting, because it takes one out into the wholesome sweetness of nature where he can hear "the melodious harmony of fowls" and see "young swans, herons, ducks, coots, and many other fowls with their broods" rather than the noisy hounds and horn blasts, and because to fish, one must rise early! (The Boke of Saint Albans, in Later Medieval English Prose, ed. William Mathews [New York, 1963], pp. 100-01).

⁵⁰ Citations to Xenophon in my text refer to The Works of Xenophon, trans. H. G. Dakyns (London, 1897), vol. III.

national importance (pp. 118-22). Finally, a man who would be skilled at the chase--like the man who would be skilled with a bow--must be trained in the sport as a youth (pp. 77-78).

Ascham's discussion of equipment and technique in Book II of Toxophilus closely parallels that in Xenophon's discourse on hunting and also bears a resemblance to the Hippike, a more purely technical tract by Xenophon on horsemanship. The Cynegeticus treats of the things belonging to hunting as well as the method of the chase itself. The discussion of the particulars of nets, for instance, offers the would-be sportsman the same kind of practical detail as do Ascham's instructions on bows and shooting gloves. Like Toxophilus, the Cynegeticus also treats of the best times and seasons for the chase. Xenophon even provides a list of good short names by which the hunter can easily call his dogs in the field. Finally, Ascham's instructions on how to procure a good bow are reminiscent of those in the Hippike on how to avoid being cheated when buying a horse (pp. 43-46).

Ascham's skill at adapting and manipulating classical models for his purposes and in interweaving the three to complement one another so successfully is in itself a testament to his learning and a most persuasive proof against the accusations of his detractors. But, Ascham's purpose in Toxophilus is not limited to winning approval for shooting and a position or patron for himself. As he tells his reader openly in his preface, he is also concerned with showing that the

English language is a vehicle fit for serious discourse and capable of handling persuasive and literary modes. To see how Toxophilus accomplishes--or, more properly, helps to accomplish--this larger purpose, it is necessary to look at Ascham's prose style.

The Prose Style of Toxophilus

Writing Toxophilus in the middle of what has been called "the period of discovery in the history of English literary prose,"⁵¹ Ascham is extremely self-conscious of the task to which he is setting himself. In his preface "To All Gentle Men and Yomen Of Englande," he laments: "And as for the Latin or greke tonge, euery thyng is so excellently done in them, that none can do better: In the Englysh tonge contrary, euery thinge in a maner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worse. For therin the least learned for the moste parte, haue ben alwayes moost redye to wryte. And they whiche had leaste hope in latin, haue bene moste boulde in englyshe . . ." (p. 74). Ascham is fully aware, then, that few serious discourses have been written in English during his lifetime. Even in his father's time, he decries, "nothing was red, but bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherin a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye" (p. 75).

⁵¹ George Philip Krapp, The Rise of English Literary Prose (New York, 1915), p. v.

Ascham's judgment is no irresponsible hyperbole: little work of literary value had been produced in English prose during the first sixty years of the Tudor period. Prose is, of course, the last genre of a nation's literary production to appear, and, as James Sutherland points out, in the early years of the sixteenth century a "vicious circle" perpetuated the problem: "If English was ever to become a fully adult language, capable of conveying all that could be expressed in Latin, it would have to be used more and more frequently by the best minds; and yet the best minds tended to despise the vernacular and to write in Latin."⁵²

Important progress in the development of religious prose in the vernacular had been made during the early years of the century: two English primers or devotional manuals based on the canonical hours had appeared during the 1530's, while the revised Thomas Matthew edition of the Tyndale-Coverdale translation of the Bible had been published in 1537 and had been followed by the "Great Bible" of 1539. However, in 1545 Ascham could count only a few original and secular sixteenth-century prose works of note in English. From Sir Thomas Elyot had come nine works in English, among the most important, The Boke Named the Gouvernour (1531), Of the Knowledge Whiche

⁵² James Sutherland, On English Prose (Toronto, 1957), p. 22.

Maketh a Wise Man (1533), and The Castle of Health (1539). Sir Thomas More's The History of Richard III was probably composed simultaneously in English and Latin from 1514-1518, but it was not to appear in a substantially uncorrupted version in English until 1557,⁵³ while the first English translation of the Utopia, originally written in Latin, was not to be published until 1551.

Earlier in the Tudor period the prose production had also been scant, but some new trends in prose style had begun to appear. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, significant changes had taken place in the prose style of the chronicle writers shown by more frequent use of complex sentence structures and increased association of "pattern of thought with pattern of expression or form."⁵⁴ The prose prefaces of William Caxton had shown their author to be one of the first conscious researchers of style.⁵⁵ John Skelton had numbered among his works some prose writings, such as Replycacion against certain yong scholars, but few of these have survived.⁵⁶ And, of course, the pre-Tudor "bookes of fayned cheualrie" by Sir Thomas

⁵³ "Introduction," The Complete Works of St. Thomas More, ed. Richard Sylvester (New Haven and London, 1963), II, liii-lviii, lxiii-lxiv.

⁵⁴ Samuel K. Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose (Princeton, 1940), pp. 35, 53, 57.

⁵⁵ George Saintsbury, A History of English Prose Rhythm (London, 1922), p. 81.

⁵⁶ Krapp, pp. 282, 285.

Malory still enjoyed great popularity.⁵⁷

Although in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries English men of letters had produced little original prose of lasting value in the vernacular, borrowing from classical and continental sources alike, they had compiled a complex and intricate system of theories concerning the best methods of composition. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the rhetorical and stylistic theories of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintillian had been disseminated and held undisputed prestige.⁵⁸ Indeed, the principles of literary composition set out in Quintillian's Institutes, in Cicero's works on oratory, in Aristotle's on rhetoric, and in the pseudo-Ciceronian Rhetorica ad C. Herennium were known to every Tudor schoolboy.⁵⁹ Although only the first of a long series of English works on rhetoric and style had appeared by 1545,⁶⁰ the theory underlying all composition was a clearly defined and indispensable part of Renaissance education; to

⁵⁷ Eight black-letter editions of Malory appeared between 1485 and 1634 (Saintsbury, p. 92).

⁵⁸ J. W. H. Atkins, English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance (London, 1947), pp. 41, 68.

⁵⁹ Sister Miriam Joseph, Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language (Columbia, 1947), p. 8; T. W. Baldwin, William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke (Urbana, Ill., 1944), I, 75-183.

⁶⁰ Leonard Cox's Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke (1524). For a full list of Tudor books on grammar, logic, and rhetoric, see Sister Miriam Joseph, pp. 13-14.

write properly, one was to arrange and embellish his materials according to a body of precepts found in the classical works on the three arts of language--grammar, rhetoric, and logic,⁶¹ and he was to imitate the best classical models.⁶²

For the writer composing in Latin, this plan held no problems. However, for the would-be writer in English, there were numerous snares. Before serious literature could be produced in the vernacular, "the tempering and preparation of the language to be a fit medium was imperative. This had to be undertaken according to definite criteria, by means of which a style to meet all literary requirements could be fashioned. Deliberate formative and selective patterns had to be brought to bear upon the molten mass of vocabulary and style."⁶³ Certainly, then, a writer could follow all of the ancients' logical and rhetorical precepts for arranging and embellishing materials to persuade or move his audience. But, with some of the stylistic and grammatical dicta, problems and controversies arose concerning composition in the vernacular.

The most well-known of these problems--and one over which a great deal of controversy had arisen during the first half of the

⁶¹ Sister Miriam Joseph, p. 4.

⁶² Baldwin, I, 83-84.

⁶³ Elizabeth J. Sweeting, Early Tudor Criticism (Oxford, 1940), p. 105.

century--was how to discuss highly complex and abstract ideas with the still small, concrete, and limited English vocabulary. Although English had added to its vocabulary for centuries, near the end of the fifteenth century the method changed from a natural process of language to conscious attempts to enrich and elevate the vernacular for literary purposes.⁶⁴ Caxton was one of the first literary craftsmen to wrestle with this problem of a vocabulary no longer adequate for his purpose of translating "not for a rude uplandish man to labour therein . . . but only for a clerk and a noble gentleman that feeleth and understandeth in faits of arms, in love, and in noble chivalry"⁶⁵ His device for writing English fit for elevated subjects was freely to bring into the language "fayr and straunge terms."⁶⁶ John Skelton also spoke of the problems of writing in the vernacular, which lacked "pullysshed terms lusty." In his few surviving prose works, he elevated his style "by the heaping of big words and by robustious eloquence."⁶⁷ In The Gouvernour, Elyot introduced new terms which he explained by coupling them with their more native equivalents or by

⁶⁴ Albert C. Baugh, A History of the English Language, 2nd ed. (New York, 1957), pp. 257-64.

⁶⁵ William Caxton, "Preface to Eneydos," in Mathews, p. 240.

⁶⁶ Krapp, p. 279. ⁶⁷ Krapp, pp. 281-82, 285.

defining them in his text.⁶⁸ The methods of the Latinizers were criticized and satirized by men of letters who held that a writer should stick to a largely native English vocabulary and avoid strange "ink-horn terms." The most prominent of this group was Sir John Cheke, who held "that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borrowing of other tungen," since, he continued, "if we take not heed by tijm, ever borrowing and never payeng, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt."⁶⁹

Less widely debated, but certainly equally crucial, difficulties arose for the writer of English prose over what might seem to be simple problems of English syntax. As one critic explains the problem: "if his rhetoric is not to be completely crude, a writer must have some degree of control over the mere mechanics. To gain any effect through parallelism, balance, or the suspended period, for instance, he must know how to manipulate constructions and he must be aware of the syntactical possibilities of his language, and he must understand the syntactical requirements--and restrictions--of the rhetorical device he is trying to use."⁷⁰ The question, then, was how to go about imitating the sentences of the best models of Greek and

⁶⁸ For instance (*italics mine*), "Like as to a castell or a fortresse suffesethe one owner or souerayne" (The Boke Named the Gouvernour, ed. Henry Herbert Stephen Croft [London, 1883], I, 8).

⁶⁹ Baugh, p. 261.

⁷⁰ Workman, p. 3.

Latin in a language still young and unpracticed in literary accomplishments.

Finally, besides these difficulties with the vocabulary and syntax of English, the would-be writer in the vernacular also had to struggle against the widely accepted bias that his language was, in fact, uneloquent. As Richard Jones explains, a derogatory attitude toward the vernacular was commonly held during the first three quarters of the sixteenth century, and numerous English writers describe their native language as "rude," "gross," "base," "barbarous," and "vile."⁷¹ Eloquence, it was believed, was a quality not achievable in English, although, like Ascham, many viewed composition in the vernacular as an "honest" endeavor. As Jones explains, "Frequently during this period the English language, represented as plain, serviceable, honest, and unadorned clothing, is contrasted with the rich fabrics of Latin."⁷² Although Ascham clearly shared this view of English, he does make one important qualification: the state of English was base because "therin the least learned for the moste parte, haue ben alwayes moost redye to wryte" (p. 74). If more

⁷¹ Richard Foster Jones, The Triumph of the English Language (Stanford, 1953), pp. 10-14. Jones notes that in the sixteenth century these words did not have the strong connotations that they hold today; by and large, they were roughly equivalent to "low," "common," "uncultivated"--in short, uneloquent.

⁷² Jones, pp. 19-20.

learned men were to write in English--to explore its possibilities and test its limitations--he implies, its status would surely be improved.

To summarize, then, Ascham's position in 1545 was this. He was heir to a rich classical tradition in the arts of language. Just as he would order his materials and arguments by adapting classical logical and rhetorical models, so he would attempt also to use their principles and methods of style and grammar. In matters of rhetorical invention, as in those of logic and arrangement, this method served him as well writing in English as it had in Latin composition. But, since Ascham was writing in English--not in Latin--he had also to face and solve a number of stylistic problems dictated by the special characteristics of his language. As Edward Sapir explains, "Since every language has its own distinctive peculiarities, the innate formal limitations--and possibilities--of one literature are never quite the same as those of another." More specifically, "It makes a great deal of difference for the development of style if the language can or cannot create compound words, if its structure is synthetic or analytic, if the words of the sentence have considerable freedom of position or are compelled to fall into a rigidly determined sequence. The major characteristics of style, in so far as style is a technical matter of building and placing words, are given by the language itself, quite as inescapably, indeed, as the general acoustic effect of verse is given

by the sounds and natural accents of the language."⁷³

It is logical, then, that a discussion of Ascham's style--of how he explored and defined in Toxophilus the possibilities and limitations of English and of how he adapted classical models to fit these native boundaries--should proceed by two methods of analysis, one rhetorical, the other linguistic. More specifically, it is necessary first to look at Ascham's use of rhetorical invention--how he persuades and moves his audience by schemes, tropes, and figures--and second, to examine his methods of adjusting these classical modes to the linguistic features of English syntax and semantics. As a preliminary to such an analysis, it is helpful to look at Ascham's own statements relating to a theory of composition in English and to describe the different kinds of exposition that a treatise such as Toxophilus will require him to write.

In the preface to Toxophilus, Ascham states: "He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muste folowe thys counsell of Aristotle, 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 allowe hym" (p. 74). In the passage of the Rhetoric to which Ascham refers, Aristotle judges that "a good style is, first of all, clear" and

⁷³ Edward Sapir, Language (New York, 1921), pp. 222, 226.

that "language which does not convey a clear meaning fails to perform the very function of language." Since the subjects of prose are "humbler" than those of poetry, fewer embellishing devices are appropriate to it. Moreover, in prose naturalness is a more persuasive mode than artifice. Some figures are necessary to give the composition an air of "novelty" or "remoteness," but these artifices should appear "natural" and never obscure clarity. Finally, the writer should use rare, compound and coined words "sparingly and seldom."⁷⁴

Next in his statement of theory, Ascham laments more specifically that many English writers have ignored Aristotle's good counsel, "but vsinge straunge wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde" (p. 74). Mixing languages after this manner, he continues, is like putting wine, ale, and beer all together in one pot to concoct "a drynke, neyther easie to be knowen, not yet holsom for the bodye" (p. 75). Rather than indulge in this excess, the English writer should follow Cicero's method of appropriate embellishment.

Thus, from the outset, Ascham commits himself to the cardinal stylistic principle of clarity: that is, the first task of a writer is to make himself understood. Obviously, in order to understand what the

⁷⁴ Aristotle, pp. 185-86.

writer says, the audience will have to be familiar with the words he uses. Thus, as a corollary to the axiom of clarity, Ascham must avoid difficult foreign derivatives. His use of diction in Toxophilus is, by and large, consistent with this theoretical pronouncement and might be described as a sensible mean between the two extremes suggested by Cheke's "purity" principle and Elyot's very frequent borrowings. Although Ascham clearly favors the former position, he usually does not risk awkwardness by unassuaged anglicization any more than he attempts to "enrich" for enrichment's sake. Toxophilus numbers very few examples either of Elyot's device of the "doublet" or of native compounds coined to express abstract ideas. Here, as in the selection of other stylistic alternatives, the dictum of clarity requires that Ascham adopt a moderate course.

A second important corollary to the principle of clarity is that of appropriateness. Just as poetry and prose demonstrate different purposes and thus require differing kinds and amounts of invention and adjustments in diction and syntax, so different kinds of prose also require different approaches and methods in these same areas. To follow the principles of clarity and appropriateness in a treatise such as Toxophilus, Ascham has to adjust his prose to a number of different expository purposes. First, since Toxophilus is a defense of shooting relying on arguments, it requires him to write persuasive exposition. Second, in order to instruct his audience in the technique of shooting,

Ascham must be able to write straightforward analysis of process and method. To explain the effects of weather and season on the shooter, he has to master a third technique of natural description. Further, since he wishes to expound on moral, educational, and political questions in his digressions, he must be skilled in writing another kind of persuasive prose which relies as heavily on emotion as it does on argumentation. Besides these primary expository modes, Ascham also experiments with writing other sorts of more lively exposition--for example, in his mimetic account of how not to shoot and in his almost mock-heroic panegyric on the goose. Thus, Ascham does not simply find one voice or mode and stay with it throughout his treatise. Instead, he tests the vehicle of his language, its stylistic possibilities, and his own virtuosity by attempting a variety of expository types ranging from grave to light-hearted.

To see whether or not Ascham is successful in these attempts and to determine how closely Toxophilus adheres to the stylistic principles of clarity and appropriateness, it is necessary to examine specific examples of these different types of exposition from the two points of view mentioned earlier. First, since a basic assumption of this analysis is that Ascham is consciously drawing on and incorporating the theory of composition derived from the classics, the first approach will be rhetorical. For this method, Sister Miriam Joseph

has provided an excellent synthesis of sixteenth-century rhetorical theory.⁷⁵

The second approach will be linguistic with an emphasis on syntax. Richard Ohmann has suggested that a profitable analysis of the style of any period might well incorporate recent developments in generative grammar, particularly those concerned with a transformational model.⁷⁶ More specifically, since the very concept of style might be defined as "the patterning of choices made within the options presented by the convention of the language and of the literary form," looking at a writer's choices--that is, at the transformations which he selects and contrasting them with those which he might have chosen but has rejected--will help to point up the relationships that he is attempting to communicate as well as what is idiosyncratic about his style.⁷⁷

A generative grammar--that is, a phrase-structure grammar with a transformational component--allows this kind of analysis by

⁷⁵ For Sister Miriam Joseph's specific outline of the theory of composition, see Part III, pp. 293-398. I am totally indebted to this work not only for the terminology and definitions but also for the *raisons d'être* of all the schemes and figures mentioned in my analysis.

⁷⁶ Richard Ohmann, "Generative Grammars and the Concept of Literary Style," *Word*, 20 (1964), 423-39.

⁷⁷ H. A. Gleason, Linguistics and English Grammar (New York, 1965), pp. 428-29.

providing formally statable rules first, for breaking sentences into kernals or terminal strings; second, for the operations by which to build sentences (i. e., addition, deletion, reordering, and combination); and finally, for left-branching, right-branching, and self-embedding.⁷⁸ This method should prove particularly helpful in making distinctions about Ascham's style: writing during the period when the possibilities and limitations of written English are just being discovered and explored, he is very conscious of the choices of syntax he must make.

Book II of Toxophilus, the discussion of the equipment and technique of shooting, includes numerous passages of Ascham's most

⁷⁸ Ohmann, 430-31, 436-37. Ohmann provides the following examples to illustrate the last three terms and adds this distinction: "First it has often been pointed out that constructions may be left-branching ('Once George had left, the host and hostess gossiped briefly'), right-branching ('The host and hostess gossiped briefly, once George had left'), or self-embedding ('The host and hostess, once George had left, gossiped briefly'). Neither the left- nor right-branching constructions tax the hearer's understanding, even when compounded at some length ('a very few not at all well liked union officials'; 'the dog that worried the cat that chased the rat that ate the cheese that lay in the house that Jack built'). But layers of self-embedding quickly put too great a strain on the unaided memory ('the house in which the cheese that the rat that the cat that the dog worried chased ate lay was built by Jack'). Even a relatively small amount of self-embedding in a written passage can slow a reader down considerably" (p. 436). How to handle what seem to us these fairly elementary matters of syntactic construction was still a problem in the middle of the sixteenth century. For an example of a highly embedded sentence almost out of control, see the quotation from Elyot, p. 46.

functional and utilitarian prose. Because this is the least complex of the kinds of exposition that the treatise requires Ascham to write, it is a logical starting place for stylistic analysis. The following explanation of the bracer is a representative passage:

¹Little is to be sayd of the braser. ²A bracer serueth for two causes, one to saue his arme from the strype of the stryngge, and his doublet from wearynge, and the other is, that the stryngge glydyngge sharpelye and quicklye of the bracer, maye make the sharper shoote. ³For if the stryngge shoulde lyght vpon the bare sleue, the strengthe of the shoote shoulde stoppe and dye there. ⁴But it is best by my iudgemente, to gyue the bowe so muche bent, that the stryngge neede neuer touche a mannes arme, and so shoulde a man nede no bracer as I knowe manye good Archers, whiche occupye none. ⁵In a bracer a man muste take hede of .iii. thinges, that it haue no nayles in it, that it haue no bucles, that it be fast on with laces wythout agglettes. ⁶For the nayles wyll shere in sunder, a mannes string, before he be ware, and so put his bowe in ieoperdy: Buckles and agglettes at vnwares, shall race hys bowe, a thinge bothe euyll to the syghte, and perilous for freatyngge. ⁷And thus a Bracer, is onelye had for this purpose, that the stryngge maye haue redye passage (p. 200).

In this paragraph, Ascham's purpose is to explain clearly and simply why archers include bracers in their equipment and what constitutes a satisfactory bracer. Here, he is not interested in either persuading or moving his audience, but merely in instructing them. Thus, he selects a simple design for his explanation and includes little rhetorical embellishment. However, he does make efficient use of the rhetorician's methods of ordering matter.

Ascham begins with a simple introductory sentence that sets his reader's expectations for the compact passage to follow (S1). Next, assuming that his audience knows roughly what a bracer is, he

dispenses with definition and orders his explanation rather by division or enumeratio, which first divides the subject into its causes (S2) and second, separates the second cause by a qualifying cause (S3). Next, relying on his own experience as an expert shooter, Ascham qualifies this necessity, arguing syllogistically: "A widely bent bow needs no bracer; the best bow is widely bent; therefore, the best bow needs no bracer." The major and minor premises of this qualifying argument depend for support on Ascham's authority as an archer and on the use of "manye good Archers." Having presented both the reasons for and the arguments against the use of a bracer, Ascham continues with a final enumeratio of the things that a shooter must avoid in a bracer if he does use one (S5). Here, for clarity he uses the figure of poly-syndeton, repeating "that" at the beginning of each of three clauses (S5). Next, he again divides by causes to explain the preceding sentence (S6). Finally, using the device of synathroesmus, Ascham gathers together by way of recapitulation the whole matter of the paragraph in a final topic sentence (S7).

The paragraph explaining the use of the bracer also reflects Ascham's purpose of clear and straightforward explanation linguistically. First, this passage includes very little self-embedding which might momentarily confuse the reader; the embedding that does appear (S2) is necessary and functional rather than decorative. Second, almost all of the sentences are primarily right-branching,

reflecting the order most frequently used in spoken English and also the order easiest for an English speaker to comprehend at once. Third, the sentences in this passage are built primarily on the transformational operations of addition and combination rather than on those of deletion and reordering. Finally, the passage shows an orderly association between thought and grammatical form. One exception to this otherwise careful connection between meaning and syntax appears in the anacoluthon or breakdown of parallelism of S2 ("two causes, one to saue . . . and the other is").

A passage from the discussion of the discommodities of ill custom in shooting is also representative of Ascham's prose at its functional best. Here, in order to show his audience how not to shoot and also to entertain them, he presents a series of short, highly concrete depictions of bad archers at the pricks:

¹All the discommodities whiche ill custome hath graffed in archers, can neyther be quycklye poullled out, nor yet sone reckened of me, they be so manye.

²Some shooteth, his head forward as though he woulde byte the marke: ³an other stareth wyth hys eyes, as though they shulde flye out: ⁴An other winketh with one eye, and loketh with the other: ⁵Some make a face with writhing theyr mouthe and countenaunce so, as though they were doying you wotte what: ⁶An other blereth out his tonge: ⁷An other byteth his lyppes: ⁸An other holdeth his necke a wrye. ⁹In drawyng some set suche a compasse, as though they woulde tourne about, and blysse all the feelde: ¹⁰Other 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. ¹¹An 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. ¹²An other maketh suche a wrestling with his gere, as though he were able to shoote no more

as longe as lyued. ¹³ An other draweth softly to the middes,
and by and by it is gon, you can not knowe howe (pp. 252-53).

This passage is ordered by the figure of prolepsis, which first outlines the subject generally and then draws it into its parts. Ascham gives further coherence to the passage by the figure of anaphora, repeating "some" or "other" or "an other" at the beginning of each sentence. Further, he both enlivens his description and makes it easier to visualize by using metaphorical mimesis to depict gesture (e.g., "as though he woulde byte the marke," "as though they shulde flye out").

Linguistic elements in this passage are also well suited to the purpose of clarity. Again, the sentences include little self-embedding and are primarily right-branching. Further, many of these sentences in this passage are already close to being base structures (e.g., Ss 6, 7, 8), and many others are built on simple addition and combination transformations. Finally, the most complex combining transformations (e.g., those introduced by "as though") Ascham uses several times, thus establishing a pattern that his audience can quickly pick out and follow.

Passages of extremely functional, direct, and simple prose such as these may seem to be hardly worth noting to a modern audience. But, it should be remembered that before 1545 practically no good models of this kind of straightforward and concrete writing had been composed in English. The first sentence of The Gouvernour,

for instance, is confusing and difficult for lack of the very linguistic elements which make Ascham's prose clear with a single reading: "A publike weale is in sondry wyse defined by philosophers, but knowyng by experience that the often repetition of anything of graue or sad importance wyll be tedious to the reders of this warke, who perchance for the more parte haue nat ben trayned in lerning contaynyng semblable matter, I haue compiled one definition out of many in as compendious fourme as my poure witte can deuise, trustyng that those fewe wordes the trewe signification of a publike weale shall euidently appere to them whom reason can satisfie." Although Elyot's subject in The Governour is more abstract than Ascham's in Toxophilus, still his purpose, like Ascham's in the passages just examined, is to instruct and clarify. That Ascham's explanations meet the requirements of clarity makes them important; that they are, further, terse, coherent, and still readable is a significant accomplishment and one that is usually overlooked in discussions of Ascham's prose style.⁷⁹

Passage after passage in Book II of Toxophilus is marked by this same kind of clarity and coherence. One of the most remarkable examples is Ascham's explanation of the nature of the wind (pp. 269-71).

⁷⁹One notable exception is Francis R. Johnson, Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England (Baltimore, 1937), who points out that Toxophilus helped to establish the tradition of scientific and technical writing in the vernacular (pp. 91-92).

Here, he shows himself to be not only a master of vivid natural description but also a keen observer with a lively imagination. He recalls a clear snowy morning when, riding from Topcliffe, he marked the wind's behavior by following its antics with the fallen snow:

And I had a great delyte and pleasure to marke it, whyche maketh me now far better to remember it. Sometye the wynd would be not past .ii. yeardes brode, and so it would carie the snowe as far as I coulde se. An other tyme the snow woulde blowe ouer halfe the felde at ones. Sometye the snowe woulde tomble softly, by and by it would flye wonderfull fast. And thys I perceyued also that the wind goeth by streames and not hole together. For I should se one streame wyth in a Score on me, than the space of .ii. score no snow would stirre, but after so muche quantitie of grounde, an other streame of snow at the same very tyme should be caryed lykewyse, but not equally. For the one would stande styll when the other flew a pace, and so contynewe somtyme swiftlyer sometime slowlyer, sometime broder, sometime narrower, as far as I coulde se. Nor it flewe not streight, but sometye it crooked thys waye sometye that waye, and somtyme it ran round aboute in a compase. And somtyme the snowe wold by 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, streightway it woulde rise and flye agayne (pp. 270-71).

This entire description is a fine example of enargia, a lively mimetic representation, which Ascham introduces by suggesting that he is about to present a delightful visual memory. Again, Ascham uses anaphora to give his description coherence (e.g., "sometye . . . sometye," "an other . . . an other"). Both the balance of the clauses and frequent figures of repetition (e.g., anaphora combined with alliteration in "sometye swiftlyer sometime slowlyer") make the passage pleasant to the ear. Further, in this passage there is not only a logical connection between thought and form but also a

reinforcing of thought by both form and rhetoric. Even the rhythm of the clauses reproduces the motion of the antic wind rising and falling, in and out of the snow. Finally--and almost incidentally--in this passage Ascham again makes a practical point necessary to his instructions for shooting in the wind ("And thys I perceyued also that the wind goeth by streames and not hole together") by wedging the real thesis of the paragraph inconspicuously into the mimetic description which both instructs and delights at a stroke.

Book I of Toxophilus, in which Ascham defends the noble origins and great worth of shooting and digresses to state his opinions on morals, politics, and education, offers hundreds of examples of the kind of writing for which Ascham is best remembered. Ever since Gabriel Harvey called Ascham "noster Isocrates,"⁸⁰ critics have described his style by noting its periodic sentences and balanced and antithetical constructions. Further, they have remarked on his frequent use of rhetorical figures, especially polyptoton and other figures of repetition, to embellish his prose.⁸¹ But, few critics have pointed out the efficient use that Ascham makes of rhetoric to underline and reinforce his thought. Rhetorical elements in Ascham's prose almost

⁸⁰ Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia, ed. G. L. Moore Smith (Stratford, 1913), p. 127.

⁸¹ Krapp, pp. 297-99, offers a representative analysis of this kind.

never constitute mere ornament; rather, they serve very functional purposes. This characteristic, which shows clearly in the utilitarian prose of Book II, is also evident in the more elaborate writing of Book I.

In Book I Ascham's purpose is more to persuade and, sometimes, to move than it is to instruct, and this purpose is reflected in both his rhetoric and his syntax. The following passage, taken from Ascham's defense of shooting in war, is representative of his arguments based on inartificial proofs:

¹The strengthe of war lyeth in the souldier, whose chiefe prayse and vertue, is obedience towarde his captayne, sayth Plato. ²And Xenophon being a gentyle authour, moste christianlye doeth saye, euen by these woordes, that that souldyer whiche firste serueth god, and than obeyeth hys captayne, maye boldelie with all courage, hope to ouerthrowe his enemy. ³Agayne, without obedience, neither valiant man, stout horse, nor goodly harnes doth any good at al. ⁴Which obedience of the souldier toward his captane, brought the hole empyre of the 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" (p. 138).

This argument within a larger argument--that the soldier must be obedient--depends on inartificial proof by authority--here, first Plato and Xenophon and then the example of the Roman Empire. Thus, Ascham organizes this passage almost as a list of proofs, first, using a statement from Plato as his thesis (S1) and then citing Xenophon as a supporting theoretical authority and the successes of the Romans as a more tangible proof by example. Two rhetorical devices serve to give the passage coherence and to reinforce the point of the argument.

First, the figure of anastrophe in the opening sentence gives emphasis both to the paraphrase from Plato and to Plato's name. In the final sentence anastrophe again allows Ascham to emphasize his subject, obedience, by placing it as the second word of the sentence. Four repetitions of the word "obedience" or a word based on the same root (polypototon) further underline the subject of the argument.

This passage also demonstrates Ascham's use of more complex sentence constructions and reflects his persuasive purpose linguistically. Here, left-branching appears (S3). Further, the sentences are marked by self-embedding (e.g., S2 "being a gentyle authour, moste christianlye doeth saye, euen by these woordes"). Although these two elements do not obscure the thought, they do suspend the completion of essential meaning to the end of the sentence. The result is that the passage gives an impression of highly qualified, carefully thought-out weightiness. This linguistic impression alone would make an audience ready to accept the argument as sound. In other words, the constructions themselves are persuasive and lend an air of dignity and weight to the three inartificial proofs.

A passage concluding the argument that men do not spend too much time shooting demonstrates another way in which Ascham uses rhetoric and constructions of the language to reinforce his meaning:

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 vse not, yong men for

feare of them whom they be vnder tomoche dare not: sage men for other greater businesses, wyll not: aged men for lacke of strengthe, can not: Ryche men for couetousnesse sake, care not: poore men for cost and charge, may not: masters for their housholde keping, hede not: seruantes kept in by their maisters very oft, shall not: craftes men for getting of their lyuing, verye moche leysure haue not: and many there be that oft begynnes, but for vnaptnesse proues not: and moost of all, whiche when they be shoters gyue it ouer and lyst not, so that generallye men euerye where for one or other consideration moche shoting vse not. Therfore these two thinges, straitnesse of tyme, and euery man his trade of liuing, are the causes that so fewe men shotes . . . (pp. 116-17).

Again, Ascham is arguing by inartificial proof--here, those based on common experience. And again, he uses a listing method following a thesis statement (S1) to present his argument. The continuity and consistency of the list is emphasized by the figure of symploce, or the repetition of words at the beginning and end of every clause (i. e., "men . . . not"), while the diversity of the list is marked by the change of every first word in each clause (i. e., "yong," "sage," "aged," "rych," "poore," etc.). Further, each short clause in the enumeration also repeats a single embedded element of identical construction with the others (i. e., "for . . .") which both states a particular reason for the subject's inability to shoot often and underlines the consistency of the general precept. Finally, Ascham uses deletion so that the reader must remember the general precept which opens the passage to complete the thought of each clause. This technique allows Ascham to run rapidly through the long enumeratio and produces the effect of a large number of proofs.

Many passages in Book I of Toxophilus also demonstrate Ascham's ability to persuade his audience by emotion. The final section in the digression on the Turks exemplifies Ascham's skill at this kind of persuasion. Having chastised his reader through the representative, Philologus, for immoral, "Turkish" ways, which have allowed the Saracen to make such great conquests in Christendom, Ascham concludes: "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 a thefe come to the dore, and heaueth at it, to come in, and sleye hym, yet he lyeth in his bed, hauinge more pleasure to lye in a slumber and scratche him selfe wher it ytcheth euen to the harde bone, than he hath redynes to ryse vp lustelye, and dryue him awaye that woulde robbe hym and sleye hym" (p. 164).

Here, Ascham uses a single vivid simile to tie up the long preceding general argument, comparing Christendom to a man too drunk and self-indulgent even to lock his doors and windows against thieves and murderers. He reinforces the already unpleasant image by the sometimes tolerable vice of language, cacemphaton, or foul speech in the harsh-sounding terms "dronke," "scratche," and "ytcheth." The long, compounded, highly embedded sentence in which this comparison appears reflects the disorder of the drunken man's life without being difficult to follow. The mental picture that the comparison conveys, reinforced by the rambling syntax and harsh sounds of key

words, is repugnant enough to move to fear and self-disgust any member of the audience--even one who has not been fully persuaded by the long list of Turkish conquests against the Christian nations (pp. 162-65).

A final stylistic mode which contrasts both with the functional, direct prose found in Book II and with the more elaborate persuasive prose of Book I is found in Ascham's dedication to the King. Here, where his purpose is neither to instruct nor to persuade but rather to gain a patron or position for himself, Ascham uses a style that creates an entirely different effect from that of the examples given previously. The sentences in the dedication are long, highly embedded, frequently left-branching and convoluted; in many of them one thought seems to lead Ascham to another until he almost loses control over the syntax. Within the treatise itself similar but less extreme shapeless sentences appear, but they are, by and large, exceptions to otherwise careful, controlled syntax.

The close and functional relationship between rhetoric and linguistic constructions is perhaps an obvious one. Still, since most commentators on Ascham's prose have not noted this connection, it should be at least mentioned here. The classical principle of "appropriateness" alone would dictate that rhetorical and linguistic elements should complement and reinforce each other; that theory would have been known to any sixteenth-century schoolboy. The point worth emphasizing is that Ascham, writing in a language still young in literary

accomplishment, produced in accord with this theory sound models in syntax as well as in the more frequently discussed areas of semantics and rhetorical embellishment. This is perhaps his most significant accomplishment and this is finally to be numbered among the best reasons for naming Toxophilus as an important step in the development of English literary prose.

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

Printing History of Toxophilus

Toxophilus, the schole of shootinge conteyned in two bookes was first published in 1545 by Edward Whytchurch (STC 837). Sometime during the first half of 1544, Ascham wrote to Sir William Paget that the treatise on the art of shooting, which he planned to dedicate to Henry VIII, was then in the press.¹ However, since the King left for the French wars before the printing of Toxophilus could be completed, Ascham recalled the manuscript from the printer's and in February 1545 he was still at work revising it.² The letter to Paget, along with a notation on the title page of the second edition, "written by Roger Ascham, 1544," may explain why Robert Watt mentions both a 1544 and a 1545 edition, each, he says, printed by Whytchurch.³ Since no other bibliographer whose account I have examined mentions a 1544 edition and since no library records a copy of such an edition, we must assume that Watt is mistaken.

¹ Latin letter: Ascham to Paget in The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1865), I, 52.

² Latin letter: Ascham to Grindal in Giles, I, 75.

³ Robert Watt, Bibliotheca Britannica (Edinburgh, 1824), I, 49a.

Two other sixteenth-century editions of Toxophilus appeared, both after Ascham's death. The first, set from the 1545 edition, was printed in 1571 by Thomas Marsh (STC 838 and 838.2)⁴ and another, based on the 1571 edition, was printed by Abel Jeffes in 1589 (STC 839). The first post-sixteenth-century edition of Toxophilus appeared in James Bennet's edition of Ascham's English Works (London, 1761). John Walters edited a separate publication of Toxophilus (Wrexham, 1788; reprinted, 1821). In the nineteenth century, the Rev. Dr. Giles included the treatise in modernized spelling in his edition of The Whole Works of Roger Ascham (London, 1865) and Edward Arber edited a reprint of the 1545 edition of Toxophilus (London, 1868). Finally, William Aldis Wright included an old-spelling text of Toxophilus in English Works of Roger Ascham (Cambridge, 1904).

The Copy-Text and Its Treatment

This edition presents a critical, old-spelling text of Toxophilus based on a collation of the following seven copies of the 1545 edition,

⁴W. W. Bishop, A Checklist of STC Books (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 9, refers to a reissue of STC 838; Lawrence V. Ryan, Roger Ascham (Stanford, 1963), p. 49n, notes that folios D1, D2, D7, and D8 of some copies are set in a different type from that used on those leaves in other copies.

the only edition set from manuscript:⁵

- F: a xerox reproduction of a copy owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C. (Harmsworth copy).
- O: a xerox reproduction of a copy owned by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- H: a xerox reproduction of a copy owned by the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- L: a xerox reproduction of a copy owned by the British Museum.
- J: a microfilm reproduction of a copy owned by the library of Jesus College, Cambridge University.
- R: a microfilm reproduction of a copy owned by the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England.
- P: a microfilm reproduction of a copy owned by the Carl F. Pforzheimer Library, New York.

The 1545 edition is a quarto in fours with the collation A⁴, a⁴, A-Y⁴.

This edition lacks a title page; instead, it begins with an heraldic woodcut (royal arms) on which is mounted a seven-line dedicatory verse on "the Boke and the Bowe" (see photostat reproduction of A1^r, p.66 of text). The full title, Toxophilus, the schole of shootinge conteyned in two bookes, appears only at the top of the table of the first book (see p. 80 of text). The edition ends with the following colophon: [Ornament: single leaf pointing right] LONDINI.

⁵ All bibliographical descriptions in my text are based on observations of these xerox and microfilm reproductions. I have seen none of these copies first hand.

[ornament: hand with index finger pointing left] / In aedibus Edouardi Whytchurch, / Cum priuilegio ad impri-/mendum solum. / 1545.⁶

The seven copies of the 1545 edition have been collated letter by letter and point by point against a control text and all variants resulting from proof correction--both substantive and accidental--have been recorded in the textual notes. Of the fifty-two stop-press variants revealed by this collation, I have embodied the corrected readings in my text except in two cases where patent errors were introduced as "corrections" because of some confusion in the printing process.⁷ Although Ascham mentions painstaking work revising the manuscript of Toxophilus in his letter to Grindal, he never states that he has directly supervised the printing of the treatise. However, the nature of corrections in several formes strongly indicates that the corrections are authoritative. More specifically, the collation of the seven copies indicates four separate states of correction on the inner forme of sheet I: copy R embodies none of the corrections; copies FOHLJP indicate a first corrected state ("welth" for "health"); copies HLJP show a second corrected state ("welth" for "health") and the

⁶ In bibliographical descriptions, type = all type except italic; type = italic.

⁷ See textual notes for p. 181. 5-6, sig. L4^r, where the corrected state introduces an error, and 237. 15, sig. R4^v, where both the corrected and uncorrected states are in error.

addition of a comma following "knowledge"; finally, copies LJP include these first two corrections and a third set of corrections ("euel wyll" for "ill wyll", "contention" for "open battayle," and "hold . . . hande" for "holde . . . hand") and thus represent a third corrected state. Such extensive care involving three separate stoppings of the press strongly suggests that Ascham himself--the only person who might be presumed to have cared so much about correct copy--attended the press and persuaded the printer to make these changes. Similar evidence of two corrected states exists for the outer forme of sheet M and the inner forme of sheet T.

The text of the present edition retains the "accidentals"--spelling, punctuation, and capitalization--of the 1545 edition, the only edition which has a direct relationship to the "accidentals" of Ascham's manuscript. I have avoided emendation except in cases of obvious typographical misprint. More specifically, first, in some cases where the compositor has been crowded for space in a line, he has omitted hyphens between letters of a divided word. If that word always appears in other places in the text as a single unit, I have silently reproduced it in this text as a single word (e.g., "o/ther" becomes "other"). However, if the word sometimes appears in other places in the 1545 edition as two words, I have recorded it as two words in my text (e.g., "him/selfe" remains "him selfe"). Second, the compositor has sometimes omitted points which would appear at

the end of a line. When the last word at the end of such a line is clearly the end of a sentence and the first word of the next line beings a new sentence, I have silently supplied a point. All doubtful cases I have allowed to stand as they appear in the text of the 1545 edition. All other emendations, which have been made in the light of the usual spelling, capitalization and punctuation habits of the 1545 edition, have been listed in the textual notes of this edition.

Silent Alterations

Since this edition is neither a diplomatic nor a facsimile reprint, I have made some silent alterations in typographical matters which are of no textual concern. Italic type has been indicated by underlining but no other type distinction has been attempted. The spacing of lines, sections, and words has been normalized. The long s is modernized throughout the text. No attempt has been made to reproduce display capitals, ornamental initials, or ornaments or to note their existence. Turned and swash letters have been silently corrected. Catchwords and running titles have been omitted. All signature numbers--both signed and unsigned--have been included in square brackets at the beginning of what would be their corresponding pages in the 1545 edition. Line numbers have been added for the pages of this text.

The paragraph divisions of the 1545 edition have been retained, with two exceptions. First, in my edition a new paragraph occurs

with each change of speaker whether or not an indentation appears in the 1545 text. Second, I have indicated a new paragraph in this text when there is an unjustified line of five or more spaces or when the first word of the following line has fewer letters than the space left in the unjustified line or could be easily divided to fit that space.

The following contractions have been silently expanded: ~~et~~ = and; ^ty = that; ^ey = the; ^tw = with; ^oq = quoth; ~~et~~ = etc.; ~~us~~ = -us/-um; ~~ae~~ = ae; ~ = nasal. I have retained roman numerals and the abbreviation .d. for pence.

The 1545 edition includes a number of marginal notes. I have recorded each of these in my section of explanatory notes according to the lines of the text adjacent to which each note appears in the 1545 edition. The table of contents of Book I of the 1545 edition includes folio numbers; since my text does not follow the pagination of the 1545 edition, I have omitted these.

Apparatus

The apparatus of this edition consists of textual notes, an historical collation, and explanatory notes. The textual notes include all variant readings resulting from proof correction and all emendations which have not been indicated as silent. Each footnote provides a lemma from the present text; following the square bracket are the sigla of copies in which that reading appears and the rejected reading

with the sigla of copies in which it appears. Corrected (c) and uncorrected (u) states have been indicated. If no siglum follows the square bracket, the reading is my own; if this reading derives from another edition (e.g., Wright), I have indicated the source following the square bracket. I have used the following shorthand symbols advocated by R. B. McKerrow (Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare, 1939): a wavy dash (〰) takes the place of the repeated word associated with pointing; an inferior caret (^) indicates the absence of pointing.

The historical collation is based on the following copies of the 1571 and 1589 editions of Toxophilus:

H1: a xerox reproduction of a copy of the 1571 edition owned by the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

H2: a xerox reproduction of a copy of the 1589 edition owned by the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

I have recorded all substantive variants from the 1545 edition found in these two copies.⁸ Although these editions have no apparent textual authority, their variants are interesting for stylistic and historical reasons, showing changes made in Toxophilus after Ascham's death to keep the treatise from seeming outdated. The "his" genitive, which appears regularly in the 1545 text, is altered to its modern analogue

⁸ Bibliographical descriptions of these two copies are given on page 64-65.

in the later sixteenth-century editions (e.g., "Aristotle his" becomes "Aristotles"); frequently used words that were antiquated by the last quarter of the sixteenth century appear in more modern form in the 1571 and 1589 editions (e.g., "sere" becomes "seuerall"; "vnlefull" becomes "vnlawfull"). The dedication to Henry VIII in the 1545 edition is omitted in the second and third editions and all references to Henry are adjusted to square with the fact that he was no longer alive. Finally, the passage in which Ascham praises Henry for accomplishing a union with Scotland is omitted in the 1571 and 1589 editions.⁹

Following the textual notes and historical collation is a section of explanatory notes. In these notes I have attempted to expand the marginal notes given in the 1545 edition to give fuller and more modernized references to Ascham's classical sources. I have also provided glosses for technical terms used in archery and for a few other words and phrases which, in my opinion, might confuse or mislead a modern reader. Finally, I have noted the more common of the aphorisms which Ascham uses in his treatise.

⁹ See explanatory note for pp. 169-70.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS

Toxophilus, 1571 (STC 838): a xerox reproduction of a copy of this edition owned by the Houghton Library (H1).

Title page: [Within a rule within a border: McKerrow and Ferguson No. 125] TOXOPHILVS, / The schole, or partitions of / shooting
contayned in ij. bookes, / written by Roger Ascham. 1544. / And now
newlye perused. / Pleasaunt for all Gentle- / men, and Yomen of
England / for theyr pastime to reade, and / profitable for their vse to
folowe / both in warre and peace. / [Ornament: line of four stars
centered above line of three stars] / Anno. 1571. / Imprinted at
London in / Fletestrete neare to Saint / Dunstones Church by Tho= /
[ornament: three stars arranged in a triangle] / mas Marshe.
[ornament: three stars arranged in a triangle]

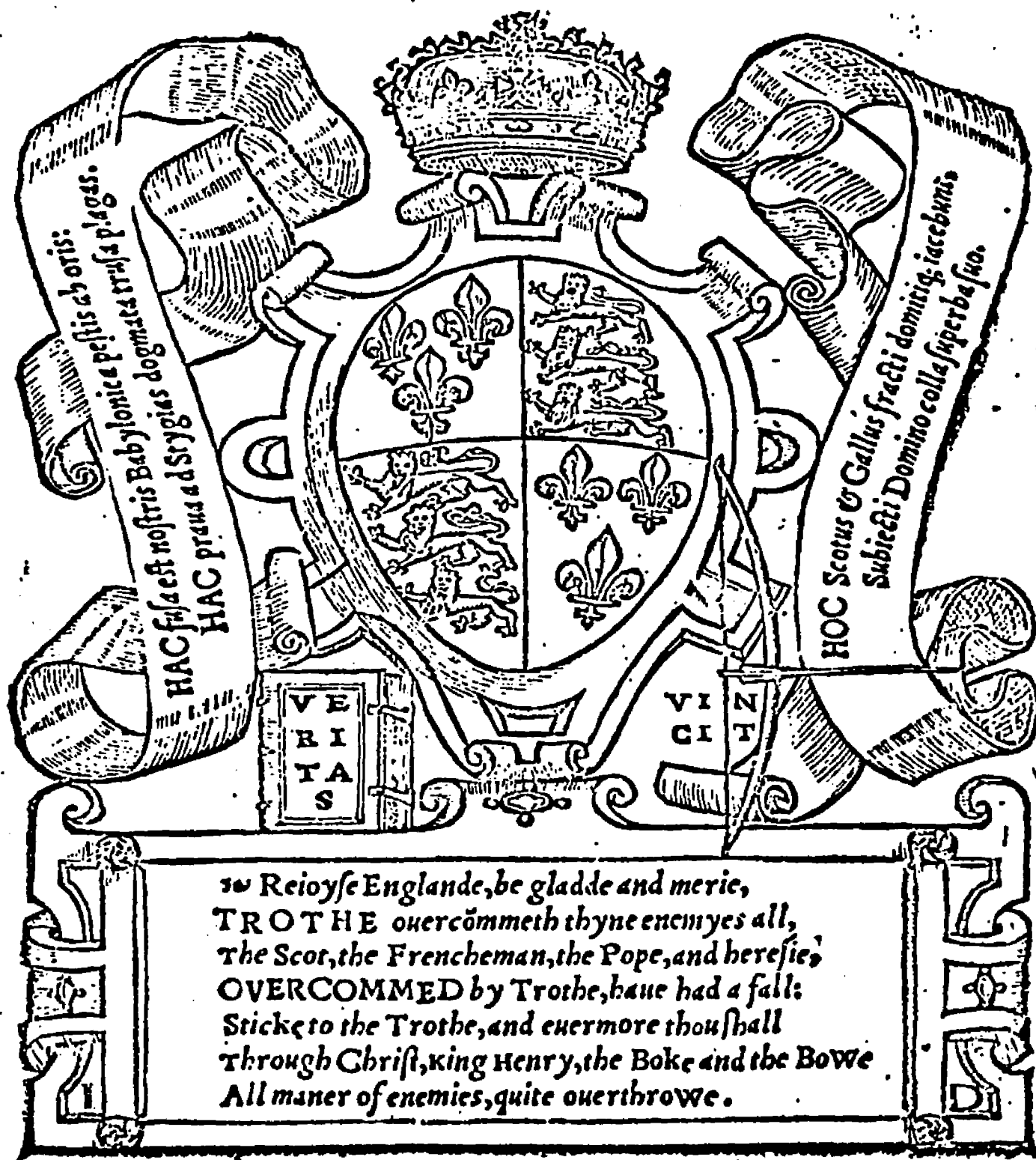
Collation: Quarto in fours: *⁴, A-H⁸ (All fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth leaves unsigned).

Toxophilus, 1589 (STC 839): a xerox reproduction of a copy of this edition owned by the Houghton Library (H2).

Title page: [Within a border of type ornaments] TOXOPHILVS: / The
Schoole, or partitions of Shoo- / ting contayned in two bookes, /
Written by Roger Ascham / 1544. And now newly / perused. /
Pleasaunt for all Gentlemen, and Yomen / of England for their
pastime to reade, / and profitable for their vse to / follow both in

warre / and peace. / [Three type ornaments] / AT LONDON, /
Printed by ABELL IEFFES, / by the consent of H. Marsh. / Anno.
1589.

Collation: Quarto in fours: 99^4 , 999^2 , A-H⁸ (All fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth leaves unsigned).



[A1^v] Gualterus Haddonus

Cantabrigien.

Mittere qui celeres summa uelit arte sagittas,

Ars erit ex isto summa profecta libro.

Quicquid habent arcus rigidi, neruique rotundi,

Sumere si libet, hoc sumere fonte licet.

Aschamus est author, magnum quem fecit Apollo

Arte sua, magnum Pallas et arte sua.

Docta manus dedit hunc, dedit hunc mens docta libellum:

Quae uidet Ars Vsus uisa, parata facit.

Optimus haec author quia tradidit optima scripta,

Conuenit hec uobis optima uelle sequi.

[A2^r] To the moste graciouse, and our most drad Soueraigne
lord, Kyng Henrie the .viii. by the grace of God, kyng of Englande,
Fraunce and Irelande; Defender of the faythe, and of the churche
of Englande and also of Irelande in earth supreme head, next
 5 vnder Christ, be al health victorie, and felicitie.

WHAT tyme as, moste gracious Prince, your highnes this last
 year past, tooke that your moost honorable and victorious iourney
 into Fraunce, accompanied with such a porte of the Nobilitie and
 yeomanrie of Englande, as neyther hath bene lyke knowen by
 10 experience, nor yet red of in Historie: accompanied also with the
 daylie prayers, good hartes, and willes of all and euery one your
 graces subiectes, lefte behinde you here at home in Englande: the
 same tyme, I beinge at my booke in Cambrige, sorie that my litle
 habilitie could stretche out no better, to helpe forward so noble an
 15 enterprice, yet with my good wylle, prayer, and harte, nothinge
 behynde hym that was formoste of all, conceyued a wonderful
 [A2^v] desire, bi the praier, wishing, talking, and communication
 that was in euery mans mouth, for your Graces moost victoriouse
 retourne, to offer vp sumthinge, at your home cumming to your
 20 Highnesse, which shuld both be a token of mi loue and deutie
 toward your Maiestie, and also a signe of my good minde and
 zeale towarde mi countrie.

This occasion geuen to me at that time, caused me to take in
 hand againe, this litle purpose of shoting, begon of me before, yet
 not ended than, for other studies more mete for that trade of
 liuinge, whiche God and mi frendes had set me vnto. But when
 5 your Graces moste ioifull and happie victorie preuented mi dailie
 and spedie diligencie to performe this matter, I was compelled to
 waite an other time to prepare and offer vp this litle boke vnto
 your Maiestie. And whan it hath pleased youre Highenesse of
 your infinit goodnesse, and also your most honorable Counsel to
 10 know and peruse ouer the contentes, and some parte of this boke,
 and so to alow it, that other men might rede it, throughe the
 funderaunce and setting forthe of the right worshipfull and mi
 Singuler good Master sir William Pagette Knight, moost worthie
 Se-[A3^r] cretarie to your highnes, and most open and redie
 15 succoure to al poore honest learned mens sutes, I moost humblie
 beseche your Grace to take in good worthe this litle treatise pur-
 posed, begon, and ended of me onelie for this intent, that Labour,
 Honest pastime and Vertu, might recouer againe that place and
 right, that Idlenesse, Vnthrifitie gamning and Vice hath put them
 20 fro.

And althoughe to haue written this boke either in latin or Greke
 (which thing I wold be verie glad yet to do, if I might surelie
 know your Graces pleasure there in) had bene more easier and fit

for mi trade in study, yet neuerthelesse, I supposinge it no point
 of honestie, that mi commodite should stop and hinder ani parte
 either of the pleasure or profite of manie, haue written this
 Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men: where
 5 in this I trust that your Grace (if it shall please your Highnesse to
 rede it) shal perceaue it to be a thinge Honeste for me to write,
 pleasaunt for some to rede, and profitable for manie to folow,
 contening a pastime, honest for the minde, holsome for the body,
 fit for eueri man, vile for no man, vsing the day and open place
 10 for Honestie to rule it, not lurking in corners for disorder to
 abuse it. Therfore I trust it shal apere, to be bothe [A3^v] a sure
 token of my zeele to set forward shootinge, and some signe of my
 minde, towardes nonestie and learninge.

Thus I wil trouble your Grace no longer, but with my daylie
 15 praier, I wil beseche God to preserue your Grace, in al health and
 felicitie: to the feare and ouerthrowe of all your ennemies: to the
 pleasure, ioyfulnesse and succour of al your subiectes: to the
 vtter destruction of papistrie and heresie: to the continuall setting
 forth of Goddes worde and his glorye.

Your Graces most

bounden Scholer,

Roger Ascham.

[A4^r] TO ALL GENTLE MEN AND YOMEN OF
ENGLANDE.

Bias the wyse man came to Cresus the ryche kyng, on a
tyme, when he was makynge newe shyppes, purposyng to haue
5 subdued by water the out yles lying betwixt Grece and Asia minor:
What newes now in Grece, saith the king to Bias? None other
newes, but these, sayeth Bias: that the yles of Grece haue pre-
pared a wonderful companye of horsemen, to ouerrun Lydia
10 withall. There is nothyng vnder heauen, sayth the kyng, that I
woulde so soone wisshe, as that they durst be so bolde, to mete
vs on the lande with horse. And thinke you sayeth Bias, that there
is anye thyng which they wolde sooner wysshe, then that you
shulde be so fonde, to mete them on the water with shyppes? And
15 so Cresus hearyng not the true newes, but perceyuyng the wise
mannes mynde and counsell, both gaue then ouer makynge of his
shyppes, and left also behynde him a wonderful example for all
commune wealthes to folowe: that is euermore to regarde and set
most by that thing whervnto nature hath made them moost apt, and
20 vse hath made them moost fitte.

By this matter I meane the shotyng in the long bowe, for
English men: which thyng 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 thyng, how good
 soeuer it seme to be: but that styll, accordyng to the oulde wont
 of England, youth shulde vse it for the moost honest pastyme in
 5 peace, that men myght handle it as a mooste sure weapon in
 warre. Other stronge weapons whiche bothe experience doth
 proue to be good, and the wysdom of the kinges Maiestie and his
 counsel prouydes to be had, are not ordeyned to take away
 shotyng: but that both, not compared together, whether shuld be
 10⁴ better then the other, but so ioyned together that the one shoulde
 be alwayes an ayde and helpe for the other, myght so strengthen
 the Realme on all sydes, that no kynde of enemy in any kynde of
 weapon, myght passe and go beyonde vs.

For this purpose I, partelye prouoked by the counsell of some
 15 gentlemen, partly moued by the loue whiche I haue alwayes borne
 towarde shotyng, haue wrytten this lytle trea- [A4^v] tise, wherin
 if I haue not satisfyed any man, I trust he wyl the rather be con-
 tent with my doying, bycause I am (I suppose) the firste, whiche
 hath sayde any thyng in this matter (and fewe begynnynges be
 20 perfect, sayth wyse men) And also bycause yf I haue sayed a
 misse, I am content that any man amende it, or yf I haue sayd to
 lytle, any man that wyl to adde what hym pleaseth to it.

My minde is, in profitynge and pleasyng euey man, to hurte or displease no man, intendyng none other purpose, but that youthe myght be styrred to labour, honest pastyme, and vertue, and as much as laye in me, plucked from ydlenes, vnthrifte
 5 games, and vice: whyche thing I haue laboured onlye in this booke, shewyng howe fit shootyng is for all kyndes of men, howe honest a pastyme for the mynde, howe holsome an excercise for the bodye, not vile for great men to vse, not costlye for poore men to susteyne, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at theyr
 10 pleasure, to misvse it, but abiding in the open sight and face of the worlde, for good men if it fault by theyr wisdom to correct it.

And here I woulde desire all gentlemen and yomen, to vse this pastime in suche a mean, that the outragiousnes of great
 15 gamyng, shuld not hurte the honestie of shotyng, 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 shall be.

If any man woulde blame me, eyther for takyng such a
 20 matter in hande, or els for writing it in the Englyshe tongue, this answere I maye make hym, that whan the beste of the realme thinke it honest for them to vse, I one of the meanest sorte, 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 litle hynderaunce of my profyt and name,
 maye come any fourtheraunce, to the pleasure or commoditie, of
 5 the gentlemen and yeomen of Englande, for whose sake I tooke
 this matter in hande. And as for the Latin or greke tonge, euery
 thyng is so excellently done in them, that none can do better: In
 the Englysh tonge contrary, euery thinge in a maner so meanly,
 bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worse.
 10 For therin the least learned for the moste parte, haue ben
 alwayes moost re- [al^r] dye to wryte. And they whiche had
 leaste hope in latin, haue bene moste bould in englyshe: when
 surelye euery man that is moste ready to taulke, is not moost
 able to wryte. He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muste
 15 folowe thys councel of Aristotle, to speake as the common people
 do, to thinke as wise men do: and so shoulde euery man vnder-
 stande hym, and the iudgement of wyse men alowe hym. Many
 English writers haue not done so, but vsinge straunge wordes as
 latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde.
 20 Ones I communed with a man whiche reasoned the englyshe tongue
 to be enryched and encreased therby, sayinge: Who wyll not
 prayse that feaste, 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 selfe 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 knowen, nor yet holsom for
 the bodye. Cicero in folowyng Isocrates, Plato and Demosthenes,
 5 increased the latine tounge after an other sorte. This waye,
 bycause dyuers men that write, do not know, they can neyther
 folowe it, bycause of theyr ignorauncie, nor yet will prayse it,
 for verye arrogauncie, ii. faultes, seldome the one out of the
 others companye.

10 Englysh writers by diuersitie of tyme, haue taken diuerse
 matters in hande. In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but
 bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherin 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
 15 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 therunto of theyr owne nature. These
 bokes (as I haue heard say) were made the moste parte in Abbayes,
 and Monasteries, a very lickely and fit fruite of suche an ydle and
 20 blynde kinde of lyuyng.

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 summtyme, to outshoote the marke, summtyme to shote far wyde, and perchaunce hurte summe that looke on.

Other that neuer learned to shote, nor yet knoweth good shafte
 5 nor bowe, wyll be as busie as the best, but suche [al^v] one commonly plucketh doune a syde, and crafty archers which be agaynst him, will be bothe glad of hym, and also euer ready to laye and bet with him: it were better for suche one to sit doune than shote. Other there be, whiche haue verye good bowe and
 10 shaftes, and good knowlege in shootinge, but they haue bene brought vp in suche euyl fauoured shootynge, that they can neyther shoote fayre, nor yet nere. Yf any man wyll applye these thynges togyther, shal not se the one farre differ from the other.

And I also amonges all other, in writinge this lytle treatise,
 15 haue folowed summe yonge shooters, whiche bothe wyll begyn to shoote, for a lytle moneye, and also wyll vse to shote ones or twice about the marke for nought, afore they beginne a good. And therfore did I take this litle matter in hande. to assaye my selfe, and hereafter by the grace of God, if the iudgement of wyse men,
 20 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 per-
 aduenture wyll maruayle, howe a whettestone whiche is blunte,
 can make the edge of a knife sharpe: I woulde the same man
 shulde consider also, that in goyng about anye matter, there be
 5 .iiii. thinges to be considered, doyng, saying, thinking and per-
 fectnesse: Firste there is no man that doth so wel, but he can
 saye better, or elles summe men, whiche be now starke nought,
 shuld be to good: Agayne no man can vtter wyth his tong, so wel
 as he is able to imagin with his minde, and yet perfectnesse it
 10 selfe is farre aboue all thinking. Than seing that saying is one
 steppe nerer perfectenesse than doyng, let euery man leue
 maruaylyng why my woorde shall rather expresse, than my dede
 shall perfourme perfecte shootinge.

I truste no man will be offended with this litle booke excepte
 15 it be summe fletchers and bowiers, thinking hereby that manye
 that loue shootyng shall be taughte to refuse suche noughtie wares
 as they woulde vtter. Honest fletchers and bowyers do not so, and
 they that be vn honest, oughte rather to amende them selues for
 doinge ill, than be angrie with me for sayinge wel. A fletcher
 20 hath euen as good a quarell to be angry with an archer that
 refuseth an ill shaft, as a bladesmith [a2^r] hath to a fletcher that
 forsaketh to bye of him a noughtie knyfe: For as an archer must
 be content that a fletcher know a good shafte in euery poynte for

the perfecter makynge of it, So an honeste fletcher will also be content that a shooter knowe a good shafte in euery poynt for the perfiter vsing of it: bicause the one knoweth like a fletcher how to make it, the other knoweth lyke an archer howe to vse it. And
 5 seyng the knowlege is one in them bothe, yet the ende diuerse, surely 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 selfe shoulde knowe a shafte, for hys aduauntage in sellynge. And the rather bycause shaftes be not
 10 made so muche to be solde, but chefely to be vsed. And seyng that vse and occupiynge is the ende why a shafte is made, the making as it were a meane for occupying, surely the knowelege in euery poynte of a good shafte, is more to be required in a shooter than a fletcher.

15 Yet as I sayde before no honest fletcher wil be angry with me, seinge 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 lytle booke I truste, shall please and profite both partes: For good bowes and shaftes shall be
 20 better knownen to the commoditie of al shoters, 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 theyr lyuyng truely, and al archers vsynge shootynge honestly,

and all maner of men that fauour artillery, maye lyue continuallye
in healthe and merinesse, obeying theyr prince as they shulde,
and louing God as they ought, to whom for al thinges be al honour
and glorie for euer. Amen

[a3^r] TOXOPHILVS,

The schole of shootinge

conteyned in two

bookes.

5 To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for
theyr pastyme 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 pastyme.

10 Shootyng moost honest pastyme.

The inuention of shootinge.

Shootyng fit for princes and greate men.

Shootyng, fit for Scholers and studentes.

[a3^v] Shootyng fitter for studentes than any musike or

15 Instrumentes.

Youthe ought to learne to singe.

No maner of man doth or can vse to muche shootyng.

Agaynste vnlawfull gammes and namelye cardes and dise.

Shootyng in war.

20 Obedience the best propertie of a Souldyar.

Reasons and authorites agaynste shootyng
in war with the confutacion of the same.

God is pleased with stronge wepons and valyaunt feates of
war.

5 The commoditie of Shootyng in war throughe the Histories
Greke and Latin, and all nations Christen and Hethen.

Vse of shootyng at home causethe stronge shootinge in
warre.

Vse of shootyng at home, except men be apte by nature, and
10 connyng by teachyng, doth litle good at all.

Lacke of learnyng to shoote causethe Englande lacke many a
good archer.

In learnyng any thyng, a man must couete to be best, or els
he shal neuer attayne to be meane.

[a4^r] A Table conteyning
the seconde booke.

		Braser
		Shotingloue
	Proper for	Strynge
	euerye sere	Bowe
By knowing	mannes vse.	Shaftes
thinges belon-		
ging to shoo-		
tyng.	General to	Wether
	all men.	
		Marke.
	Shotying	
	streight.	
Hittying the		Bothe
marke, by		comme
		partly.
	Kepyng	
	a length.	

		Standinge
		Nockynge
	without	Drawinge
	a man.	Holdynge
By hande-		Lowsinge.
linge thyn-		
ges belonging		Bolde corage.
to shotyng.	within	
	a man.	
		Auoydynge
		all affection.

[A1^r] TOXOPHILVS,

A,

The first boke of the schole of shoting.

Philologus.

Toxophilus.

5 PHILOLOGUS. You studie to sore Toxophile.

TOX. I wil not hurt my self ouermoeche I warraunt you.

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

10 TOX. 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 walkyng, I
15 fortun'd to come with thre or foure that went to shote at the
pryckes: And when I sawe not you amonges them, but at the last
espyed you lokyng on your booke here so sadlye, I thought to
come and holde you with some communication, lest your boke
shoulde runne awaye with you. For me thought by your waueryng
20 pace and earnest lokyng, your boke led you, not you it.

TOX. In dede as it chaunced, my mynde went faster then my
 [A1^v] feete, for I happened here to reade in Phedro Platonis, a
 place that entretes wonderfullie of the nature of soules, which
 place (whether it were for the passynge eloquence of Plato, and
 5 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 soules being well
 fethered, flewe alwayes about heauen and heauenlie matters,
 other some hauinge their fethers mowted awaye, and droupinge,
 10 sanke downe into earthlie thinges.

PHI. I remembre the place verie wel, and it is wonderfullie
 sayd of Plato, and now I se it was no maruell though your fete
 fayled you, seing your minde flewe so fast.

TOX. I am gladde now that you letted me, for my head akes
 15 with loking on it, and bycause you tell me so, I am verie sorie
 that I was not with those good feloes you spake vpon, for it is a
 verie faire day for a man to shote 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
 20 to his boke in.

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

PHI. Yea but clere wether maketh clere mindes, and it is best as I suppose, to spend the best time vpon the best thinges: And me thought you shot verie wel, and at that marke, at which euery good scoler shoulde moste busilie shote at. And I suppose
 5 it be a great dele more pleasure also, to se a soule flye in Plato, then a shafte flye at the prickes. I graunte you, shooting is not the worst thing in the world, yet if we shote, and time shote, we ar not like to be great winners at the length. And you know also we scho-[A2^r] lers haue more earnest and weightie matters in hand,
 10 nor we be not borne to pastime and pley, as you know wel ynough who sayth.

TOX. Yet the same man in the same place Philologe, by your leue, doth admitte holosome, honest and manerlie pastimes to be as necessarie to be mingled with sad matters of the minde,
 15 as eating and sleping is for the health of the body, and yet we be borne for neither of bothe. And Aristotle him selfe sayth, that although it were a fonde and a chyldish thing to be to earnest in pastime and play, yet doth he affirme by the authoritie of the ould Poet Epicharmus, that a man may vse play for earnest matter sake.
 20 And in an other place, that as rest is for labour, and medicines for helth, so is pastime at tymes for sad and weightie studie.

PHI. How moche in this matter is to be giuen to the auctoritie either of Aristotle or Tullie, I can not tel, seing sad

men may wel ynough speke merily for a merie matter, this I am
 sure, whiche thing this faire wheat (god saue it) maketh me
 remembre, that those husbandmen which rise erliest, and come
 latest home, and are content to haue their diner and other
 5 drinckinges, broughte into the fielde to them, for feare of losing
 of time, haue fatter barnes in haruest, than they whiche will
 either slepe at none time of the daye, or els make merie with
 their neighbours at the ale. And so a scholer that purposeth to be
 a good husband, and desireth to reape and enioy much fruite, of
 10 learninge, muste tylle and sowe thereafter. Our beste seede
 tyme, whiche be scholers, as it is verie tymelye, and whan we be
 yonge: so it endureth not ouerlonge, and therfore it maye not be
 let slippe [A2^V] one houre, oure grounde is verye harde, and full
 of wedes, our horse wherwith we be drawen very wylde as Plato
 15 sayth. And infinite other mo lettes whiche wil make a thriftie
 scholer take hede how he spendeth his tyme in sporte and pleye.

TOX. That Aristotle and Tullie spake earnestlie, and as they
 thought, the earnest matter which they entreate vpon, doth plainlye
 proue. And as for your husbandrie, it was more probablie tolde
 20 with apt wordes propre to the thing, then thoroughly proued with
 reasons belongynge to our matter. For contrariwise I herd my
 selfe a good husbände at his booke ones saye, that to omit studie
 sometime of the daye, and sometime of the yere, made asmoche

for the encrease of learning, as to let the land lye sometime
 falloe, maketh for the better encrease of corne. This we se, yf
 the lande be plowed euerye yere, the corne commeth thinne vp:
 the eare is short, the grayne is small, and when it is brought into
 5 the barne and threshed, 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 smal wit and weight
 in it as in other mens. And thus youre husbandrie me thinke, is
 more like the life of a couetouse snudge that oft very euill preues,
 10 then the labour of a good husband that knoweth wel what he doth.
 And surelie the best wittes to lerning must nedes haue moche
 recreation and ceasing from their boke, or els they marre them
 selues, when base and dompysshe wittes can neuer be hurte with
 continuall studie, as ye se in luting, that a treble minikin string
 15 must alwayes be let down, but at suche [A3^r] time as when a man
 must nedes playe: when the base and dull stryng nedeth neuer to
 be moued out of his place. The same reason I finde true in two
 bowes that I haue, wherof the one is quicke of cast, tricke, and
 trimme both for pleasure and profyte: the other is a lugge slowe
 20 of cast, folowing the string, more sure for to last, then pleasaunt
 for to vse. Now sir 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 surelie (if I were a riche man) I had rather
 haue spent a crowne: and as for my lugge, it was not one whyt the
 5 worse: but shotte by and by as wel and as farre as euer it dyd.
 And euen so I am sure that good wittes, except they be let downe
 like a treble string, and vn bent like a good casting bowe, they wil
 neuer last and be able to continue in studie. And I know where I
 speake this Philologe, for I wolde not saye thus moche afore yong
 10 men, for they wil take soone occasion to studie litle ynough. But
 I saye it therfore bicause I knowe, as litle studie getteth litle
 learninge or none at all, so the moost studie getteth not the moost
 learning of all. For a mans witte sore occupied in earnest studie,
 must be as wel recreated with some honest pastime, as the body
 15 sore laboured, 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.

[A3^v] And I promise you shoting by my iudgement, is the moost
 20 honest pastime of al, and suche one I am sure, of all other, that
 hindreth learning litle or nothing at all, whatsoeuer you and some
 other saye, whiche are a gret dele sorer against it alwaies than
 you nede to be.

PHI. Hindereth learninge litle or nothings at all? that were a
 meruayle to me truelie, and I am sure seing you saye so, you
 haue some reason wherewith you can defende shooting withall,
 and as for wyl (for the loue that you beare towarde shotinge) I
 5 thinke there shall lacke none in you. Therfore seinge we haue so
 good leysure bothe, and no bodie by to trouble vs: and you so will-
 inge 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 the honestie of your shoting, nor I for myne
 10 owne mindsake, than to se what can be sayed with it, or agaynste
 it, and speciallie in these dayes, whan so many doeth vse it, and
 euerie man in a maner doeth common of it.

TOX. To speake of shootinge Philologe, trulye I woulde I
 were so able, either as I my selfe am willing or yet as the matter
 15 deserueth, but seing with wisshing we can not haue one nowe
 worthie, whiche so worthie a thinge can worthilie praise, and al-
 though I had rather haue anie other to do it than my selfe, yet my
 selfe rather then no other. I wil not fail to saye in it what I can
 wherin if I saye litle, laye that of my litle habilitie, not of the mat-
 20 ter it selfe whiche deserueth no lyttle thinge to be sayde of it.

PHI. If it deserue no little thing to be sayde of it Toxophile,
 I maruell howe [A4^r] 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 vse it, and
 yet could neuer finde in theyr heart, to saye one good woorde of
 it, seinge that very triflinge matters hath not lacked great learned
 5 men to sette them out, as gnattes and nuttes, and many other mo
 like thinges, wherfore eyther you maye honestlie laye verie great
 faut vpon men bycause they neuer yet praysed it, or els I may
 iustlie take awaye no litle thinge from shooting, bycause it neuer
 yet deserued it.

10 TOX. Trulye herein Philologe, you take not so muche from
 it, as you giue to it. For great and commodious thynges are neuer
 greatlie praysed, not bycause they be not worthie, but bicause
 their excellencie nedeth no man hys prayse, hauinge all theyr
 commendation of them selfe not borrowed of other men his lippes,
 15 which rather prayse them selfe, in spekyng much of a litle thyng
 than that matter whiche they entreat vpon. Great and good thinges
 be not praysed. For who euer praysed Hercules (sayeth the Greke
 prouerbe) And that no man hitherto hath written any booke of shot-
 ing the fault is not to be layed in the thyng whiche was worthie to
 20 be written vpon, but of men which were negligent in doying it, and
 this was the cause therof as I suppose. Menne that vsed shootyng
 moste and knewe it best, were not learned: men that were lerned,
 vsed litle shooting, and were ignorant in the nature of the thyng,

and so fewe menne hath bene [A4^v] that hitherto were able to
 wryte vpon it. Yet howe longe shotyng hath continued, what com-
 mon wealthes hath moste vsed it, howe honeste a thyng it is for
 all men, what kynde of liuing so euer they folow what pleasure and
 5 profit commeth of it, both in peace and warre, all maner of
 tongues and writers, Hebrue, Greke and Latine, hath so plenti-
 fullie spoken of it, as of fewe other thinges 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 per-
 10 fectnesse amonges men, is not toulde.

PHI. Than Toxophile, if it be so as you do saye, let vs go
 forward and examin howe plentifulle this is done that you speke,
 and firste of the inuention of it, than what honestie and profit is in
 the vse of it, bothe for warre and peace, more than in other
 15 pastimes, laste of all howe it ought to be learned amonges men for
 the encrease of it, whiche 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 shotyng it selfe also (if it coulde speke) for
 your kyndnesse, wyll can you very moche thanke.

20 TOXOPH. What good thynges men speake of shoting and what
 good thinges shooting bringes 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 surely leue to some other which bothe for greater

experience in it, and also for their lerninge, can set it out better than I.

PHI. Well as for that I knowe both what you can do in shooting by experience, and that you can also speke well ynough of
 5 shooting, for youre [Bl^r] 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 therby to many other, shall get the seconde parte out of you at the last.

TOXOPH. Of the first finders out of shoting, diuers men
 10 diuerslye doo wryte. Claudiane the poete sayth that nature gaue example of shotyng first, by the Porpentine, whiche doth shote his prickes, and will hitte any thinge that fightes with it: whereby men learned afterwarde to immitate the same in findyng out both bowe and shaftes. Plinie referreth it to Schythes the sonne of Iupiter.
 15 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 also if we shall beleue Nicholas de Lyra, Lamech killed Cain with a shafte. So this great continuaunce of shoting
 20 doth not a lytle praise shotinge: nor that neither doth not a litle set it oute, that it is referred to thinuention of Apollo, for the which poynt shoting is highlye praised of Galene: where he sayth, that mean craftes be first found out by men or beastes, as weauing

by a spider, and suche other: but high and commendable sciences
 by goddes, as shotinge and musicke by Apollo. And thus shotynge
 for the necessitie of it vsed in Adams dayes, for the noblenesse of
 it referred to Apollo, hath not ben onelie commended in all tungen
 5 and writers, but also had in greate price, both in the best com-
 mune wealthes in warre tyme for the defence of their [Bl^v]
 countrie, and of all degrees of men in peace tyme, bothe for the
 honestie that is ioyned with it, and the profyte that foloweth of it.

PHILOL. Well, as concerning the fyndinge oute of it, litle
 10 prayse is gotten to shotinge therby, seinge good wittes maye
 mooste easelye of all fynde oute a trifelynge matter. But where
 as you saye that mooste commune wealthes haue vsed it in warre
 tyme, and all degrees of men maye verye honestlye vse it in
 peace tyme: I thynke you can neither shewe by authoritie, nor yet
 15 proue by reason.

TOXOPHI. The vse of it in warre tyme, I wyll declare here-
 after. And firste howe all kindes and sortes of men (what degree
 soeuer they be) hath at all tymes afore, and nowe maye honestlye
 vse it: the example of mooste noble men verye well doeth proue.

20 Cyaxares the kynge of the Medees, and greate graundefather
 to Cyrus, kepte a sorte of Sythians with him onely for this pur-
 pose, to teache his sonne Astyages 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 vsed: seing that Xenophon wrote Cyrus lyfe (as Tullie sayth) not to shewe what Cyrus did, but what all maner of princes both in pastimes and ernest matters ought to do.

5 Darius the first of that name, and king of Persie shewed plainly howe fit it is for a kinge to loue and vse shotynge, whiche commaunded this sentence to be grauen in his tombe, for a Princelie memorie and prayse.

[B2^r] Darius the King lieth buried here

10 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 afarre of, and neuer hurt him. Comodus also was so excellent, and had so sure a hande in it, that there was nothing within his retche and
15 shote, but he wolde hit it in what place he wolde: as beastes runninge, either in the heed, or in the herte, and neuer mysse, as Herodiane sayeth he sawe him selfe, or els he coulde neuer haue beleued it.

PHI. In dede you praise shoting very wel, in that you shewe
20 that Domitian and Commodus loue shotinge, suche an vngracious couple I am sure as a man shall not fynde agayne, if he raked all hell for them.

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

Furthermore howe commendable shotinge is for princes:
 Themistius the noble philosopher sheweth in a certayne oration
 made to Theodosius themperoure, wherein he doeth commende
 10 him for .iii. thinges, that he vsed of a childe. For shotinge, for
 rydinge of an horse well, and for feates of armes.

Moreouer, not onelye kinges and emperours haue ben brought
 vp in shoting, but also the best commune wealthes that euer were,
 haue made goodlie actes [B2^v] and lawes for it, as the Persians
 15 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 horse well, to shote well, to
 speake truthe alwayes and neuer lye. The Romaines (as Leo
 themperour in his boke of sleightes of warre telleth) had a lawe
 20 that euery man shoulde vse shoting 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
 (sayth Leo) amonges the youthe, hath ben the onely occasion why

the Romaynes lost a great dele of their empire. But more of this I wil speake when I come to the profite of shoting in warre. If I shuld rehearse the statutes made of noble princes of Englande in parliamentes for the setting forward of shoting, through this
 5 realme, and specially that acte made for shoting the thyrde yere of the reygne of our moost 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 stede of many.

10 PHI. That suche princes and suche commune welthes haue moche regarded shoting, you haue well declared. But why shotinge ought so 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 suppose,
 15 that 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 [B3^r] reason iustly at al tymes for any other to approue them. Princes beinge children oughte to be brought vp in shoting: both
 20 bycause it is an exercise moost holsom, and also a pastyme moost honest: wherin labour prepareth the body to hardnesse, the minde to couragiousnesse, 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 wanton-
 nesse to be women. For how fit labour is for al youth, Iupiter or
 5 els Minos amonges them of Grece, and Lycurgus amonges the
 Lacedemonians, do shewe by their lawes, which neuer ordeyned
 any thing for the 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 strength, and preserueth health moost,
 10 beinge not vehement, but moderate, not ouerlaying any one part
 with werysomnesse, but softly exercisyng euey parte with
 equalnesse, as the armes and breastes with drawinge, the other
 parties with going, being not so paynfull for the labour as
 pleasaunt for the pastyme, which exercise by the iudgement of
 15 the best physicions, is most allowable. By shoting also is the
 mynde honestly exercised 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 moost
 perfite ende or meane standing betwixte .ii. extremes, eschew-
 20 inge shorte, or gone, or eithersyde [B3^v] wide, for the which
 causes Aristotle him selfe sayth that shoting and vertue be very
 like. Moreouer that shoting of all other is the moost honest
 pastyme, and hath leest occasion to noughtinesse ioyned with it

.ii. thinges very playnelye do proue, which be as a man wolde
 saye, the tutours and ouerseers to shotinge: Daye light and open
 place where euerye man doeth come, the maynteyners and kepers
 of shoting, from all vnhonest doing. If shotinge faulte at any
 5 tyme, it hydes it not, it lurkes not in corners and huddermother:
 but openly accuseth and bewrayeth it selfe, which is the nexte
 waye to amendement, as wyse men do saye. And these thinges I
 suppose be signes, not of noughtinesse, for any man to disalowe
 it: but rather verye playne tokens of honestie, for euerye man to
 10 prayse it.

The vse of shotinge also in greate mennes chyldren shall
 greatlye encrease the loue and vse of shotinge in all the residue
 of youth. For meane mennes myndes loue to be lyke greate menne,
 as Plato and Isocrates do saye. And that euerye bodye shoulde
 15 learne to shote 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 moost fitte to be vsed in childhode: bycause it is an
 20 imitation of moost earnest thinges to be done in manhode.

Wherfore, shoting is fitte for great mens children, both by-
 cause it strengthneth the body with holosome labour, and pleaseth
 the mynde with honest pastime [B4^r] and also encourageth all

other youth earnestlye to folowe the same. And these reasons (as I suppose) stirred vp both great men to bring vp their chyldren in shotinge, and also noble commune wealthes so straitelye to commaunde shoting. Therfore seinge Princes moued by honest
 5 occasions, hath in al commune wealthes vsed shotynge, I suppose there is none other degree of men, neither lowe nor hye, learned nor leude, yonge nor oulde.

PHIL. You shal nede wade no further in this matter Toxo-
phile, but if you can proue me that scholers and men gyuen to
 10 learning maye honestlie vse shoting, I wyll soone graunt you that all other sortes of men maye not onelye lefullie, but ought of dutie to vse it. But I thinke you can not proue but that all these examples of shotinge brought from so longe a tyme, vsed of so noble princes, confirmed by so wyse mennes lawes and iudge-
 15 mentes, are sette afore temporall men, onelye to followe them: whereby they may the better and strongyer 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
 20 diuerse from the other, so there is no one waye that leadeth to them both.

TOXO. 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
necessitie are compelled to take somewhat of learning to do their
office the better withal: [B4^V] So scholers maye the boldlyer
5 borowe somewhat of laye mennes pastimes, to maynteyne their
health in studie withall. And surelie of al other thinges shoting is
necessary for both sortes to learne. Whiche thing, when it hath
ben euermore vsed in Englande how moche good it hath done, both
oulde men and Chronicles doo tell: and also our enemies can
10 beare vs recorde. For if it be true (as I haue hearde saye) when
the kyng of Englande hath ben in Fraunce, the preestes at home
bicause they were archers, haue ben able to ouerthrowe all Scot-
lande. Agayne ther is an other thing which aboue all other doeth
moue me, not onely to loue shotinge, to prayse shoting, to
15 exhorte all other to shotinge, but also to vse shoting my selfe:
and that is our kyng his moost royall purpose and wyll, whiche in
all his statutes generallye doth commaunde men, and with his
owne mouthe moost gentlie doeth exhorte men, and by his greate
gyftes and rewardes, greatly doth encourage men, and with his
20 moost princelie example very oft doth prouoke all other men to
the same. But here you wyll come in with temporal man and
scholer: I tell you plainlye, scholer or vnscholer, yea if I were
.xx. scholers, I wolde thinke it were my dutie, bothe with

exhortinge men to shote, and also with shoting my selfe to helpe
 to set forwarde that thing which the kinge his wisdom, and his
 counsell, so greatly laboureth to go forwarde: whiche thinge
 surelye they do, bycause they knowe it to be in warre, the
 5 defence and wal of our countrie, in peace, an exercise moost
 holosome for the body, a pastime moost honest for the mynde, and
 [C1^r] as I am able to proue my selfe, of al other moste fit and
 agreable with learninge and learned men.

PHI. If you can proue this thing so playnly, as you speake it
 10 earnestly, then wil I, not only thinke as you do, but become a
 shooter and do as you do. But yet beware I saye, lest you for the
 great loue you bear towarde shootinge, blindlie iudge of shootinge.
 For loue and al other to earnest affections be not for nought
 paynted blinde. Take hede (I saye) least you prefer shootinge
 15 afore other pastimes, as one Balbinus through blinde affection,
 preferred his louer before all other wemen, although she were
 deformed with a polypus in her nose. And although shooting maye
 be mete sometyme for some scholers, and so forthe: yet the
 fittest alwayes is to be preferred. Therefore if you will nedes
 20 graunt scholers pastime and recreation of their mindes, let them
 vse (as many of them doth) Musyke, and playing on instrumentes,
 thinges moste semely for all scholers, and moste regarded
 alwayes of Apollo and the Muses.

TOX. 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 Appollo.

5 But as concerning whether of them is moste fit for learning, and scholers to vse, you may saye what you will for your pleasure, this I am sure that Plato and Aristotle bothe, in their bookes entreatinge of the common welthe, where they shew howe youthe shoulde be brought vp in .iiii. thinges, in redinge, in [Cl^v]
10 writing, in excercise of bodye, and singing, do make mention of Musicke and all kindes of it, wherin they both agre, that Musike vsed amonges the Lydians is verie ill for yong men, which be studentes for vertue and learning, for a certain nice, softe, and smoth swetnesse of it, whiche woulde rather entice them to
15 noughtines, than stirre them to honestie.

An other kinde of Musicke inuented by the Dorians, they both wonderfully prayse, alowing it to be verie fyt for the studie of vertue and learning, because of a manlye, rough and stoute sounde in it, whyche shulde encourage yong stomakes, to attempte manlye
20 matters. Nowe whether these balades and roundes, these galiardes, pauanes and daunces, so nicelye fingered, so swetely tuned, by lyker the Musike of the Lydians or the Dorians, you that be learned iudge. And what so euer ye iudge, this I am sure, that

lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instrumentes euery one, whyche standeth by fine and quicke fingeringe be condemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in and vsed amonge them, whiche studie for learning and vertue.

5 Pallas when she had inuented a pipe, cast it away, not so muche sayeth Aristotle, because it deformed her face, but muche rather bycause suche an Instrumente belonged nothing to learnynge. Howe suche Instrumentes agree with learning, the goodlye agreement betwixt Apollo god of learninge, and Marsyas
10 the Satyr, defender of pipinge, doth well declare, where Marsyas had his skine quite pulled ouer his head for his labour. [C2^r]

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

And these thinges to be true, not onely Plato Aristotle 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 ouercome the Lydians, and taken
 5 their kinge Cressus prisoner, yet after by the meane of one
 Pactyas a verye headie manne amonges the Lydians, they rebelled
 agaynste Cyrus agayne, then Cyrus had by an by, broughte them
 to vtter destruction, yf Cressus being in good fauour with Cyrus
 had not hertelie desyred him, not to reuenge Pactyas faulte, in
 10 shedyng theyr blood. But if he would folowe his counsell, he
 myght bryng to passe, that they shoulde neuer more rebel
 agaynst hym, And that was this, to make them weare long kyrtils,
 to the foot lyke woomen, and that euerye one of them shoulde
 [C2^v] haue a harpe or a lute, and learne to playe and sing whyche
 15 thinge if you do sayth Cressus (as he dyd in dede) you shall se them
 quickelye of men, made women. And thus luting and singinge take
 awaye a manlye stomake, whiche shulde enter and pearce depe
 and harde studye.

Euen suche an other storie doeth Nymphodorus an olde greke
 20 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, seyng
 you read it so late in Sophoclis commentaries, I wyll nowe passe

ouer. Therefore eyther Aristotle and Plato knowe not what was
 good and euyl for learninge and vertue, and the example of wyse
 histories be vainlie set afore vs or els the minstrelsie of lutes,
 pipes, harpes, and all other that standeth by suche nice, fine,
 5 minikin fingering (suche as the mooste parte of scholers whom I
 knowe vse, if they vse any) is farre more fitte for the woman-
 nishnesse of it to dwell in the courte among ladies, than for any
 great thing in it, whiche shoulde helpe good and sad studie, to
 abide in the vniuersitie amonges scholers. But perhaps you
 10 knowe some great goodnesse of suche musicke and suche instru-
 mentes, whervnto Plato and Aristotle his brayne coulde neuer
 attayne, and therfore I will saye no more agaynst it.

PHI. Well Toxophile is it not ynoughe for you to rayle vpon
 Musike, excepte you mocke me to? but to say the truth I neuer
 15 thought my selfe these kindes of musicke fit for learninge, but
 that whyche I [C3^r] sayde was rather to proue you, than to
 defende the matter. But yet as I woulde haue this sorte of musicke
 decaye amonge scholers, euen so do I wysshe from the bottome of
 my heart, that the laudable custome of Englande to teache
 20 chyldren their plainesong and priksong, were not so decayed
 throughout all the realme as it is. Whiche thing howe profitable
 it was for all sortes of men, those knewe not so wel than whiche
 had it most, as they do nowe whiche lacke it moste. And

therfore it is true that Teucer sayeth in Sophocles.

Seldome at all good thinges be Knowen how good to be
Before a man suche thinges do misse out of his handes.

That milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the bringing vp of
 5 children than musike is, both Gallen proueth by authoritie, and
 dayly vse teacheth by experience. For euen the litle babes lacking
 the vse of reason, are scarce so well stilled in suckyng theyr
 mothers pap, as in hearynge theyr mother syng.

Agayne how fit youth is made, by learning to sing, for
 10 grammar and other sciences, bothe we dayly do see, and Plutarch
 learnedly doth proue, and Plato wiselie did alowe, whiche
 receyued no scholer in to his schole, that had not learned his songe
 before. The godlie vse of praysing God, by singinge in the
 churche, nedeth not my prayse, seing it is so praysed through al
 15 the scripture, therfore nowe I wil speke nothing of it, rather than
 I shuld speke to litle of it.

Besyde al these commodities, truly .ii. degrees of menne,
 which haue the highest offices vnder the king [C3^v] in all this
 realme, shal greatly lacke the vse of Singinge, preachers and
 20 lawiers, bycause they shalnot without this, be able to rule their
 brestes, for euery purpose. For where is no distiñction in telling
 glad thinges and fearfull thinges, gentilnes and cruelnes, softenes
 and vehementnes, and suche lyke matters, there can be no great

perswasion.

For the hearers, as Tullie sayeth, be muche affectioned, as he is that speaketh. At his wordes be they drawen, yf he stande still in one facion, their mindes stande still with hym: If he
 5 thundre, they quake: If he chyde, they feare: If he complayne, they sory with hym: and finally, where a matter is spoken, with an apte voyce, for euerye affection, the hearers for the moste 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
 10 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 best, when they crye lowdest, these shall neuer greatly mooue, as I haue knowen many wel learned, haue done, bicause theyr voyce was not stayed afore,
 15 with learnyng to synge. For all voyces, great and small, base and shril, weke or softe, may be holpen and brought to a good poynt, by learnyng to synge.

Whether this be true or not, they that stand mooste in nede, can tell best, whereof some I haue knowen, whiche, because they
 20 learned not to sing, whan they were boyes, were fayne to take payne in it, whan they were men. If any man shulde heare me Toxophile, [C4^r] that woulde thinke I did but fondly, to suppose that a voice were so necessarie to be loked vpon, I would aske

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 Demosthenes and Cicero were not fooles,
 wherof the one dyd not onelie learne to sing of a man: But also
 5 was not ashamed to learne howe he shoulde vtter his soundes aptly
 of a dogge, the other setteth oute no poynte 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 speakyng wel, better than other men,
 10 and that singing is an helpe towarde the same as dayly experience
 doth teache, example of wysemen doth alowe, authoritie of learned
 men doth approue wherwith the foundation of youth in all good
 common wealthes alwayes hath bene tempered: surelye if I were
 one of the parliament house, I woulde not fayle, to put vp a bill
 15 for the amendment of this thyng, but because I am lyke to be
 none this yeare, I wil speake no more of it, at this time.

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

PHI. The thing is to true, for of them that come daylye to
 20 the vniuersitie, where one hath learned to singe, 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 Musicke for the same.

Therefore as concerning Musike, I can be content [C4^v] to
 graunt you your mynde: But as for shooting, surely I suppose that
 you can not perswade me, by no meanes, that a man can be
 earnest in it, and earnest at his booke to: but rather I thynke that
 5 a man with a bowe on his backe, and shaftes vnder hys girdell, is
 more fit to wayte vpon Robin Hoode, than vpon Apollo or the
 Muses.

TOX. Ouer ernest shooting surely I will not ouer ernestlye
 defende, for I euer thought shooting shoulde be a wayter vpon
 10 lerning not a mastres ouer learning. Yet this I maruell not a
 litle at, that ye thinke a man with a bowe on hys backe is more
 like Robin Hoode seruaunt, than Apollose, seing that Apollo him
 selfe in Alcestis of Euripides, whiche tragidie you red openly not
 long ago, in a maner glorieth saying this verse.

15 It is my wont alwaies my bowe with me to beare

Therefore a learned man ought not to much to be ashamed to
 beare that some tyme, whiche Apollo god of lerning him selfe was
 not ashamed always to beare. And bycause ye woulde haue a man
 wayt vpon the Muses, and not at all medle with shotyng I maruell
 20 that you do not remembre howe that the ix. muses their selfe as
 sone as they were borne, wer put to norse to a lady called
 Euphemis whiche had a son named Erotus with whome the nine
 Muses for his excellent shootinge, keppe euer more companie

withall, and vsed dayly to shoote together in the mount Pernasus:
 and at last it chaunced this Erotus to dye, whose death the Muses
 lamented greatly, and fell all vpon theyr knees afore Iupiter theyr
 father, and at theyr request, Erotus for shooting with the Mu-
 5 [Dl^r] ses in earth was made a signe, and called Sagittarius in
 heauen. Therfore you se, that if Apollo and the Muses either
 were examples in dede, or onelye fayned of wise men to be
 examples of learninge, honest shoting maye well ynough be com-
 panion with honest studie.

10 PHL. Well Toxophile, if you haue no stronger defence of
 shotinge then Poetes, I feare yf your companions 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 perswaded by this reason to loue it.

15 TOXO. 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 noblewittes 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 iudge-
 20 ment of thinges. Whiche to be true speciallye in Homer and
 Euripides, Plato, Aristotle and Galene playnelye do shewe: when
 through all their workes (in a maner) they determine all
 controuersies, by these .ii. Poetes and suche lyke authorities.

Therefore if in this matter I seme to fable, and nothyng proue, I
 am content you iudge so on me: seinge the same iudgement shal
 condemne with me Plato, Aristotle, and Galene, whom in that
 errour I am wel content to folowe. If these oulde examples proue
 5 no thing for shoting, what saye you to this? that the best learned
 and sagest men in this Realme, whiche be nowe alyue, both loue
 shoting and vse shoting, as the best learned bisshoppes that be:
 amonges whome [D1^v] Philologe, you your selfe knowe .iiii. or
 .v. which as in all good learning, vertue and sagenesse they gyue
 10 other men example what thing they shoulde do, euen so by their
 shoting, they playnely shewe what honest pastime, other men
 giuen to learning, may honestly vse. That earnest studie must be
 recreated with honest pastime sufficientlye I haue proued afore,
 both by reason and authoritie of the best learned men that euer
 15 wrote. Then seing pastymes be lefull, the moost fittest for learn-
 ing, is to be sought for. A pastyme, saith 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
 20 causeth grosse and colde humours, to gather togyther and vexe
 scholars verye moche, the mynde is altogither bent and set on
 worke. A pastyme then must be had where euery parte of the
 bodye must be laboured to separate and lessen suche humours

withal: the mind must be vn bent, to gather and fetch againe his quicknesse withall. Thus pastymes for the mynde onelye, be nothing fit for studentes, bycause the body which is moost hurte by studie, shulde take no profyte at all thereat. This knewe
 5 Erasmus verye well, when he was here in Cambrige: which when he had ben sore at his boke (as Garret our bookebynder hath verye ofte tolde me) for lacke of better exercise, wolde take his horse, and ryde about the markette hill, and come agayne. If a scholer shoulde vse bowles or tennies, the laboure is to vehement and
 10 vnequall, whiche is condempned of Galene: the example very ill for other [D2^r] 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 iudgement: walking alone into the felde,
 15 hath no token of courage in it, a pastyme lyke a simple man which is neither flesh nor fische. Therefore if a man woulde haue a pastyme holesome 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
 20 corners, not lurkyng on the nyght and in holes, but euermore in the face of men, either to rebuke it when it doeth ill, or els to testifie on it when it doth well: let him seke chiefelye of all other for shotyng.

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 suppose) as Galene him selfe doth allowe.

5 TOXOPH. Those exercises I remembre verye well, for I read them within these two dayes, of the whiche, some be these: to runne 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 heeles, moche lyke the pastyme that boyes vse in
10 the churche when their master is awaye, to swinge and totter in a belrope: to make a fiste, and stretche out both his armes, and so stande lyke a roode. To go on a man his tiptoes, stretching out thone of his armes forwarde, the other backwarde, which if he blered out his tunge also, myght be thought to daunce Anticke
15 verye properlye.

[D2^v] To tumble ouer and ouer, to toppe ouer tayle; To set backe to backe, and se who can heaue an other his heles highest, with other moche like: whiche exercises surelye muste nedes be naturall, bycause they be so childisshe, and they may be also
20 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 holsome for the bodye, pleasaunt for the mynde, comlye for

euery man to do, honest for all other to loke on, profitable to be sette by of euerye man, worthie to be rebuked of no man, fit for al ages persons and places, onely shoting shal appeare, wherin all these commodities maye be founde.

5 PHIL. To graunt Toxophile, that studentes may at tymes conuenient vse shoting as moost holsome 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.

10 TOXOPH. Surelye Philologe, I am very glad to se you come to that poynt that moost lieth in your stomake, and greueth you and other so moche. But I truste after I haue sayd my mynde in this matter, you shal confesse your selfe that you do rebuke this thing more than ye nede, rather then you shal fynde that any man
15 may spende by anye possibilittie, more tyme in shotinge than he ought. For first and formoost the hole tyme is deuyded into .ii. partes, the daye and the night: whereof the night maye be both occupied in many honest businesses, and also spent in moche vnthriftnesse, but in [D3^r] no wise it can be applyed to shoting.
20 And here you se that halfe oure tyme, graunted to all other thinges in a maner both good and ill, is at one swappe quite taken awaye from shoting. Now let vs 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 feruent heate,
 5 a man maye saye likewyse: except it be somtyme agaynst night.
 Now then spring tyme and faule of the leafe be those which we
 abuse in shoting. But if we consider how mutable and chaungeable
 the wether is in those seasons, and howe that Aristotle him selfe
 sayth, that mooste parte of rayne fauleth in these two tymes: we
 10 shall well perceyue, that where a man wolde shote one daye, he
 shall be fayne to leaue of .iiii. 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 vse not, yong men for feare of them whom they be
 15 vnder tomoche dare not: sage men for other greater businesses,
 wyll not: aged men for lacke of strengthe, can not: Ryche men
 for couetousnesse sake, care not: poore men for cost and charge,
 may not: masters for their housholde keping, hede not: seruauntes
 kept in by their maisters very oft, shall not: craftes men for get-
 20 ting of their lyuing, verye moche leysure haue not: and many
 there be that oft beginnes, but for vnaptnesse proues not: [D3^v]
 and moost of all, whiche when they be shoters gyue it ouer and
 lyste not, so that generallye men euerye where for one or other

consideration moche shoting vse not. Therfore these two thinges,
 straytenesse of tyme, and euery man his trade of liuing, are the
 causes that so fewe men shotes: as you maye se in this greate
 towne, where as there be a thousande good mens bodies, yet
 5 scarce .x. that vseth any great shoting. And those whome you se
 shote the moost, with how many thinges are the drawen, or
 rather driuen, from shoting. For first, as it is many a yere or
 they begyn to be greate shoters, euen so the greate heate of
 shotinge is gone within a yere or two: as you knowe diuerse
 10 Philologe your selfe, which were sometyme the best shoters, and
 now they be the best studentes.

If a man faule sycke, 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 season.
 15 A litle blayne, a small cutte, yea a silie 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 sere thinges,
 whiche chaunceth euerye daye to them that shote moost, wherof
 the leest of them may compell a man to leaue shoting. And these
 20 thinges be so trewe and euident, that it is impossible either for
 me craftelye to fayne them, or els for you iustly to deny them.
 Than seing how many hundred thinges are required altogither 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, [D4^r] I meruayle anye wyse man wyll thynke
 it possible, that any greate tyme can be spent in shoting at all.

PHI. If this be true that you saye Toxophile, and in very dede
 5 I can denye nothinge of it, I meruayle greatly how it chaunceth,
 that those, whiche vse shoting be so moche marked of men, and
 ofttymes blamed for it, and that in a maner as moche as those
 which pleye at cardes and dise. And I shal tell you what I hearde
 spoken of the same matter. A man no shoter, (not longe agoo)
 10 wolde defende playing at cardes and dise, if it were honestly vsed,
 to be as honest a pastime as youre shotinge: For he layed for him,
 that a man might pleye for a litle at cardes and dyse, 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
 15 reparation as bowe and shaftes, they wolde neuer hurte a man his
 hande, nor neuer weare his gere. A man shulde neuer slee a man
 with shoting wyde at the cardes. In wete and drye, hote and
 coulde, they woulde neuer forsake a man, he shewed what great
 varietie there is in them for euerye mans capacitie: if one game
 20 were harde, he myght easelye learne an other: if a man haue a
 good game, there is greate pleasure in it: if he haue an ill game,
 the payne is shorte, for he maye soone gyue it ouer, and hope for
 a better: with many other mo reasons. But at the last he

concluded, that betwixt playinge and shoting, well vsed or ill vsed, there was no difference: but that there was lesse coste and trouble, and a greate deale more pleasure in playing, then in shotynge.

5 [D4^v] TOX. I can not deny, but shoting (as all other good thinges) may be abused. And good thinges vngoodlye vsed, are not good, sayeth an honorable bishoppe in an ernester matter then this is: yet we muste beware that we laye not mennes faultes vpon the thing which is not worthie, for so nothing shulde be good. And
10 as for shoting, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I sayde before) which shoulde be rather a token of honestie to prayse it, then any signe of noughtinesse to disallowe it, and that is bycause it is in euerye man his sight, it seketh no corners, it hydeth it not: if there be neuer so litle fault in it, euerye man
15 seeth it, it accuseth it selfe. For one houre spent in shoting is more sene and further talked of, then .xx. nightes spent in dysing, euen as a litle white stone is sene amonges .iii. hundred blacke. Of those that blame shotinge and shoters, I wyll saye nomore at this tyme but this, that beside that they stoppe and hinder shoting,
20 which the kinges grace wolde haue forward, they be not moche vnlyke in this poynt to Wyll' Somer the king his foole, which smiteth him that standeth alwayes before his face, be he neuer so 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 gamning with shoting somewhat wyll
 I answere, and bycause he went afore me in a comparison: and
 comparisons sayth learned men, make playne matters: I wyl
 5 surely folowe him in the same. Honest thynges (sayeth Plato) be
 knowen from vn honest thinges, by this difference, [El^r] vn honestie
 hath euer present pleasure in it, hauing neyther good pretence
 going before, nor yet any profit folowing after: which saying
 descrybeth generallye, bothe the nature of shooting and gamning
 10 whiche is good, and which is euyl, verie well.

Gamninge hath ioyned with it, a vayne presente pleasure, but
 there foloweth, losse of name, losse of goodes, and winning of an
 hundred gowtie, dropsy diseases, as euery man can tell. Shoting
 is a peynfull pastime, wherof foloweth health of body quiknes of
 15 witte, habilitie to defende oure countrie, as our enemies can
 beare recorde.

Loth I am to compare these thinges togyther, and yet I do it
 not bicause there is any comparison at al betwixte them, but
 therby a man shal se how good the one is, howe euil the other.
 20 For I thinke ther is scarce so muche contrariousnes, betwixte
 hotte and colde, vertue and vice, as is betwixte these .ii. thinges:
 For what so euer is in the one, the cleane contrarye is in the
 other, as shall playnlye appere, if we consider, bothe theyr

beginnynges, theyr encreasynges, theyr fructes, and theyr endes,
whiche I wyl soone rydde ouer.

The fyrste brynger in to the worlde of shootynge, was Apollo,
whiche for his wisdome, and great commodities, brought amonges
5 men by him, was esteemed worthie, to be counted as a God in
heauen. Disyng surely is a bastarde borne, because it is said to
haue .ii. fathers, and yet bothe noughte: The one was an vn-
gracious God, called Theuth, which for his noughtines, came
neuer in other goddes compa-[El^v] nyes, and therfore Homer
10 doth despise onse to name him, in all his workes. The other
father was a Lydian borne, whiche people for suche gamnes, and
other vnthriftines, as boowlyng and hauntyng of tauernes, haue
bene euer had in most vile reputation, in all storyes and writers.

The Fosterer vp of shoting is Labour, the companion of
15 vertue, the maynteyner of honestie, the encreaser of health and
welthinesse, whiche admytteth nothings in a maner in to his
companye, that standeth not, with vertue and honestie, and there-
fore sayeth the oulde poete Epicharmus very pretelye in Xenophon,
that God selleth vertue, and all other good thinges to men for
20 labour. The Nource of dise and cardes, is werisom Ydlenesse,
enemy of vertue, the drowner of youthe, that tarieth in it, and as
Chauser doth saye verie well in the Parsons tale, the greene path
waye to hel, hauinge this thing appropriat vnto it, that where as

other vices haue some cloke of honestie, onely ydlenes can
 neyther do wel, nor yet thinke wel. Agayne, shooting hath two
 Tutours to looke vpon it, out of whose companie, shooting neuer
 stirreth, the one called Daye light, the other Open place, whyche
 5 .ii. keepe shooting from euyl companye, and suffers it not to
 haue to much swinge, but euermore kepes it vnder awe, that it
 darre do nothyng in the open face of the worlde, but that which is
 good and honest. Lykewyse, dysinge and cardyng, haue .ii.
 Tutours, the one named Solitariousenes, whyche lurketh in holes
 10 and corners, the other called Night an vngratiouse couer of
 noughtynesse, whyche two [E2^r] thynges be very Inkepers and
 receyuers of all noughtynesse and noughtye thinges, and therto
 they be in a maner, ordeyned by Nature. For on the nighte tyme
 and in corners, Spirites and theues, rattes and mise, toodes and
 15 oules, nyghtecrowes and poulcattes, foxes and foumerdes, with
 all other vermine, and noysome beastes, vse mooste styrringe,
 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, sayenge.

20 Il thinges the night, good thinges the daye doth haunt and vse.

Companions of shoting, be prouidens, good heed giuing, true
 meatinge, honest comparison, whyche thinges agree with vertue
 very well. Cardinge and dysinge, haue a sorte of good felowes

also, goynge commonly in theyr companye, as blynde Fortune,
 stumbling chaunce, spittle lucke, false dealyng, crafty conueyaunce,
 braynlesse brawlynge, false forswerynge, whiche good feloes wyl
 sone take a man by the sleue, and cause him take his Inne, some
 5 with beggerye, some wyth goute and dropsie, some with thefte and
 robbery, and seldome 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 dysing by al mennes iudgementes condemned, I nede
 10 not shewe the matter is so playne.

Therefore, whan the Lydians shall inuent better [E2^v] thinges
 than Apollo, when slothe and ydlenes shall encrease vertue more
 than labour, whan the nyghte and lurking corners, giueth lesse
 occasion to vnthriftinesse, than lyght daye and opennes, than shal
 15 shotyng and suche gamninge, be in summe comparison lyke. Yet
 euen as I do not shewe all the goodnes, whiche is in shotyng, whan
 I proue it standeth by the same thinges that vertue it selfe
 standeth by, as brought in by God, or Godlyelyke men, fostered
 by labour, committed to the sauegarde of lyght and opennes,
 20 accompanied with prouision and diligens, loued and allowed by
 euery good mannes sentence, Euen lykewyse do I not open halfe
 the noughtines whiche is in cardyng and dysing, whan I shewe howe
 they are borne of a desperate mother, norished in ydlenes,

encreased by licence of nyght and corners, accompanied wyth Fortune, chaunce, deceyte, and craftines: condemned and banished, by all lawes and iudgementes.

For if I woulde enter, to descrybe the monstuousenes of it,
 5 I shoulde rather wander in it, it is so brode, than haue any readye passage to the ende of the matter: whose horriblenes is so large, that it passed the eloquence of oure Englyshe Homer, to compasse it: yet because I euer thought hys sayinges to haue as muche authoritie, as eyther Sophocles or Euripides in Greke, therfore
 10 gladly do I remembre these verses of hys.

Hasardry is Very mother of lesinges,

And of deceyte, and cursed sweringes,

[E3^r] Blasphemie of Chist, manslaughter, and waste also,

Of catel of tyme, of other thynges mo.

15 Mother of lesinges) trulye it maye well be called so, if a man consydre howe manye wayes, and how many thinges, he loseth thereby, for firste he loseth his goodes, he loseth his tyme, he loseth quycknes of wyt, and all good lust to other thinges, he loseth honest companye, he loseth his good name and estimation,
 20 and at laste, yf he leaue it not, loseth God, and heauen and all: and in stede of these thinges 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 thyng. What false dise vse they? as dise stopped with
 quicksiluer and heares, dise of a vauntage, flattes, gourdes to
 chop and chaunge whan they lyst, to lette the trewe dise fall
 5 vnder the table, and so take vp the false, and if they be true dise,
 what shyfte wil they make to set the one of them with slyding, with
 cogging, with foysting, with coytinge as they call it. Howe wyll
 they vse these shiftes, whan they get a playne man that can no
 skyl of them? Howe will they go about, yf they perceyue an
 10 honest man haue money, which list 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 saye that he dyd, they wil send
 for hym to some house, and spend perchaunce, a crown on him,
 and at last wyll one begin to saye: what my masters, what shall
 15 we do? shall euerye man playe [E3^V] his .xii. d. whyles an
 apple roste in the fyre, and than we wyll drinke and departe:
 Naye wyl an other saye, as false as he, you can not leaue whan
 you begyn, and therfore I wyll not playe: but yet yf you wyll gage,
 that euery man as he hath lost his .xii. d. shall sit downe, I am
 20 content, for surely I woulde winne no mannes money here, but
 euen as much as wolde paye for my supper. Than speketh the
 thyrde, to the honest man that thought not to playe, what wylle
 you playe your .xii. pence if he excuse hym, tush man wyll the

other saye, sticke not in honest company for xii. d. I wyll beare your halfe, and here is my mony.

Nowe al this is to make him to beginne, for they knowe if he be ones in, and be a looser, that he wyl not sticke at his .xii. d. 5 but hopeth euer to gette it agayne, whiles perhaps, he loose all. Than euery one of them setteth his shiftes abroche, some with false dise, some wyth settinge of dyse, some with hauinge oute-landishe syluer coynes guylde, to put away at a tyme for good gold. Than yf ther come a thing in controuersie, muste you be 10 iudged by the table, and than farewell the honest man hys parte, for he is borne downe on euerye syde.

Nowe sir, besyde all these thinges they haue certayne termes, as a man woulde saye, appropriate to to theyr playing: wherby they wyl drawe a mannes money, but paye none, whiche they cal 15 barres, that surely he that knoweth them not, maye soone be debarred of all that euer he hath, afore he lerne them. Yf a playne man lose, as he shall do euer, or els it is a wonder, than the game is so deuilysh, that he can [E4^r] neuer leaue: For vayn hope (which hope sayth Euripides, destroyeth many a man and 20 Citie) dryueth hym on so farre, that he can neuer retourne backe, vntyl he be so lyght, that he nede feare no 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 lost all agayne, or els they will vse the moste
 dyuellyshe fashion of all, For one of the players that standeth
 nexte him, shall haue a payre of false dise, and cast them out
 vpon the bourde, the honest man shall take them and cast them,
 5 as he did the other, the thirde shall espye them to be false dise,
 and shall crye oute, haroe, wyth all the othes vnder God, that he
 hath falselye wonne theyr moneye, and than there is nothyng but
 houlde thy throte from my dagger, than euery man layeth hande
 on the simple man, and taketh all theyr moneye from him, and
 10 his owne also, thinking himselfe wel, that he scapeth with his lyfe.

Cursed sweryng, blasphemie of Christe) These halfe verses
 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
 15 And by the blood of Christe, that is in Hales,
Seuen is my chaunce, and thine is sinke and treye,
Ey goddes armes, if thou falsly playe,
This dagger shall thorough thine herte go
This frute commeth of the beched boones twoo
 20 Forsweringe, Ire, falsnes and Homicide. etc,

[E4^v] Thoughe these verses be very earnestlie wrytten, yet
 they do not halfe so grisely sette out the horyblenes of blasphemy,
 which suche gamners vse, as it is in dede, and as I haue hearde

my selfe. For no man can wryte a thing so earnestlye, as whan
 it is spoken wyth iesture, as learned men you knowe do saye.
 Howe will you thinke that suche furiousenes wyth woode counte-
 naunces, and brenning eyes, with staringe and bragging, with
 5 heart redie to leape out of the belly for swelling, can be expressed
 the tenth part, to the vttermost. Two men I herd my selfe, whose
 sayinges be far more grisely, than Chaucers verses. One, whan
 he had lost his moneye, sware me God, from top to toe with, one
 breath, that he had lost al his money for lacke of sweringe: The
 10 other, losyng his money, and heaping othes vpon othes, one in a
 nothers necke, moost horrible and not spekeable, was rebuked of
 an honest man whiche stode, by for so doyng, he by and by
 starynge him in the face, and clappyng his fiste with all his
 moneye he had, vpon the boorde, sware me by the flesshe of God,
 15 that yf sweryng woulde helpe him but one ace, he woulde not leue
 one pece of god vnsworne, neyther wythin nor without. The re-
 membraunce of this blasphemy Philologe, doth make me quake at
 the hart, and therefore I wyll speake no more of it.

And so to conclude wyth suche gamnyng, I thynke there is no
 20 vngraciousenes in all thys worlde, that carieth a man so far from
 god, as thys faulte doth. And yf there were anye so desperate a
 persone, that [F1^r] woulde begynne his hell here in earth, I trowe
 he shoulde not fynde hell more lyke hell it selfe, than the lyfe of

those men is which dayly haunt and vse suche vngracious games.

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

TOX. In dede, you may honestlye gather that I hate them
greatly, in that I speake agaynst them: not that I haue vsed them
greatlye, in that I speake of them. For thynges be knowen
dyuerse wayes, as Socrates (you knowe) doeth proue in Alcibiades.
10 And if euery man shulde be that, that he speaketh or wryteth vpon,
then shulde Homer haue bene the best capitayne, moost cowarde,
hardye, hasty, wyse and woode, sage and simple: And Terence
an ouldeman and a yong, an honest man and a bawde: with suche
lyke. Surelye euerye man ought to praye to God dayly, to kepe
15 them from suche vnthriftynesse, and speciallye all the youth of
Englande: for what youth doth begynne, a man wyll folowe com-
monlye, euen to his dyinge daye: whiche thinge Adrastus in
Euripides pretelye doth expresse, sayinge.

What thing a man in tender age hath moost in vre
20 That same to death alwayes to kepe he shal be sure
Therefore in age who greatly longes good frute to mowe
In youth he must him selfe aplye good seede to sowe.

For the foundation of youth well sette (as Plato doth saye) the whole bodye of the commune wealth shal floryshe therafter. If the yonge tree growe cro-[Fl^v] ked, when it is oulde, a man shal rather breake it than streyght it. And I thinke there is no one
5 thinge that crokes youth more then suche vnlefull games. Nor let no man say, if they be honestly vsed 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 noman assure hym selfe that
10 he can vse it honestlye: for if he stande therein, he maye fortune haue a faule, the thing is more slipperye then he knoweth of. A man maye (I graunt) syt on a brante hyll syde, but if he gyue neuer so lytle forward, he can not stoppe though he woulde neuer so fayne, but he must nedes runne heedling, he knoweth not
15 how farre. What honest pretences, vayne pleasure layeth dayly (as it were entisementes or baytes, to pull men forward 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:
20 And so lykewyse I thinke, they be easye to numbre, whiche passe by playing honestlye, excepte the grace of God saue and kepe them. Therfore they that wyll not go to farre in playing, let them folowe this counsell of the Poete.

Stoppe the begynninges.

PHILOLO. Well, or you go any further, I pray you tell me
 this one thing: Doo ye speake agaynste meane mennes playinge
 onelye, or agaynste greate [F2^r] mennes playinge to, or put you
 5 anye difference betwixte them?

TOXOPHL. If I shulde excuse my selfe herein, and saye that
 I spake of the one, and not of the other, I feare leaste I shoulde
 as fondlye excuse my selfe, as a certayne preacher dyd, whome
 I hearde vpon a tyme speake agaynste manye abuses, (as he
 10 sayde) and at last he spake agaynst candelles, and then he fear-
 ynge, least some men woulde haue bene angrie and offended with
 him, naye sayeth 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
 15 him to scorne.

In dede as for greate men, and greate mennes matters, I lyst
 not greatlye to meddle. Yet this I woulde wysse that all great
 men in Englande had red ouer diligentlye the Pardoners tale in
 Chaucer, and there they shoulde perceyue and se, howe moche
 20 suche games stande with theyr worshyppe, howe great soeuer they
 be. What great men do, be it good or yll, meane men comunelye
 loue to followe, as many learned men in many places do saye, and
 daylye experience doth playnelye shewe, in costlye apparell

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 liste: and seinge also they haue libertie to
5 lyste what they will, I pray God they haue will to list that which is
good, and as for their playing, I wyll make an ende with this say-
ing of Chaucer.

[F2^v] Lordes might finde them other maner of pleye
Honest ynough to driue the daye awaye.

10 But to be shorte, the best medicine for all sortes of men both
high and lowe, yonge and oulde, to put awaye suche vnlawfull
games is by the contrarye, lykewyse as all physicions do alowe in
physike. So let youthe in steade of suche vnlefull games, whiche
stande by ydlenesse, by solitarinesse, and corners, by night and
15 darkenesse, by fortune and chaunce, by crafte and subtiltie, vse
suche pastimes as stand by labour: vpon the daye light, in open
syght of men, hauynge suche an ende as is come to by conning,
rather then by crafte: and so shulde vertue encrease, and vice
decaye. For contrarye pastimes, must nedes worke contrary
20 mindes in men, as all other contrary thinges doo. And thus we se
Philologe, that shoting is not onely the moost holesome exercise
for the bodye, the moost honest pastime for the mynde, and that
for all sortes of men: But also it is a moost redy medicine, to

purge the hole realme of suche pestilent gamning, wherwith many tymes: it is sore troubled and ill at ease.

PHI. The more honestie you haue proued by shoting Toxo-
phile, and the more you haue perswaded me to loue it, so moche
 5 truly the soryer 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 vsed very oft, lest a man shuld hurt him selfe with all, as
 medicines moche occupyed doo. For Aristotle him selfe sayeth,
 10 that medicines be no meate to lyue withall: and thus shoting by
 the same reason, maye [F3^r] not be moche occupyed.

TOX. 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
 15 awaye moche vse of shoting, in lykening it to a medicine: bycause
 men vse not medicines euery daye, for so shoulde their bodyes be
 hurt: I rather proue daylye vse of shoting thereby. For although
 Aristotle sayeth that some medicines be no meate to lyue withall,
 whiche is true: Yet Hippocrates sayth that our daylye meates be
 20 medicines, to withstande euyll withall, whiche is as true. For he
 maketh two kyndes of medicines, one our meate that we vse
 daylye, whiche purgeth softlye and slowlye, and in this similitude
 maye shoting be called a medicine, wherwith 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
 seldomer to be occupied, excepte the matter be greater, and I
 coulde describe the nature of a quicke medicine, which shoulde
 5 within a whyle purge and plucke oute all the vnthrifitie games in
 the Realme, through which the commune wealth oftentymes is
 sycke. For not onely good quicke wittes to learnyng be thereby
 brought out of frame, and quite marred: but also manlye wittes,
 either to attempt matters of high courage in warre tyme, or els to
 10 atcheue matters of weyght and wisdom in peace tyme, be made
 therby very quaisie and faynt. For loke throughoute all histories
 written in Greke, Latyne, or other language, and you shal neuer
 finde that realme prosper [F3^V] in the whiche suche ydle pas-
 tymes are vsed. As concerning the medicyne, although some
 15 wolde be discontent, if they hearde me meddle anye thyng with
 it: Yet betwixte you and me here alone, I maye the boldlyer saye
 my fantasie, and the rather bycause I wyll onelye wyse for it,
 whiche standeth with honestie, not determyne of it which belongeth
 to authoritie. The medicine is this, that wolde to God and the
 20 kynge, all these vnthrifitie ydle pastymes, whiche be very bugges,
 that the Psalme 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 mooste noble oratour Demosthenes: which
 meruayleth greatly that deathe is appoynted for falsifyers and
 forgers of the coyne, and not as greate punyshmente ordeyned for
 5 them, whiche by theyr meanes forges and falsifyes the commune
 wealthe. And I suppose that there is no one thyng that chaungeth
 sooner the golden and syluer wyttes of men into copperye and
 brassye wayes then dising and suche vnlefull pastymes.

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

PHIL. The excellent commodities of shotynge in peace tyme,
 Toxophile, you haue very wel and sufficiently declared. Wherby
 you haue so perswaded me, that God wylling hereafter I wyll both
 15 loue it the better, and al-[F4^r] so vse it the ofter. For as moche as
 I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tunge, the
 nose, the handes and the feete be no fyttre membres, or instru-
 mentes 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 best
 20 and moost necessarye, to serue, not for one purpose onelye, but
 for manye: as the tungue for speaking and tasting, the nose for
 smelling, and also for auoyding of all excrementes, which faule
 oute of the heed, the handes for receyuyng of good thinges, and

for puttyng of all harmefull thinges, from the bodye. So shotinge
 is an exercyse of healthe, a pastyme of honest pleasure, and
 suche one also that stoppeth or auoydeth all noysome games
 gathered and encreased by ill rule, as noughtye humours be,
 5 whiche hurte and corrupte sore that parte of the realme, wherin
 they do remayne.

But now if you can shewe but halfe so moche profyte in warre
 of shotyng, as you haue proued pleasure in peace, then wyll I
 surelye iudge that there be fewe thinges that haue so manifolde
 10 commodities, and vses ioyned vnto them as it hath.

TOX. The vpperhande in warre, nexte the goodnesse of God
 (of whome al victorie commeth, as scripture sayth) standeth
 chefelye in thre thinges: in the wysedome of the Prince, in the
 sleighthes and pollicies of the capitaynes, and in the strength and
 15 cherefull forwardnesse of the souldyers. A Prince in his herte
 must be full of mercy and peace, a vertue moost pleasaunt to
 Christ, moost agreable to mans nature, moost profytable for
 ryche and poore.

[F4^V] For than the riche man enioyeth with great pleasure
 20 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 succoure, ryche men in feare,

bycause they haue somewhat: poore men in care, bycause they
 haue nothing: And so euery man in thought and miserie: Yet it is
 a ciuill medicine, wherewith a prince maye from the bodye of his
 commune wealth, put of that daunger whiche maye faule: or elles
 5 recouer agayne, whatsoeuer it hath lost. And therfore as
 Isocrates doth saye, a prince must be a warriour in two thinges,
 in conninge and knowledge of all sleightes and feates of warre,
 and in hauing al necessarye habilimentes belongyng to the same.
 Whiche matter to entreate at large, were ouerlonge at this tyme
 10 to declare, and ouermuche for my learning to perfourme.

After the wisdomme of the prince, are valiaunt capitaynes
 moost necessary in warre, whose office and dutye is to knowe all
 sleightes and pollicies for all kyndes of warre, which they maye
 learne .ii. wayes, either in daylye folowing and haunting the
 15 warres or els bicause wisdomme bought with strypes, is many
 tymes ouercostlye: they maye bestowe sometyme in Vegetius,
 which entreateth suche matters in Latin metelye well, or rather
 in Polyænus, and Leo the Emperour, which setteth out al
 pollicies and duties of capitaynes in the Greke tunge very excel-
 20 lentlye. But chefely I wolde wisse (and if I were of authoritie) I
 wolde counsel al the yong gentlemen of this [Gl^r] realme, neuer
 to lay out of theyr handes .ii. authors Xenophon in Greke, and
 Caesar in Latyn, where in they shulde folowe noble Scipio

Africanus, as Tullie doeth saye: In whiche .ii. authours, besydes eloquence a thing moste necessary of all other, for a captayne, they shulde learne the hole course of warre, whiche those .ii. noble menne dyd not more wyselye wryte for other men
 5 to learne, than they dyd manfully excercise in the fyelde, for other men to folowe.

The strengthe of war lyeth in the souldier, whose chyefe prayse and vertue, is obedience towarde his captayne, sayth Plato. And Xenophon being a gentyle authour, moste christianlye
 10 doeth saye, euen by these woordes, that that souldyer whiche firste serueth god, and than obeyeth hys captayne, maye boldelie with all courage, hope to ouerthrowe his enemy. Agayne, without obedience, neither valiant man, stout horse, nor goodly harnes doth any good at al. Which obedience of the souldier toward his
 15 captane, brought the hole empyre of the 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 amonge the Romaines, shewed very
 20 playnly, what tyme as he went in to Afryke, to destroye Cartage. For he restinge hys hooste by the waye in Sicilie, a daye or twoo, and at a tyme standing with a great man of Sicilie, and looking on his souldiers howe they excercised them selues in kepyng of araye,

and other feates, the gentleman of Sicilie asked Scipio, wherein
 laye hys [Gl^v] chiefe hope to ouercome Cartage: He answered,
 in yonder feloes of myne, whom you se play: And why sayth the
 other, bycause sayeth Scipio, that if I commaunded them to runne
 5 in to the toppe of this high castel, and cast them selues doune
 backward vpon these rockes, I am sure the woulde do it.

Salust also doth write, that there were mo Romanes put to
 death of theyr captaynes for setting on theyr enemyes before they
 had licence, than were for running away out of the fyelde, before
 10 they had foughten. These two examples do proue, that amonges
 the Romaines, the obedience of the souldyer was wonderfull great,
 and the seueritie of the Captaynes, to se the same kepte wonder-
 full straye. For they wel perceyued that an hoste full of
 obedyence, falleth as seldome into the handes of theyr enemies as
 15 that bodye fawleth into leoperdye, the whiche is ruled by reason.
 Reason and Rulers beyng lyke in offyce, (for the one ruleth the
 body of man, the other ruleth the bodye of the common wealthe)
 ought to be lyke of condicions, and oughte to be obeyed in all
 maner of matters. Obedience is nourysshed by feare and loue,
 20 Feare is kepte in by true iustice and equitie, Loue is gotten by
 wisdome, ioyned with liberalitie: For where a souldyer seeth
 ryghteousnesse so rule, that a man can neyther do wronge nor
 yet take wronge, and that his capitayne for his wysedome, can

mayntayne hym, and for his liberalitie will maintayne him, he
 must nedes both loue him and feare him, of the whiche procedeth
 true and vnfayned obedience. After this inwarde vertue, the nexte
 good poynt in [G2^r] a souldier, is to haue and to handle his weapon
 5 wel, whereof the one must be at the appoyntment of the captayne,
 the other lyeth in the courage and exercise of the souldier: yet of
 al weapons the best is, as Euripides doth say, wherwith with leest
 daunger of our self we maye hurt our enemye moost. And that is
 (as I suppose) artillarie. Artillarie now a dayes is taken for .ii.
 10 thinges: Gunnes and Bowes, 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, wher-
 in this is most notable, that when he hath shewed excedyng com-
 modities of both, and some discommodities of gunnes, as infinite
 15 cost and charge, combersome cariage: and yf they be greate, the
 vncertayne leuelyng, the peryll of them that stand by them, the
 esyer auoydyng by them that stande far of: and yf they be lytle, the
 lesse both feare and ieoperdy is in them, besyde all contrary
 wether and wynde, whiche hyndereth them not a lytle: yet of all
 20 shotyng he can not reherse one discommoditie.

PHI. That I meruayle greatly at, seing Nannius is so wel
 learned, and so excercised in the authours of both the tungen: for
 I my selfe do remembre, that shotyng in war is but smally

prayed, and that of diuers captaynes in dyuers authors. For
 first in Euripides (whom you so highly prayse) and very well, for
 Tullie thynketh euerye verse in him to be an authoritie, what I
 praye you, doth Lycus that ouercame Thebes, say as concernyng
 5 shotyng? whose wordes as farre as I remembre, be these, or not
 muche vnlyke.

[G2^v] What prayse hath he at al, whiche neuer durst abide,
The dint of a speares poynt thrust against his side
Nor neuer bouldlie buckeler bare yet in his left hande
 10 Face to face his enemies bront stiffellie to wythstande,
But alwaye trusteth to a bowe and to a fethered sticke
Harnes euer most fit for him which to flie is quicke,
Bowe and shafte is Armoure metest for a cowardde
Which dare not ones abide the bronte of battel sharpe and
 15 harde.

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

20 Agayne Teucer the best Archer amonges all the Grecians, in
 Sophocles is called of Menelaus, a boweman, and a shooter as in
 villaynie and reproche, to be a thing of no price in warre. More-
 ouer 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 iudgement of thinges) doeth make
 Pandarus him selfe crye out of shooting, and cast his bowe awaye,
 5 and take him to a speare, makynge a vowe that if euer he came
 home, he woulde breake his shaftes, and burne his bowe, lament-
 yng greatly, that he was so fonde to leaue at home his horse and
 charyot wyth other weapons, for the trust that he had in his bowe.
 Homer signifieng therby, that men shoulde leue shoting out of
 10 warre, and take them to other wepons more fitte and able for the
 same, and I trowe Pandarus woordes be mucche what after thys
 sorte.

[G3^r] Ill chaunce ill lucke me hyther broughte

Ill fortune me that daye befell,

15 Whan first my bowe fro the pynne I roughte

For Hectors sake, the Grekes to quell.

But yf that God so for me shap

That home agayne I maye ones come,

Let me neuer inioye that hap,

20 Nor euer twyse looke on the sonne,

If bowe and shaftes I do not burne

Whyche nowe so euel doth serue my turne.

But to let passe al Poetes, what can be sorer said agaynst any thing, than the iudgement of Cyrus is agaynst shotynge, whiche doth cause his Persians beyng the best shooters to laye awaye theyr bowes and take them to sweardes and buckelers,
 5 speares and dartes, and other lyke hande weapons. The which thing Xenophon so wyse a philosopher, so experte a captayne in warre hym selfe, woulde neuer haue written, and specially in that booke wherin he purposed to shewe, as Tullie sayeth in dede, not the true historie, but the example of a perfite wise prince and
 10 common welthe, excepte that iudgement of chaungyng Artillerie, in to other wepons, he had alwayes thought best to be folowed, in all warre. Whose counsell the Parthians dyd folowe, whan they chased Antonie ouer the mountaines of Media, whiche being the best shoters of the worlde, lefte theyr bowes, and toke them to
 15 speares and morispikes.

And these fewe examples I trowe, of the best shooters, do well proue that the best shotinge is not the [G3^V] best thinge as you call it in warre.

TOX. As concernynge your first example, taken oute of
 20 Euripides, I maruayle you wyl bring it for the disprayse of shot-
 yng, 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 dede 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 eloquentlie confuted Lycus sayenge, or more
 worthelye sette oute the prayse of shootyng. And as I am
 5 aduised, his woordes be muche hereafter as I shall saye.

Against the wittie gifte of shotinge in a bowe

Fonde and leude woordes thou leudlie doest out throwe,

Whiche, if thou wilt heare of me a worde or twayne

Quicklie thou mayst learne howe fondlie thou doest blame,

10 Firste 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 nothings mete

But sonest of al other are troden vnder fete.

Yf he be stronge, his felowes faynt, in whome he putteth his

15 trust,

So loded with his harneis must nedes lie in the dust,

Nor yet from death he can not starte, if ones his weapon

breke,

Howe stoute, howe strong, howe great, howe longe, so euer

20 be suche a freke.

[G4^r] But who so euer can handle a bowe sturdie stiffe and
stronge

Wherwith lyke hayle manie 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 wisdomes moste, which workes our
enemies woo.

Whan we shal be far from all feare and ieoperdie of our foo.

Secondarily euen as I do not greatlye regarde what Menelaus
10 doth say in Sophocles to Teucer, bycause he spake it bothe in
anger, and also to hym that he hated, euen 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 tooke hym to his feete,
15 and ranne awaye.

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

[G4^v] And bycause you make mencion of Homer, and Troye matters, what can be more prayse for anye thyng, I praye you, than that is for shootyng, that Troye coulde neuer be destroyed without the helpe of Hercules shaftes, whiche thinge doeth signifie,
 5 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 saye vnto Pyrrhus, as concernyng Hercules shaftes to be caried vnto Troye.

Nor you without them, nor without you they do ought.

10 Fourthlye where as Cyrus dyd chaunge parte of his bowemen, wherof he had plentie, into other men of warre, wherof he lacked, I will not greatlye dispute whether Cyrus did well in that poynt in those dayes or no, bycause it is not playne in Xenophon howe strong shooters the Persians were, what bowes they had, what
 15 shaftes and heades they occupied, what kynde of warre theyr enemies vsed.

But trulye as for the Parthians, it is playne, in Plutarche, that in chaungyng theyr bowes in to speares, they brought theyr selfe into vtter destruction. For when they had chased the
 20 Romaines many a myle, through reason of theyr bowes, at the last the Romaines ashamed of their fleing, and remembrynge theyr owlde noblenesse and courage, ymagined thys waye, that they woulde kneele downe on theyr knees, and so couer all theyr

body wyth theyr shyldes and targattes, that the Parthians shaftes
 [Hl^r] might slyde ouer them, and do them no harme, whiche
 thing when the Partians perceyued, thinking that the Romaynes
 were forweryed with laboure, watche, and hungre: they layed
 5 downe their bowes, and toke speres in their handes, and so ranne
 vpon them: but the Romaynes perceyuinge them without their
 bowes, rose vp manfully, and slewe them euery mother son, saue
 a fewe that saued them selues with runnyng awaye. And herein
 our archers of Englande far passe the Parthians, which for suche
 10 a purpose, when they shall come to hande strokes, hath euer redy,
 eyther at his backe hangyng, or els in his next felowes hande a
 leaden maule, or suche lyke weapon, to beate downe his enemyes
 withall.

PHI. Well Toxophile, seinge that those examples whiche I
 15 had thought to haue ben cleane agaynst shoting, you haue thus
 turned to the hygh prayse of shotinge: and all this prayse that you
 haue now sayd on it, is rather come in by me than sought for of
 you: let me heare I praye you now, those examples whiche you
 haue marked of shotyng your selfe: whereby you are, and thinke to
 20 persuaide other, that shoting is so good in warre.

TOX. Examples surely I haue marked very many: from the
 begynning of tyme had in memorie of wrytyng, throughout all
 commune wealthes, and Empires of the worlde: wherof the mooste

parte I wyll passe ouer, lest I shoulde be tedious: yet some I wyll touche, bycause they be notable, both for me to tell and you to heare.

And bycause the storye of the Iewes is for the tyme moost
 5 auncient, for the truthe mooste credible, it shalbe moost fitte to begynne with them. And al-[H1^V] though I knowe that God is the onely gyuer of victorie, and not the weapons, for all strength and victorie (sayth Iudas Machabeus) commeth from heauen: Yet surely strong weapons be the instrumentes wherwith god doth
 10 ouercome that parte, which he wil haue ouerthrowen. For God is well pleased wyth wyse and wittie feates of warre: As in metinge of enemies, for truse takyng, to haue priuilye in a bushment harness men layd for feare of treason, as Iudas Machabeus dyd wyth Nicanor Demetrius capitayne: And to haue engines of warre
 15 to beat downe cities with all: and to haue scoutwatche amonges our enemyes to knowe their counsayles, as the noble captaine Ionathas brother to Iudas Machabeus did in the countrie of Amathie against the mighty hoste of Demetrius. And besyde al this, god is pleased to haue goodly tombes for them which do noble feates in
 20 warre, and to haue their ymages made, and also their cote Armourse to be set aboue theyr tombes, to their perpetual laude and memorie: as the valiaunt capitayne Symon, dyd cause 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 amonges the Iewes as I began to tell, I am sure there was nothing so occupied, or dydde so moche good as bowes dyd:
 5 insomuche 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 victorie, and [H2^r] not to theyr bowes, wherwith they had slayne their enemyes: as it is playne that the noble Iosue dyd after so many
 10 kynges thrust downe by hym.

God, when he promyseth helpe to the Iewes, he vseth no kynde of speakyng so 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 ouer-
 15 throwe their enemies: or at leeste that shotinge is a wonderful mightie thing in warre, whervnto the hygh power of God is lykened. Daud in the Psalmes calleth bowes the vessels 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
 20 dayley: But yet one place of scripture I must nedes remembre, which is more notable for the prayse of shoting, then any that euer I red in any other storie, and that is, when Saul was slayne of the Philistians being mightie bowmen, and Ionathas his sonne

with him, that was so good a shoter, as the scripture sayth, that
 he neuer shot shafte in vayne, and that the kyngdome after Saules
 deathe came vnto Daud: the first statute and lawe thateuer Daud
 made after he was king, was this, that al the children of Israel
 5 shulde learne to shote, according to a lawe made many a daye
 before that tyme for the setting out of shoting as it is written
 (sayeth Scripture) in libro Iustorum, whiche booke we haue not
 nowe: And thus we se plainelye what greate vse of shoting, and
 what prouision euen from the begynnyng of the worlde for shot-
 10 yng, was amonge the Iewes.

[H2^v] The Ethiopians which inhabite the furthest part South
 in the worlde, were wonderfull bowmen: in somoche that when
 Cambyses king of Persie being in Egypt, sent certayne ambassa-
 dours into Ethiope to the kyng there, with many great gyftes:
 15 the king of Ethiop perceyuinge them to be espyes, toke them vp
 sharpely, and blamed Cambyses greatly for such vniust enter-
 prises: but after that he had princely entertayned them, he sent
 for a bowe, and bente it and drewe it, and then vn bent it agayne,
 and sayde vnto the ambassadours, you shall commende me to
 20 Cambyses, and gyue him this bowe fro me, and byd him when any
 Persian can shote in this bowe, let him set vpon the Ethiopians:
 In the meane whyle let hym gyue thankes vnto God, whiche doth
 not put in the Ethiopians mynde to conquere any other mans lande.

This bowe, when it came amonge the Persians, neuer one man in
 suche an infinite host (as Herodotus doth saye) could styrre the
 stryng, saue onely Smerdis the brother of Cambyses, whiche
 styrred it two fingers, and no further: for the which act

5 Cambyses had suche enuy at him, that he afterward slewe him:
 as doth appeare in the storye.

Sesostris the moost mightie king that euer was in Egipt, ouer-
 came a great parte of the worlde, and that by archers: he sub-
 dued the Arabians, the Iues, the Assyrians: he went farther into
 10 Scythia then any man els: he ouercame Thracia, euen to the
 borders of Germanie. And in token how he ouercame al men he
 set vp in many places great ymages to his owne lykenesse,
 hauynge in the one hande a bowe, in the o-[H3^r] ther a sharpe
 heeded shafte: that men myght knowe, what weapon his hooste
 15 vsed, in conqueryng so manye people.

Cyrus, counted as a god amonges the Gentyles, for his noble-
 nesse and felicitie in warre: yet at the last when he set vpon the
 Massagetanes (which people neuer went without their bowe nor
 their quiuer, nether in warre nor peace) he and all his were
 20 slayne, and that by shotyng, as appeareth in the storye.

Polycrates the prince of Samos (a very litle yle) was lorde
 ouer all the Greke sees, and withstode the power of the Persians,
 onely by the helpe of a thousande archers.

The people of Scythia, of all other men loued, and vsed moost
 shotyng, the hole rychesse and househoulde stuffe 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
 5 of a man, which he toke or slewe fyrste in battayle. The
 Scythians to be inuincible by reason of their shotyng, the greate
 voyages of so manye noble conquerours 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,
 10 and done no good, but had forweryed his hoste with trauayle and
 hunger: At last the men of Scythia sent an ambassadour with .iiii.
 gyftes: a byrde, a frogge, a mouse, and .v. shaites. Darius
 meruaylyng at the straungenesse of the gyftes, asked the messen-
 ger what they signified: the messenger answered, that he had no
 15 further commaundement, but onely [H3^V] to delyuer his gyftes,
 and retourne agayne with all spede: but I am sure (sayeth he) you
 Persians for your great wysdome, can soone boult out what they
 meane. When the messenger was gone, euery man began to saye
 his verdite. Darius Iudgement was this, that the Scythians gaue
 20 ouer into the Persians handes, their lyues, theyr hole power,
 both by lande and see, signifyng by the mouse the earthe, by
 the frogge the water, in which they both liue, by the 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 wyse captayne amonges 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
 5 ayer lyke birdes, or run into the holes of the earth lyke myse, or
 els lye lurkyng in fennes and marisses lyke frogges, we shall
 neuer retorne home agayne, before we be vtterly vndone with
 their shaftes: which sentence sanke so sore into their hertes,
 that Darius with all spede possible, brake vp his campe, and gat
 10 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: first that they brought
 vppe theyr youth in the schole of shoting, vnto .xx. yere of age,
 as dyuerse noble Greke authours do saye.

15 Agayne, bycause the noble kyng Darius thought hym selfe to
 be praysed by nothyng so moch, as to be counted a good shoter, as
 doth appeare by his sepulchre, wherin he caused to be written
 this sentence:

[H4^r] Darius the King lieth buried here
 20 That in shoting and riding had neuer pere.

Thirddie the coyne of the Persians, both golde and siluer 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 Athenienses, had all their strength lyinge in Artillarie: and for that purpose the citie of Athens had a M. men which were onely archers, in dayly
 5 wages, to watche and kepe the citie from al ieoperdie and sodein daunger: which archers also shuld cary to prison and warde any misdoer at the commaundement of the hygh officers, as playnlye doth appeare in Plato. And surely the bowmen of Athens did wonderful feates in many battels, but specially when Demosthenes
 10 the valiaunt captayne slue and toke prisoners all the Lacedemonians besyde the citie of Pylos, where Nestor somtyme was lord: the shaftes went so thicke that daye (sayth Thucydides) that no man could se theyr enemies. A Lacedemonian taken prisoner, was asked of one at Athens, whether they were stoute fellowes
 15 that were slayne or no, of the Lacedemonians: he answered nothing els but this: make moche of those shaftes of youres, for they knowe neyther stoute nor vnstoute: meanyng therby, that no man (though he were neuer so stout) came in their walke, that escaped without death.

20 Herodotus descrybing the mighty hoost of Xerxes especially doth marke out, what bowes and shaftes they vsed, signifying that therin lay their chefe strength. [H4^V] And at the same tyme Attossa, mother of Xerxes, wyfe to Darius, and doughter of

Cyrus, doeth enquire (as Aeschylus sheweth in a Tragedie) of a certayne messenger that came from Xerxes hoste, what stronge and fearfull bowes the Grecians vsed: wherby it is playne, that Artillarie was the thing, wherin both Europe and Asia at those
 5 dayes trusted moost vppon.

The best parte of Alexanders hoste were archers as playnelye doth appeare by Arianus, and other that wrote his life: and those so stronge archers, that they onely, sundrye tymes ouercame their enemies, afore any other neded to fyght: as was sene in the
 10 battayl which Nearchus one of Alexanders capitaynes had besyde the ryuer of Thomeron. And therfore as concerning all these kyngdomes and commune wealthes, I maye conclude with this sentence of Plinie, whose wordes be, as I suppose thus: If any man woulde remembre the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabians, the
 15 men of Inde, of Scythia, so many people in the east of the Sarmatianes, and all the kyngdomes of the Parthians, he shall well perceyue halfe the parte of the worlde, to lyue in subiection, ouercome by the myght and power of shotinge.

In the commune wealth of Rome, which exceded all other in
 20 vertue, noblenesse, and dominion litle mention is made of shoting, not bycause it was litle 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 [11^r] woulde not ones
 name bread, although it be mooste common and necessarye of all:
 but surely yf a feaste beyng neuer so great, lacked bread, or had
 fewsty and noughty bread, all the other daynties shulde be vn-
 5 sauery, 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 euen so dyd the Romaines as con-
 cernynge shootyng. Seldome is shootinge named, and yet it dyd
 the moste good in warre, as didde appere, verye playnlye in that
 10 battell, whiche Scipio Aphricanus had with the Numantines in
 Spayne, whome he coulde neuer ouercome, before he sette bowe-
 men amonges his horse men, by whose myght they were clean
 vanquished.

Agayne, Tiberius fyghtynge with Armenius and Inguiomerus
 15 princis of Germanie, had one wing of archers on horseback, 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 chase lasted .x. myles, the Germanes clame vp in to
 trees for feare, but the Romanes dyd fetch them downe with
 20 theyr shaftes as they had ben birdes, in whyche battell the
 Romaines loste fewe or none, as dothe appeare in the historie.

But as I began to saye, the Romaines dyd not so muche
 prayse the goodnesse 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 testifie in sundrie places in those bookes whiche he wrote in Greke, of the sleightes and pol-[Il^v] cies of warre.

5 PHIL. Surelie of that booke I haue not heard before, and howe came you to the syghte of it.

TOX. The booke is rare trulie, but this laste yeare when master Cheke translated the sayd booke out of greke in to Latin, to the kinges maiestie, he of his gentlenesse, wolde haue me very
 10 ofte in hys chamber, and for the familiaritie that I had wyth hym, more than manye other, woulde suffer me to reade of it, whan I woulde, the whiche thinge to do, surelye I was very desirous and glad, because of the excellent handelynge of all thynges, that euer he taketh in hande. And verily Philologe, as ofte as I remembre
 15 the departynge of that man from the vniuersitie, (whiche thinge I do not seldome) so ofte do I well perceyue our moste helpe and furtheraunce to learnynge, to haue gon awaye with him. For by the great commoditie that we toke in hearyng hym reade priuatly in his chambre, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus,
 20 Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato, we feeles the great discommoditie in not hearynge of hym, Aristotle and Demosthenes, whiche ii. authours with all diligence last of all he thought to haue redde vnto vs. 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 styrrred 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
 5 is nothyng better in any common wealthe, than that there shoulde
 be alwayes one or other, excellent passyng man, whose lyfe and
 vertue, [I2^r] shoulde plucke forward the will, diligence, labour
 and hope of all other, that folowyng his footestepes, they myght
 comme to the same ende, wherevnto labour, lerning and vertue,
 10 had conueied him before. The great hinderance of learning, in
 lackinge thys man greatly I shulde lament, if this discommoditie
 of oures, were not ioyned with the commoditie and welth, of the
 hole realme, for which purpose, our noble king full of wysedome
 hath called vp this excellent man full of learnynge, to teache
 15 noble prince Edward, an office ful of hope, comforte and solace
 to al true hertes of England: For whome al England dayly doth
 praye, that he passing his Tutour in learnyng and knowledge,
 folowyng his father in wisdom and felicitie, accordyng to that
 example which is set afore his eyes, may so set out and mayn-
 20 tayne goddes worde to the abolishment of al papistry, the confu-
 sion of al heresie, that therby he feared of his ennemies, 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 vnfayned religion perpetuall peace, concorde and vnitie.

But to retourne to shootyng agayne, what Leo sayeth of shootyng amonges the Romaines, hys woordes, be so muche for the prayse of shootyng, and the booke also so rare to be gotten,
 5 that I learned the places by harte, whyche be as I suppose, euen thus. Fyrste in his sixte booke, as concerning what harneys is best: Lette all the youth of Rome be compelled to vse shootyng, eyther more or lesse, and alwayes to bear theyr bowe and theyr quiuer aboute with them, vntyll they be .xl. yeares oulde.

10 [I2^v] For sithens shootyng was neglected and decayed among the Romaines, many a battayle and fyelde hath ben loste. Agayne in the .II. booke and .50. chapiter, (I call that by bookes and chapiters, whyche the greke booke deuideth by chapiters and
 15 paragraphes) Let your souldyers haue theyr weapons wel appoynted and trimmed, but aboue all other thynges regarde moste shootinge, and therfore lette men when there is no warre, vse shootinge at home: For the leauynge of, onely of shotyng, hath broughte in ruyne and decaye, the hole Empire of Rome. Afterwarde he commaundeth agayne, hys capitayne by these
 20 wordes: Arme your hoste as I haue appoynted you, but specially with bowe and arrowes plentie. For shootyng 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: Besydes 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 thing moste profitable, therefore we straytlye commaunde you to make proclamation to al
 5 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 seare persone haue bowe and shaftes of his owne, and euerye house besyde this, to haue a standing bearyng bowe, and xl. shaftes for all nedes, and that they excercise them selues in
 10 holtes, hilles, and dales, playnes and wodes, for all maner of chaunces in warre.

Howe muche shooting was vsed among the olde [13^r] Romanes and what meanes noble captaynes and Emperours made, to haue it encrease amonge them, and what hurte came by the decaye of it,
 15 these wordes, of Leo the emperour, which in a maner I haue rehersed woorde for woorde, playnly doth declare. And yet shotynge, although they set 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 saye, that he woulde haue his souldiers
 20 take of theyr arrowe heades, and one shote at an other, for they excercise, whiche playe yf Englyshe archers vsed, I thinke they shoulde fynde smal play and lesse pleasure in it at all.

The great vpperhande maynteyned alwayes in warre by
 artillery, doeth appeare verye playnlye by this reason also, that
 whan the spanyardes, franchmen, and germanes, grekes,
 macedonians and egyptians, eche contry vsing one singuler
 5 weapon, for whyche they were greatelye feared in warre, as the
 Spanyarde Lancea, the Francheman Gesa, the German Framea,
 the Grecian Machera, the Macedonian Sarissa, yet coulde they
 not escape, but be subiectes to the empire of Rome, whan the
 Parthians hauyng all theyr hope in artillerie, gaue no place to
 10 them, but ouercame the Romanes, offer than the Romaines them,
 and kepte battel with them, many an hundred yeare, and slue the
 ryche Crassus and his son wyth many a stoute Romaine more,
 with theyr bowes. They draue Marcus Antonius ouer the hylles of
 Media and Armenia, to his great shame and reproch. They slue
 15 Iulianus Apostata, and Antoninus Ca-[13^V] racalla, they helde in
 perpetual pryson, the most noble emperour Valerian in despite of
 all the Romaines and many other princes, whiche wrote for his
 delyueraunce, as Bel solis called kynge of kynges, Valerius kynge
 of Cadusia, Arthabesdes kyng of Armenia, and many other princes
 20 more, whom the Parthians by reason of theyr artillerie, regarded
 neuer one whitte, and thus with the Romaines, I maye conclude,
 that the borders of theyr empyre were not at the sunne rysinge
 and sunne settinge, as Tullye sayeth: but so farre they went, as

artillarie woulde gyue them leaue. For I thinke 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
5 thyng surely shotyng was the cause.

From the same contrie of Scythia the Gothians Hunnes, and
Wandalians came wyth the same wepons of artillarie, as Paulus
Diaconus doth saye, and so berafte Rome of her empyrewyth fyre,
spoyle, and waste, so that in suche a learned citie was lefte
10 scarce one man behynde, that had learnynge or leysoure to leue
in writinge to them whiche shoulde come after howe so noble an
Empyre, in so shorte a whyle, by a rable of banyshed bondemen,
wythoute all order and pollicie, saue onelye theyr naturalle and
daylye excercise in artillarye, was broughte to suche thraldome
15 and ruine.

[14^r] 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 vpon,) and the moost noble
20 countries of Europe, to the greate diminishing of Christe his
religion, to the great reproche of cowardyse of al christianitie, a
manifest token of gods high wrath and displeasure ouer the synne
of the worlde, but speciallye amonges Christen men, which be

on slepe made drunke with the frutes of the flesh, as infidelitie,
 disobedience to Goddes worde, and heresie, grudge, euel wyll,
 stryfe, contention, and priuie enuye, coueytousnesse, oppression,
 vnmercifulnesse, with innumerable sortes of vnspeakeable daylye
 5 bawdrye: which thinges surely, yf God hold not his holy hande
 ouer vs, and plucke vs from them, wyl bryng vs to a more
 Turkishnesse and more beastlye blynde barbarousnesse: as
 callyng ill thinges good, and good thynges ill, contemnyng of
 knowledge and learnynge, settyng at nought, and hauyng for a
 10 fable, God and his high prouidence, wyll bring vs (I say) to a more
 vngracious Turkishnesse (if more Turkishnesse can be then this)
 than if the Turkes had sworne, to bring al Turkye agaynst vs.
 For these frutes surelye must nedes sprynge of suche seede,
 and suche effect nedes folowe of suche a cause: if reason, truthe,
 15 and God, be not altered, but as they are wont to be. For surely
 no Turkysshe power can ouerthrowe vs, if Turkysshe lyfe do not
 cast vs downe before.

[I4^v] If god were wyth vs, it buted not the turke to be agaynst
 vs, but our vnfaythful sinfull lyuyng, which is the Turkes moder,
 20 and hath brought hym vp hitherto, muste nedes turne god from vs,
 because syn and he hath no felowshyp together. If we banished ill
 liuyng out of christendome, I am sure the Turke shulde not onelye,
 not ouercome vs, but scarce haue an hole to runne in to, in his

owne countrie.

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 a thefe come to the dore, and heaueth at it, to
 5 come in, and sleye hym, yet he lyeth in his bed, hauinge more
 pleasure to lye in a slumber and scratche him selfe wher it
 ytcheth euen to the harde bone, than he hath redynes to ryse vp
 lustelye, and dryue him awaye that woulde robbe hym and sleye
 hym. But I truste Christe wyl so lyghten and lyfte vp Christen
 10 mennes eyes, that they shall not slepe to death, nor that the turke
 Christes open enemy, shall euer boste that he hath quyte ouer-
 throwen vs. But as I began to tell you, shootynge is the chefe
 thinge, wherewith God suffereth the turke to punysh our noughtie
 liuinge wyth all: The youthe there is brought vp in shotyng, his
 15 priuie garde for his own person, 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 vse of theyr gunnes,
 by reason of the rayne. And nowe last of all, the emperour his
 20 maiestie him selfe, at the Citie of Argier [Kl^r] in Aphricke had
 his hooste sore handeled wyth the Turkes arrowes, when his
 gones were quite dispatched and stode him in no seruice,
 bycause of the raine that fell, where as in suche a chaunce of

raine, yf he had had bowmen, surelye there shoote myghte per-
adventure haue bene a litle hindred, but quite dispatched and
marde, it coulde neuer haue bene.

But as for the Turkes I am werie to talke of them partlye
5 because I hate them, and partlye bycause I am now affectioned
euen as it were a man that had bene longe wanderyng in straunge
contries and would fayne be at home to se howe well his owne
frendes prosper and leade theyr lyfe, and surely me thincke I am
verie merye at my harte to remember how I shal finde at home in
10 Englande amonges Englysh men, partlye by hystories, 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
15 called Textor, that writeth a boke which he nameth Officina,
wherin he weueth vp many brokenended matters and settes out
much rifraffe, pelfery, trumpery, baggage and beggerie ware
clamparde vp of one that would seme to be fitter for a shop in
dede than to write any boke. And amonges all other yll packed vp
20 matters, he thrustes vp in a hepe togyther all the good shoters
that euer 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 rehersed out of the best Authors [K1^v] 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 bycause they
 were noughtie persons, and shoting somoche the worse, bycause
 they loued it, as Domitian and Commodus the emperours: partelye
 5 bycause Textor hath them in his boke, on whome I loked on by-
 chaunce in the bookebynders shoppe, thinkynge of no suche
 matter. And one thing I wyl say to you Philologe, that if I were
 disposed to do it, and you hadde leysure to heare it, I coulde
 soone do as Textor doth, and reken vp suche a rable of shoters
 10 that be named here and there in poetes, as wolde holde vs talkyng
 whyles tomorowe: but my purpose was not to make mention of
 those which were feyned of Poetes for theyr pleasure, but of
 suche as were proued in histories for a truthe: but why I bringe
 in Textor was this; At laste when he hath rekened all shoters that
 15 he can, he sayeth thus, Petrus Crinitus 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
 piuyshlye of enuye, may be called in question and doubte: but this
 20 surelye do I knowe very well that Textor hath both red in Gaguinus
 the Frenche hystorie, and also hath hearde his father or graund-
 father taulke (except perchaunce he was borne and bred in a
 Cloyster) after that sort of the shotynge of Englysshe men, that

Textor neded not to haue gone so piuishlye beyonde Englande for
 shoting, but myght very soone, euen in the first towne [K2^r] of
 Kent, haue founde suche plentie of shotinge, as is not in al the
 realme of Scotland agayne. The Scottes surely be good men of
 5 warre in theyr owne feate as can be: but as for shotinge, they
 neyther can vse it for any profyte, nor yet wil challenge it for any
 prayse, although master Textor of his gentlenesse wold gyue it
 them. Textor neded not to haue fylled vppe his booke with suche
 lyes, if he hadde read the storye of Scotlande, whiche Ioannes
 10 Maior doeth wryte: wherein he myghte haue learned, that when
 Iames Stewart fyrst kyng of that name, at the Parliament holden
 at Saynt Iohnnes towne or Perthie, commaunded vnder payne of a
 great forfyte, that euerye Scotte shoulde learne to shote: yet
 neyther the loue of theyr countrie, the feare of their enemies, the
 15 auoydyng of punishment, nor the receyuinge of anye profyte that
 myght come by it, coulde make them to be good Archers: whiche
 be vnapte and vnfyte thervnto by Gods prouidence and nature.

Therefore the Scottes them selues proue Textor a lyer, bothe
 with authoritie and also daily experience, and by a certayne
 20 Prouerbe that they haue amonges them in theyr communication,
 wherby they gyue the whole prayse of shotynge honestlye to
 Englysshe men, saying thus: that euery Englysshe Archer beareth
 vnder his gyrdle .xxiiii. Scottes.

But to lette Textor and the Scottes go: yet one thyng woulde
 I wysshe for the Scottes, and that is this, that seinge one God,
 one faythe, one compasse of the see, one lande and countrie, one
 tungue in speakyng, one maner and trade in lyuyng, [K2^v] lyke
 5 courage and stomake in war, lyke quicknesse of witte to learning,
 hath made Englande and Scotlande bothe one, they wolde suffre
 them no longer to be two: but cleane gyue ouer the Pope, which
 seketh none other thinge (as many a noble and wyse Scottish man
 doth knowe) but to fede vp dissention and parties betwixt them and
 10 vs, procuryng that thyng to be two, which God, nature, and
 reason, wold haue one.

Howe profytable suche an attonement were for Scotlande, both
 Iohannes Maior, and Ector Boetius which wrote the Scottes
 Chronicles do tell, and also all the gentlemen of Scotlande with
 15 the poore comunaltie, do wel knowe: So that there is nothing
 that stoppeth this matter, saue onelye a fewe freers, and suche
 lyke, whiche with the dregges of our Englysh Papistrie lurkyng
 now amonges them, study nothing els but to brewe battell and
 stryfe betwixte both the people: Wherby onely they hope to mayne-
 20 tayne theyr Papisticall kyngdome, to the destrution of the noble
 blood of Scotlande, that then they maye with authoritie do that,
 whiche neither noble man nor poore man in Scotlande yet doeth
 knowe. And as for Scottishe men and Englishe men be not

enemyes by nature, but by custome: not by our good wyll, but by
 theyr owne follye: whiche shoulde take more honour in being
 coupled to Englande, then we shulde take profite in being ioyned
 to Scotlande. Wales being headye, and rebelling many yeares
 5 agaynst vs, laye wylde, vntylled, vnhabited, without lawe,
 iustice, ciuilitie and ordre: and then was amonges them more
 stealing than true dealing, more sure-[K3^r] tie for them that
 studyed to be noughte, then quyettesse for them that laboured to
 be good: when nowe thanked be God, and noble Englande, there is
 10 no countrie better inhabited, more ciuile, more diligent in honest
 craftes, to get bothe true and plentifull lyuyng withall. And this
 felicitie (my mynde gyueth me) within these few dayes shal
 -- chaunce also to Scotlande, by the godly wysdome of oure mooste
 noble Prince kynge Henrye the .viii. by whome God hath wrought
 15 more wonderfull thynges then euer by any prince before: as
 banishing the byshop of Rome and herisie, bringyng to light god
 his worde and veritie, establishing suche iustice and equitie,
 through euery parte of this his realme, as neuer was sene afore.

To suche a Prince of suche a wysdome, God hath reserued
 20 this mooste noble attonement: wherby neither we shalbe any more
 troubled, nor the Scottes with their best countries any more
 destroyed, nor the see, whiche God ordeyneth profytable for both,
 shall from eyther be any more stopped: to the great quietnesse,

wealth and felicitie of all the people dwellynge in this Ile, to the
 high renoume and prayse 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,
 5 so is he best of all pleased, to se thinges which be wyde and
 amysse, brought to peace and attonement. But Textor (I
 beshrowe him) hath almooste broughte vs from our communica-
 tion of shoting. Now sir by my iudgement, the Artillarie of
 England farre exceedeth all other realmes: but yet one thing I
 10 doubt and longe [K3^v] haue surely in that point doubted, when, or
 by whom, shotyng was first brought in to Englande, and for the
 same purpose as I was ones in companye wyth syr Thomas Eliot
 knight, which surelie for his lerning in all kynde of knowlege
 bringeth much worshyp to all the nobilite of Englande, I was so
 15 bould to aske hym, yf he at any tyme, had marked any thing, as
 concernyng the bryngyng in of shootyng in to Englande: he
 aunswered me gentlye agayne, that he had a worcke in hand which
 he nameth, De rebus memorabilibus Angliae, which I trust we
 shal se in print shortlye, and for the accomplyshmente of that
 20 boke, he had read and perused ouer many olde monumentes of
 Englande, and in sekyng for that purpose, he marked this of
 shootyng in an excedyng olde cronicle, the which had no name,
 that what tyme as the Saxons came first 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 subdewed the Brittons wyth nothyng so much, as with theyr bowe and shaftes, whiche wepon beyng straunge and not sene here before,
 5 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 belong in a matter that no man doubteth in, and those few that I wil name, shal either be proued by the histories of our enemies,
 10 or els done by men that now liue.

Kynge Edward the thirde at the battel of Cressie against Philip the Frenche king as Gaguinus the french Historiographer plainlye doeth tell, slewe that daye [K4^r] all the nobilite of Fraunce onlye wyth hys archers.

15 Such lyke battel also fought the noble black prince Edward beside Poeters, where Iohn the french king with hys sonne and in a maner al the peres of Fraunce were taken beside .xxx. M. which that daye were slayne, and verie few Englyshe men, by reason of theyr bowes.

20 Kynge Henrie the fifte a prince pereles and moste vycorise conqueroure of all that euer dyed yet in this parte of the world, at the battel of Dagin court with .vii. M. fyghtyng men, and yet many of them sycke, beyng suche Archers as the Cronycle

sayeth that mooste parte of them drewe a yarde, slewe all the
Cheualrie of Fraunce to the nomber of .XL. M. and moo, and
lost not paste .xxvi. Englysshe men.

The bloudye Ciuil warre of England betwixt the house of Yorke
5 and Lancaster, where shaftes flewe of bothe sydes to the destruc-
tion of mannye a yoman of Englande, whome foreine battell coulede
neuer haue subdewed bothe I wyll passe ouer for the pyttyeful-
nesse of it, and yet maye we hyghelye prayse G O D in the
remembraunce of it, seyng he of hys prouydence hathe so knytte
10 to gether those .ii. noble houses, with so noble and pleasunte a
flowre.

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

[K4^v] The feare onely of Englysh Archers hathe done more
20 wonderfull thinges than euer I redde in anye historye greke or
latin, and moost wonderfull of all now of late beside Carlile
betwixt Eske and Leuen at Sandy sikes, where the hoole nobilite of
Scotlande for fere of the Archers of Englonde (next the stroke of

God) as both Englysh men and Scotyshe men that were present
hath toulde me were drowened and taken prisoners.

Nor that noble acte also, whyche althoughe it be almost lost
by tyme, commeth not behynd in worthinesse, whyche my
5 synguler good frende and Master Sir William Walgraue and Sir
George Somerset dyd with a few Archers to the number as it is
sayd of .xvi. at the Turne pike besyde Hammes where they turned
with so fewe Archers, so many Frenchemen to flight, and turned
so many oute of theyr lackes, whych turne turned all fraunce to
10 shame and reproche and those .ii. noble Knightes to perpetuall
prayse and fame.

And thus you se Philologe, in al contries Asia, Aphrike and
Europe, in Inde, Aethiop, Aegypt and Iurie, Parthia, Persia,
Grece, and Italie, Schythia, Turkey, and Englande, from the
15 begynninge of the world euen to thys daye, that shotynge hath had
the cheife stroke in warre.

PHI. These examples surelye apte for the prayse of shotynge,
not feyned by poetes, but proued by trewe histories, distinct by
tyme and order, hath delyted me excedyng muche, but yet me
20 thynke that all thys prayse belongeth to stronge shootynge and
drawynge of myghtye bowes not to [Ll^r] prickynge and nere shot-
inge, for which cause you and many other bothe loue and vse
shootynge.

TOX. Euer more Philologe you wyl haue some ouertwhart
 reson to drawe forthe more communication withall, but neuerthe-
 lesse you shall perceauē if you wyl, that vse of prickyng, and
 desyre of nere shootyng at home, are the onely causes of
 5 stronge shootyng in warre, and why? for you se, that the
 strongest men, do not drawe alwayes the strongest shoote, whiche
 thyng prouethe that drawinge stronge, liethe not so muche in the
 strength of man, as in the vse of shotyng. And experience
 teacheth the same in other thynges, for you shal se a weake
 10 smithe, whiche wyl wyth a lipe and turnyng of his arme, take vp a
 barre of yron, that another man thrise as stronge, can not stirre.
 And a strong man not vsed to shote, hath his armes breste and
 shoulders, and other partes wherwith he shuld drawe stronglye,
 one hindering and stoppage an other, euen as a dosen stronge
 15 horses not vsed to the carte, lettes and troubles one another.
 And so the more stronge man not vsed to shoote, shootes moost
 vnhansumlye, but yet if a strong man with vse of shooting coulede
 applye all the partes of hys bodye togyther to theyr moost
 strengthe, than should he both drawe stronger than other, and
 20 also shoote better than other. But nowe a stronge man not vsed
 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 strong carte. And thus strong men, without vse,

can do nothyng in shoting to any purpose, neither in warre nor peace, but if they happen [Ll^v] to shoote, yet they haue done within a shoote or two when a weake man that is vsed to shoote, shal serue for all tymes and purposes, and shall shoote .x.

5 shaftes, agaynst the others .iiii. and drawe them vp to the poynte, euerye tyme, and shoote them to the mooste aduauntage, drawyng and withdrawing his shafte when he list, markyng at one man, yet let driuyng at an other man: whiche thynges in a set battayle, although a man, shal not alwayes vse, yet in bickerynges, and at
10 ouerthwarte meatinges, when fewe archers be togyther, they do moste good of all.

Agayne he that is not vsed to shoote, shall euermore with vntowardnesse of houldyng his bowe, and nockynge his shafte, not lookyng to his stryng betyme, put his bowe alwayes in
15 ieoperdy of breakyng, and than he were better to be at home, moreouer he shal shoote very fewe shaftes, and those full vnhandsumlye, some not halfe drawen, some to hygh and some to lowe, nor he can not driue a shoote at a tyme, nor stoppe a shoote at a neede, but oute muste it, and verye ofte to euel profe.

20 PHI. And that is best I trow in war, to let it go, and not to stoppe it.

TOX. No not so, but somtyme to houlde a shafte 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 stroke of it.

PHI. That is a wonder to me, that the feare of a displeasure, shoulde do more harme than the displeasure itselfe.

TOX. Yes, ye knowe that a man whiche fereth to be banyshed,
 5 out of hys cuntrye, can neyther be mery, eate, drynke nor sleape
 for feare, yet when he is banished in dede, he slepeth [L2^r] and
 eateth, as well as any other. And many menne doubtyng and fear-
 yng whether they shoulde dye or no, euen for verye feare of
 deathe, preuenteth them selfe with a more bytter deathe then the
 10 other death shoulde haue bene in deade. And thus feare is euer
 worse than the thyng feared, as is pratelye proued, by the com-
 munication of Cyrus and Tigranes, the kynges sunne of Armenie,
 in Xenophon.

PHI. I graunte Toxophile, that vse of shotyng maketh a man
 15 drawe strong, to shoote at most aduauntage, 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 nothyng at all for stronge shooting which doth moste good
 in war. Therfore I suppose yf men shulde vse to goo into the
 20 fyeldes, and learne to shote myghty stronge shootes, and neuer
 care for any marke at al, they shulde do muche better.

TOX. The trouthe is, that fashion muche vsed, would do
 muche good, but this is to be feared, least that waye coulde not

prouoke men to vse muche shotyng, bycause ther shulde be lytle pleasure in it. And that in shoting is beste, that prouoketh a man to vse shotinge moste: For muche vse maketh men shoote, bothe strong and well, whiche two thinges in shootinge, euery man
 5 doeth desyre. And the chyefe mayntayner of vse, in any thyng, is comparyson, and honeste contention. For whan a manne stryuech to be better than an other, he wyll gladly vse that thing, though it be neuer so paynful wherein he woulde excell, whiche thyng Aristotle verye pretelye doth note, sayenge.

10 [L2^v] Where is comparison, there is victorie: where is victorie, there is pleasure: And where is pleasure, no man careth what labour or payne he taketh, bycause of the prayse, and pleasure, that he shal haue, in doyng better than other men.

Agayne, you knowe Hesiodus wryteth to hys brother Perses,
 15 that al craftes men, by contending one honestly with an other, do encrease theyr cunnyng with theyr substance. And therfore in London, and other great Cities, men of one crafte, moste commonly, dwelle togyther, bycause in honest stryuyng togyther, who shall do best, euery one maye waxe bothe cunninger and rycher,
 20 so lykewyse in shootyng, to make matches to assemble archers togyther, to contende who shall shoote best, and winne the game, encreaseth the vse of shotyng wonderfully amonges men.

PHI. Of Vse you speake very much Toxophile but I am sure
 in al other matters, Vse 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 Knowlege, howe to do the thing, to
 5 which ii. yf Vse be ioyned, as thirde felowe, of them thre,
 procedeth perfectnesse and excellencie: If a manne lacke the
 first two, Aptnesse and Cunnyng, Vse can do lytle good, at all.
 For he that woulde be an oratour and is nothingse naturallie fitte
 for it, that is to saye lacketh a good wytte and memorie, lacketh
 10 a good voyce, countenaunce and body, and other suche like, ye yf
 he had all these thinges, and knewe not what, howe, where, when
 nor to whome he shulde speake, surelye the vse of spekyng,
 woulde brynge out none [L3^r] other frute but playne follye and
 bablyng, so that Vse is the laste and the least necessarye, of all
 15 thre, yet no thing can be done excellently without them al thre.
 And therfore Toxophile I my selfe bicause I neuer knewe, whether
 I was apte for shooting or no, nor neuer knewe waye, howe I
 shulde learne to shoote I haue not vsed to shoote: and so I thinke
 fiue hundred more in Englande do besyde me. And surely yf I
 20 knewe that I were apte, and that you woulde teach me howe to
 shoote, I woulde become an archer, and the rather, bycause of
 the good communication, the whiche I haue had with you this daye,
 of shotyng.

TOX. Aptnesse, Knowlege, and Vse, euen as you saye, make
 all thinges perfecte. Aptnesse is the fyrst and chyefest thinge,
 without whiche the other two do no good at all. Knowledge doeth
 encrease al maner of Aptnesse, bothe lesse and more. Vse sayth
 5 Cicero, is farre aboue all teachinge. And thus they all three
 muste be had, to do any thinge very well, and yf anye one be
 awaye, what so euer is done, is done verye meanly. Aptnesse is
 the gyfte of nature, Knowlege, is gotten by the helpe of other:
 Vse lyeth in our owne diligence and labour. So that Aptnesse and
 10 vse be ours and within vs, through nature and labour: Knowledge
 not ours, but commynge by other: and therfore moost diligently,
 of all men to be sought for. Howe these three thinges stande with
 the artillery of Englande, a woorde or twoo I will saye.

All Englishe men generally, be apte for shotyng, and howe?
 15 Lyke as that grounde is plentiful and frutefull, whiche withoute
 anye tyllynge, bryngeth [L3^v] out corne, as for example, yf a
 man shoulde go to the myll or market with corne, and happen to
 spyl some in the waye, yet it wolde take roote and growe, bycause
 the soyle is so good: so England may be thought very frutefull and
 20 apt to brynge oute shoters, where children euen from the cradell,
 loue it: and yong men without any teachyng so diligentely vse it.
 Agayne, lykewyse as a good grounde, well tyllled, and well
 husbanded, bringeth out great plentie of byg eared corne, and

good to the faule: so if the youthe of Englande being apte of it
 selfe 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 stronger Archers then
 5 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 seede,
 but also riueth and plucketh vp by the rootes, all thistles,
 brambles and weedes, which growe of theyr owne accorde, to the
 10 destruction of bothe corne and grounde: Euen so shulde the teach-
 ing of youth to shote, not only make them shote well, but also
 plucke away by the rootes all other desyre to noughtye pastymes,
 as disynge, cardyng, and boouling, which without any teaching
 are vsed euery where, to the great harme of all youth of this
 15 realme. And lykewise as burnyng of thistles and diligent weding
 them out of the corne, doth not halfe somoche ryd them, as when
 the ground is falloed and tilled for good grayne, as I haue
 hearde many a good husbandman say: euen so, neither hote
 punish-[L4^r] ment, nor yet diligent searching out of suche vn-
 20 thriftinesse by the officers, shal so 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 stil and do not occupye it .iii. or .iiii. yeare: but then
 wyll sow it, if it be wheate (sayth Columella) it wil turne into rye:
 so if a man be neuer so apte to shote, nor neuer so wel taught in
 his youth to shote, yet if he giue it ouer, and not vse to shote,
 5 truly when he shalbe eyther compelled in warre tyme for his
 countrie sake, or els prouoked at home for his pleasure sake, to
 faule to his bowe: he shalbe come of a fayre archer, a stark
 squyrter and dribber. Therefore in shotynge, as in all other
 thinges, there can neyther be many in number, nor excellent in
 10 dede: excepte these .iii. thynges, Aptnesse, Knowledge, and Vse
 goo togyther.

PHIL. Very well sayde Toxophile, and I promyse you, I
 agree to this iudgement of yours altogyther and therefore I can not
 a lytle maruayle, why Englysshe men brynge nomore helpe to
 15 shotynge, then nature it selfe gyueth them. For you se 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, vnaptlye soner then fitlye, vntowardlye, more
 easely then wel fauouredlye, whiche thyng causeth manye neuer
 20 begynne to shoote: and moo to leaue it of when they haue begone,
 and moost of all to shote both worse and weaker, then they might
 shote, if they were taught. [L4^v] But peraduenture some men
 wyll saye, that wyth vse of shootynge a man shall learne to shoote,

true it is he shall learne, but what shal he learne? marye to
 shoote noughtly. For all Vse, in all thynges, yf it be not stayed
 with Cunnyng, wyll verie easely brynge a man to do that thyng,
 what so euer he goeth aboute with mucche illfauorednes and
 5 deformitie.

Which thinge how much harme it doth in learning both
 Crassus excellencie dothe proue in Tullie, and I my selfe haue
 experiens in my lytle shootyng. And therfore Toxophile, you must
 nedes graunt me that ether Englishe men do il, in not ioynyng
 10 Knowlege of shooting to Vse, or els there is no knowlege or
 cunninge, which can be gathered of shooting.

TOX. Learnyng to shoote is lytle regarded in England, for
 this consideration, bycause men be so apte by nature they haue a
 greate redy forwardnesse and wil to vse it, al though no man
 15 teache them, al thoughe no man byd them, and so of theyr owne
 corage they runne hedlyng on it, and shoote they ill, shote they
 well, greate hede they take not. And in verie dede Aptnesse with
 Vse may do sumwhat without Knowlege, but not the tenthe parte,
 if so be they were ioyned with knowlege. Whyche thre thynges be
 20 seperate as you se, not of theyr owne kynde, but through the
 negligence of men whyche coupleth them not to gyther. And where
 ye doubte whether there can be gadered any knowlege or arte in
 shootyng or no, surely I thynke that a man being wel exercised in

it and sumwhat honestly learned with all, myght soone with dili-
 gent obseruyng and markyng the hole nature of shootyng, find
 out [Ml^r] as it were an Arte of it, as Artes in other matters
 haue bene founde out afore, seynge that shootyng standeth by
 5 those thinges, which maye both be thorowlye perceued, and
 perfittly knowen, and suche that neuer failes, but be euer certayne,
 belongyng to one moost perfect ende, as shootyng streight, and
 keping of a lenght bring a man to hit the marke, the chefe end in
 shootyng: which two thynges a man may attaine vnto, by diligent
 10 vsyng, and well handlyng those instrumentes, which belong
 vnto them. Therfore I can not see, but there lieth hyd in the
 nature of Shootyng, an Arte, whiche by notyng, and obseruyng
 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
 15 al this Realme. And trewlye I meruell gretelye, that Englysshe
 men woulde neuer yet, seke for the Arte of shootyng, seinge
 they be so apte vnto it, so praysed of there frendes, so feared of
 there ennemyes for it. Vegetius woulde haue maysters appointed,
 whyche shoulde teache youthe to shoote faire. Leo the Emperour
 20 of Rome, sheweth the same custome, to haue bene alwayes
 amongst the olde Romaines: whych custome of teachyng youth
 to shoote (saythe 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. yeare olde in shooting, is as notably knowne
 in Histories as the Impire of the Persians: whych schole, as doth
 apere in Cornelius Tacitus, as sone as they gaue ouer and fell to
 5 other idle pasti-[Ml^v] mes, brought bothe them and the
 Parthians vnder the subiECTION of the Romaines. Plato would haue
 common maisters and stipendes, for to teache youthe to shoote,
 and for the same purpose he would haue abroad feylde nere euery
 Citie, made common for men to vse shotyng in, whyche sayeng
 10 the more reasonably it is spoken of Plato, the more vnresonable
 is theyr dede whiche woulde ditche vp those feeldes priuatly for
 ther owne profyt, whyche lyeth open generallye for the common
 vse: men by suche goodes be made rycher not honeste sayth
 Tullie. Yf men can be perswaded to haue shootyng taughte, this
 15 auctorite whyche foloweth will perswade them, or els none, and
 that is as I haue ones sayde before, of Kynge Dauyd, whose fyrste
 acte and ordinaunce was after he was kynge that all Iudea should
 learne to shoote. Yf shotyng could speake, she would accuse
 England of vnkyndnesse and slouthfulnesse, of vnkyndnesse toward
 20 her bycause she beyng left to a lytle blynd vse, lackes her best
 maintener which is cunnyng: of shouthfulnesse towarde theyr
 owne selfe, bycause they are content wyth that whych aptnesse and
 vse doth graunt them in shootyng, and wyl seke for no knowlege

as other noble common welthes haue done: and the iustlier shoot-
yngge myght make thys complaynt, seynge that of fence and
weapons there is made an Arte, a thyngge in no wyse to be com-
pared to shootyngge.

5 For of fence all mooste in euerye towne, there is not onely
Masters to teache it, wyth his Prouostes Vsshers Scholers and
other names of arte and Schole, but there hath not fayled also,
whyche hathe dili-[M2^r] gently and well fauouredly written it and
is set out in Printe that euery man maye rede it.

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

15 And I maye telle you Philologe, the lacke of teachyngge to
shoote in Englande, causeth very manye men, to playe with the
kynges Actes, as a man dyd ones eyther with the Mayre of London
or Yorke I can not tel whether, whiche dyd commaund by procla-
mation, euerye man in the Citie, to hange a lanterne wyth a
20 candell, afore his dore: whiche thyngge the man dyd, but he dyd
not lyght it: And so manye bye bowes bicause of the acte, but yet
they shote not: not of euyll wyll, but bycause they knowe not howe
to shoote. But to conclude of this matter, in shoting as in all

other thynges, Aptenesse is the fyrste, and chyefe thyng, whiche
 if it be awaye, neyther Cunnyng or Vse, doeth anye good at all,
 as the Scottes and Fraunce men, wyth knowledge and Vse of
 shootyng, shall become good Archers, whan a cunnyng shyp-
 5 wright shall make a stronge shyppe, of a Salowe tree: or whan a
 husbandman shall becom ryche, wyth sowyng wheat on Newmarket
 heath. Cunnyng muste be had, bothe to set out, and amende
 Nature, and also to ouersee, and correcte vse: which vse yf it be
 not led, and gouerned wyth cunnyng, shall sooner go amisse, than
 10 strayght.

[M2^v] Vse maketh perfitnesse, in doinge that thyng, whervnto
 nature maketh a man apte, and knowlege maketh a man cunnyng
 before. So that it is not so doubtful, which of them three hath
 moost stroke in shoting as it is playne and euident, that all thre
 15 must be had, in excellent shootyng.

PHI. For this comunicacion Toxophile I am very glad, and
 that for myn owne sake bicause I trust now, to become a shoter,
 And in dede I thought a fore, English men most apte for shoting,
 and I sawe them dayelye vse shotyng, but yet I neuer founde none,
 20 that woulde talke of anye knowlege whereby a man might come to
 shotyng. Therefore I trust that you, by the vse 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.

TOX. I graunte, I haue vsed shootinge meetly well, that I might haue marked it wel ynoughe, yf I had bene diligent. But my much shootynge, hath caused me studie litle, so that thereby I lacke learnynge, whych shulde set out the Arte or waye in any
 5 thyng. And you knowe that I was neuer so well sene, in the Posteriorums of Aristotle 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
 10 tyme at the prickes and looke on them which shoote best and so learne.

PHI. Howe lytle you haue looked of Aristotle, and how muche learnynge, you haue lost by shotynge I can not tell, but this I woulde saye and yf I loued [M3^r] you neuer so ill, that you haue
 15 bene occupied in sumwhat els besyde shotynge. But to our purpose, as I wyll not requyre a trade in shotinge to be taught me after the sutteltye of Aristotle, euen so do I not agre with you in this poynt, that you wold haue me learne to shoote with lokyng on them which shoote best, for so I knowe I should neuer come to
 20 shote meanelye. For in shotyng 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 the best and cheiffest point whiche is in shootynge, whiche you do marke youre selfe well ynough, and vttered it

also in youre communication, when you sayde there laye hyd in the nature of shootyng a certayne waye whych wel perceyued and thorowlye knowen, woulde bring a man wythout any wanderyng to the beste ende in shotyng whych you called hitting of the pricke.

- 5 Therefore I would refer all my shootinge to that ende whiche is best, and so shuld I come the soner to some meane. That whiche is best hath no faulte, nor can not be amended. So shew me beste shootyng, 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
- 10 meruell not yf I requyre to folowe that example whych is without faulte, rather than that which hath so manye faultes. And thys waye euerye wyse man doth folow in teachyng any maner of thyng. As Aristotle when he teacheth a man to be good, he setteth not before hym Socrates lyfe whiche was the best man, but chiefe goodnesse
- 15 it selfe accordyng to whych he would haue a man direct his lyfe.

- TOX. [M3^v] 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 Philosophie, to serche out the perfite ende of any thyng, the which perfite ende to fynde, sayth
- 20 Tullie, is the hardest thyng in the worlde, the onely occasyon and cause, why so many sectes of Philosophers hathe bene alwayse in learnyng. And althoughe as Cicero saith a man maye ymagine and dreame in his mynde of a perfite ende in any thyng,

yet there is no experience nor vse of it, nor was neuer sene yet
amonges men, as alwayes to heale the sycke, euer more to leade
a shyppe without daunger, at al times to hit the prick: shall no
Physicion, no shypmaster, no shoter euer do. And Aristotle
5 saith that in all deades there are two pointes to be marked, possi-
bilitie and excelencie, but chefely a wise man must folow and laye
hand on possibilitie for feare he lease bothe. Therfore seyng that
which is moost perfect and best in shootyng as alwayes to hit the
pricke, was neuer sene nor hard tel on yet amonges men, but
10 onelye ymaged and thought vpon in a man his mynde, me thinck
this is the wisest counsel and best for vs to folow rather that
which a man maye come to, than that whyche is vnpossible to be
attained to, leste iustely that sayeng of the wyse mayde Ismene in
Sophocles maye be verified on vs.

15 A foole he is that takes in hande he can not ende.

PHI. Well yf the perfite ende of other matters, had bene as
perfitlye knowne, as the perfite ende of shotyng is, there had
neuer bene so manye sectes of [M4^r] Philosophers as there be,
for in shoting both man and boye is in one opinion, that alwayes to
20 hit the pryck is mooste perfecte end that can be imagyned, so that
we shal not nede gretly contend in this matter. But now sir,
whereas you thynke that a man in learning to shoote or any thyng
els, shuld rather wyselye folow possibilitie, than vainly seke for

perfite excellencie, surelye I wyl proue that euery wyse man,
 that wisely wold learne any thyng, shal chiefly go aboute that
 whervnto he knoweth wel he shal neuer come. And you youre selfe
 I suppose shal confesse the same to be the best way in teachyng,
 5 yf you wyl answeere me to those thinges whych I wyl aske of you.

TOX. And that I wyl gladlye, both bycause I thynke it is vn-
 possible for you to proue it, and also bycause I desire to here
 what you can saye in it.

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

TOX. It is so in dede.

PHI. Bicause I suppose he would gladly at al tymes heale al
 diseases of al men.

TOX. Ye truely.

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

TOX. No trewly: nor I thyncke neuer shalbe.

PHI. Than Physicions by lyke, studie for that, whiche none
 20 of them commeth vnto. But in learning of fence I pray you what is
 that which men moost labor for?

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

PHI. You say trothe, and I am sure euery one of them would faine do so when so euer he playethe. But was there euer any of them so conning yet, which at one tyme or other [M4^v] hath not be touched?

5 TOX. The best of them all is glad somtyme to escape with a blowe.

PHIL. 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,
10 whan ye take so greate heade, to kepe youre standynge, to shoote compasse, to looke on your marke so diligently, to cast vp grasse diuerse tymes and other thinges more, you know better than I. What would you do than I pray you?

TOX. Hit the marke yf we could.

15 PHIL. And doth euery man go about to hit the marke at euery shoote?

TOX. By my trothe I trow so, and as for my selfe I am sure I do.

PHIL. But al men do not hit it at al tymes.

20 TOX. No trewlye for that were a wonder.

PHIL. Can any man hit it at all tymes?

TOX. No man verilie.

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

TOX. Vnpossible in dede.

PHIL. But to shoote wyde and far of the marke is a thyng
5 possyble.

TOX. No man wyll denie that.

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

TOX. Excellent surelie.

10 PHIL. than I am sure those be wiser men, which couete to
shote wyde than those whiche couete to hit the prycke.

TOX. Why so I pray you.

PHIL. Because to shote wyde is a thyng possyble, and ther-
fore as you saye youre selfe, of euery wyse man to be folowed.
15 And as for hittinge the prick, bycause it is vnpossible, it were a
vaine thyng to go aboute it: but in good sadnesse Toxophile thus
you se that a man might go throghe [Nl^r] all craftes and sciences,
and proue that anye man in his science coueteth that which he shal
neuer gette.

20 TOX. By my trouth (as you saye) I can not denye, but they do
so: but why and wherfore they shulde do so, I can not learne.

PHILO. I wyll tell you, euerye crafte and science standeth in
two thynges: in Knowing of his crafte, and Working of his crafte:

For perfyte knowledge bringeth a man to perfyte workyng. This knowe Paynters, karuers, Taylours, shomakers, and all other craftes men, to be true. Nowe, in euey crafte, there is a perfite excellencie, which may be better knowen in a mannes mynde, 5 then folowed in a mannes dede. This perfytenesse, bycause it is generally layed as a brode wyde example afore al men, no one particuler man is able to compasse it: and as it is generall to al men, so it is perpetuall for al time whiche proueth it a thyng for man vnpossible: although not for the capacitie of our thinkyng 10 whiche is heauenly, yet surelye for the habilitie of our workyng whyche is worldlye.

God gyueth not full perfytenesse to one man (sayth 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 15 knowledge of it, that such a knowledge diligently folowed, might bring forth accordyng as a man doth labour, perfyte woorkyng. And who is he, that in learnynge to wryte, woulde forsake an excellent example, and folowe a worse? Therefore seing perfytenesse it selfe is an example for vs, let euerye man studye howe 20 he maye come nye it, which is a poynt of wysdome, not reason with God [N1^V] why he may not attaine vnto it, which is vayne curiosite.

TOX. Surely this is gaily said Philologe, but yet this one
 thyng I am afraide of, lest this perfitnesse which you speke on
 wil discourage men to take any thyng in hande, bycause afore
 they begin, they know, they shal neuer come to an ende. And thus
 5 dispayre shall dispatche, euen at the fyrste entrynge in, many a
 good man his purpose and intente. And I thinke both you your
 selfe, and al other men to, would 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 same hyghe and
 10 perfite waye of teachyng let vs leue it to hygher matters, and as
 for shootyng it shalbe content with a meaner waye well ynoughe.

PHI. Where as you say that this hye perfitnesse will dis-
 courage men, bycause they knowe, they shall neuer attayne vnto it,
 I am sure cleane contrarie there is nothyng in the world shall in-
 15 courage men more than it. And whye? For where a man seith,
 that though a nother man be neuer so excellent, yet it is possible
 for hym selfe to be better, what payne or labour wyl that man
 refuse to take? yf the game be onse wonne, no man wyl set forth
 hys foote to ronne. And thus perfitnesse beyng so hyghe a thyng
 20 that men maye looke at it, not come to it, and beyng so plentifull
 and indifferent to euerye bodye that the plentifulnesse of it maye
 prouoke all men to labor, bycause it hath ynoughe for all men,
 the indifferencye of it shall encourage euerye one to take more

paine than hys fellowe, bycause euerye man is rewarded accord-
 yng to his nye commyng, and [N2^r] yet whych is moste meruel of
 al, the more men take of it, the more they leue behynd for other,
 as Socrates dyd in wysdome, and Cicero in eloquens, whereby
 5 other hath not lacked, but hathe fared a greate deele the better.
 And thus perfitnesse it selfe bycause it is neuer obteyned, euen
 therefore only doth it cause so many men to be so well sene and
 perfite in many matters, as they be. But where as you thynke that
 it were fondnesse to teache a man to shoote, in lokyng at the most
 10 perfitnesse in it, but rather woulde haue a manne go some other
 way to worke, I trust no wyse man wyl discomend that way, except
 he thincke himselfe wyser than Tullye, whiche doeth playnlye
 saye, that yf he teached any maner of crafte as he dyd Rhetorike
 he would labor to bringe a man to the knowlege of the moost per-
 15 fitnesse of it, whyche knowlege should euer more leade and gyde
 a manne to do that thyng 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 se Toxophile by what reasons and by
 20 whose authorite I do require of you this waye in teachyng me to
 shoote, which waye I praye you withoute any more delaye shew
 me as farforth as you haue noted and marked.

TOX. 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 thynke,
 you wyll lacke frendeshyp in me, yf I take it in hande and not
 bring it to passe as you woulde haue it, you myghte thyncke great
 5 want of wysdome in me.

[N2^v] But aduyse you, seing ye wyll nedes haue it so, the
 blame shalbe yours, as well as myne: yours for puttynge vpon me
 so instauntlye, myne in receyuyng so fondly a greater burthen
 then I am able to beare. Therfore I, more wyllynge to fulfyll
 10 your mynde, than hop yng to accomplysh that which you loke for,
 shall speake of it, not as a master of shotynge, but as one not
 altog yther ignoraunt in shotynge. And one thyng 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 darkenesse
 15 shall somethyng cloke myne ignoraunce. And bycause you knowe
 the orderynge of a matter better then I: Aske me generallye of it,
 and I shall particularly answe re to it.

PHI. Very gladly Toxophile: for so by ordre, those thynges
 whiche I woulde knowe, you shal tell the better: and those thynges
 20 whiche you shal tell, I shall remembre the better.

[N3^r] TOXOPHI-

LVS. B.

THE SECONDE BOOKE OF
the schole of shotyng.

5 PHILOL. What is the cheyfe poynte in shootyng, that euerye manne laboureth to come to?

TOX. To hyt the marke.

PHI. Howe manye thynges are required to make a man euer more hyt the marke?

10 TOX. Twoo.

PHI. Whiche twoo?

TOX. Shotinge streyght and kepyng of a lengthe.

PHIL. Howe shoulde a manne shoote strayght, and howe shulde a man kepe a length?

15 TOX. In knowynge and hauynge thinges, belongynge to shootyng: and whan they be knowen and had, in well handlyng of them: whereof some belong to shotyng strayght, some to keping of a length, some commonly to them bothe, as shall be tolde seuerally of them, in place conuenient.

20 PHI. Thynges belongyng to shotyng, whyche be they?

TOX. All thinges be outwarde, and some be instrumentes for euery sere archer to brynge with him, proper for his owne vse: other thynges be generall to euery man, as the place and tyme serueth.

5 PHI. which be instru-[N3^V] mentes?

TOX. Bracer, shotynggloue, stryng, bowe and shafte.

PHI. Whiche be general to all men?

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

10 PHI. wherin standeth well handlynge of thynges?

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

PHI. what handlyng is proper to the Instrumentes.

15 TOX. Standynge, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowsing, 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.

PHIL. well sayde, what handlynge belongeth to the wether?

20 TOX. Knowyng of his wynde, with him, agaynst hym, syde wynd, ful syde wind, syde wynde quarter with him, syde wynde quarter agaynste hym, and so forthe.

PHI. well than go to, what handlynge belongeth to the marke?

TOX. To marke his standyng, to shote compasse, to draw
 euermore lyke, to lowse euermore lyke, to consyder the nature
 of the pricke, in hylles and dales, in strayte planes and winding
 5 places, and also to espy his marke.

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

TOX. Good heede gyuyng, and auoydyng all affections:
 whiche thynges oftentymes do marre and make all. And these
 10 thynges spoken of me generally and brefely, yf they be wel knownen,
 had, and handled, shall bryng a man to suche shootyng, as fewe
 or none euer yet came vnto, but surely yf he misse in any one of
 them, he can neuer hyt [N4^r] the marke, and in the more he doth
 misse, the farther he shoteth from his marke. But as in all other
 15 matters the fyrst steppe or stayre to be good, is to know a mannes
 faulte, and than to amende it, and he that wyl not knowe his faulte,
 shall neuer amende it.

PHI. You speake nowe Toxophile, euen as I wold haue you to
 speake: But lette vs returne agayne vnto our matter, and those
 20 thynges whyche you haue packed vp, in so shorte a rουμε, we wyl
 lowse them forthe, and take euery pyece as it were in our hande
 and looke more narrowlye vpon it.

TOX. I am content, but we wyll rydde them as fast as we can, bycause the sunne goeth so faste downe, and yet somewhat muste needes be sayde of euerye one of them.

PHI. well sayde, and I trowe we beganne wyth those thynges
 5 whiche be instrumentes, whereof the fyrste, as I suppose, was the Braser.

TOX. Litle is to be sayd of the braser. A bracer serueth for two causes, one to saue his arme from the strype of the stryngge, and his doublet from wearynge, and the other is, that the stryngge
 10 glydyng sharpelye and quicklye of the bracer, maye make the sharper shoote. For if the stryngge shoulde lyght vpon the bare sleue, the strengthe of the shoote shoulde stoppe and dye there. But it is best by my iudgemente, to gyue the bowe so muche bent, that the stryngge neede neuer touche a mannes arme, and so
 15 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, that it haue no nayles in it, that it haue no bucles, that it be fast on with laces wythout agglettes. [N4^v] For the nayles wyll shere in sunder, a mannes string, before he be ware, and so
 20 put his bowe in ieoperdy: Buckles and agglettes at vnwares, shall race hys bowe, a thinge bothe euyll to the syghte, and perilous for freatyng. And thus a Bracer, is onelye had for this purpose, that the stryngge maye haue redye passage.

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

TOX. A shootyng Gloue is chieflye, for to saue a mannes fyngers from hurtyng, that he maye be able to beare the sharpe
 5 stryng to the vttermost of his strengthe. And whan a man shooteth, the might of his shoote lyeth on the formooste fynger, and on the Ringman, for the myddle fynger whiche is the longest, lyke a lubber starteth backe, and beareth no weyght of the stryng in a maner at all, therfore the two other fyngers, muste haue thicker
 10 lether, and that muste haue thickest of all, where on a man lowseth moste, and for sure lowsyng, the formoste fynger is moste apte, bycause it holdeth best, and for that purpose nature hath as a man woulde saye, yocked it with the thourmbe. Ledder, if it be nexte a mans skynne, wyl sweat, waxe hard and chafe,
 15 therefore, scarlet for the softnes of it and thicknesse wyth all, is good to sewe wythin a mannes gloue. If that wylle not serue, but yet youre fynger hurteth, you muste take a searynge cloth made of fine virgin waxe, and Deres sewet, and put nexte your fynger, and so on wyth youre gloue. If yet you fele your fynger pinched,
 20 leaue shootyng both because than you shall shoote nought, and agayn by litle and lytle, hurtyng your finger, ye shall make [Ol^r] it longe and longe to or you shoote agayne. A newe gloue pluckes many shootes bycause the stringe goeth not freelye of, and

therefore the fingers muste be cut short, and trimmed with some ointment, that the string maye glyd wel awaye. Some with holdynge in the nocke of theyr shafte to harde, rub the skyn of there fingers. For this there be .ii. remedyes, one to haue a goose
 5 quyll splettyd and sewed againste the nockynge, betwixt the lining and the ledder, whyche shall helpe the shoote muche to, the other waye is to haue some roule of ledder sewed betwixt his fingers at the setting on of the fingers, which shall kepe his fingers so in sunder, that they shal not hold the nock so fast as they did. The
 10 shootyng gloue hath a purse whych shall serue to put fine linen cloth and wax in, twoo necessary thynges for a shooter, some men vse gloues or other suche lyke thyng on their bow hand for chafyng, bycause they houlde so harde. But that commeth commonlye, when a bowe is not rounde, but somewhat square, fine
 15 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 althoughe they be trifles, yet bycause you be but a yonge shoter, I woulde not leue them out.

PHI. And so you shal do me moost pleasure: The string I
 20 trow be the next.

TOX. The next in dede. A thing though it be lytle, yet not a litle to be regarded. But here in you muste be contente to put youre trust in honest stringers. And surely stringers ought more

diligently to be looked vpon by the officers than ether bower or
 fletcher, bycause they maye deceyue a [Ol^v] simple man the
 more easelyer. An ill stringe brekethe many a good bowe, nor no
 other thyng halfe so many. In warre if a string breke the man is
 5 loste and is no man, for his weapon is gone, and althoughe he haue
 two stringes put one at once, yet he shall haue smal leasure and
 lesse rounge to bend his bow, therfore 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 nowe a dayes, or of flaxe or of
 10 sylke, I leue that to the iugemente of stringers, of whome we
 muste bye them on. Eustathius apou this verse of homere

Twang quoth the bow, and twang quoth the string, out
quicklie the shaft flue

doeth tel, that in oulde tyme they made theyr bowe strynges of
 15 bullox thermes, whiche they twyned together as they do ropes, and
 therfore they made a great twange. Bowe strynges also hath bene
 made of the heare of an horse taylor called for the matter of them
 Hippias as dothe appeare in manye good authors of the Greke
 tongue. Great stringes, and lytle strynges be for diuerse pur-
 20 poses: the great string is more surer for the bowe, more stable
 to pricke wythal, but slower for the cast, the lytle stringe is
 cleane contrarye, not so sure, therfore to be taken hede of, lesse
 with longe tarienge on, it breake youre bowe, more fit to shoote

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 shootinge. In stringinge of your bow
 (though this [O2^r] place belong rather to the handlyng than to the
 5 thyng it selfe, yet bycause the thyng, and the handlynge of the
 thyng, be so ioyned together, I must nede some tyme couple the
 one wyth the other,) you must mark the fit length of youre bowe.
 For yf the stringe be to short, the bending wyll gyue, and at the
 last slyp and so put the bowe in ieopardye. Yf it be longe, the
 10 bendynge must nedes be in the smal of the string, which beyng
 sore twined muste nedes knap in sunder to the distruction of
 manye good bowes. Moreouer you must looke that youre bowe be
 well nocked for fere the sharpnesse of the horne shere a sunder
 the stryng. And that chaunceth ofte when in bending, the string
 15 hath but one wap to strengthe it wyth all. You must marke also to
 set youre stringe streygte on, or elles the one ende shall wriethe
 contrary to the other, and so breke your bowe. When the stringe
 begynneth neuer so lytle to were, trust it not, but a waye with it
 for it is an yl saued halpeny that costes a man a crowne. Thus
 20 you se howe many ieopardyes hangethe ouer the selye poore bowe,
 by reason onlye of the stryng. 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.

TOX. Bowes be broken twise as many wayes besyde these. But a gayne in stringynge your bowe, you must loke for much
5 bende or lytle bende for they be cleane contrarye.

[O2^v] The lytle bende hath but one commoditie, whyche is in shootyng faster and farther shoote, and the cause therof is, because the strynge hath so far a passage, or it parte wyth the shafte. The greate bende hath many commodities: for it maketh
10 easyer shootynge the bowe beyng halfe drawen afore. It needeth no bracer, for the strynge stoppeth before it come at the arme. It wyl not so sone hit a mannes sleue or other geare, by the same reason: It hurteth not the shaft fedder, as the lowe bende doeth. It suffereth a man better to espye his marke. Therfore lette your
15 bowe haue good byg bend, a shaftement and .ii. fyngers at the least, for these which I haue spoken of.

PHI. The braser, gloue, and strynge, be done, nowe you muste come to the bowe, the chefe instrument of all.

TOX. Dyuers cuntryes and tymes haue vsed alwayes dyuers
20 bowes, and of dyuers fashions. Horne bowes are vsed in some places nowe, and were vsed also in Homerus dayes, for Pandarus bowe, the best shooter among al the Troianes, was made of two Goete hornes ioyned togyther, the lengthe wherof sayth Homer,

was .xvi handbredes, nor far differing from the lengthe of our bowes.

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

10 [O3^r] The Ethiopians had bowes of palme tre, which seemed to be very stronge, but we haue none experience of them. The lengthe of them was .iiii. 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 therof, for the
 15 redes be so great in Inde, as Herodotus sayth, that of euery ioynte of a rede, a man may make a fyshers bote. These bowes, sayeth Arrianus in Alexanders lyfe, gaue so great a stroke, that no harneys or buckler though it were neuer so strong, could wythstand it. The length of suche a bowe, was euen wyth the length of
 20 hym, that vsed it. The Lycians vsed bowes made of a tree, called in Latyn Cornus, (as concernyng the name of it in English, I can soner proue that other men call it false, than I can tell the right name of it my selfe) 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 wherby the poete meaneth, that it was verye excellent to make bowes of.

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

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

[O3^v] Taxi torquentur in acrus.

i.

15 Ewe fit for a bowe to be made on.

Nowe as I saye, a bowe of Ewe must be hadde for perfecte shootinge at the prickes, whiche marke, bycause it is certayne, and moste certaine rules may be gyuen of it, shall serue for our communication, at this time. A good bowe is knowen, much what
20 as good counsayle is knowen, by the ende and prooffe of it, and yet bothe a bowe and good counsell, maye be made bothe better and worse, by well or yll handlyng 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 proofe of it. And as a wyse man wyll take plentye of counsel afore hand what soeuer need, so a shooter
 5 shulde haue alwayes .iii. or .iiii. bowes, in store, what so euer chaunce.

PHI. But if I truste bowyers alwayes, sometyme I am lyke to be deceyued.

TOX. Therefore shall I tell you some tokens in a bowe, that
 10 you shal be the seeldomer deceyued. If you come into a shoppe, and fynde a bowe that is small, long, heauy and strong, lyinge steyght, not windyng, not marred with knot gaule, wyndeshake, wem, freat or pynche, bye that bowe of my warrant. The beste colour of a bowe that I fynde, is whan the backe and the bellye in
 15 woorkyng, be mucche what after one maner, for such of -[O4^r] tentymes in wearyng, do proue lyke virgin wax or golde, hauynge a fine longe grayne, euen from the one ende of the bowe, to the other: the short graine although suche proue well somtyme, are for the most parte, very brittle. Of the makynge of the bowe, I
 20 wyll not greatly meddle, leste I shoulde seeme to enter into an other mannes occupation, whyche I can no skylle of. Yet I woulde desyre all bowyers to season theyr staues well, to woorke them and synke them well, to gyue them heetes conuenient, and

tyllerynges plentye. For thereby they shoulde bothe get them
 selues a good name, (And a good name encreseth a mannes profyt
 muche) and also do greate commodite to the hole Realme. If any
 men do offend in this poynte, I am afrayde they be those iourny
 5 men whiche labour more spedily to make manye bowes for their
 owne monye sake, than they woorke diligently to make good bowes,
 for the common welth sake, not layinge before theyr eyes, this
 wyse prouerbe.

Sone ynough, if wel ynough.

10 Wherwyth euere honest handye craftes man shuld measure, as it
 were wyth a rule, his worke withal. He that is a iourney man,
 and rydeth vpon an other mannes horse, yf he ryde an honest
 pace, no manne wyll dysalowe hym: But yf he make Poste haste,
 bothe he that oweth the horse, and he peraduenture also that after-
 15 warde shal bye the horse, may chaunce to curse hym.

[O4^v] Suche hastinesse I am afrayde, maye also be found
 amonges some of them, whych through out the Realme in diuerse
 places worke the kinges Artillarie for war, thinkynke yf they get
 a bowe or a sheafe of arrowes to some fashion, they be good
 20 ynough for bearynge gere. And thus that weapon whiche is the
 chiefe defence of the Realme, verye ofte doth lytle seruyce to hym
 that shoulde vse it, bycause it is so negligentlye wrought of him
 that shuld make it, when trewlye I suppose that nether the bowe

can be to good and chefe woode, nor yet to wel seasoned or truly
 made, wyth hetynges and tillerynges, nether that shafte to good
 wood or to thorowely wrought, with the best piñion fedders that
 can be gotten, wherwith a man shal serue his prince, defende his
 5 countrie, and saue hym selfe frome his enemye. And I trust no
 man wyll be angrye wyth me for spekyng thus, but those which
 finde them selfe touched therin: which ought rather to be angrye
 wyth them selfe for doyng so, than to be discontent wyth me for
 sayng so. And in no case they ought to be displeased wyth me,
 10 seinge this is spoken also after that sorte, not for the notyng of
 anye person seuerallye, but for the amendyng of euerye one
 generallye. But turne we agayne to knowe a good shootyng bowe
 for oure purpose.

Euerye bowe is made eyther of a boughe, of a plante or of the
 15 boole of the tree. The boughe commonlye is verye knotty, and
 full of pinnes, weak, of small pithe, and sone wyll folowe the
 stringe, and seldome werith to any fayre coloure, yet for
 chyl dren and yonge beginners it maye serue well ynoughe. The
 plante [Pl^r] proueth many times wel, yf it be of a good and clene
 20 groweth, and for the pith of it is quicke ynoughe of cast, it wyl
 plye and bow far afore it breake, as al other yonge thinges do.
 The boole of the tree is clenest without knot or pin, hauinge a
 faste and harde woode by reasonne of hys full groweth, stronge

and myghtye of cast, and best for a bow, yf the staues be euen
 clouen, and be afterwarde wroughte not ouerwharte the woode, but
 as the graine and streyght growyng of the woode leadethe a man,
 or elles by all reason it must sone breake, and that in many
 5 shiuers. This must be considered in the roughe woode, and when
 the bow staues 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 poyntes as I sayd before you muste truste an honest bowyer,
 to put a good bow in youre hand, somewhat lookinge your selfe to
 10 those tokens whyche I shewed you. And you muste not sticke for a
 grote or .xii. d. more than a nother man would giue yf it be a
 good bowe. For a good bow trise paide for is better than an ill
 bowe once broken.

Thus a shooter muste begyn not at the makynge of hys bowe
 15 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 sorte.

Take your bow in to the feeld, shote in hym, sinke hym wyth
 deade heaue shaftes, looke where he commethe moost, prouyde
 20 for that place betymes, leste it pinche and so freate: when you
 haue thus shot in him, and perceyued good shootynge woode in
 hym, you [Pl^v] must haue hym agayne to a good cunnyng, and
 trustie woorkeman, whyche shall cut hym shorter, and pike hym

and dresse hym fyttter, make hym comme rounde compace euery where, and whippyng at the endes, but with discretion, lest he whyp in sunder or els freete, soner than he is ware of, he must also lay him streght, if he be caste or otherwise nede require,
 5 and if he be flatte made, gather hym rounde, and so shall he bothe shoote the faster, for farre shootyng, and also the surer for nere pryckyng.

PHI. What yf I come into a shoppe, and spye oute a bow, which shal both than please me very wel whan I by him, and be
 10 also very fit and meete for me whan I shote in hym: so that he be both weake ynoughe for easye shootyng, and also quycke and spedye ynoughe for farre castyng, than I woulde thynke I shall nede no more businesse wyth him, but be contente wyth hym, and vse hym well ynoughe, and so by that meanes, auoyde bothe great
 15 trouble, and also some cost whiche you cunnyng archers very often put your selues vnto, beyng verye Englyshe men, neuer ceasyng piddelyng about your bowe and shaftes whan they be well, but eyther with shorting and pickyng your bowes, or els with newe fetheryng, peecyng and headinge your shaftes, can
 20 neuer haue done vntyll they be starke nought.

TOX. Wel Philologe, surelye if I haue any iudgement at all in shootyng, it is no very great good token in a bowe, whereof nothyng whan it is newe and fresshe, nede be cutte awaye, euen as

Cicero sayeth of a yonge mannes wit and style, which you knowe better than I. For eue-[P2^r] rye newe thyng muste alwayes haue more than it needeth, or elles it wyll not waxe better and better, but euer decaye, and be worse and worse. Newe ale if it runne
 5 not ouer the barrell whan it is newe tunned, wil sone lease his pith, and his head afore he be longe drawn on.

And lyke wyse as that colte whyche at the fyrste takynge vp, nedeth lytle breakyng and handlyng, but is fitte and gentle ynoughe for the saddle, seeldome or neuer proueth well, euen so that bowe
 10 whyche at the fyrste byinge, wythout any more prooffe and trimmyng, is fit and easie to shoote in, shall neyther be profitable to laste longe, nor yet pleasaunt to shoote well. And therefore as a younge horse full of corage, wyth handlyng and breaking, is brought vnto a sure pace and goynge, so shall a newe
 15 bowe fresshe and quicke of caste, by sinking and cuttyng, be brought to a stedfast shootyng. And an easie and gentle bow whan it is newe, is not mucche vnlyke a softe spirited boye when he is younge. But yet as of an vnruilie boye with right handlyng, proueth oftenest of al a well ordered man: so of an vnfit and staffysh bow
 20 with good trimming, muste nedes folowe alwayes a stedfast shot-ynge bowe.

And suche a perfite bowe, whiche neuer wyll deceyue a man, excepte a man deceyue it, muste be had for that perfecte ende,

whyche you looke for in shootinge.

PHI. Well Toxophile, I see wel you be cunninger in this gere
 than I: but put case that I haue thre or fower suche good bowes,
 pyked and dressed, as you nowe speke of, yet I do remembre that
 5 manye [P2^V] learned men do saye, that it is easier to gette a
 good thyng, than to saue and keepe a good thyng, wherfore if you
 can teache me as concernyng that poynte, you haue satisfied me
 plentifullye, as concernyng a bowe.

TOX. Trulye it was the nexte thyng that I woulde haue come
 10 vnto, for so the matter laye.

Whan you haue broughte youre bowe to suche a poynte, as I
 spake of, than you must haue an herden or wullen cloth waxed,
 wherwith euery day you must rubbe and chafe your bowe, tyll it
 shyne and glytter withall. Whyche thyng shall cause it bothe to
 15 be cleane, well fauoured, goodlye of coloure, and shall also
 bryng as it were a cruste, ouer it, that is to say, shall make it
 euery where on the outsyde, so slyppery and harde, that neyther
 any weete or wether can enter to hurte it, nor yet any freat or
 pynche, be able to byte vpon it: but that you shal do it great wrong
 20 before you breake it. This must be done oftentimes but specially
 when you come from shootyng.

Beware also whan you shoote, of youre shaft hedes, dagger,
 knyues or agglettes, lest they race your bowe, a thing as I sayde

before, bothe vnsemely to looke on, and also daungerous for
 freates. Take hede also of mistie and dankyshe dayes, which shal
 hurte a bowe, more than any rayne. For then you muste eyther
 alway rub it, or els leaue shootynge.

5 Your bowecase (this I dyd not promise to speake of, bycause
 it is without the nature of shootynge, or els I shoulde truble me
 wyth other thinges infinite more: yet seing it is a sauegarde for
 the bowe, somthyng I wyll saye of it) youre bowecase I saye, yf
 [P3^r] you ryde forthe, muste neyther be to wyde for youre bowes,
 10 for so shall one clap vpon an other, and hurt them, nor yet so
 strayte that scarce they can be thrust in, for that woulde laye them
 on syde and wynde them. A bowecase of ledder, is not the best, for
 that is ofttymes moyste which hurteth the bowes very much. Ther-
 fore I haue sene good shooters which would haue for euerye bowe,
 15 a sere case made of wollen clothe, and than you maye putte .iii.
 or .iiii. of them so cased, in to a ledder case if you wyll. This
 wollen case shall bothe kepe them in sunder, and also wylle kepe
 a bowe in his full strengthe, that it neuer gyue for any wether. At
 home these wood cases be verye good for bowes to stande in. But
 20 take hede that youre bowe stande not to nere a stone wall, for that
 wyll make hym moyste and weke, nor yet to nere any fier for that
 wyll make him shorte and brittle. And thus mucche as concernyng
 the sauynge and keping of our bowe: nowe you shall heare what

thynges ye must auoyde, for feare of breakyng your bowe.

A shooter chaunseth to breake his bowe commonly .iiii. wayes,
by the stryng, by the shafte, by drawyng to far, and by freates:

By the stryng as I sayde afore, whan the stryng is eyther to

5 shorte, to long, not surely put on, wyth one wap, or put croked
on, or shorne in sundre wyth an euell nocke, or suffered to tarye
ouer longe on. Whan the stryng fayles the bowe muste nedes
breake, and specially in the myddes: because bothe the endes haue
nothyng to stop them: but whippes so far backe, that the belly
10 must nedes violentlye rise vp, the whyche you shall well [P3^v]
perceyue in bendyng of a bowe backward. Therfore a bowe that
foloweth the stryng is least hurt with breakyng of stringes. By
the shafte a bowe is broken ether when it is to short, and so you
set it in your bow or when the nocke breakes for lytlennesse, or
15 when the stryng slyppes wythoute the nocke for wydenesse, than
you poule it to your eare and lettes it go, which must nedes
breake the shafte at the leaste, and putte stringe and bow and al
in ieopardy, bycause the strength of the bowe hath nothyng in it
to stop the violence of it.

20 Thys kynde of breakyng is mooste perilouse for the standers
by, for in such a case you shall se some tyme the ende of a bow
flye a hoole score from a man, and that moost commonly, as I
haue marked oft the vpper ende of the bowe. The bow is drawne

to far .ii. wayes. Eyther when you take a longer shafte then your owne, or els when you shyfte your hand to low or to hie for shootynge far. Thys waye pouleth the backe in sunder, and then the bowe fleethe in manye peces.

5 So when you se a bowe broken, hauynge the bellye risen vp both wayes or tone, the stringe brake it. When it is broken in twoo peces in a maner euen of and specyallye in the vpper ende, the shafte nocke brake it.

When the backe is pouled a sunder in manye peeces to farre
10 drawynge, brake it.

These tokens eyther alwayes be trewe or els verye seldome mysse.

[P4^r] The fourthe thyng that breketh a bowe is fretes, whych make a bowe redye and apte to breake by any of the .iii. wayes
15 afore sayde. Freetes be in a shaft as well as in a bowe, and they be muche lyke a Canker, crepynge and encreasyng in those places in a bowe, whyche be weaker then other. And for thys purpose must your bowe be well trymmed and piked of a conning man that it may come rounde in trew compasse euery where. For
20 freetes you must beware, yf youre bow haue a knot in the backe, lest the places whyche 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 pinchese, the

whych when you perceauē, 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 neuer encrease farther in to great freates.

5 Freates begynne many tymes in a pin, for there the good woode is corrupted, that it muste nedes be weke, and bycause it is weake, therfore it freates. Good bowyers therfore do rayse euery pyn and alowe it moore woode for feare of freatyngē.

Agayne bowes moost commonlye freate vnder the hande, not so
10 muche as some men suppose for the moistnesse of the hande, as for the heete of the hand: the nature of heate sayeth Aristotle is to lowse, and not to knyght fast, and the more lowser the more weaker, the weaker, the redier to freate.

[P4^v] A bowe is not well made, whych hath not wood plentye
15 in the hand. For yf the endes of the bowe be staffysshē, or a mans hande any thyngē hote the bellye must nedes sone frete. Remedie for fretes to any purpose I neuer hard tell of any, but onelye to make the freated place as stronge or stronger then any other. To fill vp the freate with lytle sheuers of a quill and glewe
20 (as some saye wyll do wel) by reason must be starke nought.

For, put case the freete dyd cease then, yet the cause whiche made it freate a fore (and that is weakenesse of the place) bicause it is not taken away must nedes make it freate agayne. As for

cuttyng out of freates wythe all maner of pecynge of bowes I wyll
 cleane exclude from perfite shootynge. For peced bowes be
 mucche lyke owlde housen, whyche be more chargeable to repayre,
 than commodiouse to dwell in. Agayne to swadle a bowe much
 5 about wyth bandes, verye seldome dothe anye good, excepte it be
 to kepe downe a spel in the backe, otherwyse bandes ether nede
 not when the bow is any thinge worthe, or els boote not when it is
 marde and past best. And although I knowe meane and poore
 shooters, wyll vse peced and banded bowes sometye bycause they
 10 are not able to get better when they woulde, yet I am sure yf they
 consyder it well, they shall fynde it, bothe lesse charge and more
 pleasure to ware at any tyme a couple of shyillynges of a new bowe
 than to bestowe .x. d of peacynge an olde bowe. For better is
 coste vpon somewhat worth, than spence vpon nothing worth. And
 15 thys I speke also bycause you woulde haue me [Q1^r] referre all
 to perfitnesse in shootynge.

Moreouer there is an other thyng, 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
 20 wheresoeuer is any waterish humour, as is in al woodes, eyther
 more or lesse, and you knowe that al thynges frosen and Isie, wyl
 rather breke than bende. Yet if a man must nedes shoote at any
 suche tyme, lette hym take hys bowe, and brynge it to the fyre,

and there by litle and litle, rubbe and chafe it with a waxed clothe, whiche shall bring it to that poynt, that he maye shote safelye ynough in it. This rubbyng with waxe, as I sayde before, is a great succour, agaynst all wete and moystnesse.

5 In the fyeldes also, in goyng betwyxt the pricks eyther wyth your hande, or elles wyth a clothe you muste keepe your bowe in suche a temper. And thus mucche as concernyng youre bowe, howe fyrste to knowe what wood is best for a bowe, than to chose a bowe, after to trim a bowe, agayne to keepe it in goodnesse,
10 laste of al, howe to saue it from al harm and euylnesse.

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

PHI. Surelye I beleue so, and yet I coulde haue hearde you
15 talke longer on it: althogh I can not se, what maye be sayd more of it. Therfore excepte you wyll pause a whyle, you may go forward to a shafte.

TOX. What shaftes were made of, in oulde tyme [Q1^V] authours do not so manifestlye shewe, as of bowes. Herodotus
20 doth tel, that in the flood of Nilus, ther was a beast, called a water horse, 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 the latyn

tongue, Cornus is taken for a shafte, as in Seneca, and that place of Virgill,

Volat Itala Cornus.

Yet of all thynges that euer I marked of olde authours, either
 5 greke or latin, for shaftes to be made of, there is nothing so
 common as reedes. Herodotus in describynge the mightie hoost
 of Xerxes doth tell that thre great contries vsed 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.
 10 The shaftes in Inde were verye longe, a yarde and an halfe, as
 Arrianus doth saye, or at the least a yarde, as Q. Curtius doth
 saye, and therfore they gaue the greater strype, but yet bycause
 they were so long, they were the more vnhandsome, and lesse
 profitable to the men of Inde, as Curtius doeth tell.

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

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

[Q2^r] A shaft hath three principall partes, the stele, the
 fethers, and the head: whereof euerye one muste be seuerallye

spoken of.

Steles be made of dyuerse woodes . as.

Brasell.

Turkie wood.

5 Fusticke.

Sugercheste.

Hardbeame.

Byrche.

Asshe.

10 Ooke.

Seruis tree.

Hulder.

Blackthorne.

Beche.

15 Elder.

Aspe.

Salow.

These wooddes as they be most commonly vsed, so they be
mooste fit to be vsed: yet some one fyttter then an other for diuers
20 mennes shotinge, as shalbe toulde afterwarde. And in this pointe
as in a bowe you muste truste an honest fletcher. Neuerthesse
al thoughe 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 pertayneth to an Archer to come to good shootynge.

[Q2^v] A stele muste be well seasoned for Castinge, and it
must be made as the grayne lieth and as it groweth or els it wyl
5 neuer flye clene, as clothe cut ouertwhart and agaynste the wulle,
can neuer hoose a manne cleane. A knottye stele maye be
suffered in a bygge shafte, but for a lytle shafte it is nothyng fit,
bothe bycause it wyll neuer flye far, and besydes that it is euer in
danger of breakynge, it flieth not far bycause the strengthe of the
10 shoote is hindred and stopped at the knotte, euen as a stone cast
in to a plaine euen stil water, wyll make the water moue a greate
space, yet yf there be anywhirlyng plat in the water, the mouyng
ceasethe when it commethe at the whyrlyng plat, whyche is not
muche vnlyke a knotte in a shafte yf it be considered wel. So
15 euery thyng as it is plaine and streight of hys owne nature so is it
fittest for far mouyng. Therefore a stele whyche is harde to
stande 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,
20 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 shafte shoulde be particularlye for euerye man (seyng
we must taulke of the generall nature of shootyng) can not be

toulde no more than you Rhethoricians can appoynt any one kynde
 of wordes, of sentences, of fygures fyt for euery matter, but
 euen as the man and the matter requyreth so the fyttest to be vsed.
 Therefore as concernynge those contraryes in a shafte, euery man
 5 muste auoyde them and draw to [Q3^x] 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 outragious excedynge. As it is better to
 haue a shafte a lytle to shorte than ouer longe, somewhat to lyght,
 10 than ouer lumpysshe, 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, taulk-
 ynge, and all other thynges lyke, whych matter was onse excel-
 lentlye disputed vpon, in the Scooles, you knowe when.

15 And to offend, in these contraryes commeth much yf men take
 not hede, throughe the kynd of wood, wherof the shaft is made:
 For somme wood belonges to the excedyng part, some to the
 scant part, some to the meane, as Brasell, Turkiewood, Fusticke,
 Sugar cheste, and such lyke, make deade, heuy lumpish, hobblyng
 20 shaftes. Againe Hulder, blacke thorne, Serues tree, Beche,
 Elder, Aspe, and Salowe, eyther for theyr wekenes or lyghte-
 nesse, make holow, starting, scudding, gaddyng shaftes. But
 Birche, Hardbeme, some Ooke, and some Asshe, beyng bothe

stronge ynoughe to stande in a bowe, and also lyght ynoughe to
 flye far, are best for a meane, whiche is to be soughte oute in
 euery thinge. And althoughe I knowe that some men shoote so
 stronge, that the deade woodes be lyghte ynoughe for them, and
 5 other some so weeke, that the lowse woodes by lykewyse for them
 bigge ynoughe yet generally for the moost parte of men, the
 meane is the best. And so to conclude that, is alwayes beste [Q3^v]
 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
 10 selfe whyche 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 chaunce be to heuy and hobblynge. Therfore can not I
 expresse, excepte generally, what is best wood for a shaft, but
 let euery man when he knoweth his owne strength and the nature of
 15 euery wood, prouyde and fyt himselfe thereafter. Yet as concern-
 ing sheaffe Arrouse for war (as I suppose) it were better to make
 them of good Asshe, and not of Aspe, as they be now a dayes.
 For of all other woodes that euer I proued Asshe being big is
 swiftest and agayne heuy to giue a greate stripe with all, whyche
 20 Aspe shall not doo. What heuynes doth in a stripe euery man by
 experience can tell, therfore Asshe 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, reshe growne, and
 5 of some merye fellowes bobtayles, be fit for them whiche shote vnder hande bycause they shoote wyth a softe lowse, and stresses not a shaft mucche in the breste where the weyghte of the bowe lyethe as you maye perceyue by the werynge of euery shafte.

Agayne the bygge brested shafte is fytted for hym, which
 10 shoteth right afore him, or els the brest being [Q4^r] 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
 15 nothyng flat wyth oute gal or wemme, for thys purpose. For bycause roundnesse (whether you take example in heauen or in earthe) is fittest shappe and forme both for fast mouing and also for sone percynge of any thyng. And therefore Aristotle saythe that nature hath made the raine to be round, bycause it shoulde
 20 the easelyer enter throughe the ayre.

The nocke of the shafte is dyuersly made, for some be greate and full, some hansom and lytle, some wyde, some narrow, some depe, some shalowe, some round, some longe, some wyth one

nocke, some wyth a double nocke, wherof euery one hathe hys propertye.

The greate and full nocke, maye be well felte, and many wayes they saue a shafte from brekyng. The hansome and lytle
 5 nocke wyll go clene awaye frome the hand, the wyde nocke is noughte, both for breakyng of the shafte and also for soden slypyng oute of the stryng when the narrowe nocke doth auoyde bothe those harmes. The depe and longe nocke is good in warre for sure kepyng in of the stryng. The shalow, and rownde nocke
 10 is best for our purpose in prickyng for cleane delyueraunce of a shoote. And double nockyng is vused for double suerty of the shaft. And thus far as concernyng a hoole stele.

[Q4^v] Peecyng of a shafte with brasell and holie, or other heauy woodes, is to make the ende compasse heauy with the
 15 fethers in fliying, for the stedfaster shotyng. For if the ende were plumpe heauy wyth lead and the wood nexte it lyghte, the head endewoulde euer be downwardes, and neuer flye strayght.

Two poyntes in peeing be ynough, lest the moystnes of the earthe enter to moche into the peeing, and so leuse the glue.
 20 Therfore many poyntes be more plesaunt to the eye, than profitable for the vse.

Summe vse to peece theyr shaftes in the nocke wyth brasel, or holye, to counterwey, with the head, and I haue sene 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 the nature of a fether in flying, if a man marke it wel, is
 able to bear vp a wonderful weyght: and I thinke suche peeing
 5 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
 leese it, and therfore doeth he peece it. And than by and by other
 eyther bycause it is gaye, or elles because they wyll haue a shafte
 lyke a good archer, cutteth theyre hole shaftes, and peeceth them
 10 agayne. A thyng by my iudgement, more costlye than nedefull.

And thus haue you heard what wood, what fasshion, what
 nockyng, what peecyng a stele muste haue: Nowe foloweth the
 fetheryng.

PHI. I woulde neuer haue thought you could haue sayd halfe
 15 so muche of a stele, and I thynke as concernyng the litle fether
 and the playne head, there is [Rl^r] but lytle to saye.

TOX. Lytle, yes trulye: for there is no one thing, in al shoting,
 somoche to be loked on as the fether. For fyrste a question maye
 be asked, whether any other thing besyde a fether, be fit for a
 20 shaft or no? if a fether onelye be fit, whether a goose fether onely,
 or no? yf a goose fether be best, then whether there be any
 difference, as concernyng the fether of an oulde goose, and
 a younge goose: a gander, or a goose: a fennye goose, or an

vplandish goose. Againe which is best fether in any goose, the
 ryght wing or the left wing, the pinion fether, or any other fether:
 a whyte, blacke, or greye fether? Thirdly, in setting on of your
 fether, whether it be pared or drawen with a thicke rybbe, or a
 5 thinne rybbe (the rybbe is the 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 streight, or som what bowyng? and
 whether one or two fethers runne on the bowe. Fourthly in couling
 or sheryng, whether high or lowe, whether somewhat swyne
 10 backed (I muste vse shoters wordes) or sadle backed, whether
 rounde, or square shorne? And whether a shaft at any tyme ought
 to be plucked, and how to be plucked.

PHI. Surely Toxophile, I thynke manye fletchers (although
 daylye they haue these thinges in vre) if they were asked sodeynly,
 15 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 those
 thynges in a fether, the whiche you packed vp in so narrowe a
 rowme. And fyrst whether any other thyng may be vsed for a
 fether or not.

20 TOX. That was the fyrst poynte in dede, [R1^V] and bycause
 there foloweth many after, I wyll hye apace ouer them, as one
 that had manye a myle to ride. Shaftes to haue had alwayes
 fethers Plinius in Latin, and Iulius Pollux in Greke, do playnlye

shewe, yet onely the Lycians I reade in Herodotus to haue vsed
 shaftes without fedders. Onelye a fedder is fit for a shafte for .ii.
 causes, fyrste bycause it is leathe weake to giue place to the
 bowe, than bycause it is of that nature, that it wyll starte vp after
 5 the bow. So, Plate, wood or horne can not serue, bycause the wil
 not gyue place. Againe, Cloth, Paper or Parchment can not serue,
 bycause they wyll not ryse after the bowe, therfore a fedder is
 onely mete, bycause it onelye wyl do bothe. Nowe to looke on the
 fedders of all maner of birdes, you shal se some so lowe weke
 10 and shorte, some so course, stoore and harde, and the rib so
 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 shafte (as
 I knowe some good Archers haue vsed) or a ducke for a flyghte
 whiche lastes but one shoote, there is no fether but onelye of a
 15 goose that hath all commodities in it. And trewelye at a short but,
 which some man doth vse, the Pecock fether doth seldome kepe
 vp the shaft eyther ryght or leuel, it is so roughe and heuy, so
 that many men which haue taken them vp for gayenesse, hathe
 layde them downe agayne for profyte, thus for our purpose, the
 20 Goose is best fether, for the best shoter.

PHI. No that is not so, for the best shoter that euer was
 vsed other fethers.

TOX. Ye are you so cunnige in shootynge I praye you who was that.

PHI. Hercules whyche [$R2^x$] had hys shaftes fethered with Egles fethers as Hesiodus dothe saye.

5 TOX. Well as for Hercules, seyng nether water nor lande, heauen nor hell, coulde scarce contente hym to abyde in, it was no meruell thoughe a sely poore gouse fether could not plese him to shoote wythal, and agayne as for Egles they flye so hye and builde so far of, that they be very hard to come by. Yet welfare
10 the gentle gouse which bringeth to a man euen to hys doore so manye excedynge commodities. For the gouse is mans comforte in war and in peace slepyng and wakyng. What prayse so euer is gyuen to shootynge the gouse maye challenge the beste parte in it. Howe well dothe she make a man fare at his table? Howe
15 easelye dothe she make a man lye in hys bed? How fit euen as her fethers be onelye for shootynge, so be her quylles fytted onely for wrytyng.

PHILO. In deade Toxophyle that is the beste prayse you gaue to a gouse yet, and surelye I would haue sayde you had bene to
20 blame yf you had ouerskypte it.

TOX. The Romaines I trowe Philologe not so muche bycause a gouse wyth cryng saued theyr Capitolium and head toure wyth their golden Iupiter as Propertius doth say very pretely in thys

verse.

Anseris et tutum uoce fuisse Iouem.

Id est.

Theues on a night had stolne Iupiter, had a gouse not a kekede.

5 Dyd make a golden gouse and set hir in the top of the
 Capitolum, and appoynted also the Censores to alow out of the
 common hutche yearly stipendes for the findinge [R2^v] of certayne
 Geese, the Romaynes did not I saye giue al thys honor to a gouse
 for that good dede onely, but for other infinit mo which comme
 10 daylye to a man by Geese, and surely yf I should declame in the
 prayse of any maner of beest lyuyng, I would chose a gouse, But
 the goose hath made vs flee to farre from oure matter. Now sir
 ye haue hearde howe a fether must be had, and that a goose
 fether onely. It foloweth of a yong gose and an oulde, and the
 15 residue belonging to a fether: which thing I wyll shortly 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 fashion or quanti-
 tie can be fitte for euery man, nomore then a shooe or a cote can
 20 be. The oulde goose fether is styffe and stronge, good for a
 wynde, and fyttest for a deed shaft: the yonge goose fether is
 weake and fyne, best for a swyfte shaft, and it must be couled at
 the first shering, somewhat hye, for with shoting, it wyll saddle

and faule very moche. The same thing (although not so moche) is
 to be consydered in a goose and a gander. A fenny goose, euen as
 her flesh is blacker, stoorer, vnholsumer, so is her fether for
 the same cause courser stoorer and rougher, and therfore I haue
 5 heard very good fletchers 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 wyl be caryed
 10 to moche. The pinion fether [R3^r] as it hath the firste place in
 the winge, so it hath the fyrst 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
 ground, and also by the stifnes and finesse which wyll cary a
 15 shaft better, faster and further, euen as a fine sayle cloth doth a
 shyppe.

The coulour of the fether is leste to be regarded, yet som
 what to be looked on: lest for a good whyte you haue sometyme an
 yll greye. Yet surelye it standeth with good reason to haue the
 20 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 right 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 streyghte with diligence. The
 fletcher draweth a fether when he hath but one swappe at it with
 5 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
 euery parte of the ryb apt to stand streight, 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
 10 communelye 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 angrie with me, except
 they were yll fletchers: and [R3^V] yet by reason, those fletchers
 too, ought rather to amend them selues for doing yll, then be
 15 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
 foundation and grounde, wher in nature hath set euerye cleft of
 the fether, be taken to nere the fether, it muste nedes folowe, that
 20 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, serueth for diuers shaftes, as a long
 fether for a long heauy, or byg shafte, the shorte fether for the

contrary. Agayne the shorte maye stande farther, the longe nerer
the nocke. Youre fether muste stande almooste streyght on, but
yet after that sorte, that it maye turne rounde in flyinge. And
here I consider the wonderfull nature of shootynge, whiche
5 standeth all togyther 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
compasse, the stryng muste be rounde the stele rounde, the
beste nocke rounde, the feather shorne somewhat rounde, the
10 shafte in flyenge, muste turne rounde, and if it flye far, it flyeth
a round compace. For eyther aboue or benethe a rounde compace,
hyndereth the flyinge. Moreouer bothe the fletcher in makynge
your shafte, and you in nockynge your shafte, muste take heede
that two fethers equallye runne on the bowe. For yf one fether
15 runne alone on the bowe, it shal quickly be worne, and shall not
be [R4^r] 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 setting on of your fether. Nowe of
coulynge.

20 To shere a shafte hyghe or lowe, muste be as the shafte is,
heauy or lyght, great or lytle, long or short. The swyne backed
fashion, maketh the shaft deader, for it gathereth more ayer than
the saddle backed, and therfore the saddle backe is surer for

daunger of wether, and fitter for smothe fliing. Agayn to shere a shaft rounde, as they were wount somtime to do, or after the triangle fashion, whyche is mucche vsed nowe a dayes, bothe be good. For roundnesse is apte for fliynge of his owne nature, and
 5 all maner of triangle fashion, (the sharpe poynte goyng before) is also naturally apte for quicke entrynge, and therfore sayth Cicero, that cranes taught by nature, obserue in flyinge a triangle fashion alwayes, bycause it is so apt to perce and go thorowe the ayer wythall. Laste of all pluckyng of fethers is noughte, for there is
 10 no suerty in it, therfore let euery archer haue such shaftes, that he maye bothe knowe them and trust them at euery chaunge of wether. Yet if they must nedes be plucked, plucke them as litle as can be, for so shal they be the lesse vnconstante. And thus I haue knit vp in as shorte a rume as I coulde, the best fethers
 15 fetheringe and coulinge of a shafte.

PHI. I thynke surelye you haue so taken vp the matter wyth you, that you haue lefte nothyng behinde you. Nowe you haue brought a shafte to the head, whiche if it were on, we had done as concernyng all instrumentes be[R4^v] longynge to shootynge.

20 TOX. Necessitie, the inuentour of all goodnesse (as all authours in a maner, doo saye) amonges all other thinges inuented a shaft heed, firste to saue the ende from breakyng, then it made it sharpe to stycke better, after it made it of strong matter, to

last better: Last of all experience and wysedome of men, hathe brought it to suche a perfitnesse, that there is no one thing so profitable, belongyng to artillarie, either to stryke a mannes enemye sorer in warre, or to shoote nerer the marke at home, 5 then is a fitte heed for both purposes. For if a shaft lacke a heed, it is worth nothyng for neither vse. Therfore seinge heedes be so necessary, they must of 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 10 heedes of yron, as this verse spoken of Pandarus, sheweth:

Vp to the pappe his string did he pull, his shaft
to the harde yron.

The Grecians had heedes of brasse, as Vlysses shaftes were heeded, when he slewe Antinous, and the other wowers of 15 Penelope.

Quite through a dore, flewe a shafte with a brasse heed.

It is playne in Homer, where Menelaus was wounded of Pandarus shafte, that the hedes were not glewed on, but tyed on with a string, as the commentaries in Greke playnelye tell. And 20 therfore shoters [Sl^r] at that tyme to cary their shaftes without heedes, vntill they occupied them, and than set on an heade as it apereth in Homer the .xxi. booke Odyssei, where Penelope brought Vlixes bowe downe amonges the gentlemen, whiche came

on wowing to her, that he whiche was able to bende it and drawe it, might inioye her, and after her folowed a mayde sayth Homer, carienge a bagge full of heades, bothe of iron and brasse.

The men of Scythia, vsed heades of brasse. The men of Inde
 5 vsed heades of yron. The Ethiopians vsed heades of a harde sharpe stone, as bothe Herodotus and Pollux do tel. The Germanes as Cornelius Tacitus doeth saye, had theyr shaftes headed with bone, and many countryes bothe of olde tyme and now, vse heades of horne, but of all other yron and style muste
 10 nedes be the fittest for heades.

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 heades is diuers and that of olde tyme: two maner
 15 of arrowe heades sayeth Pollux, was vsed in olde tyme. The one he calleth ῥευρος, descrybynge it thus, hauyng two poyntes or barbes, lookyng backwarde to the stele and the fethers, which surely we call in Englishe a brode arrowe head or a swalowe taylor. The other he calleth πρωις, hauing ii. poyntes stretchyng for-
 20 warde, and this Englysh men do call a forkehead: bothe these two kyndes of heades, were vsed in Homers dayes, for Teucer vsed forked heades, sayinge thus to Agamemnon.

[S1^V] Eighte good shaftes haue I shot sithe I came, eche
one wyth a forke heade.

Pandarus heades and Vlysses heades were broode arrow
 heades, as a man maye learne in Homer that woulde be curiouse
 5 in knowyng that matter. Hercules vsed forked heades, but yet
 they had thre pointes or forkes, when other menues had but twoo.
 The Parthyans at that great battell where they slewe ritche
 Crassus and his sonne vsed brode Arrowe heades, whyche stacke
 so sore that the Romaynes could not poule them out agayne.
 10 Commodus the Emperoure vsed forked heades, whose facion
 Herodiane doeth lyuely and naturally describe, sayinge that they
 were lyke the shap of a new mone wherewyth he would smite of the
 heade of a birde and neuer misse, other facion of heades haue not
 I red on. Our Englyshe heades be better in war than eyther forked
 15 heades, or brode arrowe heades. For firste the ende beyng
 lyghter they flee a great deele the faster, and by the same reason
 gyueth a far sorer stripe. Yea and I suppose if the same lytle
 barbes which they haue, were clene put away, they shuld be far
 better. For thys euery man doth graunt, that a shaft as long as it
 20 flyeth, turnes, and whan it leueth turnyng it leueth goyng any
 farther. And euery thyng that enters by a turnynge and boring
 facion, the more flatter it is, the worse it enters, as a knife
 thoughe it be sharpe yet bycause of the edges, wil not bore so wel

as a bodkin, for euery rounde thyng enters beste and therefore nature, sayeth Aristotle, made the rayne droppes rounde for quicke Percyng the ayre. [S2^r] Thus, eyther shaftes turne not in flyeng, or els our flatte arrowe heades stoppe the shafte in
 5 entrynge.

PHI. But yet Toxophile to holde your communication a lytle I suppose the flat heade is better, bothe bycause it maketh a greter hoole, and also bycause it stickes faster in.

TOX. These two reasons as they be bothe trewe, so they be
 10 both nought. For fyrst the lesse hoole, yf it be depe, is the worse to heale agayn: when a man shoteth at hys enemy, he desyreth rather that it should enter far, than stick fast. 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 haste his death
 15 spedely? thus heades whych make a lytle hole and depe, be better in war, than those which make a great hole and sticke fast in.

Iulius Pollux maketh mencion of certayne kindes of heades for war which bear fyre in them, and scripture also speaketh som-
 20 what of the same. Herodotus doth tell a wonderfull pollicy to be done by Xerxes what tyme he beseged the great Toure in Athenes: He made his Archers binde there shafte heades 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 besydes that dased the men wythin, so that they knewe not
 whyther to turne them. But to make an ende of all heades for
 warre I woulde wyshe that the head makers of Englande shoulde
 5 make their sheafe arrowe heades more harder poynted then they
 be: [S2^v] for I my selfe haue sene of late suche heades set vpon
 sheafe Arrowes, as the officers yf they had sene them woulde not
 haue bene content wyth all.

Now as concernyng heades for pryckyng, which is oure pur-
 10 pose, there be dyuerse kyndes, some be blonte heades, some
 sharpe, some bothe blonte and sharpe. The blont heades men vse
 bycause they perceaue 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
 15 alwayes equallye he maye lowse them. Yet in a winde, and
 agaynste the wynd the wether hath so much power on the brode
 end, that no man can kepe no sure lengthe, wyth such a heade.
 Therfore a blont hede in a caulme or downe a wind is very good,
 otherwyse none worse.

20 Sharpe heades at the ende wythout anye shoulders (I call that
 the shoulder in a heade whyche a mans finger shall feele afore it
 come to the poynte) wyll perche quycklye throughe 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 cer-
 taynlye so far one tyme as at an other, bycause it lackethe
 shouldrynge wherwyth as wyth a sure token a man myghte be
 5 warned when to lowse, and also bycause menne are afrayde of the
 sharpe poynt for setting it in the bow. The seconde incommoditie
 is when it is lyghted on the ground, the smal poynte shall at
 euerye tyme be in ieopardye of hurtyng, whyche thyng of all
 other wyll sonest make [S3^r] the shafte lese the lengthe. Now
 10 when blonte heades be good to kepe a lengthe wythall, yet noughte
 for a wynde, sharpe heades good to perche the wether wyth al, yet
 nought for a length, certayne heade makers dwellyng in London
 perceyuyng the commoditie of both kynde of heades ioyned wyth
 a discommoditie, inuented newe files and other instrumentes
 15 where wyth he broughte heades for pryckynge to such a perfit-
 nesse, that all the commodities of the twoo other heades should
 be put in one heade wyth out anye discommoditie at all. They
 made a certayne kynde of heades whyche men call hie rigged,
 creased, or shouldred heades, or syluer spone heades, for a
 20 certayne lykenesse that suche heades haue wyth the knob ende of
 some syluer spones. These heades be good both to kepe a length
 withal and also to perche a wynde wythall, to kepe a length wythall
 bycause a man maye certaynly poule it to the shouldrynge euery

shoote and no farther, to perche a wynde wythall bycause the
 pointe from the shoulder forwarde, breketh the wether as al other
 sharpe thynges doo. So the blonte shoulder serueth for a sure
 lengthe kepynge, the poynte also is euer fit, for a roughe and
 5 greate wether Percyng. And thus much as shortlye as I could, as
 concernyng heades both for war and peace.

PHI. But is there no cunning as concerning setting on of the
 head?

TOX. Wel remembred. But that poynt belongeth to fletchers,
 10 yet you may desyre hym to set youre heade, full on, and close on.
 Ful on is whan the wood is bet hard vp to the ende or stoppynge of
 the heade, close on, is when there is [S3^v] leste wood on euerye
 syde 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 anye
 15 of these poyntes, the head whan it lyghteth on any hard stone or
 grounde wil be in ieoperdy, eyther of breakyng, or els otherwyse
 hurtyng. Stoppyng of heades eyther wyth leade, or any thyng
 els, shall not nede now, bycause euery siluer spone, or sholdred
 head is stopped of it selfe. Shorte heades be better than longe:
 20 For firste the longe head is worse for the maker to fyle strayght
 compace euery waye: agayne it is worse for the fletcher to set
 strayght on: thyrdlye it is alwayes in more ieoperdie of breakinge,
 whan it is on. And nowe I trowe Philologe, we haue done as

concernyng all Instrumentes belongyng to shootyng, whiche
 euery sere 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 bicause they be so knit
 5 wyth shootyng strayght, or kepyng of a lengthe, I wyll deferre
 them to that place, and now we will come (God wyll) to handle
 oure instrumentes, the thing that euery man desireth to do wel.

PHI. If you can teache me so well to handle these instru-
 mentes as you haue described them, I suppose I shalbe an archer
 10 good ynough.

TOX. 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 senses, and beastes without
 15 reson, when they be yong, may with handling [S4^r] and teaching,
 be brought to wonderfull thynges. And this is not onely true in
 natural thinges, but in artificiall thinges to, as the potter most
 connyngly doth cast his pottes whan his claye is softe and work-
 able, and waxe taketh printe whan it is warme, and leathie weke,
 20 not whan claye and waxe be hard and oulde: and euen so, euerye
 man in his youthe, bothe with witte and body is moste apte and
 pliable to receyue any cunnyng that shulde be taught hym.

This communication of teaching youthe, maketh me to remem-
 bre 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,
 5 which god hath lent me: and for his sake do I owe my seruice to
 all other of the name and noble house of the Wyngfeldes, bothe in
 woord and dede. Thys worshypfull 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
 10 he woulde bryng downe from London both bowe and shaftes. And
 when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him selfe in to the
 fyelde, and se them shoote, and he that shot fayrest, shulde haue
 the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot ilfauouredlye, shulde
 be mocked of his felowes, till he shot better.

15 Woulde to god all Englande had vsed or wolde vse to lay the
 foundation of youth, after the example of this worshipful man in
 bringyng vp chyldren in the [S4^V] Booke and the Bowe: by whiche
 two thynges, the hole common welth both in peace and warre is
 chefelye ruled and defended wythall.

20 But to our purpose, he that muste come to this high perfect-
 nes in shootyng whiche we speake of, muste nedes begin to learne
 it in hys youthe, the omitting of whiche thinge in Englande, bothe
 maketh fewer shooters, and also euery man that is a shoter, shote

warse than he myght, if he were taught.

PHI. Euen as I knowe that this is true, whiche you saye,
euen so Toxophile, haue you quyte discouraged me, and drawen
my minde cleane from shootyng, seinge by this reason, no man
5 that hath not vsed it in his youthe can be excellent in it. And I
suppose the same reson woulde discourage many other mo, yf
they hearde you talke after this sorte.

TOX. This thyng Philologe, shall discourage no man that is
wyse. For I wyl proue that wisdomē maye worke the same thinge
10 in a man, that nature doth in a chylde.

A chylde by thre thinges, is brought to excellencie. By Apt-
nesse, Desire, and Feare: Aptnesse maketh hym pliable lyke
waxe to be formed and fashioned, euen as a man woulde haue hym.
Desyre to be as good or better, than his felowes: and Feare of
15 them whome he is vnder, wyl cause hym take great labour and
payne with diligent hede, in learnyng any thinge, wherof pro-
cedeth at the laste excellency and perfectnesse.

A man maye by wisdomē in learnyng any thing, and specially
to shoote, haue thre lyke commodities also, wherby he maye, as
20 it were become younge a-[Tl^r] gayne, and so attayne to excellen-
cie. For as a childe is apte by naturall youth, so a man by vsyng
at the first weake bowes, far vnderneath his strength, shal be as
pliable and readye to be taught fayre shotyng as any chylde: and

daylye vse of the same, shal both kepe hym in fayer shotyng, and also at the last bryng hym to stronge shootyng.

And in stede of the feruente desyre, which prouoketh a chylde to be better than hys felowe, lette a man be as muche stirred vp
 5 with shamefastnes to be worse than all other. And the same place that feare hathe in a chylde, to compell him to take payne, the same hath loue of shotyng in a man, to cause hym forsake no labour, withoute whiche no man nor chylde can be excellent. And thus whatsoeuer a chylde may be taught by Aptnesse, Desire, and
 10 Feare, the same thing in shootyng, maye a man be taughte by weake bowes, Shamefastnesse and Loue.

And hereby you maye se that that is true whiche Cicero sayeth, that a man by vse, may be broughte to a newe nature. And this I dare be bould to saye, that any man whiche will wisely begynne,
 15 and constantlye perseuer in this trade of learnyng to shote, shall attayne to perfectnesse therin.

PHI. This communication Toxophile, doeth please me verye well, and nowe I perceyue that moste generally and chefly youthe muste be taughte to shoote, and secondarilye no man is debarred
 20 therfrom excepte it be more thorough his owne negligence for bicause he wyll not learne, than any disabilitie, bicause he can not learne. [Tl^V] Therfore seyng I wyll be glad to folowe your counsell in chosynge my bowe and other instrumentes, and also

am ashamed that I can shote no better than I can, moreouer
 hauynge suche a loue toward shotynge by your good reasons to day,
 that I wyl forsake no labour in the exercise of the same, I
 beseche you imagyn that we had bothe bowe and shaftes here, and
 5 teache me how I should handle them, and one thyng I desyre you,
 make me as fayre an Archer as you can.

For thys I am sure in learnynge all other matters, nothyng
 is broughte to the moost profytable vse, which is not handled
 after the moost cumlye fasion. As masters of fence haue no
 10 stroke fit ether to hit an other or els to defende hym selfe, whyche
 is not ioyned wyth a wonderfull cumlinesse. A Cooke can not chop
 hys herbes neither quickelye nor hansomlye excepte he kepe
 suche a mesure wyth hys choppyng kniues as woulde delyte a
 manne bothe to se hym and heare hym.

15 Euerye hand craft man that workes best for hys owne profyte,
 workes most semelye to other mens sight. Agayne in buyldynge a
 house, in makynge a shyppe, euery parte the more hansomely,
 they be ioyned for profyt and laste, the more cumlye they be
 fashioned to euery mans syght and eye. Nature it selfe taught men
 20 to ioyne alwayes welfauourednesse with profytablenesse. As in
 man, that ioynt or pece which is by anye chaunce depriued of hys
 cumlynesse the same is also debarred of hys vse and profytable-
 nesse.

[T2^r] As he that is gogle eyde and lokes a squinte hath both
 hys countenaunce clene marred, and hys sight sore blemmyshed,
 and so in all other members lyke. Moreouer what tyme of the
 yeare bryngeth mooste profyte wyth it for mans vse, the same
 5 also couereth and dekketh bothe earthe and trees wyth moost
 cumlynesse for mans pleasure. And that tyme whych takethe
 awaye the pleasure of the grounde, carieth with hym also the
 profyt of the grounde, as euery man by experience knoweth in
 harde and roughe winters. Some thynges there be whych haue no
 10 other ende, but onely cumlynesse, as payntyng, and Daunsing.
 And vertue it selfe is nothyng else but cumlynesse, as al
 Philosophers do agree in opinion, therefore seyng that whych is
 best done in anye matters, is alwayes moost cumlye done as both
 Plato and Cicero in manye places do proue, and daylye experi-
 15 ence dothe teache in other thynges, I praye you as I sayde before
 teatche me to shoote as fayre, and welfauouredly as you can
 imagen.

TOX. Trewlye Philologe as you proue verye well in other
 matters, the best shootyng, is alwayes the moost cumlye shoot-
 20 yng but thys you know as well as I that Crassus shewethe in
 Cicero that as cumlinessse is the chefe poynt, and most to be
 sought for in all thynges, so cumlynesse onelye, can neuer be
 taught by any Arte or craft. But may be perceyued well when it is

done, not described wel how it should be done.

Yet neuerthesse to comme to it there be manye wayes
 whych wyse men haue assayed in other [T2^V] matters, as yf a
 man would folowe in learnynge to shoote faire, the noble paynter
 5 Zeuxes in payntyng Helena, whyche to make his Image bewtifull
 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 exceded al other, bycause the comelinesse of them al
 was broughte in to one moost perfyte comelinesse: So lykewyse
 10 in shotynge yf a man, woulde set before hys eyes .v. or .vi. of
 the fayreste Archers that euer he saw shoote, and of one learne
 to stande, of a nother to drawe, of an other to lowse, and so take
 of euery man, what euery man coulde do best, I dare saye he
 shoulde come to suche a comlynesse as neuer man came to yet.
 15 As for an example, if the moost comely poynte in shootynge that
 Hewe Prophete the Kynges seruaunte hath and as my frendes
 Thomas and Raufe Cantrell doth vse with the moost semelye
 facyons that .iii. or iiii. excellent Archers haue beside, were al
 ioyned in one, I am sure all men woulde wonder at the excellencie
 20 of it. And this is one waye to learne to shoote fayre.

PHI. This is very wel truly, but I praye you teache me some-
 what of shootyng fayre youre selfe.

TOX. I can teache you to shoote fayre, euen as Socrates

taught a man ones to knowe God, for when he axed hym what was
 God: naye sayeth he I can tell you better what God is not, as God
 is not yll, God is vnspeakeable, vnsearcheable and so forth: Euen
 lykewyse can I saye of fayre shootyng, it hath not this discom-
 5 modite with it nor that discommoditie, and at last a man maye so
 shifte all the discom-[T3^x] modities from shootyng that there
 shall be left no thyng behynde but fayre shootyng. And to do
 this the better you must remember howe that I toulde you when I
 descrybed generally the hole nature of shootyng that fayre shotyng
 10 came of these thynges, of standyng, nockyng, drawyng, howld-
 yng and lowsyng, the whych I wyll go ouer as shortly as I can,
 describyng the discommodities that men commonlye vse in all
 partes of theyr bodies, that you yf you faulte in any such maye
 knowe it and so go about to amend it. Faultes in Archers do
 15 excede the number of Archers, whyche come wyth vse of shoot-
 yng wythoute teachyng. Vse and custome separated from
 knowlege and learnyng, doth not onely hurt shootyng, but the
 moost weyghtye thynges in the worlde beside: And therfore I
 maruayle moche at those people whyche be the mayneteners of
 20 vses withoute knowledge hauyng no other worde in theyr mouthe
 but thys vse, vse, custome, custome. Suche men more wyful
 than wyse, beside other discommoties, take all place and occasion
 from al amendment. And thys I speake generally of vse and

custome. Whych thyng yf a learned man had it in hande that
 woulde applye it to any one matter, he myght handle it wonder-
 fullye. But as for shootyng, vse is the onely cause of all fautes
 in it and therfore chylderne more easly and soner maye be taught
 5 to shote excellentlye then men, bycause chylderne may be taught to
 shoote well at the fyrste, men haue more payne to vnlearne theyr
 yll vses, than they haue laboure afterwarde to come to good
 shootyng.

[T3^v] All the discommodities whiche ill custome hath graffed
 10 in archers, can neyther be quycklye poullled out, nor yet sone
 reckened of me, they be so manye.

Some shooteth, his head forward 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:
 15 Some make a face with writhing theyr mouthe and countenaunce
 so, as though they were doying you wotte what: An other blereth
 out his tonge: An other byteth his lypes: An other holdeth his
 necke a wrye. In drawyng some set suche a compasse, as thoughe
 they woulde tourne about, and blysse all the feelde: Other heaue
 20 theyr hand nowe vp now 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 poynt-
 inge 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 thoughe he were able to shoote
 no more as longe as he lyued. An other draweth softly to the
 middes, and by and by it is gon, you can not knowe howe.

5 An other draweth his shafte lowe at the breaste, as thoughe
 he woulde shoote at a rouynge marke, and by and by he lifteth his
 arme vp pricke heyghte. An other maketh a wrynching with hys
 backe, as though a manne pynched hym behynde.

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

 [T4^r] An other setteth forwarde hys lefte legge, and draweth
 backe wyth head and showlders, as thoughe he pouled at a rope,
 orels were afrayed of the marke. An other draweth his shafte
 well, vntyll wythin .ii. fyngers of the head, and than he stayeth a
 15 lyttle, to looke at hys marke, and that done, pouleth it vp to the
 head, and lowseth: whych waye although summe excellent shooters
 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
 20 slowlye, summe to quickly, summe holde ouer longe, summe
 lette go ouer sone.

 Summe sette theyr shafte on the grounde, and fetcheth him
 vpwarde. An other poynteth vp towarde the skye, and so bryngeth

hym downewardes.

Ones I sawe a manne whyche vused a brasar on his cheke, or
 elles he had scratched all the skynne of the one syde, of his face,
 with his drawynge hand. An other I sawe, whiche at euerye
 5 shoote, after the loose, lyfted vp his ryght legge so far, that he
 was euer in ieoperdye of faulyng.

Summe stampe forwardes, and summe leape backwardes. All
 these faultes be eyther in the drawynge, or at the loose: with
 many other mo whiche you may easelye perceyue, and so go about
 10 to auoyde them.

Nowe afterwarde whan the shafte is gone, men haue manye
 faultes, whyche euell Custome hath broughte them to, and spe-
 cially in crynge after the shafte, and speakynge woordes scarce
 honest for suche an honest pastyme.

15 [T4^v] Suche woordes be verye tokens of an ill mynde, and
 manifeste signes of a man that is subiecte to inmesurable affec-
 tions. 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
 20 some will take theyr bowe and writhe and wrinche it, to poule in
 his shafte, when it flyeth wyde, as yf he draue a carte. Some wyl
 gyue two or .iii. strydes forwardes, daunsing and hoppyng after
 his shafte, as long as it flyeth, as though he were a mad man.

Some which 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, heauynge after his armes, as though he woulde helpe his shafte to flye. An other writhes or runneth a
 5 syde, to poule in his shafte strayght. One lifteth vp his heele, and so holdeth his foote still, as longe as his shafte flyeth. An other casteth his arme backwarde after the lowse. And an other swynges hys bowe aboute hym, as it were a man with a shaffe to make rounge in a game place. And manye other faultes there be,
 10 which nowe come not to my remembraunce. Thus as you haue hearde, many 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.

15 Of these faultes I haue verie many my selfe, but I talke not of my shootynge, but of the generall na-[VI^r] ture 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 althoughe suche a perfyte cumlynesse can not be ex-
 20 pressed wyth any precepte of teachyng, as Cicero and other learned menne do saye, yet I wyll speake (according to my lytle knowlege) that thing in it, whych yf you folowe, althoughe you shall not be wythout fault, yet your fault shal neyther quickly be

perceued, nor yet greatly rebuked of them that stande by. Stand-
yng, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowsyng, done as they shoulde
be done, make fayre shootyng.

The fyrste poynte is when a man shoulde shote, to take suche
5 footyng and standyng as shal be both cumlye to the eye and pro-
fytable to hys vse, setting hys countenaunce and al the other
partes of his bodye after suche a behauour and porte, that bothe
al hys strengthe may be employed to hys owne moost auantage,
and hys shoot made and handled to other mens pleasure and delyte.
10 A man must not go to hastely to it, for that is rashnesse, nor yet
make to much to do about it, for that is curiositie, the one fote
must not stande to far fro the other, leste he stoupe to muche
whyche is vnsemelye, nor yet to nere together, leste he stande to
streyght vp, for so a man shall neyther vse hys strengthe well,
15 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 poynte of all, and [Vl^v] there in
20 is no cunninge, but onelye dylygente hede gyuyng, to set hys shaft
neyther to hye nor to lowe, but euen streyght ouertwharte hys
bowe. Vnconstante nockynge maketh a man leese hys lengthe.
And besydes that, yf the shafte hande be hye and the bowe hand

lowe, or contrarie, bothe the bowe is in ieopardye of brekyng,
 and the shafte, yf it be lytle, wyll start: 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 that your
 5 stringe slip not out of the nocke, for than al is in ieopardye of
 breakyng.

Drawyng well is the best parte of shootyng. Men in oulde
 tyme vsed other maner of drawyng than we do. They vsed to
 drawe low at the brest, to the ryght pap and no farther, and this
 10 to be trew is playne in Homer, where he descrybeth Pandarus
 shootyng.

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

The noble women of Scythia vsed the same fashyon of shoot-
 yng low at the brest, and bicause their lefte pap hindred theyr
 15 shootyng at the lowse they cut it of when they were yonge, and
 therfore be they called in lackyng theyr pap Amazones. Nowe a
 dayes contrarye wyse we drawe to the ryghte eare and not to the
 pap. Whether the olde way in drawyng low to the pap, or the
 new way to draw a loft to the eare be better, an excellent wryter
 20 in Greke called Procopius doth saye hys mynde, shewyng that
 [V2^r] the oulde fashion in drawing to the pap was nought, of no
 pithe, and therfore saith Procopius: is Artyllarye disprayed in
 Homer whych called it ἰσχυροειδὲς .I. Weake and able to do no

good. Drawyng to the eare he prayseth greatly, whereby men
 shoote both stronger and longer: drawynge therfore to the eare is
 better than to drawe at the breste. And one thyng commeth into
 my remembraunce nowe Philologe when I speake of drawyng, that
 5 I neuer 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 therfore I meruayle how
 crosbowes came fyrst vp, of the which I am sure a man shall
 finde lytle mention made on in any good Authour. Leo the
 10 Emperoure woulde haue hys souldyers drawe quycklye in warre,
 for that maketh a shaft flie a pace. In shootyng at the pryckes,
 hasty and quicke drawing is neyther sure nor yet cumlye. Ther-
 fore to drawe easely and vniformely, that is for to saye not
 waggyng your hand, now vpwarde, now downewarde, but alwayes
 15 after one fashion vntil you come to the rig or shouldring of the
 head, is best both for profit and semelinesse. Holdyng must not
 be longe, for it bothe putteth a bowe in ieopardy, and also marreth
 a mans shoote, it must be so lytle that it maye be perceyued
 better in a mans mynde when it is done, than seene with a mans
 20 eyes when it is in doying.

Lowsyng muste be muche lyke. So quycke and hard that it be
 wyth oute all girdes, so softe and gentle [V2^V] that the shafte flye
 not as it were sente out of a bow case. The meane betwixt bothe,

whyche is perfyte lowsynge is not so hard to be folowed in shoot-
 ynge as it is to be descrybed in teachyng. For cleane lowsynge
 you must take hede of hyttyng any thyng aboute you. And for the
 same purpose Leo the Emperour would haue al Archers in war to
 5 haue both theyr heades pouled, and there berdes shauen lest the
 heare of theyr heades shuld stop the syght of the eye, the heere of
 theyr berdes hinder the course of the stryng.

And these perceptes I am sure Philologe yf you folowe in
 standyng, nockyng, drawynge, holdynge, and lowsynge, shal
 10 bryng you at the last to excellent fayre shootynge.

PHI. All these thynges Toxophile althoughe I bothe nowe per-
 ceyue them thorowlye, and also wyll remember them diligently:
 yet tomorowe or some other day when you haue leasure we wyll
 go to the pryckes, and put them by lytle and lytle in experience.
 15 For teachynge not folowed, doeth euen as muche good as bookes
 neuer looked vpon. But nowe seing you haue taught me to shote
 fayre, I praye you tel me somewhat, how I should shoote nere lest
 that prouerbe myght be sayd iustlye of me sometyme. He shootes
 lyke a gentle man fayre and far of.

20 TOX. He that can shoote fayre, lacketh nothyng but shootyng
 streyght and kepyng of a length wherof commeth hyttyng of the
 marke, the ende both of shootyng and also of thys our communica-
 tion. The handlyng of the wether and the mark bicause they belong

to shootyng streyghte, and kepyng of a lengthe, I [V3^r] wyll
ioyne them togyther, shewinge what thinges belonge to kepyng of
a lengthe, and what to shootyng streyght.

The greatest enemy of shootyng is the wynde and the wether,
5 wherby true kepyng a lengthe is chefely hindered. If this thing
were not, men by teaching might be brought to wonderful neare
shootyng. It is no maruayle if the litle poore shafte being sent
alone, so high in to the ayer, into a great rage of wether, one
wynde tossing it that waye, an other thys waye, it is no maruayle
10 I saye, thoughe it leese the lengthe, and misse that place, where
the shooter had thought to haue founde it. Greter matters than
shotyng are vnder the rule and wyll of the wether, as saylyng
on the sea. And lykewise as in sayling, the chefe poynt of a good
master, is to knowe the tokens of chaunge of wether, the course
15 of the wyndes, that therby he maye the better come to the Hauen:
euen so the best propertie of a good shooter, is to knowe the
nature of the wyndes, with hym and agaynste 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:
20 Good shooters also, that can not whan they would hit the marke,
wil labour to come as nigh as they can. All thinges in this worlde
be vnperfite and vnconstant, therfore let euery man acknowlege
hys owne weakenesse, in all matters great and smal, weyghttye

and merye, and glorifie him, in whome only perfyte perfitnesse
 is. But nowe sir, he that wyll at all aduentures vse the seas
 knowinge no more what is [V3^V] to be done in a tempest than in a
 caulme, shall soone becumme a marchaunt of Eele skinnes: so
 5 that shoter whiche putteth no difference, but shooteth in all lyke,
 in rough wether and fayre, shall alwayes put his wyninges in his
 eyes.

Lytle botes and thinne boordes, can not endure the rage of a
 tempest. Weake bowes, and lyght shaftes can not stande in a
 10 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 iourney ende, but wandereth alwaies here and
 15 there, farther and farther of: So that archer which ignorauntly
 shoteth considering neyther fayer nor foule, standynge nor nock-
 ynge, fether nor head, drawynge nor lowsyng, nor yet any com-
 pace, shall alwayes shote shorte and gone, wyde and farre of, and
 neuer cumme nere, excepte perchaunce he stumble sumtyme on
 20 the marke. For ignoraunce is nothyng elles but mere blynde-
 nesse.

A mayster of a shippe first learneth to knowe the cummyng of
 a tempest, the nature of it, and howe to behaue hym selfe in it,

eyther with chaungynge his course, or poullynge downe his hye
 toppes and brode sayles, beyng glad to eschue as muche of the
 wether as he can: Euen so a good archer wyl fyrste wyth diligent
 vse and markynge the wether, learne to knowe the nature of the
 5 wynde, and with wysedome, wyll measure in hys mynde, howe
 muche it [V4^r] wyll alter his shoote, eyther in lengthe kepynge, or
 els in streyght shotynge, and so with chaunging his standynge, or
 takynge an other shafte, the whiche he knoweth perfytlye to be fit-
 ter for his pourpose, eyther bycause it is lower fethered, or els
 10 bycause it is of a better wyng, wyll so handle with discretion hys
 shoote, that he shall seeme rather to haue the wether vnder hys
 rule, by good hede gyuyng, than the wether to rule hys shafte by
 any sodayne chaungyng.

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

Thus, as concernynge the wether, a perfyte archer muste
 fyrste learne to knowe the sure flyghte of his shaftes, that he may
 be boulde alwayes, to trust them, than muste he learne by daylye
 20 experience all maner of kyndes of wether, the tokens of it, whan it
 wyll cumme, the nature of it whan it is cumme, the diuersitie and
 alteryng of it, whan it chaungeth, the decrease and diminishing of
 it, whan it ceaseth. Thirdly these thinges knowen, and euery shoote

diligentlye marked, than must a man compare alwayes, the wether and his footyng togyther, and with discretion measure them so, that what so euer the roughe wether shall take awaye from hys shoote the same shal iuste footyng restore agayne to hys shoote.

5 Thys thyng well knowen, and discretelye handeled in shootyng, bryngeth more profite and commendation and prayse to an Archer, than any other thyng besydes.

[V4^V] He that woulde knowe perfectly the winde and wether, muste put differences betwixte tymes. For diuersitie of tyme
10 causeth diuersitie of wether, as in the whole yeare, Sprynge tyme, Somer, Faule of the leafe, and Winter: Lykewyse in one day Mornyng, Noonetyne, After noone, and Euentide, bothe alter the wether, and chaunge a mannes bowe wyth the strength of man also. And to knowe that this is so, is ynough for a shoter and
15 artillerie, and not to serche the cause, why it shoulde be so: whiche belongeth to a learned man and Philosophie.

In consydering the tyme of the yeare, a wyse Archer wyll folowe a good Shipman. In Winter and rough wether, smal bootes and lytle pinkes forsake the seas: And at one tyme of the yeare,
20 no Gallies come abroad: So lykewyse weake Archers, vsyng small and holowe shaftes, with bowes of litle pith, muste be content to gyue place for a tyme.

And this I do not saye, eyther to discommende or discourage
 any weake shooter: For lykewyse, as there is no shippe better
 than Gallies be, in a softe and a caulme sea, so no man shooteth
 cumlier or nerer hys marke, than some weake archers doo, in a
 5 fayre and cleare day.

Thus euery archer must knowe, not onelye what bowe and
 shafte is fittest for him to shoote withall, but also what tyme and
 season is best for hym to shote in. And surely, in al other
 matters to, amonge al degrees of men, there is no man which
 10 doth any thing eyther more discretely for his commendation, or
 yet more profitable for his aduauntage, than he which [Xl^r] wyl
 knowe perfitley for what matter and for what tyme he is moost apte
 and fit. Yf men woulde go aboute matters whych they should do
 and be fit for, not suche thynges whyche wylfullye they desyre and
 15 yet be vnfit for, verely greater matters in the common welthe
 than shootyng shoulde be in better case than they be. This
 ignorauncie in men whyche know not for what tyme, and to what
 thyng they be fit, causeth some wyshe to be riche, for whome it
 were better a greate deale to be poore: other to be medlynge in
 20 euery mans matter, for whome it were more honestie to be quiete
 and styll. Some to desire 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 selfe: some alwayes

to iangle and taulke, whych rather shoulde heare and kepe silence.
 Some to teache, which rather should learne. Some to be prestes,
 whiche were fyttter to be clerkes. And thys peruerse iudgement of
 the worlde, when men mesure them selfe a misse, bringeth
 5 muche mysorder and greate vnsemelynesse to the hole body of
 the common wealth, as yf a manne should were his hoose vpon his
 heade, or a woman go wyth a sworde and a buckeler euery man
 would take it as a greate vncumlynesse although it be but a tryfle
 in respecte of the other.

10 . . . Thys peruerse iudgement of men hindreth no thyng so much
 as learnynge, bycause commonlye those whych be vnfittest for
 learnyng, be cheyfly set to learnynge.

As yf a man nowe a dayes haue two sonnes, the [Xl^v] one
 impotent, weke, sickly, lispyng, stuttyng, and stameryng, or
 15 hauyng any misshape in his bodye: what doth the father of suche
 one commonlye saye? This boye is fit for nothyng els, but to
 set to lernyng and make a prest of, as who would say, the out-
 castes of the worlde, hauyng neyther countenaunce tounge nor wit
 (for of a peruerse bodye cummeth commonly a peruerse mynde)
 20 be good ynough to make those men of, whiche shall be appoynted
 to preache Goddes holye woorde, and minister hys blessed sacra-
 mentes, besydes other moost weyghtye matters in the common
 welthe put ofte tymes, and worthelye to learned mennes

discretion and charge: whan rather suche an offyce so hygh in
 dignitie, so godlye in administration, shulde be committed to no
 man, whiche shulde not haue a countenaunce full of cumlynesse to
 allure good menne, a bodye ful of manlye authoritie to feare ill
 5 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 wealthe, yet surely a godly disposed man,
 will bothe in his mynde thyncke fit, and with al his studie labour
 to get such men as I speke of, or rather better, if better can be
 10 gotten for suche an hie administration, whiche is most properlye
 appoynted to goddes owne matters and businesses. This peruerse
 iugement of fathers as concernynge the fitnessse and vnfitnessse of
 theyr chyldren causeth the common wealthe haue many vnfit
 ministers: And seying that ministers be, as a man woulde say,
 15 instrumentes wherwith the common wealthe doeth worke all [X2^r]
 her matters withall, I maruayle howe it chaunceth that a pore
 shomaker hath so much wit, that 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
 20 at a fonde fathers hande, the rifraffe of the worlde, to make those
 instrumentes of, wherwithal she shoulde worke the hiest 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 the common welth. Fathers in olde time among the noble Persians might not do with theyr children as they thought good, but as the iudgement of the common wealth alwayes thought best. This fault of fathers bringeth many a blot with it, to the
 5 great deformitie of the common wealthe: and here surely I can prayse gentlewomen which haue alwayes at hande theyr glasses, to se if any thinge be amisse, and so will amende it, yet the common wealth hauing the glasse of knowlege in euery mans hand, doth se such vncumlines in it: and yet winketh at it. This faulte
 10 and many suche lyke, myght be sone wyped awaye, yf fathers woulde bestow their children on that thing alwayes, whervnto nature hath ordeined them moste apte and fit. For if youth be grafted streyght, and not awrye, the hole common welth wil florish thereafter. Whan this is done, than muste euery man be-
 15 ginne to be more ready to amende hym selfe, than to checke an other, measuryng their matters with that wise prouerbe of Apollo, Knowe thy selfe: that is to saye, learne to knowe what thou arte able , fitte, and apte vnto, and folowe that.

[X2^v] This thinge shulde be bothe cumlie to the common
 20 wealthe, and moost profitable for euery one, as doth appere very well in all wise mennes deades, and specially to turne to our communication agayne in shootynge, where wise archers haue alwayes theyr instrumentes fit for theyr strength, and wayte

euermore suche tyme and wether, as is most agreable to their gere. Therfore if the wether be to sore, and vnfit for your shootynge, leaue of for that daye, and wayte a better season. For he is a foole that wyl not go, whome necessitie driueth.

5 PHI. This communication of yours pleased me so well Toxophile, that surelye I was not hastie to calle you, to descrybe 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 chaunse, and by the waye, be farre aboue the
10 matter it selfe, by whose occasion the other were broughte in.

 TOX. Weyghtye matters they be in dede, and fit bothe in an other place to be spoken: and of an other man than I am, to be handled. And bycause meane men must meddle wyth meane matters, I wyl go forwarde in descrybyng the wether, as concernynge shooting: and as I toulde you before, In the hole yere,
15 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 strength of the man. And in euer y one of these times the wether altereth, as
20 sumtyme wyndie, sumtyme caulme, sumtyme cloudie, sumtyme clere, sumtyme hote, sumtyme coulde, the wynde sumtyme moistye [X3^r] and thicke, sumtyme drye and smothe. A litle winde in a moystie day, stoppeth a shafte more than a good

whiskyng wynde in a clere daye. Yea, and I haue sene whan
 there hath bene no winde at all, the ayer so mistie and thicke, that
 both the markes haue ben wonderfull great. And ones, whan the
 Plage was in Cambrige, the downe winde twelue score marke for
 5 the space of .iii. weekes, was .xiii. score, and an halfe, and
 into the wynde, beyng not very great, a great deale aboue .xiiii.
 score.

The winde is sumtyme playne vp and downe, whiche is com-
 monly moste certayne, and requireth least knowlege, wherin a
 10 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 lofte, sumtyme hard by the
 ground: Sumtyme it bloweth by blastes, and sumtyme it continu-
 eth al in one: Sumtyme ful side wynde, sumtyme quarter with hym
 15 and more, and lykewyse agaynst hym, as a man with castynge vp
 lyght grasse, orels if he take good hede, shall sensibly learne by
 experience. To se the wynde, with a man his eyes, it is vnpossi-
 ble, the nature of it is so fyne, and subtile, yet this experience of
 the wynde had I ones my selfe, and that was in the great snowe
 20 that fell .iiii. yeaes agoo: I rode in the hye waye betwixt
 Topcliffe vpon Swale, and Borowe bridge, the waye beyng sum-
 what trodden afore, by waye fayrynge men. The feeldes on bothe
 sides were playne and laye almost yearde depe with snowe, the

nyght afore had ben a litle froste, so that the snowe was hard
 [X3^v] and crusted aboue. That morning the sun shone bright and
 clere, the winde was whisteling a lofte, and sharpe accordynge
 to the tyme of the yeaere. The snowe in the hye waye laye lowse
 5 and troden wyth horse feete: so as the wynde blewe, it toke the
 lowse snow with it, and made it so slide vpon the snowe in the
 felde whyche was harde and crusted by reason of the frost ouer
 nyght, that therby I myght se verye wel, the hole nature of the
 wynde as it blewe that daye. And I had a great delyte and pleasure
 10 to marke it, whyche maketh me now far better to remember it.
 Sometyme the wynd would be not past .ii. yeaerdes brode, and so
 it would carie the snowe as far as I coulde se. Another tyme the
 snow woulde blowe ouer halfe the felde at ones. Sometyme the
 snowe woulde tomble softly, by and by it would flye wonderfull
 15 fast. And thys I perceyued also that the wind goeth by streames
 and not hole together. For I should se one streame wyth in a
 Score on me, than the space of .ii. score no snow would stirre,
 but after so muche quantitie of grounde, an other streame of snow
 at the same very tyme should be caryed lykewyse, but not equally.
 20 For the one would stande styll when the other flew a pace, and so
 contynewe somtyme swiftlyer sometime slowlyer, sometime
 broder, sometime narrower, as far as I coulde se. Nor it flewe
 not streight, but sometyme it crooked thys waye sometyme that

waye, and somtyme it ran round aboute in a compase. And som-
 tyme 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 [X4^x] had bene no winde at all, streightway it woulde rise
 5 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 the East,
 the other out of the North in to the East: And I saw . ii. windes by
 reason of the snow the one crosse ouer the other, as it had bene
 10 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
 the nature of the wynde, than it made me conning in the knowlege
 15 of the wynd: but yet therby I learned perfitley that it is no meruayle
 at al thoughe men in a wynde lease theyr length in shooting, seying
 so many wayes the wynde is so variable in blowynge.

But seyng that a Mayster of a shyp, be he neuer so cunnyng,
 by the vncertayntye of the wynde, leeseth many tymes both lyfe and
 20 goodes, surelye it is no wonder, though a ryght good Archer, by
 the self same wynde so variable in hys owne nature, so vn-
 sensyble to oure nature, leese manye a shoote and game.

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

He that doth mistrust is seldome begiled. For although therby he shall not attayne to that which is best, yet by these meanes he
 5 shall at leaste auoyde that whyche is worst. Besyde al these kindes of windes you must [X4^V] take hede yf you se anye cloude apere and gather by lytle and litle agaynst you, or els yf a showre of raine belyke to come vpon you: for than both the dryuing of the wether and the thyckynge of the ayre increaseth the marke, when
 10 after the showre al thynges are contrary clere and caulme, and the marke for the most parte new to begyn agayne. You must 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
 15 standes, manye tymes you shal suppose to shoote downe the wynde, when you shote cleane agaynste 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, euen as a vehement water
 20 doeth agaynste a rocke or an hye braye whyche example of water as it is more sensible to a mans eyes, so it is neuer a whyt the trewer than this of the wynde. So that the grasse caste vp shall flee that waye whyche in dede is the longer marke and disceyue

quycklye a shooter that is not ware of it.

This experience had I ones my selfe at Norwytych in the chapel
felde wythin the waulles. And thus waye I vsed in shootynge at
those markes. When I was in the myd way betwixt the markes
5 whyche was an open place, there I toke a fether or a lytle lyght
grasse and so as well as I coulde, learned how the wynd stoode,
that done I wente to the prycke as faste as I coulde, and according
as I had [Yl^r] founde the wynde when I was in the mid waye, so I
was fayne than to be content to make the best of my shoote that I
10 coulde. Euen suche an other experience had I in a maner at
Yorke, at the prickes, lying betwixte the castell and Ouse syde.
And although you smile Philologe, to heare me tell myne owne
fondenenes: yet seing you wil nedes haue me teach you somewhat in
shotyng, I must nedes somtyme tel you of myne owne experience,
15 and the better I may do so, bycause Hippocrates in teachynge
physike, vseth verye muche the same waye. Take heede also
when you shoote nere the sea cost, although you be .ii. or .iii.
miles from the sea, for there diligent markinge shall espie in the
moste clere daye wonderfull chaunginge. The same is to be con-
20 sidered lykewyse by a riuer side speciallie if it ebbe and flowe,
where he that taketh diligent hede of the tide and wether, shal
lightly take away al that he shooteth for. And thus of the nature of
windes and wether according to my marking you haue hearde

Philologe: and hereafter you shal marke farre mo your selfe, if you take hede. And the wether thus marked as I tolde you afore, you muste take hede, of youre standing, that therby you may win as much as you shal loose by the wether.

5 PHI. I se well it is no maruell though a man misse many tymes in shootyng, seing the wether is so vnconstant in blowing, but yet there is one thing whiche many archers vse, that shall cause a man haue lesse nede to marke the wether, and that is Ame gyuing.

10 TOX. Of gyuyng Ame, I can not tel wel, what I shuld say. For in a straunge place it taketh away al occasion of foule game, which is the on-[Yl^v]ly prayse of it, yet by my iudgement, it hindreth the knowlege of shotyng, and maketh men more neglige-
 15 hede, for at an other mans shote you can not wel take Ame, nor at your owne neither, bycause the wether wil alter, euen 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 selfe haue sene shaftes tumble a lofte, in a very
 20 fayer daye. There may be a fault also, in drawing or lowsynge, and many thynges mo, whiche all togyther, are required to kepe a iust length. But to go forward the nexte poynte after the markyng of your wether, is the takyng of your standyng. And in a side

winde you must stand sumwhat crosse in to the wynde, for so shall
 you shoote the surer. Whan you haue taken good footing, than
 must you looke at your shafte, that no earthe, nor weete be lefte
 vpon it, for so should it leese the lengthe. You must loke at the
 5 head also, lest it haue had any strype, at the laste shoote. A
 stripe vpon a stone, many tymes will bothe marre the head, croke
 the shafte, and hurte the fether, wherof the lest of them all, wyll
 cause a man lease his lengthe. For suche thinges which chaunce
 euery shoote, many archers vse to haue summe place made in
 10 theyr cote, fitte for a litle fyle, a stone, a Hunfyshskin, and a
 cloth to dresse the shaft fit agayne at all nedes. Thys must a man
 looke to euer when he taketh vp his shaft. And the heade maye be
 made to smothe, which wil cause it flye to far: when youre shafte
 is fit, than must you take your bow euen in the middes or elles
 15 you shall [Y2^x] both lease your lengthe, and put youre bowe in
 ieopardye of breakyng. Nockyng iuste is next, which is muche
 of the same nature. Than drawe equallye, lowse equallye, wyth
 houldyng your hande euer of one heighte to kepe trew compasse.
 To looke at your shafte hede at the lowse, is the greatest helpe to
 20 kepe a lengthe that can be, whych thyng yet hindreth excellent
 shotyng, bicause a man can not shote streight perfitlye excepte he
 looke at his marke: yf I should shoote at a line and not at the
 marke, I woulde alwayes loke at my shaft ende, but of thys thyng

some what afterwarde. Nowe if you marke the wether diligently,
kepe your standynge iustely, houlde and nocke trewlye, drawe and
lowse equallye, and kepe youre compase certaynelye, you shall
neuer misse of your lengthe.

5 PHI. Then there is nothyng behinde to make me hit the marke
but onely shooting streight.

 TOX. No trewlye. And fyrste I wyll tel you what shyftes
Archers haue founde to shoote streyght, than what is the best waye
to shoote streyght. As the wether belongeth specially to kepe a
10 lengthe (yet a side winde belongeth also to shote streight) euen so
the nature of the pricke is to shote streight. The lengthe or
shortnesse of the marke is alwayes vnder the rule of the wether,
yet sumwhat there is in the marke, worthy to be marked of an
Archer. Yf the prickes stand of a streyght playne ground they be
15 the best to shote at. Yf the marke stand on a hyl syde or the
ground be vnequal with pittes and turninge wayes betwyxte the
markes, a mans eye shall thynke that to be streight whyche is
croked: The experience of this thing is sene in payntyng, the
cause of it is knowen by learnynge.

20 [Y2^v] And it is ynoughe for an archer to marke it and take
hede of it. The cheife cause why men can not shoote streight, is
bicause they loke at theyr shaft: and this fault commeth bycause a
man is not taught to shote when he is yong. Yf he learne to shoote

by himselfe he is a frayde to pull the shafte throughe the bowe and therefore looketh alwayes at hys shafte: yll vse confirmeth thys faulte as it doth many mo.

And men continewe the longer in thys faulte bycause it is so
 5 good to kepe a lengthe wyth al, and yet to shote streight, they haue inuented some waies to espie a tree or a hill beyonde the marke, or elles to haue summe notable thing betwixt the markes: and ones I sawe a good archer whiche did caste of his gere, and layd his quiuer with it, euen in the midway betwixt the prickes.
 10 Summe thought he dyd so, for sauegarde of his gere: I suppose he did it, to shoote streyght withall. Other men vse to espie summe marke almoost a bow wide of the pricke, and than go about to kepe him selfe on that hande that the prycke is on, which thing howe muche good it doth, a man wil not beleue, that doth not proue it.
 15 Other and those very good archers in drawyng, loke at the marke vntill they come almost to the head, than they looke at theyr shafte, but at the very lowse, with a seconde sight they fynde theyr marke agayne. This way and al other afore of me rehersed are but shiftes and not to be folowed in shotyng streyght. For
 20 hauyng a mans eye alwaye on his marke, is the only waye to shote streght, yet and I suppose so redye and easy a way yf it be learned in youth and confirmed with vse, that a man shal neuer misse therin. Men doubt yet in [Y3^r] loking at the mark what way is best

whether betwixt the bowe and the stringe, aboue or beneth hys hand, and many wayes moo: yet it maketh no great matter which way a man looke at his marke yf it be ioyned with comly shotynge. The diuersite of mens standyng and drawing causeth diuerse men
5 loke at theyr marke diuerse wayes: yet they al lede a mans hand to shoote streight yf nothyng els stoppe. So that cumlynesse is the only iudge of best loking at the marke. Some men wonder why in casting a mans eye at the marke, the hande should go streyght. Surely yf he consydered the nature of a mans eye, he wolde not
10 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 ioynste and pece of the body is to do what soeuer 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 nothyng without
15 the eye, as doth appere on the night and darke corners. The eye is the very tonge wherwith wyt and reason doth speke to euery parte of the body, and the wyt doth not so sone signifye a thyng by the eye, as euery part is redye to folow, or rather preuent the byddyng of the eye. Thys is playne in many thinges, but most
20 euident in fence and feyghtynge, as I haue heard men saye. There euery part standynge in feare to haue a blowe, runnes to the eye for helpe, as yonge chyl dren do to the mother: the foote, the hand, and al wayteth vpon the eye. Yf the eye byd the hand either beare

of, or smite, or the foote ether go forward, or backward, it
 doth so: And that whyche is moost wonder of all the one [Y3^v]
 man lookynge stedfastly at the other mans eye and not at his hand,
 wyl, euen as it were, rede in his eye where he purposeth to
 5 smyte next, for the eye is nothyng els but a certayne wyndowe for
 wit to shote oute hir hede at.

Thys wonderfull worke of god in makynge all the members so
 obedient to the eye, is a pleasaunte thyng to remember and loke
 vpon: therfore an Archer maye be sure in learnyng to looke at
 10 hys marke when he is yong, alwayes to shoote streyghte. The
 thynges that hynder a man whyche looketh at hys marke, to shoote
 streyght, be these: A syde wynde, a bowe either to stronge, or
 els to weake, an ill arme, whan a fether runneth on the bowe to
 much, a byg breasted shafte, for hym that shoteth vnder hande, by-
 15 cause it wyl hobble: a litle breasted shafte for hym that shoteth
 aboue the hande, bicause it wyl starte: a payre of windynge
 prickes, and many other thinges mo, which you shal marke your
 selfe, 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
 20 marke, he maye vse this waye, whiche a good shooter tolde me
 ones that he did. Let him take his bowe on the nyght, and shoote
 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

used wyl cause hym forsake lokynge at hys shafte. Yet let hym take hede of settinge his shaft in the bowe.

Thus Philologe to shoote streyght is the leaste maysterie of all, yf a manne order hym selfe thereafter, in hys youthe. And as
 5 for kepyng a lengthe, I [Y4^r] am sure the rules whiche I gaue you, wil neuer disceyue you, so that there shal lacke nothyng, eyther of hittinge the marke alwayes, or elles verye nere shot-
 ynge, excepte the faulte be onely in youre owne selfe, whiche maye come .ii. wayes, eyther in hauing a faynt harte or courage,
 10 or elles in sufferyng your selfe ouer muche to be led with affection: yf a mans mynde fayle hym, the bodye whiche is ruled by the mynde, can neuer doe his duetie, yf lacke of courage were not, men myght do mo mastries than they do, as doeth appere in leap-
 ynge and vaultinge.

15 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 therefore can not shoote wel.
 20 Yf these thynges be auoyded (wherof I wyll speake no more, both bycause 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, diligently marked, no doubt ye shal shoote as

well as euer man dyd yet, by the grace of God. Thys communica-
 tion handled of me Philologe, as I knowe wel not perfytyly, yet as
 I suppose truelye you must take in good worthe, wherin if diuers
 thinges do not all togyther please you, thanke youre selfe, whiche
 5 woulde haue me rather faulte in mere follye, to take that thyng
 in hande whyche I was not able for to perfourme, than by any
 honeste [Y4^V] shamefastnes 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
 10 daye when you haue leysour, you wyl spende as much tyme with
 me here in this same place, in entreatinge the question De
origine animae, and the ioynnyng of it with the bodye, that I maye
 knowe howe far Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoicians haue waded in
 it.

15 PHI. How you haue handeled this matter Toxoph. I may not
 well tel you my selfe nowe, but for your gentlenesse and good wyll
 towarde learnyng and shotyng, I wyll be content to shewe you any
 pleasure whensoever you wyll: and nowe the sunne is doune ther-
 fore if it plese you, we wil go home and drynke in my chambre,
 20 and there I wyll tell you playnelye what I thinke of this communica-
 tion and also, what daye we will appoynt at your request for the
 other matter, to mete here agayne.

Deo gratias.

LONDINI.

In aedibus Edouardi Whytchurch.

Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.

1545.

TEXTUAL NOTES

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Signature</u>	
66	1	<u>A</u> 1 ^r	<u>merie</u> ,] FOLJRP (c); ~ [^] H (u)
67	10	<u>A</u> 1 ^v	<u>Ars</u>] FOLJRP (c); ~, H (u)
75	8	a1 ^r	ii.] LJP (c); ~ [^] FOHR (u)
81	6	a3 ^v	Hethen] Wright; Herhen FOHLJRP
87	15	A2 ^v	And] OHLJRP (c); Aod F (u)
89	5	A3 ^r	shotte . . . wel] OHLJRP (c); shott . . . well F (u)
89	9	A3 ^r	yong] OHLJRP (c); yonge F (u)
89	10	A3 ^r	soone] OHLJRP (c); sone F (u)
93	12	B1 ^r	hitte . . . thinge . . . whereby] FOHLJP (c); hit . . . thing . . . wherby R (u)
93	13	B1 ^r	afterwarde] FOHLJP (c); afterwarwarde R (u)
100	11	B4 ^r	lefullie] FOHJ (c); lelullie LRP (u)
103	4	C1 ^r	<u>merie</u>] OLJRP (c); <u>mery</u> FH (u)
106	13	C2 ^v	Well] Wright; well FOHLJRP
113	4	D1 ^v	shulde . . . no] FOHLJP (c); shuld . . . away no R (u); at all] FOHLJP (c); <u>omitted</u> R (u)
117	6-7	D3 ^v	drawen, or . . . driuen,] FOHLJP (c); ~ [^] (~. . . ~) R (u)

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Signature</u>	
127	16	E4 ^r	<u>Seuen</u>] FOHLJP (c); <u>Sauen</u> R (u)
128	12	E4 ^v	so] Wright; so do FOHLJRP
132	9	F2 ^v	<u>driue</u>] FOHLJP (c); <u>driiue</u> R (u)
133	19	F3 ^r	true:] FOHLJP (c); ~ . R (u)
134	8	F3 ^r	but . . . manlye] FOHLJP (c); But . . . manly R (u)
138	14	G1 ^r	Which] Wright; which FOHLJRP
156	2	I1 ^r	necessarye of] FOHLJP (c); necessary for R (u)
158	12	I2 ^r	welth] FOHLJP (c); health R (u)
158	17	I2 ^r	knowledge,] HLJP (c); ~^ FOR (u)
161	8-9	I3 ^r	empire . . . Parthians] FOHLJP (c); Empire . . . Pertians R (u)
161	14	I3 ^r	and . . . reproch.] FOHLJP (c); in . . . ~^ R (u)
163	2	I4 ^r	euel wyll] LJP (c); ill wyll FOHR (u)
163	3	I4 ^r	contention] LJP (c); open battayle FOHR (u)
163	5	I4 ^r	hold . . . hande] LJP (c); holde . . . hand FOHR (u)
--	--	L2 ^r	<u>Folio number 44 in LJP corrected to</u> <u>42 in FOHR</u>
176	14	L2 ^r	PHI . . . graunte] FOHR (c); PH·I . . . grante LJP (u)
176	18	L2 ^r	doth] FOHR (c); doch LJP (u)
176	20	L2 ^r	fyeldes] FOHR (c); feyldes LJP (u)

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Signature</u>	
177	9	L2 ^r	pretelye] FOHR (c); pratelye LJP (u)
181	5	L4 ^r	compelled] LJP (u); be ~ FOHR (c)
181	5	L4 ^r	warre] LJP (u); war FOHR (c)
181	6	L4 ^r	countrye] LJP (u); country FOHR (c)
184	2-3	M1 ^r	olde . . . notably . . . the Impire of the Persians] ~ . . . ~ . . . ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ FLJRP (c); old only . . . nota/bly . . . ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Persiās OH (u)
187	2	M2 ^v	marked] FOLJRP (c); merked H (u)
192	1	M4 ^v	likely . . . alwayes,] FOLJRP (c); likelye . . . ~ ~ H (u)
192	16	M4 ^v	it:] FOLJRP (c); ~ ~ H (u)
203	22	O1 ^v	of, lesse] FOHLJP (c); of lesse, R (u)
213	2	P1 ^v	than] Wright; that FOHLJRP
218	14	P4 ^v	A] Wright; <u>omitted</u> FOHLJRP
221	11	Q1 ^v	yarde,] Wright; ~ . FOHLJRP
224	22	Q3 ^r	scudding] Wright; studding FOHLJRP
226	22	Q4 ^r	wyde,] Wright; ~ ~ FOHLJRP
231	7	R2 ^r	a] FHLJP (c); <u>omitted</u> OR (u)
231	7	R2 ^r	plese] FHLJP (c); please OR (u)
232	10	R2 ^v	daylye to a man by] LJP (c); dayly to aman byn FOHR (u)
232	11	R2 ^v	beest] LJP (c); beste FOHR (u)
232	11	R2 ^v	gouse.] Wright; ~ , FOHLJRP

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Signature</u>	
232	15	R2 ^v	belonging] Wright; bēlonging FOHLJRP
233	10	R2 ^v	fether] LJP (c); fethers FOHR (u)
233	17-18	R3 ^r	som what . . . : lest] LJP (c); sommewhat . . . : [^] FOHR (u)
235	21	R4 ^r	short. The] FHLJP (c); [~] [^] the OR (u)
235	22	R4 ^r	shaft] FHLJP (c); shafte OR (u)
237	15	R4 ^v	Penelope] Wright; Penolepe LJP (c); Penolepe _g FOHR (u)
240	3	S1 ^v	ayre.] Wright; [~] , FOHLJRP
244	4	S3 ^v	Wether . . . bicause] FOHLJR (c); wether . . . because P (u)
250	2-3	T2 ^r	wayes . . . wyse . . . assayed] FOH(c); waye . . . wayes . . . assayde LJP (u)
253	3	T3 ^v	softly] FH (c); foftly OLHRP (u)
253	20	T4 ^r	slowlye] Wright; slwolye FOHLJRP
257	14	V1 ^v	their] OHLJP (c); there FR (u)
257	21	V2 ^r	fashion . . . nought,] OHLJP (c); fashyon . . . [~] [^] FR (u)
260	13	V3 ^r	the chefe] Wright; the che chefe FOHLJRP
272	5	X4 ^r	worst.] Wright; [~] [^] FOHLRJP
272	20	X4 ^v	a . . . an] OHLJRP (c) an . . . a F (u)
277	6	Y2 ^v	waies] [~] . FOHLJRP

HISTORICAL COLLATION

When the readings from both editions (1571 and 1589) are the same in substantives, this collation gives the "accidentals" of the earlier edition.

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
66	woodcut and poem	<u>om.</u> H1-2
67	1-2	<u>Gualterus Haddonus Cantabrigien.</u>] <u>In</u> <u>partitiones Sagittarias Rogeri</u> Aschami, ~Regius. H1-2
68-70	dedication to King	<u>om.</u> H1-2
71	1	ALL] all the H1-2
74	23	quod] quoth H1-2
75	8	verye] euery H1-2
75	17	gyuen] H1; ~ to H2
76	2	outshoote] ouershoot H1-2
76	19	the] <u>om.</u> H1-2
79	5	<u>om.</u>] <u>Roger Ascham.</u> H1-2
80	1-7	<u>om.</u> H1-2
80	8	contentes] Table H1-2
82	1	A . . . conteyning] <u>The</u> . . . <u>of</u> H1-2
86	10	pley] H2; paye H1
87	6	in] ~the H1-2
88	23	at] <u>om.</u> H1-2

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
89	9	speake] spake H1-2
92	1	hath] haue H1-2
93	13	to] did H1-2
95	7	in] H1; on H2
98	23	hath] that H1-2
100	6	none] no H1-2
100	11	lefullie] lawfully H1-2
101	16	kyng] late ~ Henrye the eyghte H1-2
101	18	doeth] did H1-2
101	19	doth] did H1-2
101	20	doth] did H1-2
102	3	laboureth to go] laboured to haue go H1-2
102	4	do] did H1-2
102	4	knowe] knewe H1-2
102	21	doth] doo H1-2
102	22	thinges] thinckinge H1-2
108	9	vp] <u>om.</u> H1-2
110	10	mastres] mystres H1-2
112	5	this] these H1-2
112	8	you] <u>om.</u> H1-2
112	13	with] ~ some H1-2
112	15	lefull] lawfull H1-2

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
113	9	to] so H1-2
113	14	Aristotle his] Aristotles H1-2
113	14	into] in H1-2
113	17	the] his H1-2
114	5	Those] These H1-2
114	12	man his] mans H1-2
114	17	other his] others H1-2
116	2	whole] <u>om.</u> H1-2
117	2	man his] mans H1-2
118	15	man his] mans H1-2
119	6	vngoodlye] vngodly H1-2
119	11	sayde] haue ~ H1-2
119	13	man his] mans H1-2
119	20	kinges grace] Statutes H1-2
119	21	king his] kinges H1-2
120	1	man his] mans H1-2
121	11	father] <u>om.</u> H1-2
121	14	vp] <u>om.</u> H1-2
122	6	kepes] kepeth H1-2
125	8	no] not H1-2
126	10	man hys] mans H1-2
126	16	afore] before H1-2

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
128	3-4	countenaunces] countenaunce H1-2
128	8	toe] the ~ H1-2
128	19	is] H2; <u>om.</u> H1
128	22	here] <u>om.</u> H1-2
130	5	vnlefull] vnlawfull H1-2
132	13	vnlefull] vnlawfull H1-2
134	1	vnlefull] vnlawfull H1-2
134	11	throughoute] through H1-2
134	20	kynge] Prince H1-2
135	7	and syluer] siluer H1-2
135	8	vnlefull] vnlawfull H1-2
137	2	so] <u>om.</u> H1-2
139	11	souldyer] souldiours H1-2
139	22	neyther do] do neither H1-2
141	18	<u>stoure</u>] H1; <u>shoure</u> H2
146	13	not] <u>om.</u> H1-2
151	9	into] in H1-2
151	16	as] <u>om.</u> H1-2
152	7	noble] <u>om.</u> H1-2
155	17	well] <u>om.</u> H1-2
155	22	bothe] <u>om.</u> H1-2
156	18	clame] H1; climed H2
157	9	maiestie] ~ Henrye the eyght of noble memorye H1-2

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
158	14	hath] <u>om.</u> H1-2
159	13	chapiters] H2; Chapter H1
160	7	seare] H1; seuerall H2
162	8	wyth] by H1-2
162	20	Christe his] Christes H1-2
164	19	emperour his] Emperours H1-2
165	12	doone] <u>om.</u> H1-2
167	12	a] <u>om.</u> H1-2
167	20	them in] <u>om.</u> H1-2
168	18	now] <u>om.</u> H1-2
169	12-13	within these few dayes shal chaunce] shoulde haue chaunced H1-2
169	13	oure] the H1-2
169	14	hath] <u>om.</u> H1-2
169	16-17	god his] gods H1-2
169	18	his] <u>om.</u> H1-2
169 to	19	To suche . . . attonement] <u>om.</u> H1-2
170	6	
170	14	bringeth] broughte H1-2
171	15	Such] H1; ~ a H2
172	12	nowe] <u>om.</u> H1-2
172	13-14	for whose . . . doth pray] <u>om.</u> H1-2

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
173	1	Englysh men] Englishe H1-2
176	10	euer] <u>om.</u> H1-2
181	13	altogyther] together H1-2
181	14	a] <u>om.</u> H1-2
182	3	with] by H1-2
183	8	bring] H1; brings H2
185	8	well] <u>om.</u> H1-2
185	8	it and] H1; it as H2
188	7	not] H1; <u>om.</u> H2
192	2	man his] mans H1-2
195	7	so well] well H1-2
196	10	for] ~ and H1-2
198	2	sere] H1; seuerall H2
200	21	to] for H1-2
202	3	to] <u>om.</u> H1-2
207	16	hadde] mad H1; made H2
207	20-21	and yet] yet H1-2
209	6	owne] <u>om.</u> H1-2
210	7	them selfe] themselues H1-2
210	8	them selfe] themselues H1-2
210	21	afore] before H1-2
211	10	whyche] <u>om.</u> H1-2

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
212	6	also the] also be H1-2
212	11	and also] also H1-2
212	17	your] theyr H1-2
214	6	you] thou H1-2
215	15	sere] H1; seuerall H2
217	19	trew] <u>om.</u> H1-2
218	4	great] <u>om.</u> H1-2
219	4	Agayne] And ~ H1-2
219	12	ware] bestowe H1-2
219	20	al] <u>om.</u> H1-2
224	8	As] H1; And H2
224	17	the excedyng] H2; that excedinge H1
225	11	same selfe] selfe same H1-2
227	1	a] <u>om.</u> H1-2
229	3	of] <u>om.</u> H1-2
229	4	be] is H1-2
234	10	spoken] sayde H1-2
235	22	than] H2; than than H1
237	20	to] vsed ~ H1-2
238	5	a] <u>om.</u> H1-2
238	6	do] doth H1-2
238	15	arrowe] arrowes H1-2

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
239	12	smite of] smite H1-2
240	13	whych] that H1-2
242	7	at] not H1-2
242	15	he] they H1-2
244	5	deferre] referre H1-2
244	8	can] <u>om.</u> H1-2
244	8	these] the H1-2
246	3	haue you] you haue H1-2
246	18	any] of ~ H1-2
247	12	that that] H1; that this H2
248	15	hand] handye H1-2
249	9	haue] hath H1-2
249	14	and] <u>om.</u> H1-2
249	16	and] <u>om.</u> H1-2
250	3	haue] hath H1-2
250	15-20	As for an . . . shoote fayre] <u>om.</u> H1-2
252	11	they] there H1-2
255	10	not] H1; <u>om.</u> H2
257	8	other] no ~ H1-2
258	9	in] <u>om.</u> H1-2
258	14	your] our H1-2
260	8	to] <u>om.</u> H1-2

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	
260	12	as] ~ in H1-2
260	17	that] and H1-2
261	17	yet] <u>om.</u> H1-2
261	22	cummyng] cunninge H1-2
263	3	roughe] <u>om.</u> H1-2
263	12	Noonetyme] Noonetyde H1-2
264	1	discommende or] <u>om.</u> H1-2
265	1	to] <u>om.</u> H1-2
269	17	man his] mans H1-2
270	1	afore] before H1-2
270	17	than the] than then the H1; and then the H2
271	2	in] <u>om.</u> H1-2
271	16	a] <u>om.</u> H1-2
272	5	leaste] last H1-2
272	20	an] H1; any H2
277	13	that hande] the hande H1-2

EXPLANATORY NOTES

These notes refer to page and line numbers of the present text. Sources cited in abbreviated form can be found in full in the bibliography following the notes. Definitions of archaic terms are drawn from The Oxford English Dictionary except where specifically noted otherwise. Citations in parentheses and marked with asterisks are the marginal notes provided in the 1545 edition of Toxophilus.

66: This dedicatory verse to the 1545 edition is mounted on the royal coat of arms; the crest and the call to arms establish the optimistic and nationalistic tone of the treatise.

67: Walter Haddon, Ascham's friend at Cambridge, wrote this Latin poem praising Ascham on his gifts with book and bow; it translates thus:

On Roger Ascham's book concerning the divisions of archery

If anyone wishes to shoot swift arrows with the greatest skill,
The greatest skill will begin with this book.
If it pleases anyone to discover what characteristics rigid bows
And circular bow strings have, they may be found in this source.
Ascham is the author, whom both Apollo and Pallas
Made outstanding in their respective skills.
His experienced hand, his well-informed mind gave this little book.
Skill sees through those things which, once being seen, practice
 makes ready.
He is a highly gifted author because he has given us
This highly gifted piece of writing.
It behooves us to wish to follow the most competent
 (Lees, trans., II, 465).

68.7-8: your moost . . . into Fraunce] Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles were at war with France during the years surrounding the publication of Toxophilus. Although the Privy Council urged Henry not to go to France himself because of his ill health, Henry was determined to lead the combined armies with Charles against the French. On 14 July 1544 he arrived at Calais. In France, Henry laid siege to Boulogne and the city capitulated on 14 September. The King returned triumphant to England on 30 September (Holinshed, pp. 838-841; Mackie, p. 409; Scarisbrick, pp. 445, 447-448).

69.1-4: Ascham had originally intended to present the treatise to Henry in 1544 before his trip to France.

71.3-20: Ascham uses a tale from Herodotus' The Persian Wars (I, 27) to introduce his preface:

. . . [Croesus] made himself master of all the Greek cities in Asia, and forced them to become his tributaries; after which he began to think of building ships, and attacking the islanders. Everything had been got ready for this purpose when Bias of Priene (or, as some say, Pittacus the Mytilenean) put a stop to the project. The King had made inquiry of this person, who was lately arrived at Sardis, if there were any news from Greece; to which he answered, "Yes, sire, the islanders are gathering 10,000 horse, designing an expedition against you and your capital." Croesus, thinking he spoke seriously, broke out, "Ah, might the gods put such a thought into their minds as to attack the sons of Lydians with cavalry!" "It seems, O King," rejoined the other, "that you desire earnestly to catch the islanders on horseback upon the mainland; you know well what would come of it. But what think you the islanders desire better, now that they hear you are about to build ships and sail against them, than to catch the Lydians at sea, and there revenge on them the wrongs of their brothers upon

the mainland, whom you hold in slavery?" Croesus was charmed with the turn of speech; and thinking there was reason in what was said, gave up his shipbuilding and concluded a league of amity with the Ionians of the isles (Rawlinson, trans., p. 15).

74.15-17: thys councel . . . alowe hym] In the Rhetoric (III, 2) Aristotle dictates: "a good style is, first of all, clear. The proof is that language which does not convey a clear meaning fails to perform the very function of language. The style, again, should be neither mean nor above the dignity of the subject, but appropriate; the poetical style, say, is not mean, but it is unsuited to prose" (Cooper, trans., p. 185).

75.1: Maluesye] a strong, sweet wine.

75.4-5: Cicero . . . an other sorte] Cicero (De Oratore, III) insisted on lucidity and clarity as the indispensable requirements for rhetoric. Thus, he relied on metaphors and precepts to give his style ornateness and warned against too frequent use of borrowed or antique words (Sutton-Racham, trans., pp. 37-42, 96-194).

75.12: bookes of fayned cheualrie] During the 1480's Caxton printed a number of works which could be described by this phrase (e.g., Golden Legend, 1483; Troylus and Creseyde, 1482). The most offensive of this lot to Ascham was Malory's Morte d'Arthur, which Caxton brought out in 1485. The popularity of the chivalric romance

did not die out in Ascham's father's day, however; in fact, eight black-letter editions of Malory appeared between 1485 and 1634 (dates and titles from Ghosh; Malory reference from Saintsbury, p. 92).

76.6: plucketh doune a syde] shoot on one side into the ground.

77.15: fletchers] dealers in or makers of arrows.

84.16: pryckes] marks aimed at in shooting; hence, archery targets.

85.2-10: for I happened . . . earthlie thinges] *(In Phedro.)
Toxophilus is reading this passage from Plato's Phaedrus: "The soul in her totality has the care of inanimate being everywhere, and traverses the whole heaven in divers forms appearing;--when perfect and fully winged she soars upward, and orders the whole world; whereas the imperfect soul, losing her wings and drooping in her flight, at last settles on the solid ground--there finding a home, she receives an earthly frame which appears to be self-moved, but is really moved by her power; and this composition of soul and body is called a living and mortal creature" (Jowett, trans., I, 251).

86.8-11: And you know . . . who sayth] *(M. Cic. in off.)
Philologus is quoting Cicero (De Officiis, I, 103): "For Nature has not brought us into the world to act as if we were created for play and jest,

but rather for some more serious and important pursuits" (Miller, trans., p. 105).

86.12-16: Yet the same . . . of bothe] Toxophilus is too quick to allow Philologus' remark to stand; he remembers the next statement from the De Officiis (I, 103): "We may, of course, indulge in sport and jest, but in the same way as we enjoy sleep or other recreations" (Miller, trans., p. 105).

86.16-19: And Aristotle . . . matter sake] *(Arist. de moribus. 10.6.) Toxophilus is referring to Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (X, 6): "Now to exert oneself and work for the sake of amusement seems silly and childish. But to amuse oneself in order that one may exert oneself, as Anacharsis puts it, seems right; for amusement is a sort of relaxation, and we need relaxation because we cannot work continuously. Relaxation, then, is not an end; for it is taken for the sake of activity" (McKeon, trans., p. 1103).

86.20-21: And in an other . . . weightie studie] *(Arist. Pol. 8.3.) This second citation from Aristotle refers to the following passage from the Politics (VIII, 3): "nature herself . . . requires that we should be able not only to work well, but to use leisure well--; for . . . the first principle of all action is leisure. Both are required, but leisure is better than occupation and is its end . . . amusement is

needed more amid serious occupations than at other times . . . and we should introduce amusements only at suitable times, and they should be our medicines, for the emotion which they create in the soul is a relaxation, and from the pleasure, we obtain rest" (McKeon, trans., pp. 1306-07).

87.14-15: our horse . . . Plato sayth] *(In Phedro.) Ascham uses another analogy from the Phaedrus in this mixed figure; the horse of which Philologus speaks is one of the pair ("one noble . . . and one ignoble breed") that draw the "human charioteer" (Jowett, trans., I, 250-51).

88.9: snudge] a miser.

88.13: dompysshe] slow-witted, insensible.

88.14: minikin] a thin, gut string used for treble string of the lute or viol.

88.18: tricke] neat, trim.

88.19: lugge] a large, heavy and clumsy bow.

89.2: cast on the one side] warped.

89.2-3: as weake as water] Ascham, following Cicero's advice, frequently uses aphorisms and commonplaces; his prose is

full of proverbial expressions like this one, which comes from Ezekiel 7.17, "All hands shall be feeble, and all knees shall be weak as water" (Tilley, p. 706).

89.17-18: What thing . . . smal while] *(Ouid.) "Quod caret alterna requie, durable non est" (Heroides, Epistula IV, 89; Palmer, ed., p. 6).

91.5: gnattes and nuttes] The first reference is to Virgil's Culex, later to be taken up again by Spenser ("Virgil's Gnat"). The second allusion is more obscure. Among the Ancients, Aristotle wrote a short treatise on Problems Concerning Fruit (Problems, XXII), in which he discusses acorns, nuts, and other hard-shelled fruit. More probably, Ascham is referring here to Nux, a poetical complaint of a walnut tree, attributed to Ovid.

91.17-18: For who euer . . . prouerbe] Two different kinds of proverbs deal with the myths about Hercules. Those of the first sort call attention to Hercules' strength as requisite for great and manifold tasks (e.g., "Not without Hercules"). Those in the second category, of which this proverb is probably a variation, emphasize Hercules' deeds not as the product of great strength but as the source of envy rather than of praise and gratitude. In Adagia, Erasmus explains, "Those are said to be 'labours of Hercules' which are the kind

to bring the greatest advantage to others, and little or no profit to the doer, except a little fame, and a lot of envy." By the symbol of the almost unconquerable Lernaean Hydra, he continues, "the ancients wished to express Envy . . ." (Phillips, trans., p. 191).

93.10-14: Claudiane . . . shaftes] *(Claudianus in histri.)

Claudius Claudianus, poet laureat of Honorius, wrote a poem "De Hystrice" or "On the Porcupine," in which he praises this animal for his ingenious natural defenses and finds in them the source of man's bow:

Has human endeavour, with reason to guide it, ever done the like? Men rob of their horns the wild goats of Crete, then they force them to become pliant over the fire in the making of bows; they use the guts of cattle to string their bows; they tip their arrows with iron and wing them with feathers. But here is a small animal whose arms are contained in his own body and who needs no external defense. He carries all his own arms; himself his own quiver, arrow, and bow. Alone he possesses all the resources of war. But if all human activities as they grow have had their source in imitation, we may see here the exemplar of combat by means of missiles. It is from him that the Cretans learned to shoot and the Parthians to strike while in flight. These did but follow the example of the animal that is armed with arrows (Shorter Poems, IX, 35-48; Platnauer, trans., pp. 183, 185).

93.14: Plinie . . . Iupiter] *(Plin. 7.56.) In Naturalis

Historia (VII, 56), Pliny in a long list of inventors and origins remarks, "The bow and arrow is said by some to have been invented by Scythes, son of Jove; others say that arrows were invented by Perses, son of Perseius" (Rackham, trans., II, 641).

93.15-16: Better and . . . Apollo] *(In sympo. In hym. Apoll'.) In Plato's Symposium, Agathon tells the other participants of the dialogue that, "the arts of medicine and archery and divination were discovered by Apollo, under the guidance of love and desire . . ." (Jowett, trans., I, 322). Callimachus' second hymn, "To Apollo," praises the god as the founder and keeper of archery (see note for 103.3-4). In the Exhortation on the Study of the Arts (I), Galen names Apollo as the inventor of archery, music, and divination (Daremberg, trans., p. 11).

93.18-19: And also . . . shafte] *(Gen. 21. Nic. de lyra.) Nicholas de Lyra (c. 1265-1349), a provincial of the Franciscan order and a lecturer at the Sorbonne, was the most influential of the medieval exegetes. He wrote what would later be the first printed commentary on the Bible, Postillae Perpetuae in Universum S. Scripturam, which insists on a literal interpretation followed by a mystical or spiritual exposition. This was the universal textbook for scholars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Greensdale, p. 79; Ency. Brit., XVI, 483).

Lamech, the fifth lineal descendant of Cain, appears in Genesis 4.18-24, where his posterity is described in some detail and his famous song is recorded:

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice,
 Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech:
 For I have slain a man for wounding me,
 And a young man for bruising me:
 If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
 Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

Among interpretations of this song was the one, coming down from Jerome, adapted by Nicholas de Lyra, that Lamech, directed by his son, shot an arrow at what he thought was a wild beast in a thicket, accidentally killing Cain (Smith, pp. 56-57).

93.21-94.2: it is referred . . . by Apollo] *(Galen in exhor. ad bonas artes.) In the Exhortation on the Study of the Arts, Galen speaks of man's imitation and use of both the inferior skills which he learns from the animals and the superior arts, invented by the gods. He includes archery in a list of arts invented by Apollo (Daremborg, trans., pp. 9-11).

94.20-22: Cyaxares . . . shote] *(Herod. in clio.) Ascham's source is Herodotus' The Persian Wars (I, 73): "A band of Scythian nomads had taken refuge in Media. Cyaxares . . . was at that time king of the country. Recognizing them as suppliants, he began by treating them with kindness, and coming presently to esteem them highly, he intrusted to their care a number of boys, whom they were to teach their language and to instruct in the use of the bow" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 39).

94.22-95.4: Cyrus . . . to do] *(Xen. in insti. Cyri. I.)

*(Ad. Quint. Fra. I.I.) Xenophon in Cyropaedia (I, ii, 8-10) tells how the Persians brought up their youths in garrisons: "when the king goes out hunting, he takes out half the garrison; and this he does many times a month. Those who go with him must take bow and arrows . . ." (Miller, trans., p. 17).

In the first letter to his brother (Epistularum ad Quintum Fratrem, I, i), Cicero talks of Xenophon's purpose in writing the Cyropaedia: "Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem iusti, cuius summa gravitas ab ille philosopho cum singulari comitate coniungitur . . ." (Purser, ed., p. 8).

95.9-10: Darius . . . pere] *(Strabo. 15.) In the Geography (XV), Strabo describes Darius' tomb as a two-story tower with two inscriptions--one in Greek, the other in Persian--each stating the same message: "I was friend to my friends; as horseman and bowman I proved myself superior to all others; as hunter I prevailed; I could do everything" (Jones, trans., pp. 167, 169).

95.11-13: Agayne, Domitian . . . hurt him] *(Tranq. suet.) In his life of Domitian (VIII, 19), Suetonius relates that this Caesar "took no interest in arms, but was particularly devoted to archery. There are many who have more than once seen him slay over a hundred wild beasts of different kinds . . . and purposely kill some of

them with two successive shots in such a way that the arrows gave the effect of horns. Sometimes he would have a slave stand at a distance and hold out the palm of his right hand for a mark, with the fingers spread; then he directed his arrows with such accuracy that they passed harmlessly between his fingers" (Rolfe, trans., p. 381).

95.13-18: Commodus . . . beleued it] *(Herodia. I.) Commodus (Lucius Aelius Aurelius, AD 161-192), the indulged son of Marcus Aurelius and Roman Emperor from 180-192, was famous for his skill at shooting. In The History of the Roman Empire (I, 15), Herodian of Antioch notes that Commodus' "instructors were the most skilled of the Parthian bowmen and the most accurate of the Moroccan javelinmen, but he surpassed them all in marksmanship." Herodian outlines Commodus' skill in more detail, describing a certain show staged in the Roman arena in which the Emperor from a terrace hurled javelins and shot arrows at dozens of wild animals which he had imported from all over the world for the occasion: "he shot arrows with crescent-shaped heads at Moroccan ostriches, birds that moved with great speed, both because of their swiftness afoot and sail-like nature of their wings. He cut off their heads at the very top of the neck; so after their heads had been severed by the edge of the arrow, they continued to run around as if they had not been injured" (Echols, trans., p. 37).

96.3-5: iudgement . . . in them] In The History of the Roman Empire (I, 17), Herodian judges that Commodus "was the most nobly born of all the emperors who preceded him and was the handsomest man of his time, both in beauty of features and in physical development. If it were fitting to discuss his manly qualities, he was inferior to no man in skill and in marksmanship, if only he had not disgraced these excellent traits by shameful practices" (Echols, trans., p. 42).

96.8-11: Themistius . . . of armes] *(Themist. in ora. 6.) Themistius begins his sixth oration, De Imperatoris Audiendi, with this tribute to the Emperor Theodosius (Petavius, trans., pp. 151-52).

96.14-18: as the Persians . . . neuer lye] *(Herod. in clio.) Ascham is quoting almost literally from Herodotus' The Persian Wars (I, 136): "Their sons are carefully instructed from their fifth to their twentieth year, in three things alone, --to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 76).

96.18-19: Leo . . . telleth] *(Leo de stratag. 20.) Leo VI, called the Wise, was Byzantine Emperor from 886 to 911. Among his extant writings are three short military treatises (Dain, pp. 9-11; also see note for 157.7-9).

97.5-7: that acte . . . Henry the .viii.] In 1512 Henry renewed a statute of his father prohibiting the use of crossbows without

licenses and encouraging the use of the longbow by all subjects under the age of sixty. Parents were directed to provide a bow and two arrows for each male child (Letters and Papers, I, 623).

98.1: Sardanapalus] Sardanapallus was a mythical king of Assyria about 822 BC. In the Nicomachean Ethics (I, v), Aristotle refers to him as the proverbial example of a man with slavish tastes who prefers "a life suitable to beasts" (McKeon, trans., p. 938). His epitaph is recorded in Anthologia Graeca (Sepulchral Epigrams, VII, 325): "I have all I ate and drank and the delightful things I learnt with the Loves, but all my many and rich possessions I left behind" (Paton, trans., II, 175).

98.4-8: Jupiter . . . labour] *(Cic. 2. Tus. Qu.) In the Tusculum Disputations, Cicero mentions, "The laws of Crete, for instance--whether ratified by Jupiter or by Minos according to Jupiter's decision as the poets relate--and also the laws of Lycurgus educate youth by hardship, hunting and running, hunger and thirst, exposure to heat and cold" (King, trans., p. 183).

98.8-15: And the labour . . . most allowable] *(Gal. 2. de san. tuend.) In De Sanitate Tuenda (On Hygiene, II, 12), Galen discusses the kinds and functions of exercise best for the body and judges that "above all, moderation must be chosen . . . in exercise . . . making the state of the body itself neither softer nor harder,

nor thicker . . . nor thinner" (Green, trans., p. 93).

98.20-22: for the which . . . very like] *(Arist. I. de morib.)

In the Nicomachean Ethics (I, 2), Aristotle draws a metaphor from shooting to explain the Supreme Good: "Will not the knowledge of it [Supreme Good], then, have a great influence on life? Shall we not, like archers who have a mark to aim at, be more likely to hit upon what is right?" (McKeon, trans., p. 935).

99.5: huddermother] concealment, secrecy.

99.6-7: openly accuseth . . . do saye] This is Ascham's version of a common proverb, "He is not far from Amendment who confesses his fault" (Tilley, p. 13).

99.13-14: For meane . . . do saye] *(Iso. in nic.) In his Epistle to Nicocles, Isocrates instructs: "Do not think that while all other people should live with sobriety, kings may live with licence; on the contrary let your own self-control stand as an example to the rest, realizing that the manners of the whole state are copied from its rulers" (Norlin, trans., pp. 57, 59).

100.11: lefullie] lawfully, rightly.

101.10-13: For if . . . all Scotlande] In October, 1346, while King Edward III and most of the nobility were fighting in France, David,

King of the Scots, in alliance with the French, invaded the north of England, hoping to win an easy victory. A few of the border lords not with the King and the Archbishop of York, William de la Zouch, mustered assemblies and met David's forces at Neville's Cross. Many priests followed the Archbishop and the English were victorious (Tout, pp. 364-65).

102.15-17: Balbinus . . . her nose] Horace's third Satire (III, 38-42) is the source of this allusion: "Let us turn to this fact, that the lover, in his blindness, fails to see his lady's unsightly blemishes, nay is even charmed with them, as was Balbinus with Hagna's wen. I could wish that we made the like mistake in friendship and that to such an error our ethics had given an honorable name" (Fairclough, trans., p. 35).

103.3-4: as Calimachus . . . Appollo] *(Cal. hym. 2.) Callimachus' second hymn, "To Apollo," is the source of the quotation: "None is so abundant in skill as Apollo. To him belong the archer, to him the minstrel; for unto Apollo is given in keeping alike archery and song" (Mair, trans., p. 53).

103.7-104.4: Plato and Aristotle . . . vertue] *(Aristot. pol. 8.6.) In the Politics (VIII, 6), Aristotle discusses music:

As to the vulgarizing effect that music is supposed to exercise, this is a question which we shall have no difficulty in determining,

when we have considered to what extent freemen who are being trained to political virtue should pursue the art, what melodies and what rhythms they should be allowed to use, and what instruments should be employed in teaching them to play; for even the instrument makes a difference.

The right measure will be attained if students of music stop short of the arts which are practiced in professional contests, and do not seek to acquire those fantastic marvels of execution which are now the fashion in such contests. . . we may also infer what instruments may be used. The flute, or any other instrument which requires great skill, as for example, the harp ought not to be admitted into education, but only such as will make intelligent students of music . . . [the ancients] judged what was or was not really conducive to virtue, and they rejected both the flute and several other old-fashioned instruments, such as the Lydian harp, the many-stringed lyre, the heptagon, triangle, sambuce, and the like which are intended only to give pleasure to the hearer, and require extraordinary skill of hand (McKeon, trans., pp. 1313-14).

In the Republic (III), Plato discusses Dorian and Ionian music (Jowett, trans., I, 660-67).

104.1: barbitons] many-stringed musical instruments; lyres or lutes.

104.1: sambukes] triangular stringed instruments of a very sharp, shrill tone.

104.5-8: Pallas . . . learnynge] In the Politics (VIII, 6), Aristotle relates this story: "There is a meaning . . . in the myth of the ancients, which tells how Athene invented the flute and then threw it away. It was not a bad idea of theirs, that the goddess disliked the instrument because it made her face ugly; but with still more reason

may we say that she rejected it because the acquirement of flute-playing contributes nothing to the mind, since to Athene we ascribe both knowledge and art" (McKeon, trans., p. 1314).

104.8-11: Howe suche . . . labour] Marsyas, a satyr, picked up the flute that Athene had cast away. He became proficient at playing it and challenged Apollo to a contest, in which the winner should be allowed to do as he wished with the loser. The Muses found Apollo the better of the two, "whereupon he tied Marsyas to a tree and flayed him alive" (Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, p. 262).

104.14-18: it doth . . . drinke] "Too much honey cloyes the stomach" was a well-known proverb (Tilley, p. 317).

105.3-16: as that of . . . made women] *(Herodotus in Clio.) In Herodotus' The Persian Wars (I, 155), Croesus gives this advice to Cyrus: "command them to wear tunics under their cloaks, and to put buskins upon their legs, and make them bring up their sons to lyre-playing, harping, and shop-keeping. So you will soon see them become women instead of men . . ." (Rawlinson, trans., pp. 84-85).

105.19-106.1: Euen suche . . . passe ouer] *(Nymphod. Comment. in Antig.) Nymphodorus was a Syracusan writer from Sardinia c. 335 BC. Sesostris, one of the subjects of his writings, was a "mythical Egyptian king to whom were ascribed great conquests

in Africa and Asia" (Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, p. 832). Herodotus discusses the career of Sesostris in The Persian Wars (II, 102-11; see note for 151.7-15).

106.20: plainesong and priksong] Plainsong is vocal music used in early times and consisting of melodies composed in medieval modes and in free rhythm. Pricksong is music sung from notes or "pricked." The latter term also refers to a written descant or counterpoint to a plainsong or simple theme.

106.23-107.3: And therefore . . . his handes] *(Sophocles in Aiace.) The quoted lines are from Teucer's speech in Sophocles' Aias, 11.64-65 (Campbell, trans., p. 69).

107.4-5: That milke . . . musike is] In Of the Preservation of Health (I), Galen finds that milk, music and motion are the three best remedies in childhood.

107.10-11: Plutarch . . . doth proue] In the treatise, De Musica, Plutarch discusses both the history of music and the benefits gained from the study of music. Looking back to the ancients, especially to Plato, he judges: "It is . . . clear why the ancient Greeks took such eminent care, and rightly too, to further education in music. For they thought, by moulding and regulating the souls of the young by means of music, to bring them to proper dignity, since clearly music

is a beneficial incentive to all enterprise and serious undertaking, especially to war-like ventures . . . " (quoted in Westaway, p. 129).

107.11-13: Plato . . . songe before] In the Republic (VII), Plato outlines musical training necessary for the guardians of the state. In his plan music is: "the counterpart of gymnastic, and trains the guardians by the influences of habit, by harmony making them harmonious, by rhythm rhymical" (Jowett, trans., I, 781).

108.2-3: For the hearers . . . that speaketh] In the Orator . (XVII, 2), Cicero describes the attributes and methods of the perfect orator and explains: "Now there are as many changes of voice as there are of minds, which are above all things influenced by the voice. Therefore, that perfect orator which our oration has been describing, will employ a certain tone of voice regulated by the way in which he wishes to appear affected himself, and by the manner also in which he desires the mind of his hearer to be influenced" (Yonge, trans., p. 397).

108.9: Humble bee] a large wild bee which makes a humming sound.

109.2-6: the .ii. noble . . . dogge] The letter rho was called the dog's letter because it makes a growling sound. In On Divination, Cicero explains that ". . . Demosthenes could not enunciate the Greek

letter rho, but by labor and practice he was able at last to pronounce it quite clearly" (Poteat, trans., p. 437). In the Parallel Lives, Plutarch also speaks of Demosthenes' struggles to overcome indistinctness and lisping in his speech (Perrin, trans., XI, 25).

110.12-15: Apollo . . . to beare] *(Euripid. in Alcest.)

Euripides' Alcestis, l. 40 (Way, trans., p. 407).

110.20-111.6: the ix. muses . . . heauen] In the Fabulae (224), Huginus lists "Crotus [not Erotus], son of Pan and Eupheme, foster-brother of the Muses, put into the constellation Sagittarius" among mortals made immortal (Grant, trans., p. 159). In the Poetica Astronomica (II, 27), Hyginus explains the astrological sign of the Archer more fully:

Many have called this sign the Centaur; others deny the name, for the reason that no Centaur makes use of arrows. The question is raised, too, why he is formed with horse flanks but a Satyr's tail. Some say that he is Crotus, son of Eupheme, nurse of the Muses. As Sositheus, writer of tragedies, says, he had his home on Mt. Helicon and took his pleasure in the company of the Muses, sometimes even following the pursuit of hunting. He attained great fame for his diligence, for he was very swift in the woods, and clever in the arts. As a reward for his zeal the Muses asked Jove to represent him in some star group, and Jove did so. Since he wished to display all his skills in one body, he gave him horse flanks, because he rode a great deal. He added arrows, since these would show both his keenness and his swiftness, and gave him a Satyr's tail because the Muses took no less pleasure in Crotus than Liber did in the Satyrs. Before his feet are a few stars arranged in a circle, which some have said were a wreath, thrown off as by one at play (Grant, trans., p. 217).

112.16-17: A pastyme . . . medicine] *(Arist. po. 7.) In the Politics (VIII, 3), Aristotle judges of the use of leisure in education: "we should introduce amusements only at suitable times, and they should be our medicines. For the emotion which they create in the soul is a relaxation, and from the pleasure we obtain rest" (McKeon, trans., p. 1307).

113.5: Erasmus . . . Cambrige] Erasmus visited Cambridge in 1506 in the train of Henry VII. In either 1509 or 1510, he returned to the university, where he worked and lectured until 1514 (Mullinger, p. 472).

113.8-10: If a scholer . . . Galene] see note for 98.8-15.

113.13-14: Running . . . Aristotle his iudgement] *(Aristot. pol. 7.17) In the Politics (VIII, 3-4), Aristotle discusses the place of gymnastics and athletics in the schools, advising against strenuous and violent exercises during periods of hard study: "Men ought not to labor at the same time with their minds and with their bodies; for the two kinds of labor are opposed to one another; the labor of the body impedes the mind, and the labor of the mind the body" (McKeon, trans., p. 1309).

114.5-9: Those exercises . . . heeles] *(Gal. de san. tuend. 2.) In On Hygiene (II, 10-11), Galen lists all of those exercises and

discusses their functions and effects (Green, trans., pp. 90-92).

114.21-22: as lyke . . . foule Sutton] This proverbial comparison is cited by authorities as an Ascham original, meaning "as like as Sutton in Yorkshire" or not at all like (Hazlitt, p. 75).

116.8-9: Aristotle . . . two tymes] In the Meteorologia (I, 11-12), Aristotle states that both rain and hail are more frequent in spring and fall than in summer and winter (Lee, trans., pp. 79-87).

117.13: wrentche] a sudden or sharp twist or jerk causing pain or injury to a limb; a sprain, a strain.

117.15: blayne] a blister.

118.6: *(Cardes and dyse.)

119.6-8: And good thinges . . . then this is] This aphoristically stated precept is a frequently expressed principle in The Institution of a Christen Man. One of a series of formulae concerning particulars of the new faith, this tract, commonly known as The Bishops' Book, was written at Cambridge by a group of English bishops under the leadership of Thomas Cranmer and issued in September, 1537. The tract includes a number of statements on the good and evil uses of good things, as for instance, these precepts found in the section explaining the Ten Commandments: "For the

tongue of a man (no doubte) is the chiefe staye of all the hole body, eyther to doo moche good, or elles to do muche hurte And lyke as fyre is a greate commoditie many wayes (if it be well and wysely vsed) and contrary an vtter destruction" (The Institution of a Christen Man, sig. T1^v).

119.21: Wyll' Somer] A native of Shropshire, Somer was brought to Greenwich by his master, Richard Fermor, where Henry VIII noticed him and his "witty sallies" and installed him as court fool in 1525. According to tradition, Somer was on very familiar terms with the King and was famous for his practical jokes on Cardinal Wolsey (Dict. of Nat. Biography, XVIII, 667-68).

120.4: comparisons . . . matters] Ascham uses a proverb to begin his lively comparison of shooting and gaming: "Contraries being set the one against the other appear more evident" (Tilley, p. 118).

120.5-8: Honest thynges . . . folowing after] *(In phedro.) Although this aphorism does not appear in Plato's Phaedrus as the note from the 1545 edition of Toxophilus suggests, the content of it is implicit in the exchanges of Phaedrus and Socrates concerning the question of whether love brings advantage or disadvantage (Jowett, trans., I, 237-39).

121.3: The fyrste . . . Apollo] *(Pla. in symp.) In Plato's Symposium, Agathon relates, "The arts of medicine, and archery and divination were discovered by Apollo . . ." (Jowett, trans., I, 322).

121.7-8: The one . . . Theuth] *(Plato In Phedro.) In Plato's Phaedrus, Socrates explains: "At the Egyptian city of Naucratis, there was a famous old god, whose name was Theuth; the bird which is called Ibis is sacred to him, and he was the inventor of many arts, such as arithmetic and calculation and geometry and astronomy and draughts and dice . . ." (Jowett, trans., I, 277).

121.10-13: The other . . . and writers] *(Herodot. in Clio.) In The Persian Wars (I, 94), Herodotus relates that the Lydians "claim also the invention of all the games which are common to them with the Greeks. These they declare that they invented about the time when they colonized Tyrrhenia, an event of which they give the following account. In the days of Atys, the son of Manes, there was great scarcity through the whole land of Lydia. For some time the Lydians bore with the affliction patiently, but finding that it did not pass away, they set to work to devise remedies for the evil. Various expedients were discovered by various persons; dice, and knuckle-bones, and ball, and all such games were invented, except draughts, the invention of which they do not claim as theirs" (Rawlinson, trans., pp. 53-54).

121.17-20: and therefore . . . for labour] *(Xen. de dict. and fact. Soc.) In the Memorabilia of Socrates (II, 1, xx), Xenophon quotes this verse of Epicharmus: "The gods for labour sell us all good things" (Watson, trans., p. 59).

121.21-122.2: as Chauser . . . thinke wel] The Parson judges "that Accidie is lyk hem that been in the peyne of helle, by cause of hir slouthe and of hire hevynesse; for they that been dampned been so bounde that they ne may neither wel do ne wel thynke" (Robinson, ed., p. 250).

122.15: foumerdes] polecats.

122.20: Il thinges . . . and vse] *(Iphi. in Tau.) Euripides' Iphigeneia in Taurica, l. 126.

124.7: oure Englyshe Homer] Chaucer.

124.11-14: Hasardry . . . thynges mo] Chaucer's The Pardoner's Tale, ll. 591-94.

125.7: cogging . . . foysting . . . coytinge] methods of cheating at dice.

126.18-20: For vayn . . . and Citie] *(In suppli.) This parenthetical comment paraphrases lines from Creon's Herald's

speech to Theseus in Euripides' Suppliants: "Hope is delusive: many a state hath this/ Embroiled, by kindling it to mad emprise" (ll. 479-80; Way, trans., p. 537).

127.6: haroe] a cry of distress, alarm, or anger.

127.14-20: Ey by . . . Homicide] The Pardoner's Tale, ll. 651-57.

129.8-9: For thynges . . . Alcibiades] In Alcibiades (I), Socrates and Alcibiades discuss the different ways in which a man may know himself and his own nature (Jowett, trans., II, 763-70).

129.12-13: And Terence . . . bawde] The old and young man might be any of the fathers and sons in Terence's plays. The only two characters who might be called bawds are Sannio in the Adelphi and Dorio in the Phormio.

129.17-22: Adrastus . . . to sowe] *(Euripides in suppli.) Euripides' Suppliants, ll. 914-17.

130.1-2: For the foundation . . . thereafter] Plato devotes all of Book VII of the Laws to this principle, carefully outlining all facets--gymnastic as well as academic--of the education of youth best for the state (Jowett, trans., II, 544-78).

130.2-4: If the yonge . . . streyght it] This aphorism is an Ascham variation of the proverb, "Best to bend while it is a twig" (Tilley, p. 767).

130.17-19: Homer . . . taught hym] Ulysses encounters the Sirens and Circe in Books VII and X of the Odyssey. He is guarded by Athena, his patron goddess, when he returns to Ithaca.

130.23-131.1: counsell . . . begynninges] Richard Taverner's Proverbs of Erasmus (1539) attributes this saying to Ovid: "Better it is to remedy the begynnynges then the endes. Stoppe a disease (sayeth the poete Ouide) whyle it is in the commynge" (Tilley, p. 192).

132.8-9: Lordes . . . daye awaye] The Pardoner's Tale, ll. 627-28.

133.19-134.2: Yet Hippocrates . . . proued before] *(Hippo. de med. purg.) The source of this assertion is the pseudo-Hippocratic treatise, On Purgative Medicines, which argues in favor of moderate use only of purgatives (Adams, trans., I, 103).

134.20-21: whiche be . . . meaneth on] *(Psalm. 90.)
Psalms 91.3-6.

135.2-6: mooste noble . . . commune wealthe] *(Demost. contra Leptinen.) In the oration, Against Leptines (459), Demosthenes

pleads: "When we have a law which forbids cheating in the marketplace, where a falsehood entails no public injury, is it not disgraceful that in public affairs the same state should not abide by the law which it enjoins on private individuals, but should cheat its benefactors, and that although it is itself likely to incur no small penalty?" (Vince, trans., p. 497).

136.11-12: The vpperhande . . . sayth] *(Mach. I. 3.) This parenthetical comment is a paraphrase from the apocryphal I Maccabees 3.19: "Victory in battle does not depend on the size of an army, but rather on strength that comes from Heaven" (Tedesche, trans., p. 93).

137.6-8: Isocrates . . . to the same] *(Ad Nico.) In Oration XXIV, To Nicocles, Isocrates speaks of the proper training and conduct of a king, and includes this precept: "Be warlike in your knowledge of war and in your preparations for it . . ." (Norlin, trans., p. 55).

137.16: Vegetius] Flavius Vegetius Renatus was a fourth-century Roman military reformer and the author of the treatise De Re Militari (The Military Institutions of the Romans), considered the most influential military document from Roman times to the nineteenth century. In this treatise, Vegetius discusses the selection and training of recruits, military discipline, the organization and officers of the

legion, tactics and strategy, and naval operations. Throughout the work, he crusades for the revival of the ancient organization of the legion, the institution that he feels made Rome great (Philips, trans., pp. 67-69).

137.18: Polyaeus] Polyaeus was the second-century Macedonian author of Strategica, a collection of maxims on strategy written in Greek and strung together by anecdotes (Ency. Brit., XVIII, 180).

137.18: Leo the Emperour] see note for 96.18-19.

137.22: Xenophon] Among the writings of Xenophon is a treatise on the management of war called The Duties of a Hipparch or Commander of Cavalry at Athens, in which he discusses squadrons, marches, maneuvers, pickets, outposts, sympathy between officers and men, handling of a guerilla force, and other arts of war and arms (Dakyns, trans., III, 1-33).

137.23-138.1: Scipio . . . doeth saye] *(De Sen.) In De Senectute, Cicero sets forth Scipio Africanus Major as the model, "by whose precepts" the young can be "led into virtue's paths" (Falconer, trans., p. 35).

138.7-9: The strengthe . . . Plato] *(Obedience. Plat. leg. 12.) In Book XII of the Laws, Plato states: "Now for expeditions of war much consideration and many laws are required; the great principle of all is that no one of either sex should be without a commander; nor should the mind of any one be accustomed to do anything, either in jest or earnest, of his own motion, but in war and in peace he should look to follow his leader, even in the least things being under his guidance . . ." (Jowett, trans., II, 677).

138.9-12: And Xenophon . . . his enemy] *(Xen. Ages. Xen. Hippar.) In the encomium Agesilaus, Xenophon holds that "surely that is the strongest of all battle-lines in which obedience creates tactical efficiency, and alacrity in the field springs out of loyal affection for the general" (Dakyns, trans., II, 259-60). In The Hipparch, he judges that "success [in war] will depend doubtless on the consenting will of Heaven" (Dakyns, trans., III, 32).

138.18-139.6: And this . . . woulde do it] *(Plutarchus) In the Sayings of Romans (CXCVI, 3), Plutarch tells this story of Scipio Africanus: "When somebody inquired in Sicily on what he placed his reliance in purposing to take his army across to Carthage, he pointed out to the inquirer three hundred men in armour, who were drilling, and also a lofty tower, which overlooked the sea. 'There is not one of these men,' said he, 'who would not go up to the top of that tower and

throw himself down head first at my command' " (Babbitt, trans., III, 165).

139.7-10: Salust . . . had foughten] *(Sal. in Cat.) In The War With Catiline (IX), Sallust relates of the Romans: "By practicing these two qualities, boldness in warfare and justice when peace came, they watched over themselves and their country. In proof of these statements I present this convincing evidence: firstly, in time of war, punishment was more often inflicted for attacking the enemy contrary to orders, or for withdrawing too tardily when recalled from the field, than for venturing to abandon the standards or to give ground under stress . . ." (Rolfe, trans., p. 17).

140.6-8: yet of al . . . enemye moost] *(In Herc. fu.) This aphorism is a paraphrase of lines from Amphitryon's defense of Hercules and the bow in Euripides' The Mad Hercules: "and in battle this/ Is wisest policy, still to harm all foes/ That beyond range shrink not, oneself unhurt" (ll. 201-03; Way, trans., p. 145).

140.11: Peter Nannius] Peter Nanning or Nannius (1500-1557) was a professor of Latin at the University of Louvain. He wrote a dialogue, De milite peregrino, published in 1543, which debates the relative values of archery and guns (Arbor, pp. 167-68).

141.7-19: What prayse . . . be tide] *(Eurip. in Herc. furent.)
Euripides' The Mad Hercules, ll. 157-64.

141.20-22: Agayne . . . in warre] *(Soph. in Aia. flag.) In
Sophocles' Aias, Menelaus reproaches Teucer with this contemptuous
remark: "Our bowman carries no small pride, I see" (l. 120; Camp-
bell, trans., p. 73).

141.22-142.22: Moreouer . . . my turne] *(Iliad. 5.) In
Book V of Homer's Iliad, Pandarus cries out against shooting, ll. 170-
215. The quotation cited here appears in Book V, ll. 209 ff.

143.2-5: Cyrus . . . hande weapons] *(Xen. Cyri. Inst. 6.)
In Cyropaedia (VI, 4, xvi), Xenophon explains that Cyrus instructed
his men before the great battle against the Assyrians to go against the
enemy "in a hand-to-hand encounter, with chariots armed, against
theirs unarmed; and our horses and riders in like manner armed,
against theirs unarmed" (Miller, trans., p. 199).

143.8-10: as Tullie . . . common welthe] *(Epist. I. ad Q.
Fra) see note for 94.22-95.4.

143.12-15: Whose counsell . . . morispikes] *(Plutarch M.
Ant.) Philologus does not tell the whole story here. See Toxophilus'
answer, 146.17-147.8, and the note.

143.23-145.8: For in dede . . . of our foo] *(Eurip. in Herc. fur.) Amphytryon's answer to Lycus appears in Euripides' The Mad Hercules, ll. 188-203.

145.12-15: when Hector . . . ranne awaye] *(Iliad. 8.)
Homer relates this incident in the Iliad, VIII, ll. 266-334.

145.19-23: a couetouse . . . miserablye slue] *(Hom. Ili. 5.)
In the Iliad, Pandarus breaks a truce by treacherously wounding Menelaus (V, ll. 85-140) and, later, after wounding Diomedes (V, ll. 95-105), is slain by him (V, ll. 280-96).

146.6-9: as Vlysses . . . do ought] *(Soph. phil.) Ulysses' speech quoted here appears in Sophocles' Philoctetes, l. 115.

146.17-147.8 But trulye . . . runnyng awaye] *(Plu. in M. Anton.) Plutarch concurs with Toxophilus in this description of the results of the battle in question in his Life of Antony (XLV): "The Parthians, however, thinking that the Romans' dropping on one knee was a sign of fatigue and exhaustion, laid aside their bows, grasped their spears by the middle and came to close quarters. But the Romans, with a full battle cry, suddenly sprang up, and thrusting with their javelins slew the foremost of the Parthians and put all the rest to rout" (Perrin, trans., IX, 241).

148.6-8: God . . . from heauen] *(Mach. I. 3.) see note for 136.11-12.

148.11-14: As in metinge . . . Nicanor Demetrius] *(Mach. 2. 14.) The truce proceedings, terms, and settlement between Judah Machabeus and Nicandor Demetrius are given in II Maccabees 14. 19-24 (Tedesche, trans., p. 233).

148.15-18: and to haue . . . Demetrius] *(Mach. I. 12.) I Maccabees 12.24-26 reads: "Jonathan heard that the officers of Demetrius had returned with a greater army than before to make war on him. He set out from Jerusalem, and met up with them in the country of Hamath; for he gave them no time to make an inroad into his country. He sent spies into their camp, and on their return they reported to him that they were forming to attack them within the night!" (Tedesche, trans., p. 205).

148.18-149.1: And besyde . . . Gentiles] *(Mach. I. 13.) I Maccabees 13.27-29 records this incident: "Simon built a monument of polished stone back and front over the grave of his father and his brothers, and made it high enough to be seen from afar. He set up seven pyramids, one beside the other, for his father and mother and his four brothers. For these he constructed cranes to set up large columns around them, and upon them he set trophies for a perpetual

memory. Beside the trophies were carved ships that could be seen by all who sailed the sea" (Tedesche, trans., pp. 215, 217).

149.9-10: as it is . . . downe by hym] *(Iosue. 23.) Joshua 25. 3.

149.11-13: God . . . blood] *(Deutero. 32.) Deuteronomy 23. 42.

149.17-18: Daid . . . power] *(Psal. 7. 63. 75.) Psalms 7. 13; 64. 3-4; 76. 3.

149.22-150.3: Saul . . . Daid] *(Regum. I. 31.) I Samuel 31. 2-8.

150.3-8: the first . . . not nowe] *(Regum 2. I.) II Samuel 1. 18.

150.11-151.5: The Ethiopians . . . slewe him] *(Herodotus in Thalia.) Herodotus tells this story in The Persian Wars (III, 21-22, 30; Rawlinson, trans., pp. 220-21, 225).

151.7-15: Sesostris . . . manye people] *(Herod. in Euterpe. Diod. Sic. 2.) In Book II of The Persian Wars, Herodotus explains: "The pillars, which Sesostris erected in the conquered countries, have for the most part disappeared, but in the part of Syria called

Palestine, I myself saw them still standing In each case the figure is that of a man, seven feet high, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, the rest of his costume being likewise half Egyptian, half Ethiopian. There is an inscription across the breast from shoulder to shoulder . . . which says, 'With my own shoulders I conquered this land' " (Rawlinson, trans., p. 166).

Diodorus of Sicily discusses Sesostri's conquests of Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, and other parts of Asia in his history (I, 53-56). After his Asian campaigns, Sesostri crossed into Europe and on his way through Thrace, "he nearly lost his army through lack of food and the difficult nature of the land. Consequently he fixed the limits of his expedition in Thrace, and set up stelae in many parts of the regions which he had acquired; and these carried the following inscription. . . : 'This land the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Sesoösis, subdued with his own arms' And in some places he also erected a stone statue of himself, armed with bow and arrows and a spear . . ." (Oldfather, trans., I, 193-95).

151.16-20: Cyrus . . . shotyng] *(Herod. in clío.) Herodotus describes this conflict between Cyrus' forces and the Massagetans in The Persian Wars (I, 214), and judges that "Of all the combats in which the barbarians have engaged . . . I reckon this to have been the fiercest" (Rawlinson, trans., pp. 113-14).

151.21-23: Polycrates . . . archers] *(Herod. in thal)
 Herodotus explains in The Persian Wars that with a fleet of one hundred fifty-oared ships and one thousand bowmen, Polycrates "plundered all, without distinction of friend or foe" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 230). He narrates a full account of Polycrates' conquests in Book III, 39-59 (Rawlinson, trans., pp. 230-40).

152.1-153.10: The people . . . homewarde] *(Herod. in Melpomen.) Herodotus tells the story of Darius and the four Scythian gifts in The Persian Wars (IV, 131-35; Rawlinson, trans., pp. 342-44).

153.10-14: Yet howe . . . do saye] *(Herod. in clio. Xenoph. in cyrop. Strab. II.) Herodotus states that the sons of the Persians "are carefully instructed from their fifth to their twentieth year, in three things alone--to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 136).

In the Geography (XV, 3, xviii), Strabo repeats Herodotus' statement: "From five years of age to twenty-four they are trained to use the bow, to throw the javelin, to ride horseback, and to speak the truth . . ." (Jones, trans., VII, 179).

Xenophon also outlines the Persian plan of military education, which includes long training with the bow, in his Cyropaedia (I, 2, vi-xiii).

153.15-20: kyng Darius . . . neuer pere] *(Strab. 15.) In the Geography (XV, 3, viii), Strabo relates that this inscription was carved on the tomb of Darius: "I was friend to my friends; as horse-man and bowman I proved myself superior to all others; as hunter I prevailed; I could do everything" (Jones, trans., VII, 167).

153.21-154.1: the coyne . . . by them] *(Plutarch. in Agesila.) In his Life of Agesilaus (XV), Plutarch states that the "Persian coins were stamped with the figure of an archer . . ." (Perrin, trans., V, 41).

154.2-8: The Grecians . . . Plato] *(Suidas. Plato in protagora.) In Plato's Protagoras it is noted that those who persist in foolish action or evil deeds are "dragged away or put out by the constables at the command of the prytanes" (Jowett, trans., I, 91). I have been unable to locate the source of the 1545 note in Suidas, the Greek lexicon.

154.9-13: Demosthenes . . . enemies] *(Thucyd. 4) Thucydides describes the Athenian rush on the Lacedaemonians and the resulting confusion in The Peloponnesian War (IV, xxxiv): "with a shout they charged upon them in a body, hurling at them stones, arrows, or javelins, whichever each man had at hand. The shouting with which the Athenians accompanied their charge caused consternation among the Lacedaemonians, who were unaccustomed to this manner

of fighting; and the dust from the newly-burned forest rose in clouds to the sky, so that a man could not see what was in front of him by reason of the arrows and stones, hurled, in the midst of dust by many hands" (Smith, trans., p. 273).

154.13-19: A Lacedemonian . . . without death] In The Peloponnesian War (IV, xxxviii), Thucydides explains: "And when one of the Athenian allies sometime afterwards sneeringly asked one of the captives taken on the island, whether the Lacedaemonians who had been slain were brave men and true, the answer was, that the shaft, meaning the arrow, would be worth a great deal if it could distinguish the brave, intimating that it was a mere matter of chance who was hit and killed by stones and bow-shots" (Smith, trans., p. 283).

154.20-22: Herodotus . . . strength] *(Herod. in Polym.) Herodotus' elaborate catalogue of the forces and arms in Xerxes' host appears in The Persian Wars, VII, 60-100 (Rawlinson, trans., pp. 522-34).

154.23-155.3: Attossa . . . Grecians vsed] *(Esch. in Pers.) In The Persians, Atossa inquires of her son's enemies, the Hellenians: "Is the shaft that stretches the bow native to their hand?" The Chorus answers, "Nay, far from it; they have lances for close fight and shields that serve them for armour" (ll. 239-40; Smyth, trans., p. 129).

155.6-11: The best parte . . . Thomeron] *(Arianus. 8.) In the Anabasis of Alexander (VIII, 24), Arrianus describes the victory of Nearchus' forces near "a torrent, which was called Tomerus." Nearchus' men took by surprise the spear-carrying natives of the region, who "astounded at the flash of the armours, and the swiftness of the charge, and attacked by showers of arrows and missiles, half naked as they were, never stopped to resist but gave way" (Robson, trans., p. 379).

155.13-18: sentence of . . . shotinge] *(Plin. lib. 16. Cap. 36.) In his Natural History (XVI, 65), Pliny observes:

The peoples of the East employ reeds in making war; by means of reeds with a feather added to them they hasten the approach of death, and to reeds they add points which deal wounds with their barb that cannot be extracted, and if the weapon itself breaks in the wound, another weapon is made out of it. With these weapons they obscure the very rays of the sun, and this is what chiefly makes them want calm weather and hate the rain, which compels the combatants to keep peace between them. And if anybody should make a rather careful reckoning of the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabs, Indians, Scythians and Bactrians, and the numerous races of the Sarmatians and of the East, and all the realms of the Parthians, almost one-half of mankind in the whole world lives subject to the sway of the arrow (Rackham, trans., IV, 491).

156.4: fewsty] smelling of mould or damp.

156.4: noughty] of a bad kind; in bad condition.

156.10-13: Scipio . . . vanquished] In the Roman History (VI, 89), Appian describes this incident:

Thence Scipio came again to the Numantine territory and went into winter quarters. Here Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, joined him from Africa with twelve elephants and the body of archers and slingers who usually accompanied them in war. While Scipio was constantly ravaging and plundering the neighboring country, the enemy laid an ambush for him at a certain village which was surrounded on nearly all sides by a marshy pool. On the remaining side was a ravine in which the ambuscading party was hidden. Scipio's soldiers were divided so that one part entered the village to plunder it, leaving the standards behind, while another, but not large party, was coursing around it on horseback. The men in ambush fell upon the latter, who tried to beat them off. Scipio, who happened to be standing in the front of the village near the standards, recalled by trumpet those who had gone inside, and before he had collected a thousand men went to the aid of the horsemen who were in difficulties. And when the greater part of those who were in the village had run out, he put the enemy to flight (White, trans., I, 279, 281).

156.14-21: Tiberius . . . historie] *(Cor. Tac.2) In The Annals (II, 16-18), Tacitus describes this battle of Tiberius against the Germans. Explaining how the army of the Romans advanced, he states: "The auxiliary Gauls and Germans were in the van, then the foot-archers, after them, four legions and Caesar himself with two praetorian cohorts and some picked cavalry. Next, came as many other legions, and light-armed troops with horse-bowmen, and the remaining cohorts of the allies" (Church and Brodribb, trans., p. 62). After his description of the battle, Tacitus summarizes: "It was a great victory and without bloodshed to us. From nine in the morning to nightfall the enemy were slaughtered, and ten miles were covered with arms and dead bodies The soldiers on the battle field hailed Tiberius as Emperor, and raised a mound on which arms were

piled in the style of a trophy, with names of the conquered tribes inscribed beneath them" (Church and Brodribb, trans., p. 63).

157.1: Leo the .v.] Byzantine emperor, 813-820; see note for 157.7-9.

157.7-9: The booke . . . maiestie] The book to which Ascham is referring is Sir John Cheke's translation from Greek to Latin of a work by the Emperor, Leo V, called the Armenian, Leo de Apparatu Bellico. This work, translated in 1543 or 1544 and first published in 1554, was dedicated to Henry VIII.

157.15: the departynge . . . vniuersitie] In July 1543, Cheke was summoned by Henry to become tutor to Prince Edward (Dict. of Nat. Biography, IV, 179).

158.4-10: that sentence . . . him before] This theme is implicit throughout both Plato's the Laws and the Republic and is restated in a number of different ways. For instance, at the conclusion of the Laws, the Athenian judges that the "divine assembly" of the noblest citizens will be the means through which "the state will be perfected and become a waking reality" (Jowett, trans., II, 703).

161.5-7: as the Spanyarde . . . Sarissa] The lancea is a long pike or lance; the framea is a javelin used by the French (not the

Germans, as Ascham believes); the sarissa is a long Macedonian lance. I have been unable to find any information on the other two national weapons named here, the machera and the gesa.

161.9-13: Parthians . . . theyr bowes] *(Plutarch in M. Crass. and in M. Anto. Ael. Spart.) Plutarch describes the victory of the Parthian archers over Crassus' forces in his Life of Crassus (XXIV-XXV; Perrin, trans., II, 389-93).

161.13-14: They draue . . . reproch] Plutarch describes Antony's forces' flight across Media and Armenia under the attack of the Parthians in his Life of Antony (XVIII-L).

161.15: Iulianus Apostata] Flavius Claudius Julianus (331-363), called Julian the Apostate, was Roman emperor from 361 to 363, when he was killed in an attempt to capture the Persian Empire (Ency. Brit., XIII, 129-30).

161.15: Antoninus Caracalla] Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (187-217), called "Caracalla," was Roman emperor from 198 to 211 jointly with his father and solely from 211 to 217. Herodian reports that he was killed by one of his own officers who bore him a grudge during a campaign in the Euphrates rather than by the Parthians, as Ascham suggests here (Ency. Brit., IV, 858).

161.16: the most noble . . . Valerian] Publius Lucinius Valerianus, Roman emperor from 253-260, was taken captive by the Persians while attempting to recover Antioch (Ency. Brit., XXII, 859).

162.6-15: From the same . . . and ruine] *(Paul. Diac.) Paul, the Deacon of Monte Cassino (720-800), was the first important historian of the Middle Ages. In his History of the Langobards (IV, 37), he describes the invasions of the Huns into Italy (Foulke, trans., pp. 179-87).

162.16-20: After them . . . Europe] *(P. Mela. I.) The Turks of various tribes waged holy wars against both East and West from the eleventh century, culminating in the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Between 1038 and 1092, the Seljuk Turks under a series of powerful rules invaded and subjected all of Asia Minor, the coasts of Africa and Spain (Hussey, IV, 734-49, 773-75; Stephenson, pp. 254-55).

164.14-165.3: The youthe . . . haue bene] *(Cusp. de rebus Turc.) Although I have been unable to determine the source given in Ascham's note, the Turkish youth to which Ascham refers are no doubt the Janissaries or the corps d'elite of the Turkish army. This company was made up of young soldiers recruited when they were still boys from the Christian population by the Turks; they were brought up

to be fanatic Moslems and fanatic fighters, living a life more completely divorced from worldly ties than that of a monastic order. During the reign of Solyman (1520-1566), the Janissaries numbered 14,000 and led the Turkish army to conquests of Spain, Venice, Algiers, Oran, Tripoli, Belgrade, Rhodes, most of Hungary, the Crimea, Mosul, Bagdad, and parts of Armenia. They were skilled in the use of long knives, pistols, scimitars, axes, as well as bows, and they went into battle heavily armed with all these weapons (Hubbard, pp. 40-41; Downey, p. 27; Eversley, pp. 116-24).

165.14-15: a certaine Frenchman . . . Officina] *(Textor)
Textor is the Latinized name of Jean Tixier, Seigneur de Ravisy (d. 1524), a compiler of ancient sources. The work to which Ascham refers is Officinae Ioannis Ravisii Textoris (1522), a depository of ancient and modern comments on various subjects. Under the subject of archery, Textor mentions Domitian, Commodus, Hercules, the Parthians, Toco, Catenes, Asykanm Acastus, Paris, Alcon, and Enarum. Of the Scots, he judges, "Scotos (qui vicini sunt Britannis) in dirigendis sagittis acres esse et egregios. Paulus Diaconus ait Gotthorum gentem nullo armorum genere magis quem arcubus uti consuesse" (Textor, sigs. V4^v-V5^r).

165.18: clamparde] put together hastily or clumsily; botched, patched up.

166.15: Petrus Crinitus] *(P. Crin. 3. 10.) Petrus Crinitus was a famous Italian man of letters during the fifteenth century. Among his writings is De honesta disciplina (1504), a work which traces historical and philosophical questions with anecdotes and includes a section on military matters (Michaud, IX, 506).

166.20-21: Gaguinus the Frenche hystorie] Robert Gaguin (1425-1501) was a French chronicler and diplomat. The work to which Ascham is referring here is his Compendium de Origine et Gestis Francorum a Pharamundo usque ad Annum 1495 (New Internat'l Ency., IX, 393).

167.11-13: Iames Stewart . . . to shote] *(Ioan. Ma. 6.) In A History of Greater Britain (VI, 12), John Major relates that at the Parliament at Perth, "In the year of the Lord one thousand four hundred and twenty-five the King [James I] passed an ordinance for the practice of archery under certain penalties" (Constable, ed., p. 357). This act held, "That ilk man busk thame to be archaris . . . fra thai be xii yeiris of age, and that ilk x pundis worth of land thair be maid bow markis, and speciallie neir parochie Kirkis quhairin upone halie dayis men may cum and at the leist schute thryse about and haue usage of archarie . . ." (Constable, ed., p. 357n).

168.12-14: Howe profytable . . . do tell] *(Iohn. Maior. 6. hist. Scot.) In A History of Greater Britain, John Major calls many times for union between these countries. In Book V, 17, he puts forth this plan by which union can be attained: "And this, in my judgement, is the course which should ever be followed: that the Scots kings should marry with the daughters of the English kings, and contrariwise; and thus, some day, shall one of them come to have a lawful right to all Britain; for without such lawful right I see not how the Scots shall ever master the English, nor yet the English the Scots" (Constable, ed., p. 289).

Hector Boece (1465-1536), Canon of Aberdeen, wrote The History and Chronicles of Scotland (1526), dedicated to James V. Although he is liberal in his praise of many of the English kings, Boece seems more interested in supporting claims concerning the antiquity of Scotland than in putting forth as explicit a plea for union as that of John Major (Bellenden, trans.).

169.19-170.6: To suche . . . attonement] Ascham's optimism in this passage proved to be hasty. After the crushing defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss and the death of James V, Henry had concluded two treaties with the Scots at Greenwich in July 1543: one was for peace and the other for the eventual marriage of the infant Queen, Mary Stuart, and Edward, Prince of Wales. These treaties were

ratified at Holyroodhouse on 25 August. But Henry subsequently made excessive demands on Scotland: the Scottish Catholics under Cardinal David Beaton recovered power from the Protestants and repudiated the treaties of Greenwich. When Henry made peace with France in July 1546, he refused to include Scotland in the treaty, and troubled relations between Scotland and England, complicated by French influence in Scotland, continued throughout the sixteenth century (Mackie, pp. 407-09, 483). Thus, the printers of the two later sixteenth-century editions of Toxophilus (1571 and 1589) omit this passage in which Ascham optimistically praises what he thinks is the accomplished union of Scotland and England.

170.11-171.6: shotyng was first . . . be true] The work, De rebus memorabilibus Anglie, if ever completed by Elyot, was never published. The author of a manuscript belonging to G. F. Wilbraham of Delamere House, Chester, giving a description of "commendable deeds concerning Chester," also cites Elyot's chronicle "of the description of Brettaine" as one of his sources (Dict. of Nat. Biography, VI, 768).

171.11-14: Kynge Edward . . . hys archers] Edward III was the first of a series of English monarchs to give strong encouragement to shooting with the longbow. In 1346 he issued a proclamation prohibiting "handball, football or hockey . . . coursing and cock fighting,

or other such idle games," which might keep his subjects from practicing at the butts set up behind the church in every village. The strength of Edward's army was the archer, who received six shillings a day--the wages of a skilled, or even a master, craftsman. Putting his trust in the yeoman as soldier and the longbow as weapon, Edward defeated armies of French knights at both Crecy (1346) and Poitiers (1356) (Elmer, pp. 80-81; Trevelyan, I, 300-01; Hewitt, pp. 34-35).

171.15-19: Such lyke . . . theyr bowes] see note for 171.11-14.

171.20-172.3: Kynge Henrie . . . Englysshe men] Even after the appearance of handguns, the English continued to rely on the longbow in combat. Fifty-eight years after Poitiers at Agincourt, Henry V--relying heavily on his 6000 archers--won the most dazzling of all English victories against a French army which outnumbered his forces four to one (Hall, pp. 65-72; Perroy, p. 239).

172.12-18: The excellent . . . for euer] The Battle of Flodden Field, in which the forces of James IV were routed by the English under the Earl of Surrey, was fought in August 1513. John Skelton's poem, "Against the Scots," commemorates the encounter and notes the cause of victory with these lines: "At Flodden hills/ Our bows, our bills, / Slew all the floure/ Of their honour" (Henderson, ed., p. 140).

172.21-173.2: beside Carlile . . . taken prisoners] At the Battle of Solway Moss, 24 November 1542, the disorganized Scottish forces of James V in an attempt to cross the Esk to encounter the English, met with disaster. Although only a few were killed, many drowned and 1200 were taken prisoner, among them two earls, five barons, and over 500 lairds (Brown, pp. 393-95; Dickinson, pp. 311-12).

173.9: lackes] coats of mail.

176.10-13: And thus feare . . . in Xenophon] *(Ciri. ped. 3.) In a philosophical argument to decide the fate of his father (Cyropaedia, III, i, 24-25), Tigranes tells Cyrus: "those who are afraid that they are to be exiled from their native land, and those who on the eve of battle are afraid that they shall be defeated, and those who fear slavery or bondage, all such can neither eat nor sleep for fear; whereas those who are already in exile or already defeated or already in slavery can sometimes eat and sleep better than those enjoying a happier lot. And from the following considerations it is still clear what a burden fear is: some for fear that they will be caught and put to death, in terror take their own lives before their time . . . so does fear crush down the soul more than all other terrors" (Miller, trans., pp. 233, 235).

177.8-13: thyng Aristotle . . . other men] *(Aristo. rhet. ad Theod.) In the Rhetoric (I, 2), Aristotle notes of serious sports that "some of these become pleasant when one is accustomed to them; while others are pleasant from the first, like hunting with hounds, or indeed any kind of hunting. For where there is competition, there is victory. That is why forensic pleading and debating contests are pleasant to those who are accustomed to them and have the capacity for them. Honor and good repute are among the most pleasant things of all; they make a man see himself in the character of a fine fellow, especially when he is credited with it by people whom he thinks good judges" (McKeon, trans., p. 1364).

177.14-16: Hesiodus . . . substance] *(Hesio. in ope. et die.) In Works and Days (20-27), Hesiod tells his brother Perses of a kind of praiseworthy strife: "She stirreth even the helpless to labour. For when he that hath no business looked on him that is rich, he hasteth to plow and plant and to array his house: and neighbor vieth with neighbor hasting to be rich: good is this strife for men. So potter contendeth with potter: the hewer of wood with the hewer of wood: the beggar is jealous of the beggar, the minstrel jealous of the minstrel" (Mair, trans., pp. 1-2).

180.22-181.2: as a grounde . . . into rye] Lucius Junius Moderatur Columella (c. 4 BC-AD 65) is the author of a twelve book

work on agriculture, De Re Rustica, that was as influential as Pliny's work on natural history up to the eighteenth century. In Book II of the treatise he discusses all the details of planting and harvesting grains.

182. 6-7: Which thinge . . . Tullie] *(De Orat. I.) In De Oratore (I, 6), the eminent orator, Lucius Licinius Crassus, holds that in mastering any art or skill, learning is as necessary as use and natural talent, and that "no man can be an orator possessed of every praiseworthy accomplishment, unless he has attained knowledge . . . " (Watson, trans., p. 7).

183. 18-19: Vegetius . . . faire] *(Vegetius.) see note for 137. 16.

183. 19-23: Leo . . . grete Ruine] *(Leo. 6. 5.) see note for 157. 7-9.

183. 23-184. 3: Schola . . . Persians] *(Strabo. 11.) Strabo describes the School of the Persians in his Geography (XV, 18): "From five years of age to twenty-four they are trained to use the bow, to throw the javelin, to ride horseback, and to speak the truth; and they use as teachers of science their wisest men, who also interweave their teachings with the mythical element, thus reducing that element to a useful purpose, and rehearse both with song and without song the deeds both of gods and of the noblest men. And these

teachers wake the boys up before dawn . . . and assemble them in one place, as though for arming themselves or for a hunt; and then they divide the boys into companies of fifty . . . and order them to follow their leader in a race They hunt by throwing spears from horseback, and with bows and slings . . . (Jones, trans., VII, 179, 181).

184. 3-6: *whych schole . . . Romaines*] *(Cor. Ta. 2.) In The Annals (II, 2), Tacitus discusses the degeneracy of the Romanized Parthians who, in contrast to their ancestors, indulged in the chase, had little interest in horses, and were carried through the city in litters (Church and Brodribb, trans., p. 54).

184. 6+13: *Plato . . . common vse*] *(De leg. 7.) In the Laws (VII), Plato dictates: "there shall be schools for horse exercise, and large grounds arranged with a view to archery and the throwing of missiles, at which young men may learn and practice In these several schools let there be dwellings for teachers, who shall be brought from foreign parts by pay, and let them teach those who attend the schools the art of war and the art of music" (Jowett, trans., II, 559).

184. 13-14: *men by . . . Tullie*] *(De Offi. 2.) In De Officiis, Cicero judges: "Those . . . who base their estimate of everything

upon profits and rewards and who are never willing to permit these to be outweighed by honesty are forever setting what is right over against what they consider to be expedient Each one of us, therefore, should make it his chief aim to identify his own interests with the common good; for if we seek to take for ourselves what properly belongs to others, all the ties that bind men together will be dissolved" (Poteat, trans., p. 569).

185.23-186.2: But to conclude . . . at all] *(Aptnesse.)

186.7-10: Cunnynge . . . strayght] *(Cunnynge.)

187.6: Posteriorums of Aristotle] Aristotle's Analytica Posteriora deals with specific methods of applying the syllogism to demonstration for teaching (Grote, p. 207).

188.12-15: As Aristotle . . . his lyfe] In the Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle argues not from a posteriori examples, but rather a priori by absolutes such as "Supreme Good" and "Moral Virtue" and "Happiness."

188.19-189.2: the which . . . amonges men] *(Ora. ad Bru)
In his opening address to Brutus in the Orator, Cicero first establishes the difficulty of his task in the oration: to set forth the picture of the perfect orator. Then, he explains:

in forms and figures something perfect and super-excellent, the appearance of which is stamped in our minds so that we imitate it, and refer to it everything which falls under our eyes; so we keep in mind an idea of perfect eloquence, and seek for its resemblance with our ears.

Now Plato, that greatest of all authors and teachers, not only of understanding, but also of speaking, calls those forms of things ideas; and he affirms that they are not created, but that they exist from everlasting, and are kept in their place by reason and intelligence; that all other things have their rising and setting, their ebb and flow, and cannot continue long in the same condition. Whatever there is, therefore, which can become a subject of discussion as to its principles and method, is to be reduced to the ultimate form and species of its class (Yonge, trans., IV, 383-84).

189. 4-7: And Aristotle . . . lease bothe] *(Aristo. pol. 8. 6.)

In a discussion of music in the Politics (VIII, 6), Aristotle dictates that "there are two objects to aim at, the possible as well as the suitable; for we are bound rather to attempt the things that are possible and those that are suitable for the particular class of people concerned . . ." (Rackham, trans., p. 675).

189. 13-15: Ismene . . . not ende] *(Soph. Anti.) Ascham takes this aphorism from Sophocles' Antigone, l. 92.

193. 12-14: God gyueth . . . an other] *(De Inuen. 2) In On Rhetorical Invention (II, 1), Cicero judges: "Therefore, as if nature would not have enough to give to everybody if it had given everything to one, it balances one advantage bestowed upon a person by another disadvantage" (Yonge, trans., IV, 308).

195.12-16: Tullye . . . went aboute] *(De Orat. 3.) In De Oratore (III, 22), Crassus' judgment is that "about whatever art or faculty inquiry is made, it always relates to it in its state of absolute perfection . . . for unless the powers and nature of a thing be set before the eyes in their utmost perfection, its character and magnitude cannot be understood" (Watson, trans., p. 235).

195.16-18: Whych waye . . . Euthydemus] In the Euthyphro, Socrates instructs his interlocutor not "to give me two or three examples of piety, but to explain the general idea which makes all pious things pious . . ." so that he may have "a general standard by which to act and to judge the actions of others" (Jowett, trans., I, 387).

198.2: sere] separate, single, each in particular.

199.2: compasse] the curved path described by an arrow or the angle of elevation determining this path. "To shoot compass" is to shoot at an elevation to allow for the curve of the projectile.

200.6: Braser] *(Bracer.) a guard for the wrist and arm used not only in archery but also in fencing and some ball games.

200.20: agglettes] the metal tags of a lace intended primarily to make it easier to thread through the eyelet holes.

201.7: Ringman] the ring finger.

201.8: lubber] something big and clumsy.

201.15: scarlet] rich cloth.

202.21: *(Stringe.)

203.11: Eustathius] *(Eustathius.) Eustathius of Thessalonica (d. c. 1194) was a Byzantine scholar and author who wrote commentaries on various classical texts (Ency. Brit., VIII, 894).

203.12-13: Twang . . . flue] *(Iliad. 4.) the Iliad, IV, 11.
124-25.

203.15: thermes] guts.

203.17-19: heare of . . . tongue] *(Fauorinus) Favorinus, a second-century skeptical philosopher and rhetorician, was the author of a miscellaneous history from which this statement is probably taken (Ency. Brit., IX, 122).

204.15: wap] a turn of string wrapped round something.

205.15: shaftement] the distance from the end of the extended thumb to the opposite side of the hand, used as a measure; thus, about six inches.

205.18: *(Bowe.)

205.20-206.2: Horne . . . our bowes] *(Iliad. 4.) In the Iliad (IV, 11. 104-111), Homer describes Pandarus' bow as the archer prepares to use it:

Straight from its case he plucked
His polished bow, --made from wild ebeck-goat,
Which on a time beneath the breast he hit, --
Watching in ambush for his coming forth
From off a rock, --and wounded him to the heart;
And down he fell, up-turned, upon a rock.
Full sixteen palms in length from out his head
Grown were his horns: and these a craftsman wrought
Cunning in horn-work, and put fast together,
And well-smoothed all, and tipped with crook of gold
(Norgate, trans., pp. 93-94).

206.3: Scripture . . . bowes] *(Psalm. 17.) Psalms 18.23.

206.10-12: The Ethiopians . . . cubites] *(Hero. in pol.) In The Persian Wars (VII, 69), Herodotus mentions the Ethiopians' bows in his description of the host of Xerxes: "The Ethiopians were clothed in the skins of leopards and lions, and had long bows made of the stem of the palm-leaf, not less than six feet in length" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 525).

206.12-16: The men of Inde . . . fyshers bote] *(In Thalia.) Among the tribes of Indians whose customs Herodotus describes in his The Persian Wars (III, 98) are those who dwell in the marshes along the Indus and "live on raw fish, which they take in boats made of reeds, each formed out of a single joint" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 261).

206.16-19: These bowes . . . wythstand it] *(Arrianus. 8.)

In the Anabasis of Alexander (VIII, 16), Arrianus notes: "Indian war equipment differs; the infantry have a bow, of the height of the owner; this they poise on the ground, and set their left foot against it, and shoot thus; drawing the bowstring a very long way back; for their arrows are little short of three cubits, and nothing can stand against an arrow shot by an Indian archer, neither shield nor breastplate nor any strong armour" (Robson, trans., pp. 353, 355).

206.20-207.1: The Lycians . . . toulde after] *(In Polym.)

In The Persian Wars (VII, 92), Herodotus names among the host of the Persians, the Lycians, whose men "wore greaves and breastplates, while for arms they had bows of cornel wood, reed arrows without feathers, and javelins" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 531).

207.2-4: Ouid . . . bowes of] *(Metamor. I.) In the Metamorphoses (I, 697-98), Ovid notes that Syrinx was like Diana, "in dress and calling, though her bow, / Was made of horn, not gold . . ." (Humphries, trans., p. 24).

207.13-15: Taxi . . . made on] *(Virgilius. Georg. 2.) This quotation is taken from a description of trees in Virgil's Georgics (II, ll. 446-48): "virinibus salices fecundae, frondibus ulmi, at myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello cornus, Ituraeos taxi torquentus in

arcus." ("The willow's wealth is in its osiers, the elm's in its leaves, but the myrtle and the cornel, that weapon of war, abound in stout spear shafts; yews are bent into Ituraean bows" [Fairclough, trans., I, 147])).

209.1: tyllerynges] putting of a bow upon a tiller (an instrument in which a bow is placed and drawn to see how it bends) in order to stretch or bend it.

209.9: Sone . . . ynough] This proverb, which appears in Erasmus' Adagia (407B) as Sat cito si sat bene, is apparently used for the first time in English by Ascham (Tilley, p. 618).

211.7: pikynge] The exact meaning of the idiom, "piking or picking a bow," is uncertain; probably it means trimming a bow.

214.12: herden] a coarse fabric made from the hards of flax or hemp.

214.18-19: freat or pynche] a weakened place in a bow at which it tends to bend as if pinched at this point.

215.5: *(Bowecase.)

216.22: score] a distance of twenty paces.

217.13: *(Freates.)

218.11-12: the nature . . . knyt fast] In On Generation and Corruption (II, 2), Aristotle explains: "'Hot' is that which 'associates' things of the same kind (for 'dissociating,' which people attribute to Fire as its function, is 'associating' things of the same class, since its effect is to eliminate what is foreign), while 'cold' is that which brings together, i. e., 'associates' homogeneous and heterogeneous things alike" (McKeon, trans., p. 510).

218.15: staffysshe] rigid, stiff, hard.

219.12: ware] spend, lay out money.

219.14: spence] expenditure, cost.

220.19-22: Herodotus . . . dartes on] *(Hero. eutep.)

Ascham's source is Herodotus' description of the Egyptian hippopotamus in The Persian Wars (II, 71): "The hippopotamus, in the nome of Papremis, is a sacred animal, but not in any other part of Egypt. It may be thus described: It is a quadruped, cloven-footed, with hoofs like an ox, and a flat nose. It has a mane and tail of a horse, huge tusks which are very conspicuous, and a voice like a horse's neigh. In size it equals the biggest oxen, and its skin is so tough that when dried it is made into javelins" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 151).

220.22-221.3: the tree . . . Cornus] *(Sen. Hipp. Virg. enei. 9) In Seneca's Hippolytus, ll. 545b-547a, we find this use of the word cornus: "Non erat gracili levis/ armata ferro cornus" ("As yet there was no light cornel-shaft tipped with tapering iron" [Miller, trans., I, 360-61]). The quoted half-verse from Virgil is taken from the Aeneid (IX, ll. 698-99): "volat Itala cornus/ aera per tenerum stomachoque infixata sub altum." ("Through the yielding air flies the Italian cornel-shaft, and lodging in the gullet, runs deep into the breast" [Fairclough, trans., II, 160-61]).

221.6-9: Herodotus . . . of Inde] *(In Polym.) In his description of the host of Xerxes, Herodotus explains that "The Ethiopians . . . had long bows On these they laid short arrows made of reed, and armed at the tip, not with iron, but with a piece of stone, sharpened to a point, of the kind used in engraving seals" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 525). "The Indians . . . carried bows of cane, and arrows also of cane, with iron at the point" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 524). "The crews of the Lycians . . . for arms had bows of cornel wood, reed arrows without feathers, and javelins" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 531).

221.10-11: The shaftes . . . doth saye] *(Arrianus. 8.) see note for 206.16-19.

221.11-14: or at the . . . doeth tell] *(Q. Curt. 8.) In Quintus Curtius' History of Alexander (VIII, 9, xxviii), this description of the Indian king's pastimes includes information on the length of the shafts used in that country: "The King's favorite exercise is the chase, which consists in shooting with arrows animals shut up in a preserve amid the prayers and songs of concubines. The arrows are two cubits in length, and they discharge them with more effort than effect; for a weapon whose whole power depends upon lightness is burdened by its unsuitable weight" (Rolfe, trans., pp. 309, 311).

221.12: strype] a blow or stroke with a weapon or missile.

221.15-17: In Crete . . . of Italy] *(Pli. 16.36.) see note for 155.13-18.

221.22: stele] the shaft or stem of an arrow.

222.5: Fusticke] the wood of the Venetian sumach.

222.6: Sugercheste] the hard wood of various trees.

222.7: Hardbeame] the hornbeam, a small tree indigenous to England, so called from its hard, tough, close-grained wood.

222.12: Hulder] Exactly what tree Ascham refers to here is uncertain. The OED speculates that it may be the elder, but since

Ascham mentions elder as another tree in the same list, it is possible that hulder may be a misprint for hulver holly and others suggest that hulder is alder.

222.16: Aspe] a poplar with greyish bark and spreading branches.

222.17: Salow] a willow or the wood of a willow.

224.22: starting] leaping, suffering displacement.

224.22: gaddyng] wandering, leaving the true path.

226.18-20: And therfore . . . the ayre] In De Caelo (On the Heavens, II, 4), Aristotle discusses the spherical nature of water (Ross, ed., II, 287b), but nowhere in his lengthy discussion of rain in the Meteorologia (I) does he mention this quality of roundness.

229.8-9: couling or sheryng] paring or cutting down the feather of an arrow.

229.9-10: swyne backed] convexly curved.

229.10: sadle backed] having the back, upper surface or edge curved like a saddle; having a concavely curved outline.

229.22-230.1: Shaftes . . . shewe] *(Pl. 16.36. I. Pol. I. 10.) In a description of arms in the Onomasticon (I, 10), Julius Pollux

calls the arrows "winged arrows" or pennatus (Gualtheri, trans., p. 37). For the reference to Pliny, see note for 155.13-18.

230.1-2: yet onely . . . fedders] *(Her. Polym.) see note for 206.20-207.1.

230.3: leathe weake] having the joints flexible; hence, pliant, soft.

230.21-231.4: the best . . . Hesiodus dothe saye] *(Hesiod. in Scuto. Her.) In The Shield of Herakles (ll. 129-34), Hesiod provides this description of the hero's quiver and arrows: "and athwart his breast he cast behind him a hollow quiver, and within it were many arrows, chilly givers of speech-forgotten death. Their tips were charged with death, and flowed with tears: their midst was polished, exceeding long: their butts were covered with black eagle's plume" (Mair, trans., p. 73).

231.11: *(A Gouse.)

231.21-232.4: The Romaynes . . . kekede] *(Propertius.) This quotation is taken from Propertius' Elegies, Book III, 3, 1.12.

232.5-8: Dyd make . . . Geese] *(Liuius I. Dec. 5.) In The History of Rome (V, 47), Livy relates this tale concerning an attempt to seize the capital by the Veii. As the Veii silently approached the

citadel,

they not only escaped the notice of the sentinels, but of the dogs also, an animal extremely wakeful with respect to noises by night. The notice of the geese they did not escape, which, as being sacred to Juno, were spared though they were in greatest scarcity of food. Which circumstance was the cause of their preservation. For Marcus Manlius, who three years before had been consul, a man distinguished in war, being aroused from sleep by their cackling and the clapping of their wings, snatched up his arms, and at the same time calling the others to do the same, proceeds to the spot; and whilst the others are thrown into confusion, he struck with the boss of his shield and tumbles down a Gaul, who had already got footing on the summit; and when the fall of this man as he tumbled threw down those who were next him, he slew others, who in their consternation had thrown away their arms, and caught hold of the rocks to which they clung. And now the others also having assembled beat down the enemy by javelins and stones, and the entire band, having lost their footing, were hurled down the precipice in promiscuous ruin (Spillan, trans., I, 380).

233.4: storer] coarse in texture, harsh, rough, stiff.

233.12: bought] a bend, curve, or angle.

234.9-11: to saye . . . Fletchers] Ascham is playing on the well-known proverb, "God sends meat and the devil sends cooks" (Tilley, p. 262).

236.4-9: For roundnesse . . . ayer wythall] *(De nat. deor.) Among the wonders of the universe described in On the Nature of the Gods (II, 49), Cicero includes this phenomenon: "when cranes are making their way across the seas in search of warmer climes, they fly in a triangular formation. The apex of the triangle cleaves a

passage through the air by shunting aside the currents in front of it, and gradually the birds on either side, plying their wings as though they were oars, find their progress easier" (Poteat, trans., p. 275).

236.20: Necessitie . . . goodnesse] This is apparently the first appearance in English of the proverb, "Necessity is the mother of invention" (Tilley, p. 492).

237.10-12: this verse . . . yron] *(Iliados. 4.) This quotation is taken from the Iliad, IV, l. 123.

237.13-16: The Grecians . . . heed] *(Odysse. 21.) The quotation is taken from the Odyssey, XXI, l. 423.

237.17-19: It is . . . string] *(Iliados. 4.) When Pandarus' arrow pierces Menelaus in Book IV of the Iliad, Agamemnon observes that the arrow-cord and barbs are outside (l. 151), a sign of hope that the wounded man will survive (Norgate, trans., p. 95).

237.19-238.3: And therfore . . . brasse] *(Odysse. 21.) In the Odyssey (XXI, ll. 59-61), Penelope comes to the hall "bearing in her hand the back-bent bow, the quiver for the arrows, and in the quiver many woeful shafts. And by her side her maidens bore a chest wherein there lay great stores of bronze and iron . . ." (Marris, trans., p. 371).

238.4: The men . . . brasse] *(Hero. Clio.) In The Persian Wars (I, 125), Herodotus notes that the Scythians "use bows and lances For their spear points and arrowheads and for their battle-axes, they make use of brass" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 114).

238.4-5: The men . . . yron] *(Hero. Polym.) In The Persian Wars (VII, 65), Herodotus reports: "The Indians . . . carried bows of cane and arrows of cane also, with iron at the point" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 524).

238.5-6: The Ethiopians . . . do tel] In The Persian Wars (VII, 69), Herodotus observes: "The Ethiopians had short arrows made of reed and armed at the tip, not with iron, but with a piece of stone, sharpened to a point, of the kind used in engraving seals" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 525). Julius Pollux makes the same observation in the Onomasticon (I, 10, vi).

238.7-8: Germanes . . . bone] In Germania (XLVI), Tacitus notes that some of the German tribes "trust wholly to their arrows, which, for want of iron, are pointed with bone" (Church and Brodribb, trans., p. 732).

238.11-20: Iulius . . . forkehead] *(I. Pol. 1:10) In the Onomasticon (I, 10, vi), Julius Pollux makes this distinction: "Ferrum vero cuspidis, et cuspidis partes versus arundinem, *ὀφθαλμοῦ*

cuspidis vero prominentiae, *γρεωξις* dicuntur" (Gualtheri, trans., p. 37).

238.20-239.2: bothe . . . forke heade] *(Iliad. 8.) The quoted line is taken from the Iliad, VIII, 1. 297.

239.7-9: The Parthyans . . . out agayne] *(Plutarchus in Crasso.) In the Life of Crassus (XXIV, 4 and XXV, 5), Plutarch relates that in this battle against the Roman forces of Crassus, the Parthians used arrows of great velocity and force "which fractured armours, and tore their way through every covering alike, whether hard or soft." The stricken Roman forces, writhing in pain, "would break them off in their wounds, and then in trying to pull out by force the barbed heads which had pierced their veins and sinews . . . tore and disfigured themselves the more" (Perrin, trans., III, 389, 393).

239.10-13: Commodus . . . neuer misse] *(Herodia. I.) see note for 95.13-18.

240.18-19: Iulius Pollux . . . in them] *(Pollux. 7.) In the Onomasticon (I, 10, vi), Julius Polux mentions "sagittae igniferae" (Gualtheri, trans., p. 37).

240.19-20: and scripture . . . the same] *(Psal. 7.)
Psalms 7.13-14.

240.20-241.3: Herodotus . . . turne them] *(Hero. Vran) In The Persian Wars (VIII, 52), Herodotus relates that "The Persians encamped upon the hill . . . and began the siege of the place, attacking the Greeks with arrows whereto pieces of lighted tow were attached, which they shot at the barricade. And now those who were within the citadel found themselves in a most woeful case, for their wooden rampart betrayed them" (Rawlinson, trans., p. 614).

249.20-23: Crassus . . . craft] see note for 195.12-16 and 182.6-7.

250.4-9: the noble . . . comeliness] Cicero tells this story in full at the beginning of his treatise, On Rhetorical Invention (I):

Some men of Crotona, when they were rich in all kinds of resources, and when they were considered among the most prosperous people of Italy, were desirous to enrich the temple of Juno, which they regarded with the most religious veneration, with spendid pictures. Therefore, they hired Zeuxis of Heraclea at a vast price, who was at the time considered to be far superior to all other painters, and employed him in that business. He painted many other pictures, of which some portion, on account of the great respect in which the temple is held, has remained to within our recollection; and in order that one of his mute representations might contain the preeminent beauty of the female form, he said that he wished to paint a likeness of Helen. And the men of Crotona, who had frequently heard that he excelled all other men in painting women, were very glad to hear this; for they thought that if he took great pains in that class of work in which he had the greatest skill, he would leave them a most noble work in that temple.

Nor were they deceived in that expectation: for Zeuxis immediately asked of them what beautiful virgins they had; and they led him into the palustra, and there showed him numbers of boys of the highest birth and of the greatest beauty. For indeed, there was a time when the people of Crotona were far superior to all other

cities in the strength and beauty of their persons; and they brought home the most honorable victories from the gymnastic contests, with the greatest credit. While, therefore, he was admiring the figures of the boys and their personal perfection very greatly; "The sisters," say they, "of these boys are virgins in our city, so that how great their beauty is you may infer from these boys." "Give me, then," said he, "I beg you, the most beautiful of these virgins, while I paint the picture which I promised you, so that the reality may be transferred from the breathing model to the mute likeness." Then the citizens of Crotona, in accordance with a public vote, collected the virgins into one place, and gave the painter the opportunity of selecting whom he chose. But he selected five, whose names many poets have handed down to tradition, because they had been approved by the judgment of the man who was bound to have the most accurate judgment respecting beauty. For he did not think that he could find all the component parts of perfect beauty in one person, because nature has made nothing of any class absolutely perfect in every part. Therefore, as if nature would not have enough to give to everybody if it had given everything to one, it balances one advantage bestowed upon a person by another disadvantage (Yonge, trans., IV, 307-08).

250.16: Hewe Prophete . . . seruaunte] A yeoman of the King's guard, Hugh Profit was named in a list of grants by the Crown as one of the bailifs of the lordships of Norton and Stockum, Cheshire in January, 1545 (Letters and Papers, XX, #1336, 674).

250.17: Thomas and Raufe Cantrell] First named gunner of the Tower of London on 23 October 1527, Thomas Cantrell is noted as having "served well" in May, 1544 as one of three master gunners (Letters and Papers, IV, #3540, 26; Letters and Papers, XIX, #477, 302).

Ralph Cantrell is mentioned as a notary public attendant at a reading of a Papal bull for Charles, Duke of Suffolk by Sir Humphrey

Wingfield, Ascham's guardian, on 20 August 1529 (Letters and Papers, IV, #5859, 269).

250.23-251.3: Socrates . . . so forth] In Plato's Republic (II), using the method of negative definition, Socrates teaches Adeimantus about the nature of God by examining the false as well as the true representations of divinity found in the works of the poets (Jowett, trans., I, 643-47).

252.19: blysse] wound, hurt, beat, thrash.

256.4: *(Standynge.)

256.19: *(Nockynge.)

257.7: *(Drawynge.)

257.9-12: and this . . . hard heed] *(Iliad. 4.) see note for 237.10-12.

257.13-16: The noble . . . Amazones] The word Amazon is derived from the Greek word for breast, in connection with the fable that these women cut off the right breast so as not to interfere with the use of the bow.

257.18-258.1: Whether . . . no good] *(Procopius Hist. Pers.) In the History of the Wars (Book I of The Persian Wars),

Procopius of Caesarea, the fifth-century historian of Justinian's reign, explains:

There are those . . . who call the soldiers of the present day "bowmen," while to those of the most ancient times they wish to attribute such lofty terms as "hand-to-hand fighters," "shield-men," and other names of that sort; and they think that the valour of those times has by no means survived to the present, --an opinion which is at once careless and wholly remote from actual experience of these matters. For the thought has never occurred to them that, as regards the Homeric bowmen who had the misfortune to be ridiculed by this term derived from their art, they were neither carried by horse nor protected by spear or shield. In fact there was no protection at all for their bodies. They entered battle on foot and were compelled to conceal themselves, either singling out the shield of some comrade, or seeking safety behind a tombstone on a mound, from which position they could neither save themselves in case of rout, nor fall upon a flying foe . . . they were so indifferent in their practice of archery that they drew the bowstring only to the breast, so that the missile sent forth was naturally impotent and harmless to those whom it hit. Such, it is evident, was the archery of the past. But the bowmen of the present time go into battle wearing corselets and fitted out with greaves which extend up to the knee. From the right side hang their arrows, from the other the sword. And there are some who have a spear also attached to them and at the shoulders, a sort of small shield without a grip, such as to cover the region of the face and neck. They are expert horsemen, and are able without difficulty to direct their bows to either side while riding at full speed, and to shoot an opponent whether in pursuit or in flight. They draw the bowstring along by the forehead about opposite the right ear, thereby charging the arrow with such an impetus as to kill whoever stands in the way, shield and corslet alike having no power to check its force (Dewing, trans., pp. 5, 7, 9).

258.8: *(Crosbowes.)

258.16: *(Holding.)

258.21: *(Lowsynge.)

259.3-7: And for . . . strynge] *(Leo) see note for 157.7-9.

260.4: *(wynde and wether.)

261.4: a marchaunt of Eele skinner] This proverbial expression, meaning a merchant without either money or wares, was apparently used first in English by Ascham (Tilley, p. 457).

263.19: pinkes] small flat-bottomed sailing vessels with bulging sides.

267.16-17: that wise . . . selfe] Ascham is translating the proverb, Nosce teipsum (Tilley, p. 175).

273.15-16: Hippocrates . . . same waye] *(Hippo. De morb. vulg.) In Of the Epidemics, Hippocrates grounds his descriptions and explanations of the contagious diseases he discusses almost entirely in case histories of persons whom he attended and studied during their illnesses (Adams, trans., pp. 323-350).

275.10: Hunfyshskin] the skin of various small sharks or of the dogfish.

278.12-13: The eye . . . partes] This proverbial expression is a variation on the proverb, "The eye is the window of the mind" (Tilley, p. 194).

280.15-16: All affections . . . bodye] This advice is again a variation on a familiar proverb, "Affection is blind reason" (Tilley, p. 3).

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