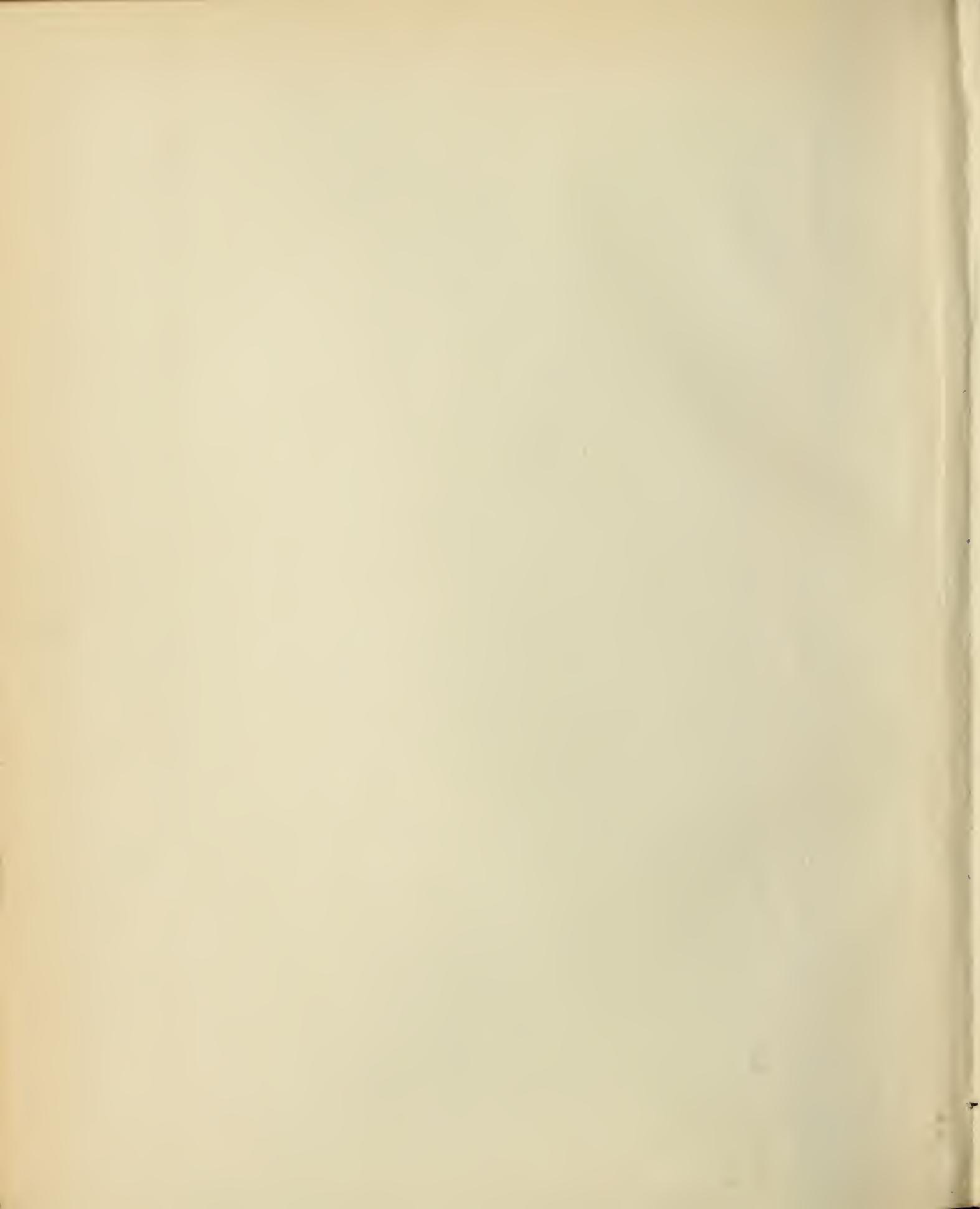




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TORONTO, 1901.

English Reprints.

JOHN SELDEN.

TABLE-TALK.

1689.

$\pi\epsilon\rho\iota \pi\alpha\nu\tau\circ\sigma \tau\hbar\nu \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\rho\lambda\nu$

(Above all things, Liberty.)

51842
1901

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

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CHRONICLE

3

of

some of the principal events
in the

LIFE, WORKS, and TIMES
of

JOHN SELDEN.

Antiquary, Philologist, Heraldist, Linguist, Jurist, Statesman, &c.

* Probable or approximate dates.

A Life of Selden does not exist: to the great reproach of the Lawyers.
All accounts of him are but sketches.

Few of Selden's many works have been mentioned here, for want of space.
A list of them is given in Dr. Aikin's *Life of Selden*, pp. 197-9. Ed. 1812.

1558. Nov. 17. Elizabeth begins to reign.

JOHN SELDEN, the glory of the English nation, as Hugo Grotius worthily stiles him, son of John Selden, by Margaret his wife, the only daughter of Thomas Baker of Rushington, (descended from the knightly family of the Bakers in Kent) was born in an obscure village called Salvinton near to Terring a market town in Sussex. His father . . . was a sufficient plebeian, and delighted much in music, by the exercising of which he obtained (as 'tis said) his wife, of whom our famous author Jo. Selden was born on the 16th of Decemb. 1584. *Wood, Ath. Oxon.* iii. 366. Ed. 1817.

The birthplace of John Selden is Salvinton, a hamlet of the parish of West Tarring, in the county of Sussex. Tarring is about two miles from Worthing. . . . The cottage in which he was born still remains. It was then known as Lacies, being the residence attached to a farm of about eighty-one acres. The date of 1601 is upon its front. *G. W. Johnson. Memoirs of John Selden,* pp. 33. 34. Ed. 1835.

Dec. 20. '1584—John, the sonne of John Selden, the minstrell, was baptized the 20th day of December.' *Parish Register of West Tarring.*

Besides John there were two younger sons, who died infants, and a daughter, who married to a John Bernard of Goring in Sussex: by whom she had two sons and four daughters. They appear to have remained in humble situations. *Johnson, p. 36.*

He was 'instructed in grammar learning in the Free School at Chichester, under Mr. Hugh Barker of New College [Oxford].' *Wood, idem.*

On the inside of the lintel of his birthplace and home "is carved a Latin distich, said to have been composed by Selden when only ten years old. . . . The following literal copy made at the time of a personal inspection [in August 1834] is submitted to the reader's judgement.

GRATVS HONESTE MIH' NO CLAVDAR INITO SEDEB'

FVR ABEAS: NO SV FACTA SOLVTA TIBI.

The last character of the first line is somewhat imperfect. It probably was intended as a contraction of 'que.' In this case the literal translation is 'Honest friend thou art welcome to me, I will not be closed, enter and be seated. Thief! begone, I am not open to thee.' *"Johnson, idem.*

Birth and Infancy.

At Chichester School.

CHRONICLE.

At Oxford.

Studying, writing, and living chiefly in the Inner Temple.

1600. Mich. term. By the care and advice of his schoolmaster, Selden
 æt. 15. enters Hart Hall, Oxford : and is ‘committed to the
 tuition of Mr. Anthony Barker, one of the Fellows,’
 brother to his schoolmaster, by ‘whom he was instructed
 in logic and philosophy for about three years, which
 with great facility he conquered.’ *Wood, idem.*
- ‘Sir Giles Mompesson told me, that he was then of
 that house, and that Selden was a long scabby-pol’d boy
 but a good student.’ *Aubrey MSS. quoted in Bliss’s
 Edition of Wood; ut supra.*
1602. æt. 17. Becomes a member of Clifford’s Inn.
1603. Mar. 24. James I. succeeds to the English crown.
1604. May. Removes to the Inner Temple. “His chamber was
 æt. 19. in the Paper buildings which looke towards the garden,
 staire-case, uppermost story, where he had a
 little gallery to walke in. He was quickly taken notice
 of for his learning.”—*Aubrey MSS., idem.*
- After he had continued there sedulous student for
 some time, he did by the help of a strong body and vast
 memory, not only run through the whole body of the
 law, but became a prodigy in most parts of learning,
 especially in those which were not common, or little
 frequented, or regarded by the generality of students
 of his time. So that in few years his name was
 wonderfully advanced, not only at home, but in foreign
 countries, and was usually stiled the great dictator of
 learning of the English nation.
- He seldom or never appeared publickly at the bar,
 (tho’ a bencher) but gave sometimes chamber-counsel,
 and was good at conveyance.
- He had a very choice library of books, as well MSS.
 as printed, in the beginning of all or most of which he
 wrote either in the title, or leaf before it, $\pi\epsilon\rho\pi \pi\alpha\tau\tau\circ\pi \tau\eta\pi$
 $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\pi\theta\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha\pi$: ABOVE ALL, LIBERTY; to shew, that he
 would examine things, and not take them upon trust.
Wood. Idem.
- [Dr. Bliss, on this, says, I shall take leave to render
 the words ABOVE EVERY THING, LIBERTY!
 That is, liberty is dearer to me and more desirable than
 every other blessing; even than life itself: a sentiment
 worthy not only of Selden, but of every one who calls
 himself an Englishman.”—*Wood. Idem.*]
- He was solicitor and steward for the Earle of Kent.—
Aubrey MSS. idem.
1607. æt. 22. He publishes his first work *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon.*
1612. æt. 27. He furnishes Drayton with notes to the first 18 Chapters
 of his *Polyolbion* published the next year.
1614. æt. 29. He publishes *Titles of Honour*, ‘his largest English,
 and in the opinion of Usher, his best work.’—*Johnson,
 idem.*
1617. æt. 32. He publishes *De Diis Syris, Syntagma duo*: a
 history of the Idol deities of the Old Testament.
1618. æt. 33. [Preface dated Apr. 4.] Selden publishes *The Historie
 of Tithes, that is, The practice of payment of them. The
 positive laws made for them. The opinions touching
 the right of them.* Whereupon a needless ecclesiastical
 uproar arises. Selden tells us “Having at length . . .
 composed it, I committed it to the censure of one that
 had the power of licensing it for the press. I left it with
 him, and to his own time, and without so much as any
 further request from me to him. He sent it to me licensed,

with *ita est*, and *subscription of his name*. Then was it printed, and until it was wholly printed, I never had the least expression of any dislike to it from any man that had any *authority or power of command*, either in the *state*, or in the *church*.—*Omnia opera*, iii. 1450.

Dec.

The king, who had no knowledge of Selden but through the misrepresentations of his courtiers, summoned him by his secretary, Sir Robert Naunton, to appear, with his work, at the Palace of Theobalds. ‘I,’ says Selden, ‘being then entirely a stranger to the court, and known personally there to a very few, was unwilling to go thither unaccompanied,’ and consequently he obtained the attendance of his old friend and fellow-templar, Edward Heyward, of Reepham, in Norfolk, and of Ben Jonson, ‘principes poetarum,’ to introduce him to the king. . . . Selden had two conferences with King James at Theobald’s, and one at Whitehall, and bears testimony in several parts of his after-writings to the ability and courtesy of his Majesty.—*Johnson*, pp. 64, 67.

1619. Jan. 28.

act. 34.

Selden however is cited before the High Commission Court at Lambeth Palace. One of his opponents, Dr. Richard Tillesley, Archdeacon of Rochester, in his *Animadversions upon Mr. Selden's History of Tithes and his Review therof*, 2nd Edition, 1621, triumphantly quotes the following:—

His submission because he denieth to haue beene in the High Commission Court, and for that in my *Auswerre to his Pamphlet* it is not so perflyt related, may it please thee Reader, here to reade it whole out of the Registry of that Court.

Vicesimo octauo die Mensis Ianuarij, Anno Domini iuxta Computationem Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1618. Coram Reverendissimo in Christo patre, Domino Georgio, prouidentia diuina Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliae Primate et Metropolitano, Iohanne London, Lancelot Winton, et Iohanne Roffen, eadem prouidentia respectu Episcopis: Iohanne Bennet, Willielmo Bird et Georgio Newman, Militibus, in Manerio Archiepiscopali apud Lambehit in Comitatu Surrey, iudicialiter sedentibus: praesente Thoma Mottershed.

Officium Deminorum contra Iohannem Selden de Interiori Templo London, Armigerum.

This day appeared personally John Selden Esquire, and made his submission all vnder his owne hand writing, touching the publication of his Booke entituled *The History of Tithes, Sub tenore verborum sequente.*

“My good Lords, I most humbly acknowledge my error, which I haue committed in publishing the *History of Tithes*, and especially, in that I have at all by shewing any interpretation of holy Scriptures, by meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by what elsesocuer occures in it, offered any occasion of Argument against any right of Maintenance *Iure Diuino* of the Ministers of the Gospell: Beseeching your Lordships to receiue this ingenuous and humble acknowledgement, together with the ysfeigned protestation of my grieve, for that through it I haue so incurred both his Maiesties and your Lordships displeasure conceiued against mee in the behalfe of the Church of England.—John Selden.”

The High Commission Court suppress his book.

This ‘usage sunk so deep into his stomach, that he did

CIRRONICLE.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>In Parliament: afterwards imprisoned.</p> | <p>never after affect the bishops and clergy, or cordially approve their calling, tho' many ways were tried to gain him to the church's interest.'—<i>Wood, idem.</i></p> |
| <p>1619.</p> | <p>Selden's father dies.</p> |
| <p>1621.</p> | <p>About this time finishes his work on the Sovereignty of the sea, <i>Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris</i> in answer to Grotius' <i>Mare liberum</i>. Not published till 1635. For history of this book, see <i>Johnson</i>, pp 207–210.</p> |
| <p>1624. Feb. 12—
May 29. æt. 39.</p> | <p>Dr. Richard Mountagu—afterwards Bp. in succession of Chichester and Norwich—publishes his <i>Diatribæ upon the first part of the late History of Tythes</i>. King James tells Selden 'If you or your friends write anything against his [Dr. M's] confutation, I will throw you into prison.'—<i>Mare Clausur.</i> See <i>Opera Omnia</i>, ii. 1423.</p> |
| <p>Trinity
term
Oct. 21.</p> | <p>King James' last Parliament. Selden first appearance in the House, as M.P. for Lancaster. See John Forster's admirable <i>Life of Sir John Eliot</i>, London 1864, for the best account of Selden's early Parliamentary career.</p> |
| <p>In retirement.</p> | <p>Selden is chosen Reader of Lyon's Inn. He refuses the office thrice.</p> |
| <p>1625. Mar. 27. Charles E. becomes king.</p> | <p>The Benchers' displeasure is thus recorded in their Register. "The masters of the bench, taking into consideration his contempt and offence, and for that it is without precedent that any man elected to read in chancery has been discharged in the like case, much less has with such wilfulness refused to read the same, have ordered that he shall presently pay to the use of this house the sum of twenty pounds for his fine, and that he stand and be disabled ever to be called to the bench, or to be Reader of this house."—<i>Johnson</i>, p. 111.</p> |
| <p>1626. Feb. 6–June 15. æt. 41.</p> | <p>King Charles' second Parliament. Selden is returned for Great Bedwin in Wilts. During the session is entrusted with the 4th and 5th articles of the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham.</p> |
| <p>1628. Mar. 17.</p> | <p>King Charles' third Parliament. Selden is member for Ludgershal. Takes part in the preparation of 'The Petition of Right.'</p> |
| <p>1629. Mar. 10.</p> | <p>He and others are imprisoned for several months.</p> |
| <p>1632. æt. 47.</p> | <p>The Benchers of Inner Temple rescind their order of 1624.</p> |
| <p>Michs. Term.</p> | <p>Selden is elected a Bencher of their Inn.</p> |
| <p>1639. æt. 54.</p> | <p>The Earl [of Kent] died in 1639, without issue, and from that time Selden appears to have made the family mansions at Wrest in Bedfordshire, and White Friars in London, his places of residence. Aubrey says he married the Countess Dowager, and that 'he never owned the marriage with the Countess of Kent till after her death, upon some lawe account. He never kept any servant peculiar, but my ladie's were all of his command; he lived with her in Cædibus Carmeliticis (White Fryers) which was, before the conflagration, a noble dwelling. He kept a plentiful table, and was never without learned company.'—<i>Aubrey MSS.</i></p> |
| <p>1640. Nov. 3.</p> | <p>The Long Parliament assembles. Selden sits for Oxford University. For his share in public transactions, see John Forster's two works published in London 1860, <i>The Grand Remonstrance</i> and <i>The Arrest of the Five Members</i>.</p> |
| <p>1642. May.</p> | <p>The King being half-minded to dismiss the Lord Kever Littleton, commands Hyde and Lord Falkland</p> |
| <p>æt. 57.</p> | |

to report whether Selden should be offered the Great Seal. Their report was: "They did not doubt of Mr. Selden's Affection to the King, but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded, he would absolutely refuse the place, if it were offer'd to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; was rich; and would not have made a Journey to York, or have layn out of his own bed, for any Preferment, which he had never affected."—*Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion. Bk. iv. 445, Ed. 1702.*

1643. æt. 58. Whitelock in his *Memorials*, tells us: "Divers Members of both Houses, whereof I was one, were Members of the Assembly of Divines, and had the same Liberty with the Divines to sit and debate, and give their Votes in any Matter which was in consideration amongst them: In which Debates Mr. Selden spake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own Learning. And sometimes when they had cited a Text of Scripture to prove their Assertion, he would tell them, *Perhaps in your little Pocket Bibles with gilt Leaves* (which they would often pull out and read) *the Translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew, signifies thus and thus;* and so would totally silence them."—p. 71, Ed. 1732.
1643. Dec. 12. On the presentation of Philip, Count of Pembroke: Selden's annanuensis, Rev. Richard Milward, becomes Rector of Great Braxted, in Essex. He holds this living until his death. *Newcourt Repertorium*, ii. 92, Ed. 1710.
1645. Apr. æt. 60. Is one of a joint commission of both houses to administer the Admiralty.
- Aug. Is elected Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge: but declines it.
1647. Jan. 11. The House of Commons votes those members imprisoned in 1628 'for oppressing the illegalities of that time,' £5000 each. Selden is believed to have only accepted one-half.
1651. Dec. 3. The Countess Dowager of Kent dies in White Friars. *Rev. J. Granger. Biogr. Hist.* ii. 375, Ed. 1775. She appointed Selden her executor, and bequeathed to him the Friary House, in White Friars. *Johnson, idem.* The opinion that he then and thus attained his chief riches is contradicted by the fact that he was reputed a rich man in 1642.
- He would tell his intimate friends, Sir Bennet Hoskyns, &c., that he had nobody to make his heire, except it were a milk-mayd, and that such people did not know what to doe with a great estate. *Aubrey MSS.*
1653. June 11. æt. 68. Selden makes his will [printed in *Omnia Opera*, I. liii. Ed. 1726.] He leaves the bulk of his property, estimated at £40,000, to his four executors; Edward Heyward, Esq., Matthew Hale (afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench), John Vaughan (afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas), and Rowland Jewks the elder. Aubrey says: "He intended to haue given his owne library to the Vniversity of Oxford, but received disobligation from them, for that they would not lend him some MSS. wherefore by his will he left it to the disposall of his executors, who gave it to the Bodleian library at Oxon He would write sometimes, when notions came into his head, to preserve them, under his barber's hands. When he dyed, his barber sayd he had a great mind to know his will, 'For,'

sayd he, 'I never knew a wise man make a wiso will.'

- Death. | 1654. Nov. 30. æt. 69. John Selden dies at White Friars, of dropsy.
Dec. 14. Is magnificently buried in the Temple church. His executors 'invited all the parliament men, all the benchers, and great officers. All the judges had mourning, as also an abundance of persons of quality.' Archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon. *Wood, idem.*

We may adduce the testimony of three contemporaries:—

1. G. Berkeley, Earl of Berkeley, in his *Historical Applications and occasional Meditations upon several subjects. Written by a Person of Honour.* London 1670, p. 12, gives us the following—

Our Learned *Selden*, before he dyed, sent for the most Reverend Arch-Bishop *Visher*, and the Rev. Dr. *Langbaine*, and discoursed to them of this purpose; That he had survey'd most part of the Learning that was among the Sons of Men; that he had his Study full of Books and Papers of most Subjects in the world; yet at that time he could not recollect any passage out of infinite Books and Manuscripts he was Master of, wherein he could Rest his Soul, save out of the Holy Scriptures; wherein the most remarkable passage that lay most upon his spirit was Titus ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

2. E. Hyde, Lord Clarendon, in his Autobiography, written about 20 years after Selden's death, gives the following character of him, in which may be traced admiration for his character and abilities; and regret, it may be sneering resentment, at his choosing the side of the Parliament in the Civil War.

"Mr. *SELDEN* was a Person, whom no Character can flatter, or transmit in any Expressions equal to his Merit and Virtue; He was of so stupendous Learning in all Kinds, and in all Languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent Writings) that a man would have thought He had been entirely conversant amongst Books, and had never spent an Hour but in Reading and Writing; yet his Humanity, Courtesy, and Affability was such, that He would have been thought to have been bred in the best Courts, but that his good Nature, Charity, and Delight in doing good, and in communicating all He knew, exceeded that Breeding: His Stile in all his Writings seems harsh and sometimes obscure: which is not wholly to be imputed to the abtruse Subjects of which He commonly treated, out of the Paths trod by other Men; but to a little undervaluing the Beauty of a Stile, and too much Propensity to the Language of Antiquity; but in his Conversation He was the most clear Discourser, and had the best Faculty in making hard Things easy, and presenting them to the Understanding, of any Man that hath been known. Mr. *Hyde* was wont to say, that He valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. *Selden's* Acquaintance from the Time He was very young; and held it with great Delight as long as They were suffered to continue together in *London*; and He was very much troubled always when He heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in *London*, and in the Parliament, after They were in Rebellion, and in the worst Times, which his Age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the Actions were, which were every Day done, He was confident He had not given his Consent to them; but would have hindered them if He could, with his own Safety, to which He was always enough indulgent. If He had some Infirmities with other Men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious Abilities and Excellencies in the other Scale."—*Life*, p. 16. Ed. 1759.

3. Rev. Richard Baxter, in his *Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale. Kt.* London 1682. p. 40, thus writes:—

"I know you are acquainted, how greatly he [Sir M. Hale] valued Mr. *Selden*, being one of his Executors; his Books and Picture being still near him. I think it meet therefore to remember, that because many *Hobbits* do report, that Mr. *Selden* was at the heart an Infidel, and inclined to the Opinions of *Hobbs*, I desired him [Sir M. Hale] to tell me the truth herein; And he oft professed to me, that Mr. *Selden* was a resolved serious Christian; and that he was a great adversary to *Hobbs* his errors; and that he had seen him openly oppose him so earnestly, as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the Room."

THE
TABLE-TALK OF JOHN SELDEN.

INTRODUCTION.

ABOOK of Apothegms is an armoury of thoughts more or less felicitously expressed. Rightly read, it acts as a tonic on the mind. The subjects are so disconnected and follow the one the other so rapidly : the opinions and arguments are so incisively expressed, and are often so apparently contradictory and paradoxical : that the whole work becomes hard to read, and still harder to digest. Rapid reading of such condensed thought is unproductive ; careful study, however, makes it both enjoyable and fruitful : and that in proportion to the activity of the reader's mind.

It is clear, therefore, that Apothegms are rather subjects for consideration than articles for belief. They must be thoroughly examined. They must be, so to speak, unravelled and unfolded, that their inwrapped principles may be understood in their nature, applications, and consequences ; in order that concinnated speech may not beguile us from truth, or aphorisms charm us into injustice and error.

It is further evident, that our final judgment of the opinions of the Author must be suspended until we thus possess his whole work. In particular, in the present instance, we should not forget that we have but stray fragments of talk, separated from the context of casual and unrestrained conversations ; collected —probably without the Speaker's knowledge—one, two, or three at a time, over a period of twenty years ; and classified long afterwards, as seemed best to their Preserver.

These Sayings were published thirty-five years after Selden's death, and nine years after their recorder—the Rev. Richard Milward, S.T.P., who died Canon of Windsor, Rector of Great Braxted, and Vicar of Isleworth—had passed away. While they are, therefore, thus doubly posthumous in publication, they must be long antedated in utterance. *Table-Talk* belongs chiefly, if not entirely, to 1634—1654, and therefore appertains to the first rather than the second half of the Seventeenth century.

These Discourses show somewhat of the mind, but not the whole mind of Selden, even in the subjects treated of. What must have been the fulness of information, the aptness of illustration, the love of truth, the justness of reasoning, when such fragments as these could be picked up by a casual hearer? Bacon's *Essays* are most carefully finished compositions: Selden's *Table-Talk* is the spontaneous incidental outpouring of an overflowing mind; and yet it may not unworthily compare with the former.

Passing by acute insight into human nature, and great antiquarian research, can we gather, however imperfectly, from the present work, any idea as to what Selden's main opinions were? We think we may.

In this work, as elsewhere, John Selden is the Champion of Human Law. It fell to his lot to live in a time when the life of England was convulsed, for years together, beyond precedent; when men searched after the ultimate and essential conditions and frames of human society; when each strove fiercely for his *rights*, and then as dogmatically asserted them.

Amidst immense, preposterous, and inflated assumptions; through the horrid tyranny of the system of the *Thorough*; in the exciting debates of Parliament; in all the storm of the Civil War; in the still fiercer jarring of religious sects; amidst all the phenomena of that age; Selden clung to 'the Law of the Kingdom.' 'All is as the State pleases.' He advocates the

supremacy of Human Law against the so-called doctrine of Divine Right. He thrusts out the Civil Power against all Ecclesiastical pretensions, and raising it to be the highest authority in the State, denies the existence of any other co-ordinate power. So strongly does he assert the power of the Nation to do or not to do, that, for the purpose of his argument, he reduces Religion almost to a habit of thought, to be assumed or cast off, like a fashion in dress, at will. ‘So Religion was brought into kingdoms, so it has been continued, and so it may be cast out, when the State pleases.’* ‘The Clergy tell the Prince they have Phyick good for his Soul, and good for the Souls of his People, upon that he admits them: but when he finds by Experience they both trouble him and his People, he will have no more to do with them, what is that to them or any body else if a King will not go to Heaven’† ‘The State still makes the Religion and receives into it, what will best agree with it.’§

Selden lodges the Civil Power of England, in the King and the Parliament. He shews that our English Constitution is but one great Contract between two equal Princes, the Sovereign and the People; and that if that Contract be broken, both parties are at parity again. That, by a like consent, the majority in England governs; the minority assenting to the judgement of the majority, and being involved in their decision. . Finally, reducing all relationships to like mutual Agreements, he urges the keeping of Contracts, as the essential bond of Human society. ‘Keep your Faith.’

The way these views are enforced, fully justifies Lord Clarendon’s opinion of him, that ‘in his Conversation He was the most clear Discourser, and had the best Faculty in making hard Things easy, and presenting them to the Understanding, of any Man that hath been known.’‡

* P. 29.

† P. 36.

§ P. 130.

‡ P. 8.

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* Editions not seen.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

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2. 1696. London. 1 vol. 4to. ‘The Second Edition’ of No. 1. Printed for Jacob Tonson.
3. *1698. London. 1 vol. 8vo. According to *British Museum Catalogue*.
4. 1716. London. 1 vol. 12mo. ‘The Third Edition’ of No. 1. Printed for Jacob Tonson.
6. *1786. London. 1 vol. 12mo. With a life of the Author. *Lowndes*.
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8. *1819. Edinburgh. 1 vol. 12mo. With notes by DAVID IRVING, LL.D.
9. 1847. London. 1 vol. 8vo. The Table-Talk of John Selden Esqre., with a biographical preface and notes by S. W. SINGER Esqre.
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13. 1860. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Library of Old Authors*. Third edition of No. 9.
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II. With other works.

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* * * It is strange, that but for the efforts of two gentlemen, Dr. Irving and Mr. Singer, only a single edition of the ‘Table Talk’ would have appeared this century. The neglect of our English masterpieces of thought is a thing incredible.

Table-Talk:

BEING THE

DISCOURSES

OF

John Selden Esq.;

OR HIS

SENCE

Of Various

MATTERS

OF

WEIGHT and HIGH CONSEQUENCE

Relating especially to

Religion and State.

Distingue Tempora.

LONDON,

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To the Honourable
Mr. Justice Hales,*
One of the JUDGES
OF THE
Common-Pleas;

And to the much Honoured
EDWARD HEYWOOD, IOHN
VAUGHAN and ROWLAND
JEWKS, Esquires.*

Most worthy Gentlemen,

*W*ere you not Executors to that Person, who
(while he liv'd) was the Glory of the Na-
tion; yet I am Confident any thing of his
would find Acceptance with you, and truly the Sense and
Notion here is wholly his, and most of the words. I had
the opportunity to hear his Discourse twenty Years together,
and least all those Excellent things that usually fell from
him might be lost, some of them from time to time I faith-
fully committed to Writing, where here digested into this
Method, I humbly present to your Hands; you will quickly
perceive them to be his by the familiar Illustrations where-
with they are set off, and in which way you know he was
so happy, that (with a marvelous delight to those that
heard him) he would presently convey the highest Points of
Religion, and the most important Affairs of State to an
ordinary apprehension.

*In reading be pleas'd to distinguish Times, and in your
Fancy carry along with you, the When and the Why,
many of these things were spoken; this will give them
the more Life, and the smarter Relish. 'Tis possible the
Entertainment you find in them, may render you the more
inclinable to pardon the Presumption of*

Your most Obliged and
most Humble Servant,
RI : MILWARD.

* Misprints for Mr. Justice Hale and Edward Heyward: see p. 7.

THE
DISCOURSES
 OF
John Selden, Esq;

Abbies, Priors, &c.

1. **T**HE unwillingness of the Monks to part with their Land, will fall out to be just nothing, because they were yielded up to the King by a Supream Hand (*viz.*) a Parliament. If a King conquer another Country, the People are loth to loose their Lands, yet no Divine will deny, but the King may give them to whom he pleafe. If a Parliament make a Law concerning Leather, or any other Commodity, you and I for Example are Parliament Men, perhaps in respect to our own private Interests, we are against it, yet the Major part conclude it, we are then involv'd and the Law is good.

2. When the Founder of Abbies laid a Curse upon those that should take away those Lands, I would fain know what Power they had to curse me; 'Tis not the Curses that come from the Poor, or from any body, that hurt me, because they come from them, but because I do something ill against them that deserves God should curse me for it. On the other fide 'tis not a man's Blessing me that makes me blessed, he only declares me to be so, and if I do well I shall be blessed, whether any bless me or not.

3. At the time of Dissolution, they were tender in taking from the Abbots and Priors their Lands and their Houses, till they furrendred them (as most of

them did) indeed the Prior of St. John's, Sir *Richard Weylon*, being a stout Man, got into *France*, and stood out a whole year, at last submitted, and the King took in that Priory also, to which the Temple belonged, and many other Houses in *England*, they did not then cry no Abbots, no Priors, as we do now no Bishops, no Bishops.

4. *Henry the Fifth* put away the Friars, Aliens, and feiz'd to himself 100000*l.* a year, and therefore they were not the Protestants only that took away Church Lands.

5. In Queen *Elizabeth's* time, when all the Abbies were pulled down, all good Works defaced, then the Preachers must cry up Justification by Faith, not by good Works.

Articles.

I. **T**HE nine and thirty Articles are much another thing in Latin, (in which Tongue they were made) then they are translated into English, they were made at three several Convocations, and confirmed by Act of Parliament six or seven times after. There is a Secret concerning them: Of late Ministers have subscribed to all of them, but by Act of Parliament that confirm'd them, they ought only to subscribe to those Articles which contain matter of Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, as appears by the first Subscriptions. But Bishop *Bancroft* (in the Convocation held in King *James's* days) he began it, that Ministers should subscribe to three things, to the Kings Supremacy, to the Common-prayer, and to the Thirty nine Articles; many of them do not contain matter of Faith. Is it matter of Faith how the Church should be govern'd? Whether Infants should be Baptized? Whether we have any Property in our Goods? &c.

Baptism.

I. **T**Was a good way to perswade men to be christned, to tell them that they had a Foulness about them, viz. Original Sin, that could not be washed away but by Baptism.

2. The Baptizing of Children with us, does only

prepare a Child against he comes to be a Man, to understand what Christianity means. In the Church of *Rome* it hath this effect, it frees Children from Hell. They say they go into *Limbus Infantum*. It succeeds Circumcision, and we are sure the Child understood nothing of that at eight days old ; why then may not we as reasonably baptise a Child at that Age ? in *England* of late years I ever thought the Parson baptiz'd his own Fingers rather than the Child.

3. In the Primitive times they had God-fathers to see the Children brought up in the Christian Religion, because many times, when the Father was a Christian, the Mother was not, and sometimes when the Mother was a Christian, the Father was not, and therefore they made choice of two or more that were Christians, to see their Children brought up in that Faith.

Bastard.

I. **T**IS said the 23d. of *Deuteron.* 2. [*A Bastard shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth Generation.*] *Non ingredietur in Ecclesiam Domini*, he shall not enter into the Church. The meaning of the Phrase is, he shall not marry a Jewish Woman. But upon this grossly mistaken ; a Bastard at this day in the Church of *Rome*, without a Dispensation, cannot take Orders ; the thing haply well enough, where 'tis so settled ; but 'tis upon a Mistake (the Place having no reference to the Church) appears plainly by what follows at the third Verse [*An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth Generation.*] Now you know with the Jews an Ammonite, or a Moabite could never be a Priest, because their Priests were born so, not made.

Bible, Scripture.

I. **T**IS a great question how we know Scripture to be Scripture, whether by the Church, or by Mans private Spirit. Let me ask you how I know any thing ? how I know this Carpet to be Green ? First, because somebody told me it was

Green; that you call the Church in your Way. Then after I have been told it is green, when I see that Colour again, I know it to be Green, my own Eyes tell me it is Green, that you call the private Spirit.

2. The English Translation of the Bible, is the best Translation in the World, and renders the Sense of the Original best, taking in for the English Translation, the Bishops Bible, as well as King *James's*. The Translation in King *James's* time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a Tongue (as the *Apochrypha* to *Andrew Downs*) and then they met together, and one read the Translation, the rest holding in their Hands some Bible, either of the learned Tongues, or *French*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, &c. if they found any Fault they spoke, if not, he read on.

3. There is no Book so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a *French* Book into *English*, I turn it into *English* Phrase, not into *French English* [*Il fait froid*] I say 'tis cold, not, it makes cold, but the Bible is rather translated into *English* Words, than into *English* Phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the Phrase of that Language is kept: As for Example [he uncovered her Shame] which is well enough, so long as Scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the Common People, Lord, what Gear do they make of it!

4. *Scrutamini Scripturas*. These two Words have undone the World, because Christ spake it to his Disciples, therefore we must all, Men, Women and Children, read and interpret the Scripture.

5. *Henry the Eighth* made a Law, that all Men might read the Scripture, except Servants, but no Woman, except Ladies and Gentlewomen, who had Leisure, and might ask somebody the meaning. The Law was repealed in *Edward the Sixth's* days.

6. Lay-men have best interpreted the hard places in the Bible, such as *Johannes Picus*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, *Salmanius*, *Heinsius*, &c.

7. If you ask which of *Erasmus*, *Beza*, or *Grotius*

did best upon the New Testament, 'tis an Idle question, for they all did well in their way. *Erasmus* broke down the first Brick, *Beza* added many things, and *Grotius* added much to him, in whom we have either something new, or something heightned, that was said before, and so 'twas necessary to have them all three.

8. The Text serves only to gues by, we must satisfie our selves fully out of the Authors that liv'd about those times.

9. In interpreting the Scripture, many do, as if a man should see one have ten pounds, which he reckoned by 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. meaning four, was but four Unities, and five, five Unities, &c. and that he had in all but ten pounds; the other that sees him, takes not the Figures together as he doth, but picks here and there, and thereupon reports, that he hath five pounds in one Bag, and six pounds in another Bag, and nine pounds in another Bag, &c. when as in truth he hath but ten pounds in all. So we pick out a Text here, and there to make it serve our turn; whereas, if we take it all together, and consider'd what went before, and what followed after, we should find it meant no such thing.

10. Make no more Allegories in Scripture than needs must, the Fathers were too frequent in them, they indeed, before they fully understood the litteral Sence, look'd out for an Allegory. The Folly whereof you may conceive thus; here at the first sight appears to me in my Window, a Glafs and a Book, I take it for granted 'tis a Glafs and a Book, thereupon I go about to tell you what they signifie; afterwards, upon nearer view, they prove no such thing, one is a Box made like a Book, the other is a Picture made like a Glafs, where's now my Allegory?

11. When Men meddle with the Litteral Text, the question is, where they should stop; in this case a Man might venture his Discretion, and do his best to satisfie himself and others in those places where he doubts, for although we call the Scripture the Word of God (as it is) yet it was writ by a Man, a mercenary

Man, whose Copy, either might be false, or he might make it false: For Example, here were a thousand Bibles printed in *England* with the Text thus, [*Thou shalt commit Adultery*] the Word [*not*] left out; might not this Text be mended?

12. The Scripture may have more Sences besides the Literal, because God understands all things at once, but a Mans Writing has but one true Sence, which is that which the Author meant when he writ it.

13. When you meet with several Readings of the Text, take heed you admit nothing against the Tenets of your Church, but do as if you were going over a Bridge, be sure you hold fast by the Rail, and then you may dance here and there as you please, be sure you keep to what is fetled, and then you may flourish upon your various Lections.

14. The *Apochrypha* is bound with the Bibles of all Churches that have been hitherto. Why should we leave it out? the Church of *Rome* has her *Apochrypha* (*viz.*) *Susanna* and *Bell and the Dragon*, which she does not esteem equally with the rest of those Books that we call *Apochrypha*.

Bishops before the Parliament.

1. **A** Bishop as a Bishop, had never any Ecclesiastial Jurisdiction; for as soon as he was *Electus Confirmatus*, that is, after the three Proclamations in *Bow-Church*, he might exercise Jurisdiction, before he was consecrated, not till then, he was no Bishop, neither could he give Orders. Besides, *Suffragans* were Bishops, and they never claim'd any Jurisdiction.

2. Antiently, the Noble Men lay within the City for Safety and Security. The Bishops Houses were by the Water-side, because they were held Sacred Persons which no body would hurt.

3. There was some Sence for *Commendams* at first, when there was a Living void, and never a Clerk to serve it, the Bishops was to keep it till they found a fit Man, but now 'tis a Trick for the Bishop to keep it for himself.

4. For a Bishop to preach, 'tis to do other Folks Office, as if the Steward of the House should execute the Porters or the Cooks place ; 'tis his Busines to see that they and all other about the House perform their Duties.

5. That which is thought to have done the Bishops hurt, is their going about to bring men to a blind Obedience, imposing things upon them [though perhaps small and well enough] without preparing them, and insinuating into their Reasons and Fancies, every man loves to know his Commander. I wear those Gloves, but perhaps if an Alderman should command me, I should think much to do it ; what has he to do with me ? Or if he has, peradventure I do not know it. This jumping upon things at first dash will destroy all ; to keep up Friendship, there must be little Addressees and Applications, whereas Bluntness spoils it quickly : To keep up the Hierarchy, there must be little Applications made to men, they must be brought on by little and little : So in the Primitive times the Power was gain'd, and so it must be continued. *Scaliger* said of *Erasmus* : *Si minor esse voluit, major fuisset.* So we may say of the Bishops, *Si minores esse voluerint, maiores fuissent.*

6. The Bishops were too hasty, else with a discreet slowness they might have had what they aim'd at : The old Story of the Fellow, that told the Gentleman, that he might get to such a place, if he did not ride too fast, would have fitted their turn.

7. For a Bishop to cite an old Cannon to strengthen his new Articles, is as if a Lawyer should plead an old Statute that has been repeal'd God knows how long.

Bishops in the Parliament.

1. **B**ishops have the same Right to sit in Parliament as the best Earls and Barons, that is, those that were made by Writ : If you ask one of them [*Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland*] why they sit in the House ? they can only say, their Fathers fate there before them, and their Grand-father before him,

&c. And so says the Bishops, he that was a Bishop of this Place before me, fate in the House, and he that was a Bishop before him, &c. Indeed your later Earls and Barons have it expressed in their Patents, that they shall be called to Parliament. *Objection*, But the Lords sit there by Blood, the Bishops not. *Answer*, 'Tis true, they sit not there both the same way, yet that takes not away the Bishops Right: If I am a Parson of a Parish, I have as much Right to my Gleab and Tyth, as you have to your Land which your Ancestors have had in that Parish eight hundred years.

2. The Bishops were not Barons, because they had Baronies annex to their Bishopricks (for few of them had so, unlesfs the old ones, *Canterbury, Winchester, Durham*, &c. the new erected we are sure had none, as *Glocester, Peterborough*, &c., besides, few of the Temporal Lords had any Baronies.) But they are Barons, because they are called by Writ to the Parliament, and Bishops were in the Parliament ever since there was any mention or sign of a Parliament in *England*.

3. Bishops may be judged by the Peers, though in time of Popery it never hapned, because they pretended they were not obnoxious to a Secular Court, but their way was to cry, *Ego sum Frater Domini Papæ*, I am Brother to my Lord the Pope, and therefore take not my self to be judged by you; in this Case they impanelled a Middlesex Jury, and dispatcht the Busines.

4. Whether may Bishops be present in cases of Blood? *Answ.* That they had a Right to give Votes, appears by this, always when they did go out, they left a Proxy, and in the time of the Abbots, one man had 10. 20. or 30. Voices. In *Richard* the Seconds time, there was a Protestation against the Canons, by which they were forbidden to be present in case of Blood. The Statute of 25th of *Henry* the Eighth may go a great way in this Busines. The Clergy were forbidden to use or cite any Cannon, &c. but in the latter end of the Statute, there was a Clause, that such Cannons

that were in usage in this Kingdom, should be in force till the thirty two Commissioners appointed should make others, provided they were not contrary to the Kings Supremacy. Now the Question will be, whether these Cannons for Blood were in use in this Kingdom or no? the contrary whereof may appear by many Presidents, in *R. 3.* and *H. 7.* and the beginning of *H. 8.* in which time there were more attainted than since, or scarce before: The Cannons of Irregularity of Blood were never received in *England*, but upon pleasure. If a Lay Lord was attainted, the Bishops assented to his Condemning, and were always present at the passing of the Bill of Attainder: But if a Spiritual Lord, they went out as if they cared not whose Head was cut off, so none of their own. In those days the Bishops being of great Houses, were often entangled with the Lords in Matters of Treason. But when d'ye hear of a Bishop a Traytor now?

5. You would not have Bishops meddle with Temporal Affairs, think who you are that say it. If a Papist, they do in your Church; if an *English* Protestant, they do among you; if a Presbyterian, where you have no Bishops, you mean your Presbyterian Lay Elders should meddle with Temporal Affairs as well as Spiritual. Besides, all Jurisdiction is Temporal, and in no Church, but they have some Jurisdiction or other. The Question then will be reduced to *Magis* and *Minis*; they meddle more in one Church than in another.

6. *Objection.* Bishops give not their Votes by Blood in Parliament, but by an Office annexed to them, which being taken away, they cease to vote, therefore there is not the same reason for them as for Temporal Lords. *Answ.* We do not pretend they have that Power the same way, but they have a Right: He that has an Office in *Westminster-Hall* for his Life, the Office is as much his, as his Land is his that hath Land by Inheritance.

7. Whether had the inferior Clergy ever any thing to do in the Parliament? *Answ.* No, no otherwise

than thus, There were certain of the Clergy that used to assemble near the Parliament, with whom the Bishops, upon occasion might consult (but there were none of the Convocation, as 'twas afterwards settled, (*viz.*) the Dean, the Arch-Deacon, one for the Chapter, and two for the Diocefs) but it hapned by continuance of time (to save Charges and Trouble) their Voices and the Consent of the whole Clergy were involved in the Bishops, and at this day the Bishops Writs run, to bring all these to the Parliament, but the Bishops themselves stand for all.

8. Bishops were formerly one of these two Conditions, either Men bred Canonists and Civilians, sent up and down Ambassadors to *Rome* and other Parts, and so by their Merit came to that Greatnes, or else great Noble Mens Sons, Brothers, and Nephews, and so born to govern the State: Now they are of a low Condition, their Education nothing of that way; he gets a Living, and then a greater Living, and then a greater then that, and so comes to govern.

9. Bishops are now unfit to Govern because of their Learning, they are bred up in another Law, they run to the Text for something done amongst the *Jews* that nothing concerns *England*, 'tis just as if a Man would have a Kettle and he would not go to our *Brazier* to have it made; as they make Kettles, but he would have it made as *Hiram* made his Brafs work, who wrought in *Solomons* Temple.

10. To take away Bishops Votes, is but the beginning to take them away; for then they can be no longer useful to the King or State. 'Tis but like the little Wimble, to let in the greater Auger. Objection. But they are but for their Life, and that makes them always go for the King as he will have them. Answer. This is against a double Charity, for you must always suppose a bad King and bad Bishops. Then again, whether will a Man be sooner content, himself should be made a Slave or his Son after him? [when we talk of our Children we mean our selves,] besides they that have posterity are more obliged to the King, then

they that are only for themselves, in all the reason in the World.

11. How shall the Clergy be in the Parliament if the Bishops are taken away? *Answser.* By the Layety, because the Bishops in whom the rest of the Clergy are included, are sent to the taking away their own Votes, by being involv'd in the major part of the House. This follows naturally.

12. The Bishops being put out of the House, whom will they lay the fault upon now? When the Dog is beat out of the Room, where will they lay the stink?

Bishops out of the Parliament.

1. **I**N the beginning Bishops and Presbyters were alike, like the Gentlemen in the Country, whereof one is made Deputy Livetenant, another Justice of Peace, so one is made a Bishop, another a Dean; and that kind of Government by Arch-Bishops, and Bishops no doubt came in, in imitation of the Temporal Government, not *Jure Divino*. In time of the *Roman Empire*, where they had a Legatus, there they placed an Arch-Bishop, where they had a Rector there a Bishop, that every one might be instructed in Christianity, which now they had received into the Empire.

2. They that speak ingeniously of Bishops and Presbyters, say, that a Bishop is a great Presbyter, and during the time of his being Bishop, above a Presbyter: as your President of the Colledge of Phisitians, is above the rest, yet he himself is no more than a Doctor of Physick.

3. The words [Bishop and Presbyter] are promiscuously used, that is confessed by all, and though the word [Bishop] be in *Timothy* and *Titus*, yet that will not prove the Bishops ought to have a Jurisdiction over the Presbyter, though *Timothy* and *Titus* had by the order that was given them: some Body must take care of the rest, and that Jurisdiction was but to Excommunicate, and that was but to tell them they should come no more into their Company. Or grant they did make Canons one for another, before they came to

be in the State, does it follow they must do so when the State has receiv'd them into it? What if *Timothy* had Power in *Ephesus*, and *Titus* in *Creet* over the *Presbyters*? Does it follow therefore the Bishop must have the same in *England*? Must we be govern'd like *Ephesus* and *Creet*?

4. However some of the Bishops pretend to be *Jure Divino*, yet the Practice of the Kingdom had ever been otherwise, for whatever Bishops do otherwise then the Law permits, *Westminster-Hall* can controul, or send them to absolve, &c.

5. He that goes about to prove Bishops *Jure Divino*, does as a Man that having a Sword shall strike it against an Anvil, if he strike it a while there, he may peradventure loosen it, though it be never so well riveted, 'twill serve to strike another Sword (or cut Flesh) but not against an Anvil.

6. If you should say you hold your Land by *Moses* or Gods Law, and would try it by that, you may perhaps loose, but by the Law of the Kingdom you are sure of it, so may the Bishops by this Plea of *Jure Divino* loose all; The Pope had as good a Title by the Law of *England* as could be had, had he not left that, and claim'd by Power from God.

7. There is no Government enjoyn'd by Example, but by Precept; it does not follow we must have Bishops still, because we have had them so long. They are equally mad who say Bishops are so *Jure Divino* that they must be continued, and they who say they are so Antichristian, that they must be put away, all is as the State pleases.

8. To have no Ministers, but Presbyters, 'tis as in the Temporal state they should have no Officers but Constables. Bishops do best stand with Monarchy, thus as amongst the Laity, you have Dukes, Lords, Lieutenants, Judges, &c. to fend down the Kings pleasure to his Subjects; So you have Bishops to govern the inferiour Clergy: These upon occasion may address themselves to the King, otherwise every Parson of the Parish must come, and run up to the Court.

9. The Protestants have no Bishops in *France*, because they live in a Catholic Country, and they will not have Catholic Bishops ; therefore they must govern themselves as well as they may.

10. What is that to the purpose, to what end Bishops Lands were given to them at first ? you must look to the Law and Custom of the place. What is that to any Temporal Lords Estate, how Lands were first divided, or how in *William* the Conquerours days ? And if Men at first were juggled out of their Estates, yet they are rightly their Successours. If my Father cheat a Man, and he consent to it, the Inheritance is rightly mine.

11. If there be no Bishops, there must be something else, which has the Power of Bishops, though it be in many, and then had you not as good keep them ? If you will have no Half Crowns, but only single Pence, yet Thirty single Pence are a Half-Crown ; and then had you not as good keep both ? But the Bishops have done ill, 'twas the Men, not the Function ; As if you should say, you would have no more Half Crowns, because they were stolen, when the truth is they were not stolen because they were Half-Crowns, but because they were Money and light in a Thieves hand.

12. They that would pull down the Bishops and erect a new way of Government, do as he that pulls down an old House, and builds another, in another fashion, there's a great deal of do, and a great deal of trouble, the old rubbish must be carryed away, and new materials must be brought, Workmen must be provided, and perhaps the old one would have serv'd as well.

13. If the Parliament and *Presbyterian Party* should dispute who should be Judge ? Indeed in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, there was such a difference, between the *Protestants* and *Papists*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Chancellor was appointed to be Judge, but the Conclusion was the stronger *Party* carried it : For so Religion was brought into Kingdoms, so it has

been continued, and so it may be cast out, when the State pleases.

14. "Twill be a great discouragement to Scholars that *Bishops* should be put down : For now the Father can say to his Son, and the Tutor to his *Pupil*, *Study hard, and you shall have Vocem et Sedem in Parlamento*; then it must be, *Study hard, and you shall have a hundred a year if you please your Parish*. *Obj.* But they that enter into the Ministry for preferment, are like *Judas* that lookt after the *Bag*. *Ansf.* It may be so, if they turn Scholars at *Judas's* Age, but what Arguments will they use to perswade them to follow their *Books* while they are young ?

Books, Authors.

1. **T**HE giving a *Bookseller* his price for his *Books* has this advantage, he that will do so, shall have the refusal of whatsoever comes to his hand, and so by that means get many things, which otherwise he never should have seen. So 'tis in giving a *Bawd* her price.

2. In buying Books or other Commodities, 'tis not always the best way to bid half so much as the seller asks : witness the Country fellow that went to buy two groat Shillings, they askt him three Shillings, and he bid them Eighteen Pence.

3. They counted the price of the Books (*Act 19. 19.*) and found Fifty Thousand pieces of Silver, that is so many Sextertii, or so many three half pence of our Money, about Three Hundred pound Sterling.

4. Popish Books teach and inform, what we know, we know much out of them. The Fathers, Church Story, Schoolmen, all may pafs for Popish Books, and if you take away them, what Learning will you leave ? Befides who must be Judge ? The Customer or the Waiter ? If he disallows a Book it must not be brought into the Kingdom, then Lord have mercy upon all Schollars. These Puritan Preachers if they have any things good, they have it out of Popish Books, though they will not acknowledg[e] it, for fear of displeasing

the people, he is a poor Divine that cannot sever the good from the bad.

5. 'Tis good to have Translations, because they serve as a Comment, so far as the Judgement of the Man goes.

6. In Answering a Book, 'tis best to be short, otherwise he that I write against will suspect I intend to weary him, not to satisfy him. Besides in being long I shall give my Adversary a huge advantage, somewhere or other he will pick a hole.

7. In quoting of Books, quote such Authors as are usually read, others you may read for your own Satisfaction, but not name them.

8. Quoting of Authors is most for matter of Fact, and then I write them as I would produce a Witness, sometimes for a free Expression, and then I give the Author his due, and gain my self praise by reading him.

9. To quote a modern *Dutch* Man where I may use a Classic Author, is as if I were to justify my Reputation, and I neglect all Persons of Note and Quality that know me, and bring the Testimonial of the Scullion in the Kitchen.

Cannon Law.

IF I would study the Cannon-Law as it is used in *England*, I must study the Heads here in use, then go to the Practicers in those Courts where that Law is practised, and know their Customs, so for all the study in the World.

Ceremony.

1. **C**eremony keeps up all things; 'Tis like a Penny-Glaſs to a rich Spirit, or ſome Excellent Water, without it the water were ſpilt, the Spirit lost.

2. Of all people Ladies have no reaſon to cry down Ceremonies, for they take themſelves flighted without it. And were they not uſed with Ceremony, with Complements and Addreſſes, with Legs, and Kissing of Hands, they were the pittyfulleſt Creatures in the World, but yet methinks to kiſſ their Hands after their

Lips as some do, is like little Boys, that after they eat the Apple, fall to the paring, out of a Love they have to the Apple.

Chancellor.

1. **T**HE Bishop is not to sit with the Chancellor in his Court (as being a thing either beneath him, or beside him) no more then the King is to sit in the *Kings-Bench* when he has made a Lord-Chief-Justice.

2. The Chancellor govern'd in the Church, who was a Layman. And therefore 'tis false which they charge the Bishops with, that they Challenge sole Jurisdiction. For the Bishop can no more put out the Chancellor than the Chancellor the Bishop. They were many of them made Chancellors for their Lives, and he is the fitteſt Man to Govern, becaufe Divinity ſo overwhelms the reſt.

Changing Sides.

1. **T**IS the Tryal of a Man to ſee if he will Change his fide, and if he be ſo weak as to Change once, he will Change again. Your Country Fellows have a way to try if a Man be weak in the Hams, by coming behind him, and giving him a blow unawares, if he bend once, he will bend again.

2. The Lords that fall from the King after they have got Estates, by base Flattery at Court, and now pretend Conscience, do as a Vintner, that when he firſt ſets up, you may bring your Wench to his Houſe, and do your things there, but when he grows Rich, he turns Conſcientious, and will ſell no Wine upon the Sabbath-day.

3. Collonel *Goring* ſerving firſt the one fide and then the other, did like a good Miller that knows how to grind which way foever the Wind fits.

4. After *Luther* had made a Combuſtion in *Germany* about Religion, he was ſent to by the *Pope*, to be taken off, and offer'd any preſerment in the Church, that he would make choice of, *Luther* anſwer'd, if he had offered half as much at firſt, he would have accepted

it, but now he had gone so far, he could not come back, in Truth he had made himself a greater thing than they could make him, the *German* Princes Courted him, he was become the Authour of a Sect ever after to be called *Lutherans*. So have our Preachers done that are against the Bishops, they have made themselves greater with the People, than they can be made the other way, and therefore there is the less Charity probably in bringing them off. Charity to Strangers is enjoyned in the Text, by Strangers is there understood those that are not of our own kin, Strangers to your Blood, not those you cannot tell whence they came, that is be Charitable to your Neighbours whom you know to be honest poor People.

Christmas.

1. **C***hristmas* succeeds the *Saturnalia*, the same time, the same number of Holy days, then the Master waited upon the Servant like the Lord of *Misrule*.
2. Our Meats and our Sports (much of them) have relation to Church-works. The Coffin of our *Christmas* Pies in shape long, is in imitation of the Cratch, our Choosing Kings and Queens on Twelfth night, hath reference to the Three Kings. So likewise our eating of Fritters, whipping of Tops, Roasting of Herrings, Jack of Lents, &c. they were all in imitation of Church-works, Emblems of *Martyrdom*. Our Tansies at *Easter* have reference to the bitter Herbs: though at the same time 'twas always the Fashion for a Man to have a Gammon of Bakon, to show himself to be no *Jew*.

Christians.

1. **I**N the High Church of *Jerusalem*, the Christians were but another Sect of *Jews*, that did believe the *Meffias* was come. To be called was nothing else, but to become a Christian, to have the Name of a Christian, it being their own Language, for amongst the *Jews*, when they made a Doctor of Law, 'twas said he was called.

2. The *Turks* tell their People of a Heaven where there is sensible Pleasure, but of a Hell where they shall suffer they do not know what. The Christians quite invert this order, they tell us of a Hell where we shall feel sensible Pain, but of a Heaven where we shall enjoy we cannot tell what.

3. Why did the Heathens object to the Christians, that they Worship an Asses Head? you must know, that to a Heathen, a *Jew* and a Christian were all one, that they regarded him not, so he was not one of them. Now that of the Asses Head might proceed from such a mistake as this, by the *Jews* Law all the Firstlings of Cattle were to be offered to God, except a Young Afs, which was to be redeem'd, a Heathen being present, and seeing young Calves, and young Lambs killed at their Sacrifices, only young Asses redeem'd might very well think they had that filly Beast in some high Estimation, and thence might imagine they worshipt it as a God.

Church.

1. **H** Eretofore the Kingdom let the Church alone, let them do what they would, because they had something else to think of (*viz.*) Wars, but now in time of peace, we begin to examine all things, will have nothing but what we like, grow dainty and wanton, just as in a Family the Heir uses to go a hunting, he never considers how his Meal is dress'd, takes a bit, and away, but when he stays within, then he grows curious, he does not like this, nor he does not like that, he will have his Meat dress'd his own way, or peradventure he will dress it himself.

2. It hath ever been the gain of the Church when the King will let the Church have no Power to cry down the King and cry up the Church: but when the Church can make use of the Kings Power, then to bring all under the Kings Perogative, the Catholicks of *England* go one way, and the Court Clergy another.

3. A glorious Church is like a Magnificent Feast there is all the variety that may be, but every one

chooses out a dish or two that he likes, and lets the rest alone, how Glorious soever the Church is, every one chooses out of it his own Religion, by which he governs himself and lets the rest alone.

4. The Laws of the Church are most Favourable to the Church, because they were the Churches own making, as the Heralds are the best Gentlemen because they make their own Pedigree.

5. There is a Question about that Article, Concerning the Power of the Church, whether these words [of having Power in Controversies of Faith] were not stoln in, but 'tis most certain they were in the Book of Articles that was Confirm'd, though in some Editions they have been left out: But the Article before tells you, who the Church is, not the Clergy, but *Cætus fidelium*.

Church of Rome.

1. **B**efore a Juglars Tricks are discovered we admire him, and give him Money, but afterwards we care not for them, so 'twas before the discovery of the Jugling of the Church of *Rome*.

2. Catholics say, we out of our Charity, believe they of the Church of *Rome* may be saved: But they do not believe so of us. Therefore their Church is better according to our selves; first, some of them no doubt believe as well of us, as we do of them, but they must not say so, besides is that an Argument their Church is better than Ours, because it has less Charity?

3. One of the *Church of Rome* will not come to our Prayers, does that agree he doth not like them? I would fain see a *Catholic* leave his Dinner, because a Nobleman's *Chaplain* says Grace, nor haply would he leave the Prayers of the *Church*, if going to *Church* were not made a mark of distinction between a *Protestant* and a *Papist*.

Churches.

1. **T**HE Way coming into our great Churches was Antiently at the West door, that Men might see the Altar, and all the Church before them, the other Doors were but Posterns.

City.

1. **W**HAT makes a City? Whether a Bishoprick or any of that nature? *Answer.* 'Tis according to the first Charter which made them a Corporation. If they are Incorporated by Name of *Civitas* they are a City, if by the name of *Burgum*, then they are a Burrough.

2. The Lord Mayor of *London* by their first Charter was to be presented to the King, in his absence to the Lord Chief Justiciary of *England*, afterwards to the Lord Chancellor, now to the Barons of the Exchequer, but still there was a Reservation, that for their Honour they should come once a Year to the King, as they do still.

Clergy.

1. **T**Hough a Clergy-Man have no Faults of his own, yet the Faults of the whole Tribe shall be laid upon him, so that he shall be fure not to lack.

2. The Clergy would have us believe them against our own Reason, as the Woman would have her Husband against his own Eyes: What! will you believe your own Eyes before your own sweet Wife?

3. The Condition of the Clergy towards their Prince, and the Condition of the Physitian is all one: the Physitians tell the Prince they have Agrick and Rubarb, good for him, and good for his Subjects bodies, upon this he gives them leave to use it, but if it prove naught, then away with it, they shall use it no more. So the Clergy tell the Prince they have Physick good for his Soul, and good for the Souls of his People, upon that he admits them: but when he finds by Experience they both trouble him and his People, he will have no more to do with them, what is that to them or any body else if a King will not go to Heaven.

4. A Clergy Man goes not a dram further than this, you ought to obey your Prince in general [if he does he is loit] how to obey him you must be inform'd by those whose profession it is to tell you. The Parson

of the Tower (a good discreet Man) told Dr. *Mofely* (who was sent to me, and the rest of the Gentlemen Committed the 3. *Caroli*, to perswade Us to submit to the King) that they found no such words as [Parliament, *Habeas Corpus, Return, Tower, &c.*] Neither in the Fathers, nor the School-Men, nor in the Text, and therefore for his part he believed he understood nothing of the business. A Satyr upon all those Clergy Men that meddle with Matters they do not understand.

All Confes there never was a more Learned Clergy, no Man taxes them with Ignorance. But to talk of that, is like the Fellow that was a great Wentcher he wisht God would forgive him his Leachery, and lay Usury to his Charge. The Clergy have worse Faults.

6. The Clergy and Laity together are never like to do well, 'tis as if a Man were to make an Excellent Feast and should have his Apothecary and Physitian come into the Kitchen: The Cooks if they were let alone would make Excellent Meat, but then comes the Apothecary and he puts Rubarb into one Sauce, and Agrick into another Sauce. Chain up the Clergy on both sides.

High Commission.

1. **M**EN cry out upon the High-Commission, as if the Clergy-men only had to do in it, when I believe there are more Lay-men in Commission there, than Clergymen, if the Laymen will not come, whose fault is that? So of the Star-Chamber the People think the Bishops only censur'd *Prin, Burton and Baylwick*, when there were but two there, and one speak not in his own Cause.

House of Commons.

1. **T**HERE be but two Erroneous Opinions in the House of Commons, That the Lords sit only for themselves, when the truth is, they sit as well for the Common-wealth. The Knights and Burgesses sit for themselves and others, some for more, some for fewer, and what is the reason? Because the Room will not hold all, the Lords being

few, they all come, and imagine a Room able to hold all the Commons of *England*, then the Lords and Burgesses would fit no otherwise than the Lords do. The second Error is, that the House of Commons are to begin to give Subsidies, yet if the Lords dissent they can give no Money.

2. The House of Commons is called the Lower House in Twenty A&cts of Parliament, but what are Twenty A&cts of Parliament amongst Friends?

3. The Form of a Charge runs thus, *I Accuse in the Name of all the Commons of England*, how then can any man be as a Witness, when every man is made the Accuser?

Confession.

1. **I**N time of Parliament it used to be one of the first things the House did, to petition the King that his Confessor might be removed, as fearing either his power with the King, or else, least he should reveal to the Pope what the House was in doing, as no doubt he did, when the Catholick Cause was concerned.

2. The difference between us and the *Papists* is, we both allow Contrition, but the *Papists* make Confession a part of Contrition, they say a Man is not sufficiently contrite, till he confess his sins to a Priest.

3. Why should I think a Priest will not reveal Confession, I am sure he will do anything that is forbidden him, haply not so often as I, the utmost punishment is Deprivation, and how can it be proved, that ever any man reveal'd Confession, when there is no Witness? And no man can be Witness in his own cause. A meer Gallery. There was a time when 'twas publick in the Church, and there is much against their Auri-cular Confession.

Competency.

1. **T**HAT which is a Competency for one Man, is not enough for another, no more than that which will keep one Man warm, will keep another Man warm; one Man can go in Doublet and

Horse, when another Man cannot be without a Cloak, and yet have no more Cloaths than is necessary for him.

Great-Conjunction.

THE greatest Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, happens but once in Eight Hundred Years, and therefore Astrologers can make no Experiments of it, nor foretel what it means, (not but that the Stars may mean somthing, but we cannot tell what) because we cannot come at them. Suppose a Planet were a Simple, or an Herb, How could a Physician tell the Virtue of that Simple, unless he could come at it, to apply it?

Conscience.

1. **H**E that hath a Scrupulous Conscience, is like a Horse that is not well weigh'd, he starts at every Bird that flies out of the Hedge.
2. A knowing Man will do that, which a tender Conscience Man dares not do, by reason of his Ignorance, the other knows there is no hurt, as a Child is afraid to go into the dark, when a Man is not, because he knows there is no danger.
3. If we once come to leave that out-loose, as to pretend Conscience against Law, who knows what inconvenience may follow? For thus, Suppose an *Anabaptist* comes and takes my Horse, I Sue him, he tells me he did according to his Conscience, his Conscience tells him all things are common amongst the Saints, what is mine is his, therefore you do ill to make such a Law, If any Man takes anothers Horse he shall be hang'd. What can I say to this Man? He does according to his Conscience. Why is not he as honest a Man as he that pretends a Ceremony establisht by Law, is against his Conscience? Generally to pretend Conscience against Law is dangerous, in some cases haply we may.
4. Some men make it a case of Conscience, whether a man may have a Pidgeon-house, because his Pidgeons eat other Folks Corn. But there is no such thing as

Conscience in the business, the matter is, whether he be a man of such Quality, that the State allows him to have a Dove-house, if so there's an end of the business, his Pidgeons have a right to eat where they please themselves.

Consecrated Places.

1. **T**HE Jews had a peculiar way of Consecrating things to God, which we have not.

2. Under the Law, God, who was Master of all, made choice of a Temple to Worship in, where he was more especially present: Just as the Master of the House, who ow[n]s all the House, makes choice of one Chamber to lie in, which is called the Master's Chamber, but under the Gospel there was no such thing, Temples and Churches are set apart for the convenience of men to Worship in; they cannot meet upon the point of a Needle, but God himself makes no choice.

3. All things are Gods already, we can give him no right by consecrating any, that he had not before, only we set it apart to his Service. Just as a Gardiner brings his Lord and Master a Basket of Apricocks, and presents them, his Lord thanks him, perhaps gives him something for his pains, and yet the Apricocks were as much his Lords before as now.

4. What is Consecrated, is given to some particular man, to do God Service, not given to God, but given to Man, to serve God: And there's not any thing, Lands or Goods, but some men or other have it in their power, to dispose of as they please. The saying things Consecrated cannot be taken away, makes men afraid of Consecration.

5. Yet Consecration has this Power, when a Man has Consecrated any thing to God, he cannot of himself take it away.

Contracts.

1. **I**F our Fathers have lost their Liberty, why may not we labour to regain it? *Anyw.* We must look to the Contract, if that be rightly made we must stand to it, if we once grant we may recede

from Contracts upon any inconveniency that may afterwards happen, we shall have no Bargain kept. If I sell you a Horse, and do not like my Bargain, I will have my Horse again.

2. Keep your Contracts, so far a Divine goes, but how to make our Contracts is left to our selves, and as we agree upon the conveying of this House, or that Land, so it must be, if you offer me a hundred pounds for my Glove. I tell you what my Glove is, a plain Glove, pretend no virtue in it, the Glove is my own, I profess not to sell Gloves, and we agree for an hundred pounds. I do not know why I may not with a safe Conscience take it. The want of that common Obvious Distinction of *Jus praeceptivum*, and *Jus permissionis*, does much trouble men.

3. Lady Kent Articled with Sir Edward Herbert, that he should come to her when she sent for him, and stay with her as long as she would have him, to which he set his hand ; then he Articled with her, That he should go away when he pleas'd, and stay away as long as he pleas'd, to which she set her hand. This is the Epitome of all the Contracts in the World, betwixt man and man, betwixt Prince and Subject, they keep them as long as they like them, and no longer.

Council.

1. **T**hey talk (but blasphemously enough) that the Holy Ghost is President of their General-Councils, when the truth is, the odd man is still the Holy-Ghost.

Convocation.

1. **W**hen the King sends his Writ for a Parliament, he sends for two Knights for a Shire, and two Burgeesses for a Corporation : But when he sends for two Archbishops for a Convocation, he commands them to assemble the whole Clergy, but they out of custome amongst themselves send to the Bishops of their Provinces to will them to bring two Clerks for a Diocese, the Dean, one

for the Chapter, and the Arch-deacons, but to the King every Clergy-man is there present.

2. We have nothing so nearly expresses the power of a Convocation, in respect of a Parliament, as a Court-Leet, where they have a power to make By-Laws, as they call them ; as that a man shall put so many Cows, or sheep in the Common, but they can make nothing that is contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom.

Creed.

1. **A** *Thanasius's Creed* is the shorkest, take away the Preface, and the force, and the Conclusion, which are not part of the Creed. In the *Nicene Creed* it is εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, I believe in the Church, but now, as our Common-prayer has it, I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church ; they like not Creeds, because they would have no Forms of Faith, as they have none of Prayer, though there be more reason for the one than for the other.

Damnation.

1. **I** F the Physician fees you eat anything that is not good for your Body, to keep you from it, he crys 'tis poyson, if the Divine fees you do any thing that is hurtful for your Soul, to keep you from it, he crys out you are damn'd.

2. To preach long, loud, and Damnation is the way to be cry'd up. We love a man that Damns us, and we run after him again to fave us. If a man had a fore Leg, and he should go to an Honest Judicious Chyrurgeon, and he should only bid him keep it warm, and anoint with such an Oyl (an Oyl well known) that would do the Cure, haply he would not much regard him, because he knows the Medecine before hand an ordinary Medecine. But if he should go to a Surgeon that should tell him, your Leg will Gangreen within three days, and it must be cut off, and you will die, unlesf you do something that I could tell you, what listning there would be to this Man ? Oh for the Lord's sake, tell me what this is, I will give you any content for your pains.

Devils.

1. **W**HY have we none possest with Devils in *England*? The old Answer is, the Protestants the Devil hath already, and the Papists are so Holy, he dares not meddle with them. Why, then beyond Seas where a Nun is possest, when a *Hugonot* comes into the Church, does not the Devil hunt them out? The Priest teaches him, you never saw the Devil throw up a Nuns Coats, mark that, the Priest will not suffer it, for then the People will spit at him.

2. Casting out Devils is meer Juggling, they never cast out any but what they first cast in. They do it where for Reverence no Man shall dare to Examine it, they do it in a Corner, in a Mortice-hole, not in the Market-place. They do nothing but what may be done by Art, they make the Devil fly out of the Window in the likenes of a Bat, or a Rat, why do they not hold him? Why, in the likenes of a Bat, or a Rat, or some Creature? That is why not in some shape we Paint him in, with Claws and Horns? By this trick they gain much, gain upon Mens fancies, and so are reverenc'd, and certainly if the Priest deliver me from him, that is my most deadly Enemy, I have all the Reason in the World to Reverence him. Objection. But if this be Juggling, why do they punish Impostures? *Answer.* For great Reason, because they do not play their part well, and for fear others should discover them, and so all of them ought to be of the same Trade.

3. A Person of Quality came to my Chamber in the Temple, and told me he had two Devils in his head [I wonder'd what he meant] and just at that time, one of them bid him kill me, [with that I begun to be afraid and thought he was mad] he said he knew I could Cure him, and therefore intreated me to give him something, for he was resolv'd to go to no body else. I perceiving what an Opinion he had of me, and that 'twas only Melancholy that troubl'd him, took him in

hand, warranted him, if he would follow my directions, to Cure him in a short time. I desired him to let me be alone about an hour, and then to come again, which he was very willing to. In the mean time I got a Card, and lapt it up handsome in a piece of Taffata, and put strings to the Taffata, and when he came gave it to him, to hang about his Neck, withal charged him, that he should not disorder himself neither with eating or drinking, but eat very little of Supper, and say his Prayers duly when he went to Bed, and I made no question but he would be well in three or four days. Within that time I went to Dinner to his House and askt him how he did? He said he was much better, but not perfectly well, [f]or in truth he had not dealt clearly with me, he had four Devils in his head, and he perceiv'd two of them were gone, with that which I had given him, but the other two troubled him still. Well said I, I am glad two of them are gone I make no doubt but to get away the other two likewise. So I gave him another thing to hang about his Neck, three days after he came to me to my Chamber and profest he was now as well as ever he was in his life, and did extreamly thank me for the great care I had taken of him, I fearing least he might relapse into the like Distemper, told him that there was none but my self, and one Physitian more in the whole Town that could Cure the Devils in the head, and that was Dr. *Harvey* (whom I had prepar'd) and wisht him if ever he found himself ill in my absence to go to him, for he could Cure his Disease, as well as my self. The Gentleman lived many Years and was never troubl'd after.

Self Denyal.

1. 'T IS much the Doctrine of the times that Men should not please themselves, but deny themselves every thing they take delight in, not look upon Beauty, wear no good Clothes, eat no good Meat, &c. which seems the greatest Accusation that can be upon the maker of all good things. If

they be not to be us'd, why did God make them? The truth is, they that preach against them, cannot make use of them their selves, and then again they get Esteem by seeming to contemn them. But mark it while you live, if they do not please themselves as much as they can, and we live more by Example than precept.

Duell.

1. A Duell may still be granted in some Cases by the Law of *Englan*a, and only there.

That the Church allow'd it Antiently, appears by this, in their publick Liturgies there were Prayers appointed for the Duelists to say, the Judge, used to bid them go to such a Church and pray, &c. But whether is this Lawful? If you grant any War Lawful, I make no doubt but to Convince it, War is Lawful, because God is the only Judge between two, that is Supream. Now if a difference happen between two Subjects, and it cannot be decided by Human Testimony, why may they not put it to God to Judge between them by the Permission of the Prince? Nay what if we should bring it down for Arguments sake, to the Swordmen. One gives me the Lye, 'tis a great disgrace to take it, the Law has made no provision to give Remedy for the Injury (if you can suppose any thing an Injury for which the Law gives no Remedy) why am not I in this case Supream, and may therefore right my self.

2. A Duke ought to fight with a Gentleman, the Reason is this, the Gentleman will say to the Duke 'tis True, you hold a higher Place in the State than I, there's a great distance between you and me, but your Dignity does not Priviledge you to do me an Injury, as soon as ever you do me an Injury, you make your self my equal, and as you are my equal I Challenge you, and in fence the Duke is bound to Answer him. This will give you some light to understand the Quarrel betwixt a Prince and his Subjects, though there be a vast distance between him and them, and they are to obey him, according to their Contract, yet he hath

no power to do them an Injury, then they think themselves as much bound to Vindicate their right, as they are to obey his Lawful Commands, nor is there any other measure of Justice left upon Earth but Arms.

Epitaph.

1. **A**N *Epitaph* must be made fit for the Person for whom it is made, for a Man to say all the Excellent things, that can be said upon one, and call that his *Epitaph*, is as if a Painter should make the handsomest piece he can possibly make, and say 'twas my Picture. It holds in a Funeral Sermon.

Equity.

1. **E**QUITY in Law is the same that the Spirit is in Religion, what every one pleases to make it, sometimes they go according to Conscience, sometimes according to Law, sometimes according to the Rule of Court.

2. Equity is a Roguish thing, for Law we have a measure, know what to trust to, Equity is according to Conscience of him that is Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is Equity. 'Tis all one as if they should make the Standard for the measure, we call a Chancellors Foot, what an uncertain measure would this be? One Chancellor has a long Foot, another a short Foot, a third an indifferent Foot. 'Tis the same thing in the Chancellors Conscience.

3. That saying, do as you would be done to, is often misunderstood, for 'tis not thus meant that I a private Man, should do to you a private Man, as I would have you to me, but do, as we have agreed to do one to another by publick Agreement, If the Prisoner should ask the Judge, whether he would be content to be hang'd, were he in his Cage, he would answer no. Then says the Prisoner, do as you would be done to, neither of them must do as private Men, but the Judge must do by him as they have publickly agreed, that is both Judge and Prisoner have consented to a Law that if either of them Steal, they shall be hanged.

Evil-Speaking.

1. **H**E that speaks ill of another commonly before he is aware, makes himself such a one as he speaks against, for if he had the Civility or breeding he would forbear such kind of Language.

2. A Gallant Man is above ill words : an Example we have in the old Lord of *Salisbury* (who was a great wise Man) *Stone* had call'd some Lord about Court, Fool, the Lord complains and has *Stone* whipt, *Stone* cries, I might have called my Lord of *Salisbury* Fool often enough, before he would have had me whipt.

3. Speak not ill of a great Enemy but rather give him good words, that he may use you the better, if you chance to fall into his Hands, the Spaniard did this when he was dying ; his Confessor told him (to work him to Repentance) how the Devil Tormented the wicked that went to Hell : the *Spaniard* replying, called the Devil my Lord. I hope my Lord the Devil is not so Cruel, his Confessor reproved him. Excuse me said the *Don*, for calling him so, I know not into what hands I may fall, and if I happen into his, I hope he will use me the better for giving him good words.

Excommunication.

1. **T**HAT place they bring for Excommunication [put away from among your selves that wicked person, 1 Cor. 5. Cha: 13. verse] is corrupted in the Greek. for it should be $\tauὸ\piονηρὸν$, put away that Evil from among you, not $\tauὸν\piονηρὸν$, that Evil Person, besides $\delta\piονηρὸς$ is the Devil in Scripture, and it may be so taken there, and there is a new Edition of *Theoderet* come out, that has it right $\tauὸ\piονηρὸν$. 'Tis true the Christians before the Civil State became Christian, did by Covenant and Agreement set down how they should live ; and he that did not observe what they agreed upon, should come no more amongst them, that is, be Excommunicated. Such Men are spoken of by the *Apostle* [Romans 1. 31.] who he

calls ἀσυνθέτους καὶ ἀσπόνδοντος, the Vulgar has it, *Incompositos, et sine fadere*, the last word is pretty well, but the first not at all, *Origen* in his Book against *Celsus*, speaks of the Christians. συνθήκη: the Translation renders it *Conventus*, as it signifies a Meeting, when it is plain it signifies a Covenant, and the *English* Bible turned the other word well, Covenant-breakers. *Pliny* tells us, the Christians took an Oath amongst themselves to live thus, and thus.

2. The other place [*Dic Ecclesiae*] tell the Church, is but a weak Ground to raise Excommunication upon, especially from the Sacrament, the lesser Excommunication, since when that was spoken, the Sacrament was instituted. The *Jews Ecclesia* was their *Sanhedrim*, their Court: so that the meaning is: if after once or twice *Admonition* this Brother will not be reclaim'd, bring him thither.

3. The first Excommunication was 180. Years after Christ, and that by *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*. But that was no more than this, that they should Communicate and receive the Sacrament amongst themselves, not with those of the other Opinion: The Controversie (as I take it) being about the Feast of *Easter*. Men do not care for Excommunication because they are shut out of the Church, or delivered up to *Sathan*, but because the Law of the Kingdom takes hold of them, after so many days a Man cannot Sue, no, not for his Wife, if you take her from him, and there may be as much Reason, to grant it for a small Fault, if there be Con-tumacy, as for a great one, in *Westminster-Hall* you you may Out-law a Man for forty Shillings, which is their Excommunication, and you can do no more for forty Thousand Pound.

4. When *Constantine* became Christian, he so fell in love with the Clergy, that he let them be Judges of all things, but that continued not above three or four Years, by reason they were to be Judges of matters they understood not, and then they were allowed to meddle with nothing but Religion, all Jurisdiction belonged to him, and he scanted them out as much as

he pleased, and so things have since continued. They Excommunicate for three or four things, matters concerning Adultery, Tythes, Wills, &c. which is the Civil Punishment the State allows for such Faults. If a Bishop Excommunicate a Man for what he ought not, the Judge has Power to absolve, and punish the Bishop, if they had that Jurisdiction from God, why does not the Church Excommunicate for Murder, for Theft? If the Civil Power might take away all but three things, why may they not take them away too? If this Excommunication were taken away, the Presbyters would be quiet; 'tis that they have a mind to, 'tis that they would fain be at, like the Wench that was to be Married; she asked her Mother when 'twas done, if she should go to Bed presently: no says her Mother you must Dine first, and then to Bed Mother? no you must Dance after Dinner, and then to Bed Mother, no you must go to Supper, and then to Bed Mother, &c.

Faith and Works.

1. **T**Was an unhappy Division that has been made between Faith and Works; though in my Intellect I may divide them, just as in the Candle, I know there is both light and heat. But yet put out the Candle, and they are both gone, one remains not without the other: So 'tis betwixt Faith and Works; nay, in a right Conception *Fides est opus*, if I believe a thing because I am commanded, that is *Opus*.

Fasting-days.

1. **W**Hat the Church debars us one day, she gives us leave to take out in another. First we Fast, and then we Feast; first there is a Carnival, and then a Lent.

2. Whether do Human Laws bind the Conscience? If they do, 'tis a way to ensnare: If we say they do not, we open the door to disobedience. *Answ.* In this Case we must look to the Justice of the Law, and intention of the Law-giver. If there be no Justice in

the Law, 'tis not to be obey'd, if the intention of the Law-giver be absolute, our obedience must be so too. If the intention of the Law-giver enjoyn a Penalty as a Compensation for the Breach of the Law, I sin not, if I submit to the Penalty, if it enjoyn a Penalty, as a further enforcement of Obedience to the Law, then ought I to observe it, which may be known by the often repetition of the Law. The way of Fasting is enjoyn'd unto them, who yet do not observe it. The Law enjoyns a Penalty as an enforcement to Obedience; which intention appears by the often calling upon us, to keep that Law by the King and the Dispensation of the Church to such as are not able to keep it, as Young Children, Old Folks, Disseas'd Men, &c.

Fathers and Sons.

I. **I**T hath ever been the way for Fathers, to bind their Sons, to strengthen this by the Law of the Land, every one at Twelve Years of age, is to take the Oath of Allegiance in Court-Leets, whereby he swears Obedience to the King.

Fines.

I. **T**HE old Law was, That when a Man was Fin'd, he was to be Fin'd *Salvo Contenemento*, so as his Countenance might be safe, taking Countenance in the same sense as your Countryman does, when he says, if you will come unto my House, I will show you the best Countenance I can, that is not the best Face, but the best Entertainment. The meaning of the Law was, that so much should be taken from a man, such a Gobbet sliced off, that yet notwithstanding he might live in the same Rank and Condition he lived in before; but now they Fine men ten times more than they are worth.

Free-will.

I. **T**HE Puritans who will allow no free-will at all, but God does all, yet will allow the Subject his Liberty to do, or not to do, notwithstanding the King, the God upon Earth. The

Arminians, who hold we have free-will, yet say, when we come to the King, there must be all Obedience, and no Liberty to be stood for.

Fryers.

1. **T**HE Fryers say they possess nothing, whose then are the Lands they hold? not their Superiour's, he hath vow'd Poverty as well as they, whose then? To answser this, 'twas Decreed they should say they were the Popes. And why must the Fryers be more perfect than the Pope himself?

2. If there had been no Fryers, *Christendome* might have continu'd quiet, and things remain'd at a stay.

If there had been no Lecturers (which succeed the Friars in their way) the Church of *England* might have stood, and flourisht at this day.

Friends.

1. **O**LD Friends are best. King *James* us'd to call for his Old Shoos, they were easiest for his Feet.

Genealogy of Christ.

1. **T**hey that say the reason why *Joseph*'s Pedigree is set down, and not *Mary*'s, is, because the descent from the Mother is lost, and swallow'd up, say somethong; but yet if a *Jewish* Woman, marry'd with a *Gentil*, they only took notice of the Mother, not of the Father; but they that say they were both of a Tribe, say nothing, for the Tribes might Marry one with another, and the Law against it was only Temporary, in the time while *Joshua* was dividing the Land, lest the being so long about it, there might be a confusion.

2. That Christ was the Son of *Joseph* is most exaclty true. For though he was the Son of God, yet with the *Jews*, if any man kept a Child, and brought him up, and call'd him Son, he was taken for his Son; and his Land (if he had any) was to descend upon him; and therefore the Genealogy of *Joseph* is justly set down.

Gentlemen.

1. **W**HAT a Gentleman is, 'tis hard with us to define, in other Countries he is known by his Privileges; in *Westminster* Hall he is one that is reputed one; in the Court of Honour, he that hath Arms. The King cannot make a Gentleman of Blood [what have you said] nor God Almighty, but he can make a Gentleman by Creation. If you ask which is the better of these two, Civilly, the Gentleman of Blood, Morally the Gentleman by Creation may be the better; for the other may be a Debauch'd man, this a Person of worth.

2. Gentlemen have ever been more Temperate in their Religion, than the Common People, as having more Reason, the others running in a hurry. In the beginning of Christianity, the Fathers writ *Contra gentes*, and *Contra Gentiles*, they were all one: But after all were Christians, the better sort of People still retain'd the name of Gentiles, throughout the four Provinces of the *Roman Empire*; as *Gentil-homme* in *French*, *Gentil homo* in *Italian*, *Gentil huombre* in *Spanish*, and *Gentil-man* in *English*: And they, no question, being Persons of Quality, kept up those Feasts which we borrow from the Gentils; as *Christmas*, *Candlemas*, *May-day*, &c. continuing what was not directly against Christianity, which the Common people would never have endured.

Gold.

1. **T**HERE are two Reasons, why these words (*Iesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat*) were about our old Gold: the one is, because *Ripley* the Alchymist, when he made Gold in the *Tower*, the first time he found it, he spoke these words [*per medium eorum*] that is, *per medium ignis, et Sulphuris*. The other, because these words were thought to be a Charm, and that they did bind whatsoever they were written upon, so that a Man could not take it away. To this Reason I rather incline.

Hall.

I. **T**HE Hall was the place where the great Lord us'd to eat, (wherefore else were the Halls made so big?) Where he saw all his Servants and Tenants about him. He eat not in private, Except in time of fickness; when once he became a thing Coopt up, all his greatness was spoil'd. Nay the King himself used to eat in the Hall, and his Lords fate with him, and then he understood Men.

Hell.

I. **T**HERE are two Texts for Christ's descending into Hell: The one *Psalm. 16.* The other *A&ls the 2d.* where the Bible that was in use when the thirty nine Articles were made has it (*Hell.*) But the Bible that was in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, when the Articles were confirm'd, reads it (*Grave,*) and so it continu'd till the New Translation in King *James's* time, and then 'tis *Hell* again. But by this we may gather the Church of *England* declined as much as they could, the descent, otherwise they never would have alter'd the Bible.

2. (*He descended into Hell*) this may be the Interpretation of it. He may be dead and buried, then his Soul ascended into Heaven. Afterwards he descended again into *Hell*, that is, into the Grave, to fetch his Body, and to rise again. The ground of this Interpretation is taken from the Platonick Learning, who held a Metempsychosis, and when a Soul did descend from Heaven to take another Body, they call'd it *κατὰ βάσιν εἰς ἀδην* taking *ἀδην*, for the lower World, the state of Mortality: Now the first Christians many of them were Platonick Philosophers, and no question spake such Language as then was understood amongst them. To understand by *Hell* the Grave is no Tautology, because the Creed first tells what Christ suffer'd, *he was Crucified, Dead, and Buried*; then it tells us what he did, *he descended into Hell, the third day he rose again, he ascended, &c.*

Holy-days.

1. **T**HEY say the Church imposes Holy-days, there's no such thing, though the number of Holy-days is set down in some of our Common-Prayer Books. Yet that has relation to an Act of Parliament, which forbids the keeping of any Holy-Days in time of Popery, but those that are kept, are kept by the Custom of the Country, and I hope you will not say the Church imposes that.

Humility.

1. **H**UMILITY is a Virtue all preach, none practise, and yet every body is content to hear. The Master thinks it good Doctrine for his Servant, the Laity for the Clergy, and the Clergy for the Laity.

2. There is *Humilitas quædam in Vitio*. If a man does not take notice of that excellency and perfection that is in himself, how can he be thankful to God, who is the Author of all Excellency and Perfection? Nay, if a Man hath too mean an Opinion of himself, 'twill render him unserviceable both to God and Man.

3. Pride may be allow'd to this or that degree, else a man cannot keep up his Dignity. In Gluttons there must be Eating, in drunkenness there must be drinking; 'tis not the eating, nor 'tis not the drinking that is to be blam'd, but the Excesses. So in Pride.

Idolatry.

1. **I**DOLATRY is in a Man's own thought, not in the Opinion of another. Put Case I bow to the Altar, why am I guilty of Idolatry? because a stander by thinks so? I am sure I do not believe the Altar to be God, and the God I worship may be bow'd to in all places, and at all times.

Jews.

1. **G**OD at the first gave Laws to all Mankind, but afterwards he gave peculiar Laws to the Jews, which they were only to observe. Just

as we have the Common Law for all *England*, and yet you have some Corporations, that, besides that, have peculiar Laws and privileges to themselves.

2. Talk what you will of the Jews, that they are Cursed, they thrive where e're they come, they are able to oblige the Prince of their Country by lending him money, none of them beg, they keep together, and for their being hated, my life for yours, Christians hate one another as much.

Invincible Ignorance.

1. 'T IS all one to me if I am told of Christ, or some Mystery of Christianity, if I am not capable of understanding, as if I am not told at all, my Ignorance is as invincible, and therefore 'tis vain to call their Ignorance only invincible, who never were told of Christ. The trick of it is to advance the Priest, whilst the Church of *Rome* says a Man must be told of Christ, by one thus and thus ordain'd.

Images.

1. T HE Papists taking away the second [Commandment], is not haply so horrid a thing, nor so unreasonable amongst Christians as we make it. For the *Jews* could make no figure of God, but they must commit Idolatry, because he had taken no shape, but since the Assumption of our flesh, we know what shape to picture God in. Nor do I know why we may not make his Image, provided we be sure what it is: as we say Saint *Luke* took the picture of the Virgin *Mary*, and Saint *Veronica* of our Saviour. Otherwise it would be no honour to the King, to make a Picture, and call it the King's Picture, when 'tis nothing like him.

2. Though the Learned Papists pray not to Images, yet 'tis to be feared the ignorant do; as appears by that Story of St. *Nicholas* in *Spain*. A Courtey-man us'd to offer daily to St. *Nicholas*'s Image, at length by mischance the Image was broken, and a new one made of his own Plumb-Tree; after that the man forbore, being complain'd of to his Ordinary, he answer'd, 'tis

true, he us'd to offer to the Old Image, but to the new he could not find in his heart, because he knew 'twas a piece of his own Plumb Tree. You see what Opinion this man had of the Image, and to this tended the bowing of their Images, the twinkling of their Eyes, the Virgins Milk, &c. Had they only meant representations, a Picture would have done as well as these tricks. It may be with us in *England* they do not worship images, because living among Protestants, they are either laught out of it, or beaten out of it by shock of Argument.

3. 'Tis a discreet way concerning Pictures in Churches, to set up no new, nor to pull down no old.

Imperial Constitutions.

i. **T**HEY say Imperial Constitutions did only confirm the Canons of the Church, but that is not so, for they inflicted punishment, when the Canons never did. (*viz.*) If a man Converted a Christian to be a Jew, he was to forfeit his Estate, and lose his Life. In *Valentines Novels* 'tis said. *Constat Episcopus Forum Legibus non habere, et Judicant tantum de Religione.*

Imprisonment.

i. **S**IR *Kenelme Digby* was several times taken and let go again, at last Imprison'd in *Winchester-House*. I can compare him to nothing but a great Fish that we catch and let go again, but still he will come to the Bait, at last therefore we put him into some great Pond for Store.

Incendiaries.

i. **F**ANCY to your self a Man sets the City on Fire at *Cripplegate*, and that Fire continues by means of others, 'till it come to *White-Fryers*, and then he that began it would fain quench it, does not he deserve to be punisht most that first set the City on Fire? So 'tis with the Incendiaries of the State. They that first set it on fire [by Monopolizing, Forrest Business, Imprisoning Parliament Men, *tertio Caroli*,

&c.] are now become regenerate, and would fain quench the Fire ; Certainly they deserv'd most to be punish'd, for being the first Cause of our Distractions.

Independency.

1. **I**Ndependency is in use at *Amsterdam*, where forty Churches or Congregations have nothing to do one with another. And 'tis no question agreeable to the Primitive times, before the Emperour became Christian. For either we must say every Church govern'd it self, or else we must fall upon that old foolish Rock, that St. *Peter* and his Successours govern'd all, but when the Civil State became Christian, they appointed who should govern them, before they govern'd by agreement and consent ; if you will not do this, you shall come no more amongst us, but both the Independant man, and the Presbyterian man do equally exclude the Civil Power, though after a different manner.

2. The Independant may as well plead, they should not be subject to temporal Things, not come before a Constable, or a Justice of Peace, as they plead they should not be subject in Spiritual things, because St *Paul* says, *Is it so, that there is not a wise man amongst you ?*

3. The Pope challenges all Churches to be under him, the King and the two Arch-Bishops challenge all the Church of *England* to be under them. The Presbyterian man divides the Kingdom into as many Churches as there be Presbyteries, and your Independant would have every Congregation a Church by it self.

Things Indifferent.

1. **I**N a time of Parliament, when things are under debate, they are indifferent, but in a Church or State setled, there's nothing left indifferent.

Publick Interest.

1. **A**LL might go well in the Common-Wealth, if every one in the Parliament would lay down his own Interest, and aim at the general good. If a man were fick, and the whole Colledge of

Physicians should come to him, and administer severally, haply so long as they observ'd the Rules of Art he might recover, but if one of them had a great deal of Scamony by him, he must put off that, therefore he prescribes Scamony. Another had a great deal of Rubarb, and he must put off that, and therefore he prescribes Rubarb, &c. they would certainly kill the man. We destroy the Common-wealth, while we preserve our own private Interests, and neglect the Publick.

Humane Invention.

1. **Y**OU say there must be no Human Invention in the Church, nothing but the pure word.

Answer. If I give any Exposition, but what is express'd in the Text, that is my invention : if you give another Exposition, that is your invention, and both are Human. For Example, suppose the word [Egg] were in the Text, I say, 'tis meant an Henn-Egg, you say a Goose-Egg, neither of these are express, therefore they are Humane Invention, and I am sure the newer the Invention the worse, old Inventions are best.

2. If we must admit nothing, but what we read in the Bible, what will become of the Parliament? for we do not read of that there.

Judgments.

1. **W**E cannot tell what is a Judgment of God, 'tis presumption to take upon us to know. In time of Plague we know we want health, and therefore we pray to God to give us health ; in time of War we know we want peace, and therefore we pray to God to give us peace. Commonly we say a Judgment falls upon a man for something in them we cannot abide. An Example we have in King James, concerning the death of *Henry the Fourth of France*; one said he was kill'd for his Wenching, another said he was kill'd for turning his Religion. No, says King James (who could not abide fighting) he was kill'd for permitting Duels in his Kingdom.

Judge.

1. **W**E see the Pageants in *Cheapside*, the Lions, and the Elephants, but we do not see the men that carry them ; we see the Judges look big, look like Lions, but we do not see who moves them.

2. Little things do great works, when great things will not. If I should take a Pin from the ground, a little pair of Tongues will do it, when a great pair will not. Go to a Judge to do a business for you, by no means he will not hear it ; but go to some small Servant about him, and he will dispatch it according to your hearts desire.

3. There could be no mischief done in the Commonwealth without a Judge. Though there be false Dice brought in at the Groom-Porters, and cheating offer'd, yet unlesf he allow the Cheating, and judge the Dice to be good, there may be hopes of fair play.

Juggling.

1. **T**IS not Juggling that is to be blam'd, but much Juggling, for the World cannot be Govern'd without it. All your Rhetorick, and all your Elenchs in Logick come within the compass of Juggling.

Jurisdiction.

1. **T**HERE'S no such Thing as Spiritual Jurisdiction, all is Civil, the Churches is the same with the Lord Mayors ; suppose a Christian came into a Pagan Country, how can you fancy he shall have any Power there ? he finds faults with the Gods of the Country, well, they will put him to Death for it, when he is a Martyr, what follows ? Does that argue he has any Spiritual Jurisdiction ? If the Clergy say the Church ought to be govern'd thus, and thus, by the word of God, that is Doctrine all, that is not Discipline.

2. The Pope he challenges Jurisdiction over all, the Bishops they pretend to it as well as he, the Presbyterians they would have it to themselves, but over whom is all this ? the poor Laymen.

Jus Divinum.

1. **A** LL things are held by *Jus Divinum*, either immediately or mediately.

2. Nothing has lost the Pope so much in his Supremacy, as not acknowledging what Princes gave him. 'Tis a scorn upon the Civil Power, and an unthankfulness in the Priest. But the Church runs to *Jus Divinum*, lest if they should acknowledge what they have they have by positive Law, it might be as well taken from them as given to them.

King.

1. **A** King is a thing men have made for their own sakes, for quietnes sake. Just as in a Family one Man is appointed to buy Meat ; if every man should buy, or if there were many buyers, they would never agree, one would buy what the other lik'd not, or what the other had bought before, so there would be a confusion. But that Charge being committed to one, he according to his Discretion pleases all, if they have not what they would have one day, they shall have it the next, or something as good.

2. The word King directs our Eyes, suppose it had been Consul, or Dictator, to think all Kings alike is the same folly, as if a Consul of *Aleppo* or *Smyrna*, should claim to himself the same power that a Consul at *Rome*, What, am not I a Consul ? or a Duke of *England* should think himself like the Duke of *Florence* ; nor can it be imagin'd, that the word βασιλεὺς did signify the same in Greek, as the Hebrew word בָּלֶג did with the *Jews*. Besides, let the Divines in their Pulpits say what they will, they in their practice deny that all is the Kings : They sue him, and so does all the Nation, whereof they are a part. What matter is it then, what they Preach or Teach in the Schools ?

3. Kings are all individual, this or that King, there is no Species of Kings.

4. A King that claims Priviledges in his own Country, because they have them in another, is just as a Cook, that

claims Fees in one Lords House, because they are allow'd in another. If the Master of the House will yield them, well and good.

5. The Text [*render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*] makes as much against Kings, as for them, for it says plainly that some things are not *Cæsars*. But Divines make choice of it, first in flattery, and then because of the other part adjoin'd to it [*render unto God the things that are Gods*] where they bring in the Church.

6. A King outed of his Country, that takes as much upon him as he did at home, in his own Court, is as if a man on high, and I being upon the ground, us'd to lift up my voice to him, that he might hear me, at length should come down, and then expects I should speak as loud to him as I did before.

King of England.

1. **T**HE King can do no wrong, that is no Process can be granted against him, what must be done then? Petition him, and the King writes upon the Petition *solt droit fait*, and sends it to the Chancery, and then the business is heard. His Confessor will not tell him he can do no wrong.

2. There's a great deal of difference between Head of the Church, and Supreme Governor, as our Canons call the King. Conceive it thus, there is in the Kingdom of *England* a Colledge of Physicians, the King is Supreme Governor of those, but not Head of them, nor President of the Colledge, not the best Physician.

3. After the dissolution of Abbeys, they did not much advance the King's Supremacy, for they only car'd to Exclude the Pope, hence have we had several Translations of the Bible put upon us. But now we must look to it, otherwise the King may put upon us what Religion he pleases.

4. 'Twas the old way when the King of *England* had his House, there were Canons to sing Service in his Chappel; so at *Westminster* in St. Stephen's Chappel (where the House of Commons sits) from which Canons the street call'd *Canon-row* has its name, because they

liv'd there, and he had also the Abbot and his Monks, and all these the King's House.

5. The Three Estates are the Lords Temporal, the Bishops are the Clergy, and the Commons, as some would have it [take heed of that] for then if two agree the third is involv'd, but he is King of the Three Estates.

6. The King hath a Seal in every Court, and tho' the Great Seal be call'd *Sigillum Angliae*, the Great Seal of *England*, yet 'tis not because 'tis the Kingdoms Seal, and not the Kings, but to distinguish it from *Sigillum Hiberniae*, *Sigillum Scotiae*.

7. The Court of *England* is much alter'd. At a solemn Dancing, first you had the grave Measures, then the Corrantes and the Galliards, and this is kept up with Ceremony, at length to *French-more*, and the Cushion-Dance, and then all the Company Dance, Lord and Groom, Lady and Kitchin-Maid, no distinction. So in our Court in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time Gravity and State were kept up. In King *James*'s time things were pretty well. But in King *Charles*'s time, there has been nothing but *French-more* and the Cushion Dance, *omnium gatherum*, toly, polly, hoite come toite.

The King.

1. **T**IS hard to make an accommodation between the King and the Parliament. If you and I fell out out about Money, you said I ow'd you twenty Pounds, I said I ow'd you but ten Pounds, it may be a third Party allowing me twenty Marks, might make us Friends. But if I said I ow'd you twenty Pounds in Silver, and you said I ow'd you twenty pound of Diamonds, which is a sum innumerable, 'tis impossible we should ever agree, this is the case.

2. The King using the House of Commons, as he did in Mr. *Pym* and his Company, that is charging them with Treason, because they charg'd my Lord of *Canterbury* and Sir *George Ratcliff*, it was just with as much Logick as the Boy, that would have lain with his

Grandmother, us'd to his Father, you lay with my Mother, why should not I lye with yours?

3. There is not the same reason for the King's accusing Men of Treason, and carrying them away, as there is for the Houses themselves, because they accuse one of themselves. For every one that is accused, is either a Peer or a Commoner, and he that is accused hath his Consent going along with him; but if the King accuses, there is nothing of this in it.

4. The King is equally abus'd now as before, then they flatter'd him and made him do ill things, now they would force him against his Conscience. If a Physician should tell me, every thing I had a mind to was good for me, tho' in truth 'twas Poifon, he abus'd me; and he abuses me as much, that would force me to take something whether I will or no.

5. The King so long as he is our King, may do with his Officers what he pleases, as the Master of the House may turn away all his Servants, and take whom he please.

6. The King's Oath is not security enough for our Property, for he swears to Govern according to Law; now the Judges they interpret the Law, and what Judges can be made to do we know.

7. The King and the Parliament now falling out, are just as when there is foul Play offer'd amongst Gamesters, one snatches the others stake, they seize what they can of one anothers. 'Tis not to be askt whether it belongs not to the King to do this or that; before when there was fair Play, it did. But now they will do what is most convenient for their own safety. If two fall to scuffling, one tears the others Band, the other tears his, when they were Friends they were quiet, and did no such thing, they let one anothers Bands alone.

8. The King calling his Friends from the Parliament, because he had use of them at *Oxford*, is as if a man should have use of a little piece of wood, and he runs down into the Cellar, and takes the Spiggott, in the mean time all the Beer runs about the House, when his Friends are absent the King will be lost.

Knights-Seruice.

1. **K**NIGHTS-SERUICE in earnest means nothing, for the Lords are bound to wait upon the King when he goes to War with a Foreign Enemy, with it may be One Man and One Horse, and he that doth not, is to be rated so much as shall seem good to the next Parliament. And what will that be? So 'tis for a private Man, that holds of a Gentleman.

Land.

1. **W**HEN men did let their Land underfoot, the Tenants would fight for their Land-lords, so that-way they had their Retribution, but now they will do nothing for them, may be the first, if but a Constable bid them, that shall lay the Landlord by the heels, and therefore 'tis vanity and folly not to take the full value.

2. *Allodium* is a Law-word contrary to *Feudum*, and it signifies Land that holds of no body, we have no such Land in *England*. 'Tis a true Proposition, all the Land in *England* is held, either immediately, or mediately of the King.

Language.

1. **T**O a living Tongue new words may be added, but not to a dead Tongue, as Latine, Greek, Hebrew, &c.

2. *Latimer* is the Corruption of *Latiner*, it signifies he that interprets Latine, and though he interpreted French, Spanish, or Italian, he was call'd the King's *Latiner*, that is, the King's Interpreter.

3. If you look upon the Language spoken in the Saxon time, and the Language spoken now, you will find the difference to be just, as if a man had a Cloak that he wore plain in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, and since, here has put in a piece of Red, and there a piece of Blew, and here a piece of Green, and there a piece of Orange-tawny. We borow words from the French, Italian, Latine, as every Pedantick Man pleases.

4. We have more words than Notions, half a dozen words for the same thing. Sometime we put a new signification to an old word, as when we call a Piece a Gun. The word Gun was in use in *England* for an Engine to cast a thing from a man, long before there was any Gun-powder found out.

5. Words must be fitted to a man's mouth ; 'twas well fai'd of the Fellow that was to make a Speech for my Lord Mayor, he desir'd to take measure of his Lordships mouth.

Law.

1. **A** Man may plead not guilty, and yet tell no Lye, for by the Law no Man is bound to accuse himself, so that when I say Not guilty, the meaning is, as if I should say by way of Paraphrase, I am Not so guilty as to tell you ; if you will bring me to a Tryal, and have me punisht for this you lay to my Charge, prove it against me.

2. Ignorance of the Law excuses no man, not that all Men know the Law, but because 'tis an excuse every man will plead, and no man can tell how to confute him.

3. The King of *Spain* was out-law'd in *Westminster-Hall*, I being of Council agaist him. A Merchant had recover'd Costs against him in a Suit, which because he could not get, we advis'd to have him Out-law'd for not appearing, and so he was. As soon as *Gondimer* heard that, he presently sent the money, by reason, if his Master had been Out-law'd he could not have the benefit of the Law, which would have been very prejudicial, there being then many suits depending betwixt the King of *Spain* and our English Merchants.

4. Every Law is a Contract between the King and the People, and therefore to be kept. An hundred men may owe me an hundred pounds, as well as any one man, and shall they not pay me because they are stronger than I ? *Object.* Oh but they lose all if they keep that Law. *Answ.* Let them look to the making of their Bargain. If I sell my Lands, and when I have done, one comes and tells me I have nothing else to keep me. I and my Wife and Children must starve,

if I part with my Land. Must I not therefore let them have my Land that have bought it and paid for it?

5. The Parliament may declare Law, as well as any other inferior Court may, (*viz.*) the Kings Bench. In that or this particular Case the Kings Bench will declare unto you what the Law is, but that binds no body whom the Case concerns: So the highest Court, the Parliament may doe, but not declare Law, that is, make Law that was never heard of before.

Law of Nature.

1. **I** Cannot fancy to my self what the Law of Nature means, but the Law of God. How should I know I ought not to steal, I ought not to commit Adultery, unles some body had told me so? Surely 'tis because I have been told so? 'Tis not because I think I ought not to do them, nor because you think I ought not; if so, our minds might change, whence then comes the restraint? from a higher Power, nothing else can bind. I cannot bind my self, for I may untye my self again; nor an equal cannot bind me, for we may untie one another. It must be a superior Power, even God Almighty. If two of us make a Bargain, why should either of us stand to it? What need you care what you say, or what need I care what I say? Certainly because there is something about me that tells me *Fides est servanda*, and if we after alter our minds, and make a new Bargain, there's *Fides servanda* there too.

Learning.

1. **N**O man is the wiser for his Learning, it may Administer matter to work in, or Objects to work upon, but Wit and Wisdom are born with a Man.

2. Most mens Learning is nothing but History duly taken up. If I quote *Thomas Aquinus* for some Tenet and believe it, because the Schoolmen say so, that is but History. Few men make themselves Masters of the things they write or speak.

3. The Jesuits and the Lawyers of *France*, and the Low-Country-men have engrossed all Learning. The rest of the world make nothing but Homilies.

4. 'Tis observable, that in *Athens* where the Arts flourisht, they were govern'd by a Democracie, Learning made them think themselves as wise as any body, and they would govern as well as others; and they spake as it were by way of Contempt, that in the *East* and in the *North* they had Kings, and why? Because the most part of them follow'd their busines, and if some one man had made himself wiser than the rest, he govern'd them, and they willingly submitted themselves to him. *Aristotle* makes the Observation. And as in *Athens* the Philosophers made the People knowing, and therefore they thought themselves wise enough to govern, so does preaching with us, and that makes us affect a Democracie: For upon these two grounds we all would be Governours, either because we think our selves as wise as the best, or because we think our selves the Elect, and have the Spirit, and the rest a Company of Reprobates that belong to the Devil.

Lecturers.

1. **L**ecturers do in a Parish Church what the Fryers did heretofore, get away not only the Affections, but the Bounty, that should be bestow'd upon the Minister.

2. Lecturers get a great deal of money, because they preach the People tame [as a man watches a Hawk] and then they do what they list with them.

3. The Lectures in Black Fryers, perform'd by Officers of the Army, Trades-men, and Ministers, is as if a great Lord should make a Feast, and he would have his Cook dress one Dish, and his Coachman another, his Porter a third, &c.

Libels.

1. **T**HO' some make slight of *Libels*, yet you may see by them how the wind sits: As take a straw and throw it up into the Air, you shall see by that which way the Wind is, which you

shall not do by casting up a Stone. More solid things do not shew the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels.

Liturgy.

1. **T**HERE is no Church without a Liturgy, nor indeed can there be conveniently, as there is no School without a Grammar. One Scholar may be taught otherwise upon the Stock of his Acumen, but not a whole School. One or two that are piously dispos'd, may serve themselves their own way, but hardly a whole Nation.

2. To know what was generally believ'd in all Ages, the way is to consult the Liturgies, not any private man's writing. As if you would know how the Church of *England* serves God. Go to the Common prayer-Book, consult not this nor that man. Besides Liturgies never Complement, nor use high Expressions. The Fathers oft-times speak Oratoriously.

Lords in the Parliament.

1. **T**HE Lords giving Protections is a scorn upon them. A Protection means nothing actively, but passively, he that is a Servant to a Parliament man is thereby Protected. What a scorn is it to a person of Honour to put his hand to two Lyes at once, that such a man is my Servant, and implored by me, when haply he never saw the man in his life, nor before never heard of him.

2. The Lords protesting is foolish. To protest is properly to save to a man's self some right. But to protest as the Lords protest, when they their selves are involv'd, 'tis no more than if I should go into *Smith field*, and sell my Horse, and take the money, and yet when I have your Money, and you my Horse, I should protest this Horse is mine, because I love the Horse, or I do not know why I do protest, because my Opinion is contrary to the rest. Ridiculous, when they say the Bishops did antiently protest, it was only dissenting, and that in the case of the Pope.

Lords before the Parliament.

1. **G**reat Lords by reason of their Flatterers, are the first that know their own Vertues, and the last that know their own Vices ; Some of them are ashamed upwards, because their Ancestors were too great. Others are ashamed downwards, because they were too little.

2. The *Priour of St John of Jerusalem* is said to be *Primus Baro Angliae*, the first Baron of *England*, because being last of the Spiritual Barons, he chose to be first of the Temporal. He was a kind of an Otter, a Knight half-Spiritual, and half-Temporal.

3. *Quesl.* Whether is every Baron a Baron of some place?

Answ. 'Tis according to his Patent, of late years they have been made Baron of some place, but antiently not, call'd only by their Sir-name, or the Sir-name of some Family, into which they have been married.

4. The making of new Lords lessens all the rest. 'Tis in the busines of Lords, as 'twas with St. *Nicholas's* Image ; the Countryman, you know, could not find in his heart to adore the new Image, made of his own Plumb-Tree, though he had formerly Worship'd the old one. The Lords that are antient we honour, because we know not whence they come, but the new ones we slight, because we know their beginning.

5. For the *Irish* Lords to take upon them here in *England*; is as if the Cook in the Fair should come to my Lady *Kents* kitchen, and take upon him to roast the meat there, because he is a Cook in another place.

Marriage.

1. **O**f all Actions of a man's life, his Marriage does least concern other people, yet of all Actions of our Life, 'tis most medled with by other people.

2. Marriage is nothing but a Civil Contract, 'tis true 'tis an Ordinance of God : so is every other Contract, God commands me to keep it when I have made it.

3. Marriage is a desperate thing, the Frogs in *Aësop* were extream wife, they had a great mind to some

water, but they would not leap into the Well, because they could not get out again.

4. We single out particulars, and apply Gods Providence to them, thus when two are marry'd and have undone one another, they cry it was God's Providence we should come together, when God's Providence does equally concurr to every thing.

Marriage of Cousin-Germans.

I. **S**ome men forbear to Marry Cousin-Germans out of this kind of scruple of Conscience, because it was unlawful before the Reformation, and is still in the Church of *Rome*. And so by reason their Grandfather, or their great Grand-father did not do it, upon that old Score they think they ought not to do it; as some men forbear flesh upon *Friday*, not reflecting upon the Statute, which with us makes it unlawful, but out of an old Score, because the Church of *Rome* forbids it, and their Fore-fathers always forbore flesh upon that day. Others forbear it out of a Natural Consideration, because it is observ'd (for Example) in Beasts, if two couple of a near kind, the breed proves not so good; The same observation they make in Plants and Trees, which degenerate being grafted upon the same Stock. And 'tis also further observ'd, those Matches between Cousin Germans seldom prove fortunate. But for the lawfulness there is no colour but Cousin-Germans in *England* may marry, both by the Law of God and man: for with us we have reduc'd all the degrees of Marriage to those in the *Levitical Law*, and 'tis plain there's nothing against it. As for that that is said Cousin-Germans once remov'd may not Marry, and therefore being a further degree may not, 'tis presumed a nearer should not, no man can tell what it means.

Measure of Things.

I. **W**E measure from our selves, and as things are for our use and purpose, so we approve them; bring a Pear to the Table that is rotten, we cry it down, 'tis naught; but bring

a Medlar that is rotten, and 'tis a fine thing, and yet I'le warrant you the Pear thinks as well of it self as the Medlar does.

2. We measure the Excellency of other men, by some Excellency we conceive to be in our selves. *Nash* a Poet, poor enough (as Poets us'd to be) seeing an Alderman with his Gold Chain, upon his great Horse, by way of scorn said to one of his Companions, do you see yon fellow, how goodly, how big he looks, why that fellow cannot make a blank Verse.

3. Nay we measure the goodness of God from our selves, we measure his Goodness, his Justice, his Wisdom, by something we call just, good, or wise in our selves; and in so doing we judge proportionably to the Country fellow in the Play, who said if he were a King, he would live like a Lord, and have Pease and Bacon every day, and a Whip that cry'd Slash.

Difference of Men.

1. **T**HE difference of men is very great, you would scarce think them to be of the same Species, and yet it consists more in the Affection than in the Intellect. For as in the strength of Body, two men shall be of an equal strength, yet one shall appear stronger than the other, because he exercises, and puts out his strength, the other will not stir nor strain himself. So 'tis in the strength of the Brain, the one endeavours, and strains, and labours, and studies, the other sits still, and is idle, and takes no pains, and therefore he appears so much the inferior.

Minister Divine.

1. **T**HE imposition of hands upon the Minister when all is done, will be nothing but a designation of a Person to this or that Office or Employment in the Church. 'Tis a ridiculous Phrase that of the Canonists [*Conferre Ordines*] 'Tis *Coaptare aliquem in Ordinem*, to make a man one of us, one of our Number, one of our Order. So *Cicero* would understand what I said, it being a Phrase borrow'd from the *Latines*, and

to be understood proportionably to what was amongst them.

2. Those words you now use in making a Minister [*receive the Holy Ghost*] were us'd amongst the Jews in making of a Lawyer, from thence we have them, which is a villainous key to something, as if you would have some other kind of Praefecture, than a Mayoralty, and yet keep the same Ceremony that was us'd in making the Mayor.

3. A Priest has no such thing as an indelible Character, what difference do you find betwixt him and another man after Ordination? only he is made a Priest, (as I said) by Designation: as a Lawyer is call'd to the Bar, then made a Serjeant; all men that would get power over others, make themselves as unlike them as they can, upon the same ground the Priests made themselves unlike the Laity.

4. A Minister when he is made is *Materia prima*, apt for any form the State will put upon him, but of himself he can do nothing. Like a Doctor of Law in the University, he hath a great deal of Law in him, but cannot use it till he be made some bodies Chancellour; or like a Physician, before he be receiv'd into a house, he can give no body Physick; indeed after the Master of the house hath given him charge of his Servants, then he may. Or like a Suffragan, that could do nothing but give Orders, and yet he was no Bishop.

5. A Minister should preach according to the Articles of Religion Established in the Church where he is. To be a Civil Lawyer let a man read *Justinian*, and the Body of the Law, to confirm his Brain to that way, but when he comes to practice, he must make use of it so far as it concerns the Law received in his own Country. To be a Physician let a Man read *Gallen* and *Hypocrates*; but when he practices, he must apply his Medicins according to the Temper of those Mens Bodies with whom he lives, and have respect to the heat and cold of Climes, otherwise that which in *Pergamus* (where *Gallen* liv'd) was Physick, in our cold Climate may be Poision. So to be a Divine, let him

read the whole Body of Divinity, the Fathers and the Schoolmen, but when he comes to practice, he must use it and apply it according to those Grounds and Articles of Religion that are establish'd in the Church, and this with fence.

6. There be four things a Minister should be at, the Conffisionary part, Ecclesiastical story, School Divinity, and the Casuists.

1. In the Conffisionary part he must read all the Chief Fathers, both Latine and Greek wholly. St. *Austin*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Chrysostome*, both the *Gregories*, &c. *Tertullian*, *Clemens*, *Alexandrinus*, and *Ephphanius*, which last have more Learning in them than all the rest, and writ freely.

2. For Ecclesiastical story let him read *Baronius*, with the *Magdeburgenses*, and be his own Judge, the one being extreamly for the Papists, the other extreamly against them.

3. For School Divinity let him get *Javellus's* Edition of *Scotus* or *Mayco*, where there be Quotations that direct you to every Schoolman, where such and such questions are handled. Without School-Divinity a Divine knows nothing Logically, nor will be able to satisfie a rational man out of the Pulpit.

4. The Study of the Casuists must follow the Study of the School-men, because the division of their Cases is according to their Divinity, otherwise he that begins with them will know little. As he that begins with the study of the Reports and Cases in the Common Law, will thereby know little of the Law. Casuists may be of admirable use, if discreetly dealt with, tho' among them you shall have many leaves together very impertinent. A Case well decided would stick by a man, they would remember it whether they will or no, whereas a quaint position dieth in the Birth. The main thing is to know where to search, for talk what they will of vast memories, no man will presume upon his own memory for any thing he means to write or speak in publick.

7. [Go and teach all Nations.] This was said to all

Christians that then were, before the distinction of Clergy and Laity ; there have been since Men design'd to Preach only by the State, as some Men are design'd to studdy the Law, others to studdy Phyfick. When the Lord's Supper was instituted, there were none present but the Disciples, shall none then but Ministers receive ?

8. There is all the Reason you should believe your Minister, unless you have studdied Divinity as well as he, or more than he.

9. 'Tis a foolish thing to say Ministers must not meddle with Secular Matters, because his own profession will take up the whole Man ; may he not eat, or drink, or walk, or learn to sing ? the meaning of that is, he must seriously attend his Calling.

10. Ministers with the Papists [that is their Priests] have much respect, with the Puritans they have much, and that upon the same ground, they pretend both of 'em to come immediately from Christ ; but with the Protestants they have very little, the reason whereof is, in the beginning of the Reformation they were glad to get such to take Livings as they could procure by any Invitations, things of pitiful condition. The Nobility and Gentry would not suffer their Sons or Kindred to meddle with the Church, and therefore at this day, when they see a Parson, they think him to be such a thing full, and there they will keep him, and use him accordingly; if he be a Gentleman, that is singled out, and he is us'd the more respectfully.

11. The Protestant Minister is least regarded, appears by the old story of the Keeper of the Clink. He had Priests of several sorts sent unto him, as they came in, he ask'd them who they were ; who are you to the first ? I am a Priest of the Church of *Rome* ; you are welcome quoth the Keeper, there are those will take care of you. And who are you ? A silens'd Minister. You are welcome too, I shall fare the better for you ? And who are you ? A Minister of the Church of *England*. O God help me (quoth the Keeper) I shall get nothing by you, I am sure you

may lye and starve, and rot, before any body will look after you.

12. Methinks 'tis an ignorant thing for a Churchman, to call himself the Minister of Christ, because St. *Paul*, or the Apostles call'd themselves so. If one of them had a Voice from Heav'n, as St. *Paul* had, I will grant he is a Minister of Christ, I will call him so too. Must they take upon them as the Apostles did? Can they do as the Apostles could? The Apostles had a Mark to be known by, spake Tongues, Cur'd Diseases, trod upon Serpents, &c. Can they do this? If a Gentleman tells me, he will send his Man to me, and I did not know his Man, but he gave me this Mark to know him by, he should bring in his hand a rich Jewel; if a fellow came to me with a pebble-Stone, had I any reason to believe he was the Gentleman's man?

Money.

1. **M**oney makes a man laugh. A blind Fidler playing to a Company, and playing but scurvily, the Company laugh at him; His Boy that led him, perceiving it, cry'd, Father let us be gone, they do nothing but laugh at you. Hold thy peace, Boy, said the Fidler, we shall have their money presently, and then we will laugh at them.

2. *Euclide* was beaten in *Boccaline*, for teaching his Scholars a Mathematical Figure in his School, whereby he shew'd, that all the Lives both of Princes and private Men tended to one Centre, *Con Gentilizza*, handsomly to get money out of other mens pockets, and it into their own.

3. The Pope us'd heretofore to send the Princes of Christendom to fight against the *Turk*, but Prince and Pope finely Juggl'd together, the Moneys were rais'd, and some men went out to the Holy War, but commonly after they had got the money, the Turk was pretty quiet, and the Prince and the Pope shar'd it between them.

4. In all times the Princes in *England* have done something illegal, to get money. But then came

a Parliament and all was well, the People and the Prince kist and were Friends, and so things were quiet for a while ; afterwards there was another trick found out to get money, and after they had got it, another Parliament was call'd to set all right, &c. But now they have so out-run the Constable——

Moral Honesty.

1. **T**HEY that cry down Moral-honesty, cry down that which is a great part of Religion, my Duty towards God, and my Duty towards man. What care I to see a man run after a Sermon, if he Couzen and Cheats as soon as he comes home. On the other side Morality must not be without Religion, for if so, it may change, as I see convenience. Religion must govern it. He that has not Religion to govern his Morality, is not a Dram better than my Mastiff-Dogg ; so long as you stroak him and please him, and do not pinch him, he will play with you as finely as may be, he is a very good Moral-Mastiff, but if you hurt him, he will fly in your Face, and tear out your Throat.

Mortgage.

1. **I**N Case I receive a thousand pounds, and Mortgage as much Land as is worth two thousand to you, if I do not pay the Money at such a day, I fail, whether you may take my Land and keep it in point of Conscience ? *Answ.* If you had my Lands as security only for your Money, then you are not to keep it, but if we bargain'd so, that if I did not repay your 1000*l.* my Land should go for it, be it what it will, no doubt you may with a safe Conscience keep it ; for in these things all the Obligation is *Servare Fidem.*

Number.

1. **A**LL those mysterious things they observe in numbers, come to nothing, upon this very ground, because number in it self is nothing, has not to do with Nature, but is meerly of Human Imposition,

a meer sound. For Example, when I cry one a Clock, two a Clock, threc a Clock, that is but Man's division of time, the time it self goes on, and it had been all one in Nature if those Hours had been call'd nine, ten, and eleven. So when they say the Seventh Son is Fortunate, it means nothing ; for if you count from the seventh back-wards, then the first is the seventh, why is not he likewise Fortunate ?

Oaths.

1. **S**wearing was another thing with the *Jews* than with us, because they might not pronounce the Name of the Lord Jehovah.

2. There is no Oath scarcely, but we swear to things we are ignorant of : For Example, the Oath of Supremacy : how many know how the King is King ? what are his Right and Prerogative ? So how many know what are the Priviledges of the Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject, when they take the protestation ? But the meaning is, they will defend them when they know them. As if I should swear I would take part with all that wear Red Ribbons in their Hats, it may be I do not know which colour is Red ; but when I do know, and see a Red Ribbon in a Man's Hat, then will I take his part.

3. I cannot conceive how an Oath is imposed, where there is a Parity (*viz.*) in the House of Commons, they are all *pares inter se*, only one brings Paper, and shews it the rest, they look upon it, and in their own Sence take it : Now they are but *pares* to me, who am none of the House, for I do not acknowledge my self their Subject, if I did, then no question, I was bound by an Oath of their imposing. 'Tis to me but reading a Paper in their own Sence.

4. There is a great difference between an Affertory Oath and a Promissary Oath. An Affertory Oath is made to a Man before God, and I must swear so, as man may know what I mean : But a Promissary Oath is made to God only, and I am sure he knows my meaning : So in the new Oath it runs [whereas I be-

lieve in my Conscience, &c. I will assit thus and thus] that [whereas] gives me an Outloose, for if I do not believe so, for ought I know, I swear not at all.

5. In a Promissary Oath, the mind I am in is a good Interpretation, for if there be enough hapned to change my mind, I do not know why I should not. If I promise to go to *Oxford* to-morrow, and mean it when I say it, and afterwards it appears to me, that 'twill be my undoing, will you say I have broke my Promise if I stay at home? certainly I must not go.

6. The *Jews* had this way with them concerning a Promissary Oath or Vow, if one of them had vow'd a vow, which afterwards appear'd to him to be very prejudicial by reason of something he either did not foresee, or did not think of, when he made his Vow; if he made it known to three of his Country-men, they had power to absolve him, though he could not absolve himself, and that they pickt out of some words in the Text: Perjury hath only to do with an Affertory Oath, and no man was punisht for Perjury by man's Law till Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, 'twas left to God, as a sin against him, the Reason was, because 'twas so hard a thing to prove a man perjur'd: I might misunderstand him, and he swears as he thought.

7. When men ask me whether they may take an Oath in their own Sense, 'tis to me, as if they should ask whether they may go to such a place upon their own Legs, I would fain know how they can go otherwife.

8. If the Ministers that are in sequestred Livings will not take the Engagement, threaten to turn them out and put in the old ones, and then I'le warrant you they will quietly take it. A Gentleman having been rambling two or three days, at length came home, and being in Bed with his Wife, would fain have been at something, that she was unwilling to, and instead of complying, fell to chiding him for his being abroad so long: Well says he, if you will not, call up *Sue* (his Wife's Chambermaid) upon that she yielded presently.

9. Now Oaths are so frequent, they should be taken like Pills, swallow'd whole: If you chew them you will

find them bitter : If you think what you fwear 'twill hardly go down.

Oracles.

1. **O** Racles ceas'd presently after Christ, as soon as nobody believ'd them. Just as we have no Fortune-Tellers, nor Wise-Men, when no body cares for them. Sometime you have a Seafon for them, when People believe them, and neither of these, I conceive, wrought by the Devil.

Opinion.

1. **O** Pinion and Affection extreamly differ ; I may affect a Woman best, but it does not follow I must think her the Handsomest Woman in the World. I love Apples the best of any Fruit, but it does not follow, I must think Apples to be the best Fruit. Opinion is something wherein I go about to give Reason why all the World should think as I think. Affection is a thing wherein I look after the pleasing of my self.

2. 'Twas a good Fancy of an old Platonick : The Gods which are above men, had something whereof Man did partake, [an Intellect Knowledge] and the Gods kept on their course quietly. The Beasts, which are below man, had something whereof Man did partake, [Sence and Growth,] and the Beasts liv'd quietly in their way. But Man had somthing in him, whereof neither Gods nor Beasts did partake, which gave him all the Trouble, and made all the Confusion in the world, and that is Opinion.

3. 'Tis a foolish thing for me to be brought off from an Opinion in a thing neither of us know, but are led only by some Cobweb-stuff, as in such a case as this, *Utrum Angeli in vicem colloquantur?* if I forsake my side in such a case, I shew my self wonderful light, or infinitely complying, or flattering the other party. But if I be in a busines of Nature, and hold an Opinion one way, and some man's Experience has found out the contrary, I may with a safe Reputation give up my side.

4. 'Tis a vain thing to talk of an Heretick, for a man for his heart can think no otherwise than he does think. In the Primitive times there were many Opinions, nothing scarce but some or other held: One of these Opinions being embrac'd by some Prince, and received into his Kingdom, the rest were Condemn'd as Heresies, and his Religion which was but one of the several Opinions, first is said to be Orthodox, and so have continu'd ever since the Apostles.

Parity.

1. **T**HIS is the juggling trick of the Parity, they would have no body above them, but they do not tell you they would have no body under them.

Parliament.

1. **A**LL are involved in a Parliament. There was a time when all Men had their voice in choosing Knights. About Henry the Sixth's time they found the inconvenience, so one Parliament made a Law, that only he that had forty Shillings *per annum* should give his voice, they under should be excluded. They made the Law who had the voice of all, as well under forty Shillings as above; and thus it continues at this day. All consent civilly to a Parliament, Women are involv'd in the Men, Children in those of perfect age, those that are under forty Shillings a year, in those that have forty Shillings a year, those of forty Shillings in the Knights.

2. All things are brought to the Parliament, little to the Courts of Justice; just as in a room where there is a Banquet presented, if there be Persons of Quality there, the People must expect, and stay till the great ones have done.

3. The Parliament flying upon several Men, and then letting them alone, does as a Hawk that flyes a Covey of Partridges, and when she has flown them a great way, grows weary and takes a Tree; then the Faulconer lures her down, and takes her to his fist: on they go again, *hei rett*, up springs another Covey, away

goes the Hawk, and as she did before, takes another Tree. &c.

4. Dissenters in Parliament may at length come to a good end, tho' first there be a great deal of do, and a great deal of noise, which mad wild folks make ; just as in brewing of Wreft-Beer, there's a great deal of business in grinding the Mault, and that spoils any Mans cloaths that comes near it ; then it must be mash'd, then comes a Fellow in and drinks of the Wort, and he's drunk, then they keep a huge quarter when they carry it into the Cellar, and a twelve month after 'tis delicate fine Beer.

5. It must necessarily be that our Distempers are worse than they were in the beginning of the Parliament. If a Physician comes to a sick Man, he lets him blood, it may be scarifyses him, cups him, puts him into a great disorder, before he makes him well ; and if he be sent for to cure an Ague, and he finds his Patient hath many diseases, a Dropsie, and a Palfie, he applies remedies to 'em all, which makes the cure the longer and the dearer : this is the case.

6. The Parliament-men are as great Princes as any in the World, when whatsoever they please is Priviledge of Parliament ; no man must know the number of their Priviledges, and whatsoever they dislike is breach of Priviledge. The Duke of *Venice* is no more than Speaker of the House of Commons ; but the Senate at *Venice*, are not so much as our Parliament-men, nor have they that power over the People, who yet exercise the greatest Tyranny that is anywhere. In plain truth, breach of Priviledge is only the actual taking away of a Member of the House, the rest are Offences against the House. For example, to take out Proces against a Parliament-man, or the like.

7. The Parliament-party, if the Law be for them, they call for the Law ; if it be against them, they will go to a Parliamentary way ; if no Law be for them, then for Law again : Like him that first call'd for Sack to heat him, then small Drink to cool his Sack, then Sack again to heat his small Drink, &c.

8. The Parliament-party do not play fair play, in sitting up till two of the Clock in the Morning, to vote something they have a mind to. 'Tis like a crafty Gamester that makes the Company drunk, then cheats them of their Money. Young men and infirm men go away; besides, a man is not there to perswade other men to be of his Mind, but to speak his own Heart, and if it be lik'd, so, if not, there's an end.

Parson.

1. **T**HOUGH we write [Parson] differently, yet 'tis but Person; that is, the individual person set apart for the service of such a Church, and 'tis in Latin *persona*, and *Personatus* is a Personage. Indeed with the Canon Lawyers, *Personatus* is any Dignity or Preferment in the Church.

2. There never was a merry World since the *Faries* left Dancing, and the Parson left Conjuring. The Opinion of the latter kept Thieves in awe, and did as much good in a Country as a Justice of Peace.

Patience.

1. **P**ATIENCE is the chiefest fruit of Study, a man that strives to make himself a different thing from other men by much reading, gains this chiefest good, that in all Fortunes he hath something to entertain and comfort himself withall.

Peace.

1. **K**ING James was pictur'd going easily down a pair of Stairs, and upon every step there was writen, Peace, Peace, Peace; the wisest way for men in these times is to say nothing.

2. When a Country-wench cannot get her Butter to come, she says, The Witch is in her Churn. We have been churning for Peace a great while, and 'twill not come, sure the Witch is in it.

3. Though we had Peace, yet 'twill be a great while e're things be settled: Tho' the Wind lye, yet after a Storm the Sea will work a great while.

Penance.

1. **P**enance is only the Punishment inflicted, not Penitence, which is the right word ; a man comes not to do Penance, because he repents him of his Sin, but because he is compell'd to it ; he curses him, and could kill him that fends him thither. The old Canons wisely enjoyn'd three years Penance, sometimes more, because in that time a man got a habit of Vertue, and so committed that sin no more, for which he did Penance.

People.

1. **T**here is not any thing in the World more abus'd than this Sentence, *Salus populi suprema Lex esto*, for we apply it, as if we ought to forsake the known Law, when it may be most for the advantage of the people, when it means no such thing. For first, 'tis not *Salus populi suprema Lex est*, but *esto*, it being one of the Laws of the twelve Tables, and after divers Laws made, some for Punishment, some for Reward, then follows this, *Salus populi suprema Lex esto* : that is, in all the Laws you make, have a special eye to the good of the people, and then what does this concern the way they now go ?

2. *Objection*, He that makes one, is greater than he that is made ; the People make the King, *ergo, &c.*

Answe. This does not hold, for if I have 1000*l.* *per Annum*, and give it you and leave my self ne're a penny, I made you, but when you have my Land, you are greater than I. The Parish makes the Constable, and when the Constable is made, he governs the Parish. The answer to all these Doubts is, Have you agreed so ? if you have, then it must remain till you have alter'd it.

Pleasure.

1. **P**leasure is nothing else but the intermission of pain, the enjoying of some thing I am in great trouble for 'till I have it.

2. 'Tis a wrong way to proportion other mens pleasures to our selves ; 'tis like a Child's using a little Bird [O poor Bird thou shalt sleep with me] so lays it in his Bosome, and stifles it with his hot breath, the Bird had

rather be in the cold Air: And yet too 'tis the most pleasing flattery, to like what other men like.

3. 'Tis most undoubtedly true, that all men are equally given to their pleasure, only thus, one mans pleasure lyes one way, and anothers another. Pleasures are all alike, simply considered in themselves, he that hunts, or he that governs the Common-wealth, they both please themselves alike, only we commend that, whereby we our selves receive some benefit. As if a man place his delight in things that tend to the common good, he that takes pleasure to hear Sermons, enjoys himself as much as he that hears Plays, and could he that loves Plays endeavour to love Sermons, possibly he might bring himself to it as well as to any other Pleasure. At first it may seem harsh and tedious, but afterwards 'twould be pleasing and delightful. So it falls out in that, which is the great pleasure of some men, Tobacco, at first they could not abide it, and now they cannot be without it.

4. Whilst you are upon Earth enjoy the good things that are here (to that end were they given) and be not melancholly, and wish yourself in Heaven. If a King should give you the keeping of a Castle, with all things belonging to it, Orchards, Gardens, &c., and bid you use them; withal promise you that after twenty years to remove you to Court, and to make you a Privy Councillor. If you should neglect your Castle, and refuse to eat of those fruits, and sit down, and whine, and wish you were a Privy Councillor, do you think the King would be pleased with you?

5. Pleasures of Meat, Drink, Cloaths, &c., are forbidden those that know not how to use them, just as Nurses cry pah! when they see a Knife in a Childs hand, they will never say any thing to a man.

Philosophy.

1. **W**hen Men comfort themselves with Philosophy, 'tis not because they have got two or three Sentences, but because they have digested those Sentences, and made them their own: So upon the matter, Philosophy is nothing but Discretion.

Poetry.

1. **O**vid was not only a fine Poet, but [as a man may speak] a great Canon Lawyer, as appears in his *Fasti*, where we have more of the Festivals of the Old *Romans* than any where else: 'tis pity the rest are lost.

2. There is no reason Plays should be in Verse, either in Blank or Rhime, only the Poet has to say for himself, that he makes something like that, which some body made before him. The old Poets had no other reason but this, their Verse was sung to Musick, otherwise it had been a senseless thing to have fetter'd up themselves.

3. I never Converted but two, the one was Mr. Crasham from writing against Plays, by telling him a way how to understand that place [of putting on Womens Apparel] which has nothing to do in the busines [as neither has it, that the Fathers speak against Plays in their time, with reason enough, for they had real Idolatries mix'd with their Plays, having three Altars perpetually upon the Stage.] The other was a Doctor of Divinity, from preaching against Painting, which simply in it self is no more hurtful, than putting on my Cloaths, or doing any thing to make my self like other folks, that I may not be odious nor offensive to the Company. Indeed if I do it with an ill intention, it alters the Case, so if I put on my Gloves with an intention to do a mischief, I am a Villain.

4. 'Tis a fine thing for Children to learn to make Verse, but when they come to be men they must speak like other men, or else they will be laught at. 'Tis Ridiculous to speak, or write, or preach in Verse. As 'tis good to learn to dance, a man may learn his Leg, learn to go handsonly, but 'tis ridiculous for him to dance, when he should go.

5. 'Tis ridiculous for a Lord to Print Verses, 'tis well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them publick, is foolish. If a man in his private Chamber twirls his Bandstrings, or plays with a Rush

to please himself, 'tis well enough, but if he should go into *Fleet street*, and sit upon a Stall, and twirl a Band-string, or play with a Rush, then all the Boys in the Street would laugh at him.

6. Verse proves nothing but the quantity of Syllables, they are not meant for Logick.

Pope.

1. **A** Popes Bull and a Popes Brief differ very much, as with us the great Seal and the Privy Seal. The Bull being the highest Authority the Pope can give, the Brief is of less. The Bull has a Leaden Seal upon silk, hanging upon the Instrument. The Brief has *sub Annulo Piscatoris* upon the side.

2. He was a wife Pope, that when one that used to be merry with him, before he was advanc't to the Popedom, refrain'd afterwards to come at him, (presuming he was busie in governing the Christian World) the Pope fends for him, bids him come again, and (says he) we will be merry as we were before, for thou little thinkest what a little Foolery governs the whole World.

3. The Pope in sending Rellicks to Princes, does as Wenches do by their *Wassals* at *New-years-tide*, they present you with a Cup, and you must drink of a flabby stuff; but the meaning is, that you must give them Moneys, ten times more than it is worth.

4. The Pope is Infallible, where he hath power to command, that is where he must be obey'd, so is every Supream Power and Prince. They that stretch his Infallibility further, do they know not what.

5. When a Protestant and a Papist Dispute, they talk like two Madmen, because they do not agree upon their Principles, the one way is to destroy the Popes Power, for if he hath Power to command me, 'tis not my alledging Reasons to the contrary can keep me from obeying: For Example, if a Constable command me to wear a Green Suit to morrow, and has power to make me, 'tis not my alledging a hundred Reasons of the Folly of it can excuse me from doing it.

6. There was a time when the Pope had Power here in *England*, and there was excellent use made of it, for 'twas only to serve turns, (as might be manifested out of the Records of the Kingdom, which Divines know little of.) If the King did not like what the Pope would have, he would forbid the Pope's Legate to land upon his ground. So that the Power was truly then in the King, though suffer'd in the Pope. But now the Temporal and the Spiritual Power (Spiritual so call'd because ordain'd to a Spiritual end) spring both from one Fountain, they are like to twist that.

7. The Protestants in *France* bear Office in the State, because though their Religion be different, yet they acknowledge no other King but the King of *France*. The Papists in *England* they must have a King of their own, a Pope, that must do something in our Kingdom, therefore there is no reaſon they should enjoy the same Priviledges.

8. *Amſterdam* admits of all Religions but Papists, and 'tis upon the same Account. The Papists where e're they live, have another King at *Rome*; all other Religions are ſubject to the present State, and have no Prince eſe-where.

9. The Papists call our Religion a Parliamentary Religion, but there was once, I am fure, a Parliamentary Pope. Pope *Urban* was made Pope in *England* by Act of Parliament, againſt Pope *Clement*; the Act is not in the Book of Statutes, either because he that compiled the Book, would not have the Name of the Pope there, or eſe he would not let it appear that they meddled with any ſuch thing, but 'tis upon the Rolls.

10. When our Clergy preach againſt the Pope, and the Church of *Rome*, they preach againſt themſelves, and crying down their Pride, their Power, and their Riches, have made themſelves poor and contemptible enough, they dedicate first to please their Prince, not conſidering what would follow. Just as if a man were to go a Journey, and feeing at his firſt ſetting out the way clean and fair, ventures forth in his Slippers, not conſidering the Dirt and the Sloughs are a little fur-ther off, or how ſuddenly the Weather may change.

Papery.

1. **T**HE demanding a Noble, for a dead body passing through a Town, came from hence in time of Popery, they carry'd the dead body into the Church, where the Priest said Dirgies, and twenty Dirgies at fourpence a piece comes to a Noble, but now 'tis forbidden by an Order from my Lord Marshal, the Heralds carry his Warrant about them.

2. We charge the Prelatical Clergy with Popery to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing: Just as heretofore they call'd Images Mammets, and the Adoration of Images Mammetry: that is, *Mahomet* and *Mahometry*, odious names, when all the World knows the *Turks* are forbidden Images by their Religion.

Power, State.

1. **T**HERE is no stretching of Power, 'tis a good rule, eat within your Stomack, act within your Commission.

2. They that govern most make least noise. You see when they row in a Barge, they that do drudgery-work, flash, and puff, and swear, but he that governs, sits quietly at the Stern, and scarce is seen to stir.

3. Syllables govern the world.

4. [*All Power is of God*] means no more than *Fides est servanda*. When St. Paul said this, the people had made *Nero* Emperour. They agree, he to command, they to obey. Then God comes in, and casts a hook upon them, keep your Faith, then comes in, all power is of God. Never King dropt out of the Clouds. God did not make a new Emperour, as the King makes a Justice of peace.

5. Christ himself was a great observer of the Civil power, and did many things only justifiable, because the State requir'd it, which were things meerly Temporary for the time that State stood. But Divines make use of them to gain power to themselves, (as for Example) that of *Dic Ecclesiæ*, tell the Church; there was then a Sanhedrim, a Court to tell it to, and therefore they would have it so now.

6. Divines ought to do no more than what the State permits. Before the State became Christian, they made their own Laws, and those that did not observe them, they Excommunicated, [*naughty men*] they suffer'd them to come no more amongst them. But if they would come amongst them, how could they hinder them? By what Law? by what Power? they were still subject to the State, which was Heathen. Nothing better expresses the condition of Christians in those times, than one of the Meetings you have in *London*, of men of the same Country, of *Sussex*-men, or *Bedfordshire*-men, they appoint their meeting, and they agree, and make Laws amongst themselves [*He that is not there shall pay double, &c.*] and if any one misbehave himself, they shut him out of their Company; but can they recover a Forfeiture made concerning their meeting by any Law? Have they any power to compel one to pay? but afterwards when the State became Christian, all the power was in them, and they gave the Church as much, or as little as they pleas'd, and took away when they pleas'd, and added what they pleas'd.

7. The Church is not only Subject to the Civil Power with us that are Protestants, but also in *Spain*, if the Church does Excommunicate a man for what it should not, the Civil Power will take him out of their hands. So in *France*, the Bishop of *Angiers* alter'd something in the Breviary, they complain'd to the Parliament at *Paris*, they made him alter it again, with a [*comme abuse*].

8. The Parliament of *England* has no Arbitrary Power in point of Judicature, but in point of making Law only.

9. If the Prince be *servus natura*, of a servile base Spirit, and the Subjects *liberi*, Free and Ingenuous, oft-times they depose their Prince, and govern themselves. On the contrary, if the people be *Servi Natura*, and some one amongst them of a Free and Ingenuous Spirit, he makes himself King of the rest, and this is the Cause of all Changes in State. Common-wealths into Monarchies, and Monarchies into Common-wealths.

10. In a troubled State we must do as in foul Weather upon the *Thames*, not think to cut directly through, so the Boat may be quickly full of water, but rise and fall as the Waves do, give as much as conveniently we can.

Prayer.

1. **I**F I were a Minister, I should think my self most in my Office, Reading of Prayers, and Dispensing the Sacraments ; and 'tis ill done to put one to Officiate in the Church, whose Person is contemptible out of it. Should a great Lady, that was invited to be a Gossip, in her place send her Kitchen-Maid, 'twould be ill taken, yet she is a Woman as well as she, let her send her Woman at least.

2. [*You shall pray*] is the right way, because according as the Church is settled, no man may make a Prayer in Publick of his own head.

3. 'Tis not the Original Common-Prayer-Book, why, shew me an Original Bible, or an Original *Magna Charta*.

4. Admit the Preacher prays by the Spirit, yet that very Prayer is Common-Prayer to the People ; they are ty'd as much to his words, as in saying [*Almighty and most merciful Father*] is it then unlawful in the Minister, but not unlawful in the People ?

5. There are some Mathematicians, that could with one fetch of their Pen make an exact Circle, and with the next touch point out the Center, is it therefore reasonable to banish all use of the Compasses ? Set Forms are a pair of Compasses.

6. [*God hath given gifts unto men*] General Texts prove nothing : let him shew me *John*, *William* or *Thomas* in the Text, and then I will believe him. If a man hath a voluble Tongue, we say, He hath the gift of Prayer. His gift is to pray long, that I fee ; but does he pray better ?

7. We take care what we speak to men, but to God we may say any thing.

8. The People must not think a thought towards God, but as their Pastours will put it into their Mouths : they will make right Sheep of us.

9. The *English* Priests would do that in English which the *Romish* do in Latin, keep the people in Ignorance; but some of the people out-do them at their own Game.

10. Prayer should be short, without giving God Almighty Reasons why he should grant this, or that, he knows best what is good for us. If your Boy should ask you a Suit of Cloaths, and give you Reasons (otherwise he cannot wait upon you, he cannot go abroad but he shall discredit you) would you endure it? you know it better than he, let him ask a Suit of Cloaths.

11. If a Servant that has been fed with good Beef, goes into that part of *England*, where Salmon is plenty, at first he is pleas'd with his Salmon, and despises his Beef, but after he has been there a while, he grows weary of his Salmon, and wishes for his good Beef again. We have a while been much taken with this praying by the Spirit, but in time we may grow weary of it, and wish for our *Common-Prayer*.

12. 'Tis hop'd we may be cur'd of our Extempory Prayers the same way the Grocer's-Boy is cur'd of his eating Plumbs, when we have had our Belly full of them.

Preaching.

1. **N**Othing is more mistaken than that Speech [*Preach the Gosp[e]l*] for 'tis not to make long Harangues, as they do now a-days, but to tell the news of Christ's coming into the World, and when that is done, or where 'tis knownr. already, the Preacher's work is done.

2. Preaching in the first fence of the word ceas'd as soon as ever the Gospels were written.

3. When the Preacher says, this is the meaning of the Holy Ghost in such a place, in fence he can mean no more than this, that is, I by studing of the place, by comparing one place with another, by weighing what goes before, and what comes after, think this is the meaning of the Holy Ghost, and for shortness of Expression I say, the Holy Ghost says thus, or this is the meaning of the Spirit of God. So the Judge speaks of the King's Proclamation, this is

the intention of the King, not that the King had declared his intention any other way to the Judge, but the Judge examining the Contents of the Proclamation, gathers by the Purport of the words, the King's Intention, and then for shortness of expression says, this is the King's Intention.

4. Nothing is Text but what was spoken in the Bible, and meant there for Person and Place, the rest is Application; which a discreet Man may do well; but 'tis his Scripture, not the Holy Ghost.

5. Preaching by the Spirit (as they call it) is most esteem'd by the Common people, because they cannot abide Art or Learning, which they have not been bred up in. Just as in the business of Fencing; if one Country-Fellow amongst the rest, has been at the School, the rest will undervalue his Skill, or tell him he wants Valour. *You come with your School-Tricks: There's Dick Butcher has ten times more Mettle in him:* So they say to the Preachers, *You come with your School Learning: There's such a one has the Spirit.*

6. The tone in Preaching does much in working upon the Peoples Affections. If a Man should make love in an ordinary Tone, his Mistress would not regard him; and therefore he must whine. If a Man should cry Fire, or Murther in an ordinary Voice, nobody would come out to help him.

7. Preachers will bring anything into the Text. The Young Masters of Arts preached against Non-Residency in the University, whereupon the Heads made an Order, That no Man should meddle with any thing but what was in the Text. The next Day one preach'd upon these Words, *Abraham begat Isaac;* when he had gone a good way, at last he observ'd, that *Abraham* was Resident, for if he had been Non-Resident, he could never have begat *Isaac*; and so fell foul upon the Non-Residents.

8. I could never tell what often Preaching meant, after a Church is fetled, and we know what is to be done; 'tis just as if a Husbandman should once tell his Servants what they are to do, when to Sow, when to Reap, and afterwards one should come and tell them

twice or thrice a Day what they know already. You must Sow your Wheat in *October*, you must Reap your Wheat in *August, &c.*

9. The main Argument why they would have two Sermons a day, is, because they have two Meals a Day ; the Soul must be fed as well as the Body. But I may as well argue, I ought to have two Noses, because I have two Eyes, or two Mouths, because I have two Ears. What have Meals and Sermons to do one with another?

10. The Things between God and Man are but few, and those, forsooth, we must be told often of ; but things between Man and Man are many ; those I hear not of above twice a Year, at the Assizes, or once a Quarter at the Sessions ; but few come then ; nor does the Minister exhort the People to go at these times to learn their Duty towards their Neighbour. Often Preaching is sure to keep the Minister in Countenance, that he may have something to do.

11. In Preaching they say more to raise men to love Vertue than men can possibly perform, to make them do their best ; as if you would teach a man to throw the Bar, or make him put out his Strength, you bid him throw further than it is possible for him, or any man else ? Throw over yonder House.

12. In Preaching they do by men as Writers of Romances do by their Chief Knights, bring them into many Dangers, but still fetch them off : So they put men in fear of Hell, but at last they bring them to Heaven.

13. Preachers say, Do as I say, not as I do. But if a Physician had the same Disease upon him that I have, and he should bid me do one thing, and he do quite another, could I believe him ?

14. Preaching the same Sermon to all sorts of People, is, as if a School-Master should read the same Lesson to his several Formes : If he reads *Amo, amas, amavi*, the highest Formes Laugh at him ; the younger Boys admire him : So 'tis in preaching to a mix'd Auditory. *Obj.* But it cannot be otherwife, the Parish cannot be divided into several Formes . What must the

Preacher then do in Discretion? *Answe.* Why then let him use some expressions by which this or that condition of people may know such Doctrine does more especially concern them, it being so delivered that the wisest may be content to hear. For if he delivers it all together, and leaves it to them to single out what belongs to themselves (which is the usual way) 'tis as if a man would bestow Gifts upon Children of several ages: Two years old, four years old, ten years old, &c., and there he brings Tops, Pins, Points, Ribbands, and casts them all in a heap together upon a Table before them: though the Boy of ten years old knows how to chuse his Top, yet the Child of two years old, that should have a Ribband, takes a Pin, and the Pin ere he be aware pricks his Fingers, and then all's out of order, &c. Preachinge for the most part is the glory of the preacher, to shew himself a fine man. Catechising would do much better.

15. Use the best Arguments to perswade, though but few understand, for the ignorant will sooner believe the judicious of the Parish, than the Preacher himself, and they teach when they dissipate what he has said, and believe it the sooner confirm'd by men of their own side. For betwixt the Laity and the Clergy, there is, as it were, a continual driving of a bargain; something the Clergy would still have us be at, and therefore many things are heard from the Preacher with suspicion. They are affraid of some ends, which are easily assented to, when they have it from some of themselves. 'Tis with a Sermon as 'tis with a Play; many come to see it, which do not understand it; and yet hearing it cry'd up by one, whose judgment they cast themselves upon, and of power with them, they fwear and will die in it, that 'tis a very good Play, which they would not have done if the Priest himself had told them so. As in a great School, 'tis the Master that teaches all; the Monitor does a great deal of work; it may be the Boys are affraid to see the Master: so in a Parish 'tis not the Minister does all; the greater Neighbour teaches the lesser, the Master of the houfe teaches his Servant, &c.

16. First in your Sermons use your Logick, and then your Rhetorick. Rhetorick without Logick is like a Tree with Leaves and Blossoms, but no Root ; yet I confess more are taken with Rhetorick than Logick, because they are catched with a free Expression, when they understand not Reason. Logick must be natural, or it is worth nothing at all : Your Rhetorick figures may be learn'd ; That Rhetorick is best which is most seasonable and most catching. An instance we have in that old blunt Commander at Cadiz, who shew'd himself a good Oratour, being to say somethong to his Souldiers (which he was not us'd to do) he made them a Speech to this purpose ; *What a shame will it be, you Englishmen, that feed upon good Beef and Brewess, to let those Rascally Spaniards beat you, that eat nothing but Oranges and Limons ?* And so put more Courage into his Men than he could have done with a more learned Oration. Rhetorick is very good, or stark naught : There's no *medium* in Rhetorick. If I am not fully perswaded I laugh at the Oratour.

17. "Tis good to preach the same thing again, for that's the way to have it learn'd. You see a Bird by often whistling to learn a tune, and a Month after record it to her self.

18. "Tis a hard case a Minister should be turned out of his Living for something they inform he should say in his Pulpit. We can no more know what a Minister said in his Sermon by two or three words pickt out of it, than we can tell what Tune a Musician play'd last upon the Lute, by two or three single Notes.

Predestination.

1. **T**hey that talk nothing but Predestination, and will not proceed in the way of Heaven till they be satisfied in that point, do, as a man that would not come to London, unless at his first step he might set his foot upon the top of Paul's.

2. For a young Divine to begin in his Pulpit with Predestination, is as if a man were coming into London and at his first step would think to set his foot, &c.

3. Predestination is a point inaccessible, out of our

reach ; we can make no notion of it, 'tis so full of intricacy, so full of contradiction : 'tis in good earnest, as we state it, half a dozen Bulls one upon another.

4. Doctor *Prideaux* in his Lectures, several days us'd Arguments to prove Predestination ; at last tells his Auditory they are damn'd that do not believe it ; doing herein just like School-boys, when one of them has got an Apple, or something the rest have a mind to, they use all the Arguments they can to get some of it from them : *I gave you some t'other day: You shall have some with me another time:* when they cannot prevail, they tell him he's a Jackanapes, a Rogue and a Rascal.

Preferment.

1. **W**hen you would have a Child go to such a place, and you find him unwilling, you tell him he shall ride a Cock-horse, and then he will go presently : So do those that govern the State, deal by men, to work them to their ends ; they tell them they shall be advanc'd to such or such a place, and they will do anything they would have them.

2. A great place strangely qualifies. *John Read* (was in the right) *Groom of the Chamber to my Lord of Kent.* Attorney *Noy* being dead, some were saying, How will the King do for a fit man ? why, Any man, (says *John Read*) may execute the Place. I warrant (says my Lord) thou thinkst thou understand'lt enough to perform it. Yes, quoth *John*, Let the King make me Attorney, and I would fain see that man, that durst tell me, there's any thing I understand not.

3. When the Pageants are a coming there's a great thrusting and a riding upon one another's backs, to look out at the Window ; stay a little and they will come just to you, you may see them quietly. So 'tis when a new Statesman or Officer is chosen ; there's great expectation and listning who it should be ; stay a while, and you may know quietly.

4. Missing Preferment makes the Presbyters fall foul upon the Bishops : Men that are in hopes and in the way of rising, keep in the Channel, but they that have none, seek new ways : 'Tis so amongst the Lawyers :

he that hath the Judges Ear, will be very observant of the way of the Court ; but he that hath no regard will be flying out.

5. My Lord *Digby* having spoken something in the House of Commons, for which they would have question'd him, was presently called to the Upper House. He did by the Parliament as an Ape when he hath done some wagging ; his Master spies him, and he looks for his Whip, but before he can come at him, whip says he to the top of the house.

6. Some of the Parliament were discontented, that they wanted places at Court, which others had got ; but when they had them once, then they were quiet. Just as at a Christning some that get no Sugar Plums, when the rest have, mutter and grumble ; presently the Wench comes again with her Basket of Sugar-Plums, and then they catch and scramble and when they have got them, you hear no more of them.

Præmunire.

1. **T**here can be no *Præmunire*. A *Præmunire* (so call'd from the word *Præmunire facias*) was when a man laid an Action in an Ecclesiastical Court, for which he could have no remedy in any of the King's Courts ; that is in the Courts of Common Law, by reason the Ecclesiastical Courts before *Henry the Eighth* were subordinate to the Pope, and so it was *Contra coronam et dignitatem Regis*; but now the Ecclesiastical Courts are equally subordinate to the King. Therefore it cannot be *contra coronam et dignitatem Regis*, and so no *Præmunire*.

Prerogative.

1. **P**rerogative is something that can be told what it is, not something that has no name. Just as you see the Archbishop has his Prerogative Court, but we know what is done in that Court. So the King's Prerogative is not his will; or what Divines make it, a Power to do what he lists.

2. The King's Prerogative, that is, the King's Law.

For example, if you ask whether a Patron may present to a Living after six months by Law? I answer no. If you ask whether the King may? I answer he may by his Prerogative, that is by the Law that concerns him in that case.

Presbytery.

1. **T**hey that would bring in a new Government, would very fain perswade us, they meet it in Antiquity; thus they interpret Presbyters, when they meet the word in the Fathers; Other professions likewise pretend to Antiquity. The Alchymist will find his Art in *Virgil's Aureus ramus*, and he that delights in Opticks will find them in *Tacitus*. When *Cesar* came into *England* they would perswade us, they had perspective-Glasses, by which he could discover what they were doing upon the Land, because it is said, *Positio Speculis*; the meaning is, His Watch, or his Sentinel discover'd this, and this unto him.

2. Presbyters have the greatest power of any Clergy in the World, and gull the Laity most; for example; Admit there be twelve Laymen to six Presbyters, the six shall govern the rest as they please. First because they are constant, and the others come in like Church-Wardens in their turns, which is an huge advantage. Men will give way to them who have been in place before them. Next the Laymen have other professions to follow; the Presbyters make it their sole busines; and besides too they learn and study the Art of perswading; some of *Geneva* have confes'd as much.

3. The Presbyter with his Elders about him is like a young Tree fenc'd about with two or three or four Stakes; the Stakes defend it, and hold it up; but the Tree only prospers and flourishes; it may be some Willow stake may bear a Leaf or two, but it comes to nothing. Lay-Elders are Stakes, the Presbyter the Tree that flourishes.

4. When the Queries were sent to the Asssembly concerning the *Jus Divinum* of Presbytery; their asking time to Answer them, was a Satyr upon themselves. For if it were to be seen in the Text, they might quickly turn to the place, and shew us it. Their

delaying to Answer makes us think there's no such thing there. They do just as you have seen a fellow do at a Tavern Reckoning, when he should come to pay his Reckoning he puts his hands in his Pockets, and keeps a grabling and a fumbling, and shaking, at last tells you he has left his Money at home; when all the company knew at first, he had no Money there, for every man can quickly find his own Money.

Priests of Rome.

1. **T**HE reason of the Statute against Priests, was this; In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth* there was a Statute made, that he that drew men from their Civil obedience was a Traitor. It happen'd this was done in Privacies and Confessions, when there could be no proof; therefore they made another Act, that for a Priest to be in *England*, was 'Treason, because they presum'd that was his busines to fetch men off from their Obedience.

2. When Queen *Elizabeth* dy'd, and King *James* came in, an Irish Priest does thus express it; *Elizabetha in orcum detrusa, successit Jacobus, alter Hæreticus.* You will ask why they did use such Language in their Church. *Answ.* Why does the Nurse tell the Child of Raw-head and Bloody-bones, to keep it in awe?

3. The Queen-Mother and Count *Roffet*, are to the Priests and Jesuits like the honey-pot to the Flies.

4. The Priests of *Rome* aim but at two things, To get power from the King, and Money from the Subject.

5. When the Priests come into a Family, they do as a man that would set fire on a house; he does not put fire to the Brick-wall, but thruts it into the Thatch. They work upon the women, and let the men alone.

6. For a Priest to turn a man when he lies a-dying, is just like one that hath a long time solicited a woman, and cannot obtain his end; at length makes her drunk, and so lies with her.

Prophecies.

1. **D**reams and Prophecies do thus much good; They make a man go on with boldnes and courage, upon a Danger or a Mistress; if

he obtains, he attributes much to them ; if he mis-carries, he thinks no more of them, or is no more thought of himself.

Proverbs.

1. **T**HE Proverbs of several Nations were much studied by Bishop *Andrews*, and the reason he gave, was, Because by them he knew the minds of several Nations which is a brave thing ; as we count him a wise man, that knows the minds and insides of men, which is done by knowing what is habitual to them. Proverbs are habitual to a Nation, being transmitted from Father to Son.

Question.

1. **W**HEN a doubt is propounded, you must learn to distinguish, and show wherein a thing holds, and wherein it does not hold. Ay, or no, never answer'd any Question. The not distinguishing where things should be distinguish'd, and the not confounding, where things should be confounded, is the cause of all the mistakes in the World.

Reason.

1. **I**N giving Reasons, Men commonly do with us as the Woman does with her Child ; when she goes to Market about her business, she tells it she goes to buy it a fine thing, to buy it a Cake or some Plums. They give us such Reasons as they think we will be catched withal, but never let us know the Truth.

2. When the School-men talk of *Recta Ratio* in Morals, either they understand Reason, as it is govern'd by a Command from above ; or else they say no more than a Woman, when she says a thing is so, because it is so ; that is her Reason perswades her 'tis so. The other Acceptation has Sence in it. As take a Law of the Land, I must not depopulate, my Reason tells me so. Why ? Because if I do, I incur the detriment.

3. The Reason of a Thing is not to be enquired after, till you are sure the Thing it self be so. We commonly are at [*What's the Reason of it?*] before we are sure of the Thing. 'Twas an excellent Question of my

Lady *Collen*, when Sir *Robert Cotten* was magnifying of a Shooe, which was *Moses's* or *Noah's*, and wondring at the strange Shape and Fashion of it: *But Mr. Cotten*, says she, *are you sure it is a Shooe.*

Retaliation.

AN Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth; That does not mean, that if I put out another Man's Eye, therefore I must lose one of my own, (for what is he the better for that?) though this be commonly received; but it means, I shall give him what Satisfaction an Eye shall be judged to be worth.

Reverence.

1. **T**HIS sometimes unreasonabile to look after Respect and Reverence, either from a Man's own Servant, or other Inferiours. A great Lord and a Gentleman talking together, there came a Boy by, leading a Calf with both his hands; says the Lord to the Gentleman, You shall see me make the Boy let go his Calf; with that he came towards him, thinking the Boy would have put off his Hat, but the Boy took no Notice of him. The Lord seeing that, *Sirrah*, says he, *Do you not know me that you use no Reverence?* Yes, says the Boy, *if your Lordship will hold my Calf, I will put off my Hat.*

Non-Residency.

1. **T**HE People thought they had a great Victory over the Clergy, when in *Henry the Eighth's* time they got their Bill passed, That a Clergy-man should have but Two Livings; before a Man might have Twenty or Thirty; 'twas but getting a Dispensation from the Pope's Limiter, or Gatherer of the *Peter-Pence*, which was as easily got, as now you may have a Licence to eat Flesh.

2. As soon as a Minister is made, he hath Power to Preach all over the World, but the Civil-Power restrains him; he cannot preach in this Parish, or in that; there is one already appointed. Now if the State allows him Two Livings, then he hath Two Places where he may Exercise his Function, and so has the more Power

to do his Office, which he might do every where if he were not restrained.

Religion.

1. **K**ing James said to the Fly, Have I Three Kingdoms, and thou must needs fly into my Eye? Is there not enough to meddle with upon the Stage, or in Love, or at the Table, but Religion?

2. Religion amongst Men appears to me like the Learning they got at School. Some Men forget all they learned, others spend upon the Stock, and some improve it. So some Men forget all the Religion that was taught them when they were Young, others spend upon that Stock, and some improve it.

3. Religion is like the Fashion, one Man wears his Doublet flash'd, another lac'd, another plain; but every Man has a Doublet: So every Man has his Religion We differ about Trimming.

4. Men say they are of the same Religion for Quietness sake; but if the matter were well Examin'd you would scarce find Three any where of the same Religion in all Points.

5. Every Religion is a getting Religion; for though I my self get nothing, I am Subordinate to those that do. So you may find a Lawyer in the *Temple* that gets little for the present, but he is fitting himself to be in time one of those great Ones that do get.

6. Alteration of Religion is dangerous, because we know not where it will stay; 'tis like a *Milstone* that lies upon the top of a pair of Stairs, 'tis hard to remove it, but if once it be thrust off the first Stair, it never stays till it comes to the bottom.

7. *Question.* Whether is the Church or the Scripture Judge of Religion? *Answer.* In truth neither, but the State. I am troubled with a Boil; I call a Company of Chirurgeons about me; one prescribes one thing, another another; I single out something I like, and ask you that stand by, and are no Chirurgeon, what you think of it: You like it too; you and I are Judges of the Plaster, and we bid them prepare it, and there's an end. Thus 'tis in Religion; the Protestants say they

will be judged by the Scripture ; the Papists say so too ; but that cannot speak. A Judge is no Judge, except he can both speak and command Execution ; but the truth is they never intend to agree. No doubt the Pope where he is Supream, is to be Judge ; if he say we in *England* ought to be subject to him, then he must draw his Sword and make it good.

8. By the Law was the Manual received into the Church before the Reformation, not by the Civil Law, that had nothing to do in it ; nor by the Canon Law, for that Manual that was here, was not in *France*, nor in *Spain* ; but by Custom, which is the Common Law of *England* ; and Custom is but the Elder Brother to a Parliament : and so it will fall out to be nothing that the Papists say, Ours is a Parliamentary Religion, by reason the Service-Book was Established by Act of Parliament, and never any Service-Book was so before. That will be nothing that the Pope sent the Manual : 'Twas ours, because the State received it. The State still makes the Religion and receives into it, what will best agree with it. Why are the *Venetians* Roman Catholicks ? Because the State likes the Religion : All the World knows they care not Three Pence for the Pope. The Council of *Trent* is not at this day admitted in *France*.

9. *Papist*. Where was your Religion before *Luther*, an Hundred Years ago ? *Protestant*. Where was *America* an Hundred or Sixscore years ago ? Our Religion was where the rest of the Christian Church was. *Papist*. Our Religion continued ever since the Apostles, and therefore 'tis better. *Protestant*. So did ours. That there was an interruption of it, will fall out to be nothing, no more than if another Earl should tell me of the Earl of *Kent*, saying, He is a better Earl than he, because there was one or two of the Family of *Kent* did not take the Title upon them : yet all that while they were really Earls ; and afterwards a Great Prince declar'd them to be Earls of *Kent*, as he that made the other Family an Earl.

10. Disputes in Religion will never be ended, because there wants a Measure by which the Busines

would be decided : The *Puretan* would be judged by the Word of God : If he would speak clearly, he means himself, but he is ashamed to say so ; and he would have me believe him before a whole Church, that has read the Word of God as well as he. One says one thing, and another another ; and there is, I say, no Measure to end the Controversie. 'Tis just as if Two men were at Bowls, and both judg'd by the Eye ; One says 'tis his Cast, the other says 'tis my Cast ; and having no Measure, the Difference is Eternal. *Ben Johnson* Satyrically express'd the vain Disputes of Divines by *Inigo Lanthorne*, disputing with his Puppet in a *Bartholomew Fair* : It is so ; It is not so ; It is so ; It is not so, crying thus one to another a quarter of an Hour together.

11. In Matters of Religion to be rul'd by one that writes against his Adversary, and throws all the Dirt he can in his Face, is, as if in point of good Manners a Man should be govern'd by one whom he fees at Cuffs with another, and thereupon thinks himself bound to give the next Man he meets a Box on the Ear.

12. 'Tis to no purpose to labour to Reconcile Religions, when the Interest of Princes will not suffer it. 'Tis well if they could be Reconciled so far, that they should not cut one another's Throats.

13. There's all the Reason in the World *Divines* should not be suffer'd to go a Hair beyond their Bounds, for fear of breeding Confusion, since there now be so many Religions on Foot. The matter was not so narrowly to be look'd after when there was but one Religion in Christendom ; the rest would cry him down for an Heretick, and there was no Body to side with him.

14. We look after Religion as the Butcher did after his Knife, when he had it in his Mouth.

15. Religion is made a Juggler's Paper ; now 'tis a Horse, now 'tis a Lanthorn, now 'tis a Boar, now 'tis a Man. To serve Ends Religion is turn'd into all Shapes.

16. Pretending Religion and the Law of God, is to set all things loose : When a Man has no mind to do something he ought to do by his Contract with Man, then he gets a Text, and Interprets it as he pleases, and so thinks to get loose.

17. Some Mens pretending Religion, is like the Roaring Boys way of Challenges, [*Their Reputation is dear. It does not stand with the Honour of a Gentleman,*] when, God knows, they have neither Honour nor Reputation about them.

18. They talk much of setling Religion ; Religion is well enough setled already, if we would let it alone : Methinks we might look after, &c.

19. If men would say they took Arms for any thing but Religion, they might be beaten out of it by Reason ; out of that they never can, for they will not believe you whatever you say.

20. The very *Arcanum* of pretending Religion in all Wars is, That something may be found out in which all men may have interest. In this the Groom has as much interest as the Lord. Were it for Land, one has One Thousand Acres, and the other but One ; he would not venture so far, as he that has a Thousand. But Religion is equal to both. Had all men Land alike, by a *Lex Agraria*, then all men would say they sought for Land.

Sabbath.

1. **W**HY should I think all the Fourth Commandment belongs to me, when all the Fifth does not ? What Land will the Lord give me for honouring my Father ? It was spoken to the Jews with reference to the Land of *Canaan* ; but the meaning is, If I honour my Parents, God will also blefs me. We read the Commandments in the Church-Service, as we do *David's Psalms*, not that all there concerns us, but a great deal of them does.

Sacrament.

1. **C**hrist suffered *Judas* to take the Communion. Those Ministers that keep the Parishioners from it, because they will not do as they will have them, revenge rather than reform.

2. No man can tell whether I am fit to receive the Sacrament ; for though I were fit the day before, when he examined me ; at least appear'd so to him : yet how can he tell what sin I have committed that night, or

the next morning, or what impious Atheistical thoughts I may have about me, when I am approaching to the very Table?

Salvation.

1. **W**E can best understand the meaning of *σωτηρία*, Salvation, from the Jews, to whom the Saviour was promised. They held that themselves should have the chief place of happiness in the other world ; but the Gentiles that were good men, should likewise have their portion of Bliss there too. Now by Christ the Partition-Wall is broken down, and the Gentiles that believe in him, are admitted to the same place of Bliss with the Jews ; and why then should not that portion of Happiness still remain to them, who do not believe in Christ, so they be morally good ? This is a charitable opinion.

State.

1. **I**N a troubled State save as much for your own as you can. A Dog had been at Market to buy a Shoulder of Mutton ; coming home he met two Dogs by the way, that quarrell'd with him ; he laid down his Shoulder of Mutton, and fell to fighting with one of them ; in the mean time the other Dog fell to eating his Mutton ; he seeing that, left the Dog he was fighting with, and fell upon him that was eating ; then the other Dog fell to eat ; when he perceiv'd there was no remedy, but which of them soever he fought withal, his Mutton was in danger, he thought he would have as much of it as he could, and thereupon gave over fighting, and fell to eating himself.

Superstition.

1. **T**HEY that are against Superstition often-times run into it of the wrong side. If I will wear all colours but black, then am I Superstitious in not wearing black.

2. They pretend not to adore the Crofs, because 'tis superstitious ; for my part I will believe them, when I see them throw their money out of their Pockets, and not till then.

3. If ther? be any Superstition truly and properly so

called, 'tis their observing the Sabbath after the Jewish manner.

Subsidies.

1. **H**eretofore the Parliament was wary what Subsidies they gave to the King, because they had no account, but now they care not how much they give of the Subjects money, because they give it with one hand and receive it with the other ; and so upon the matter give it themselves. In the mean time what a case the Subjects of *England* are in ; if the men they have sent to the Parliament misbehave themselves, they cannot help it, because the Parliament is eternal.

2. A Subsidy was counted the fifth part of a man's Estate, and so fifty Subsidies is five and forty times more than a man is worth.

Simony.

1. **T**He name of Simony was begot in the Canon-Law ; the first Statute against it was in Queen Elizabeth's time. Since the Reformation Simony has been frequent : One reason why it was not practised in time of Popery, was the Pope's provision ; no man was sure to bestow his own Benefice.

Ship-Money.

1. **M**r. Noy brought in Ship-money first for Maritime Towns, but that was like putting in a little Augur, that afterwards you may put in a greater ; he that pulls down the first Brick, does the main work, afterwards 'tis easie to pull down the Wall.

2. They that at first would not pay Ship-money, till 'twas decided, did like brave men (though perhaps they did no good by the Trial), but they that stand out since, and suffer themselves to be distrain'd, never questioning those that do it, do pitifully, for so they only pay twice as much as they should.

Synod Assembly.

1. **W**E have had no National Synod since the Kingdom hath been settled, as now it is, only Provincial ; and there will be this inconvenience, to call so many Divines together ; 'twill be to put power in their hands, who are too apt to usurp

it, as if the Laity were bound by their determination. No, let the Laity consult with Divines on all sides, hear what they say, and make themselves Masters of their reasons ; as they do by any other profession, when they have a difference before them. For example Goldsmiths, they enquire of them, if such a Jewel be of such a value, and such a Stone of such a value, hear them, and then being rational men judge themselves.

2. Why should you have a Synod, when you have a Convocation already, which is a Synod? Would you have a supererogation of another Synod? The Clergy of *England* when they cast off the Pope, submitted themselves to the Civil Power, and so have continued ; but these challenge to be *Jure Divino*, and so to be above the Civil Power ; these challenge power to call before their Presbyteries all persons for all sins directly against the Law of God, as proved to be sins by necessary consequence. If you would buy Gloves, send for a Glover or two, not Glovers-hall ; consult with some Divines, not send for a Body.

3. There must be some Laymen in the Synod, to overlook the Clergy, least they spoil the Civil work ; just as when the good Woman puts a Cat into the Milk-house to kill a Mouse, she sends her Maid to look after the Cat, least the Cat should eat up the Cream.

4. In the Ordinance for the Assembly, the Lords and Commons go under the names of learned, godly, and judicious Divines ; there is no difference put betwixt them, and the Ministers in the Context.

5. 'Tis not unusual in the Assembly to revoke their Votes, by reason they make so much haste, but 'tis that will make them scorn'd. You never heard of a Council revok'd an Act of its own making, they have been wary in that, to keep up their Infallibility ; if they did anything they took away the whole Council, and yet we would be thought infallible as any body : 'tis not enough to say, the House of Commons revoke their Votes, for theirs are but Civil truths which they by agreement create, and uncreate, as they please : But the Truths the Synod deals in are Divine, and when they have voted a thing, if it be then true, 'twas true

before, not true because they voted it, nor does it cease to be true, because they voted otherwise.

6. Subscribing in a Synod, or to the Articles of a Synod, is no such terrible thing as they make it ; because, if I am of a Synod, 'tis agreed, either tacitely or expressly. That which the Major part determines, the rest are involv'd in ; and therefore I subscribe, though my own private Opinion be otherwise ; and upon the same Ground, I may without scruple subscribe to what those have determin'd, whom I sent, though my private Opinion be otherwise, having respect to that which is the Ground of all Assemblies, the major part carries it.

Thanksgiving.

1. **A**T first we gave Thanks for every Victory as soon as ever 'twas obtained, but since we we have had many now we can stay a good while. We are just like a Child ; give him a Plum, he makes his Leg ; give him a second Plum, he makes another Leg : At last when his Belly is full, he forgets what he ought to do ; then his Nurse, or some body else that stands by him, puts him in mind of his Duty, *Where's your Leg.*

Tythes.

1. **T**ythes are more paid in kind in *England*, than in all *Italy* and *France*. In *France* they have had Impropropriations a long time ; we had none in *England* till *Henry the Eighth*.

2. To make an Improportion, there was to be the Consent of the Incumbent, the Patron, and the King ; then 'twas confirmed by the Pope : Without all this the Pope could make no Improportion.

3. Or what if the Pope gave the *Tythes* to any Man, must they therefore be taken away ? If the Pope gives me a Jewel, will you therefore take it away from me ?

4. *Abraham* paid *Tythes* to *Melchizedeck*, what then ? Twas very well done of him : It does not follow therefore that I must pay *Tythes*, no more than I am bound to imitate any other Action of *Abraham*'s.

5. 'Tis ridiculous to say the *Tythes* are God's part, and therefore the Clergy must have them : Why, of

they are if the Layman has them. 'Tis as if one of my Lady *Kent's* Maids should be sweeping this Room, and another of them should come and take away the Broom, and tell for a Reason, why she should part with it: 'Tis my Lady's Broom: As if it were not my Lady's Broom, which of them foever had it.

6. They Consulted in *Oxford* where they might find the best Argument for their Tythes, setting aside the *Jus Divinum*; they were advis'd to my History of Tythes; a Book so much cry'd down by them formerly; (in which, I dare boldly say, there are more Arguments for them than are extant together anywhere:) Upon this, one writ me word, That my History of Tythes was now become like *Peleus's Hasta*, to Wound and to Heal. I told him in my Answser, I thought I could fit him with a better instance. 'Twas possible it might undergo the same Fate, that *Aristotle*, *Avicen*, and *Averroes* did in *France*, some Five Hundred Years ago; which were Excommunicated by *Stephen Bishop of Paris*, [by that very name, *Excommunicated*,] because that kind of Learning puzzled and troubled their Divinity. But finding themselves at a losf, some Forty Years after (which is much about the time since I writ my History) they were call'd in again, and so have continued ever since.

Trade.

1. **T**HERE is no Prince in Christendom but is directly a Tradesman, though in another way than an ordinary Tradesman. For the purpose, I have a Man, I bid him lay out Twenty Shillings in such Commodities, but I tell him for every Shilling he lays out I will have a Penny. I Trade as well as he. This every Prince does in his Customs.

2. That which a Man is bred up in, he thinks no Cheating; as your Tradesman thinks not so of his Profession, but calls it a Mystery. Whereas if you would teach a Mercer to make his Silks heavier, than what he has been ufed to, he would peradventure think that to be Cheating.

3. Every Tradesman professes to cheat me, that asks for his Commodity twice as much as it is worth.

Tradition.

1. **S**AY what you will against *Tradition*; we know the Signification of Words by nothing but Tradition. You will say the Scripture was written by the Holy *Spirit*, but do you understand that Language 'twas writ in it? No. Then for Example, take these words, [*In principio erat verbum*] How do you know those words signifie, [*In the beginning was the word,*] but by Tradition, because some Body has told you so?

Transubstantiation.

1. **T**HE Fathers using to speak Rhetorically brought up Transubstantiation: As if because it is commonly said, *Amicus est alter idem*, One should go about to prove a Man and his Friend are all one. That Opinion is only Rhetorick turn'd into Logick.

2. There is no greater Argument (though not us'd) against Transubstantiation, than the Apostles at their first Council, forbidding Blood and Suffocation. Would they forbid Blood, and yet enjoin the eating of Blood too?

3. The best way for a pious Man, is to address himself to the Sacrament with that Reverence and Devotion, as if Christ were really there present.

Traitor.

1. **T**IS not seasonable to call a Man Traitor that has an Army at his Heels. One with an Army is a Gallant man. My Lady *Cotten* was in the right, when she laugh'd at the Dutches of *Richmond* for taking such State upon her, when she could Command no Forces. [*She a Dutches, there's in Flanders a Dutches indeed;*] meaning the Arch-Dutches.

Trinity.

1. **T**HE Second Person is made of a piece of Bread by the Papist, the Third Person is made of his own Frenzy, Malice, Ignorance and Folly, by the Roundhead [to all these the

Spirit is intituled,] One the Baker makes, the other the Cobler ; and betwixt those Two, I think the First Person is sufficiently abused.

Truth.

1. **T**He *Aristotelians* say, All Truth is contained in *Aristotle* in one place or another. *Galileo* makes *Simplicius* say so, but shows the absurdity of that Speech, by answering, All Truth is contained in a lesser Compafs ; viz. In the Alphabet. *Aristotle* is not blam'd for mistaking sometimes ; but *Aristotelians* for maintaining those mistakes. They should acknowledge the good they have from him, and leave him when he is in the wrong. There never breath'd that Person to whom Mankind was more beholden.

2. The way to find out the Truth is by others mistakings : For if I was to go to such a place, and one had gone before me on the Right-hand, and he was out ; another had gone on the Left-hand, and he was out ; this would direct me to keep the middle way, that peradventure would bring me to the place I desir'd to go.

3. In troubled Water you can scarce see your Face ; or see it very little, till the Water be quiet and stand still. So in troubled times you can see little Truth ; when times are quiet and settled, then Truth appears.

Trial.

1. **T**Rials are by one of these three ways ; by Confession, or by Demurrer, that is, Confessing the Fact, but denying it to be that, wherewith a Man is charged. For Example, Denying it to be Treason, if a Man be charged with Treason ; or by a Jury.

3. *Ordealium* was a Trial ; and was either by going over Nine red hot Plough-Shares, (as in the Case of Queen *Emma*, accus'd for lying with the Bishop of *Winchester*, over which she being led Blindfold ; and having pafs'd all her Irons, ask'd when she should come to her Trial ;) or 'twas by taking a red hot Coulter in a Man's hand, and carrying it so many Steps, and then casting it from him. As soon as this was done, the

Hands or the Feet were to be bound up, and certain Charms to be said, and a day or two after to be open'd ; and if the parts were whole, the Party was judg'd to be Innocent ; and so on the contrary.

3. The Rack is us'd no where as in *England*: In other Countries 'tis used in *Judicature*, when there is a *Semiplena probatio*, a half Proof against a Man ; then to see if they can make it full, they Rack him if he will not Confess. But here in *England* they take a Man and Rack him, I do not know why, nor when ; not in time of *Judicature*, but when some Body bids.

4. Some Men before they come to their Trial, are cozen'd to Confess upon Examination : Upon this Trick, they are made to believe some Body has confessed before them ; and then they think it a piece of Honour to be clear and ingenious, and that destroys them.

University.

1. **T**HE best Argument why *Oxford* should have precedence of *Cambridge* is the A^ct of Parliament, by which *Oxford* is made a Body ; made what it is ; and *Cambridge* is made what it is ; and in the A^ct it takes place. Besides *Oxford* has the best Monuments to show.

2. 'Twas well said of One, hearing of a History Lecture to be founded in the University ; Would to God, says he, they would direct a Lecture of Discretion there, this would do more good there an hundred times.

3. He that comes from the University to govern the State, before he is acquainted with the Men and Manners of the Place, does just as if he should come into the prefence Chamber all Dirty, with his Boots on, his riding Coat, and his Head all daub'd ; They may serve him well enough in the way, but when he comes to Court, he must conform to the Place.

Vows.

1. **S**UPPOSE a man find by his own inclination he has no mind to marry, may he not then Vow Chastity? *Answ.* If he does, what a fine thing hath he done? 'tis as if a man did not love

Cheese, and then he would vow to God Almighty never to eat Cheese. He that Vows can mean no more in sense, than this; To do his utmost endeavour to keep his Vow.

Usury.

1. **T**HE Jews were forbidden to take Use one of another; but they were not forbidden to take it of other Nations. That being so, I see no reason, why I may not as well take Use for my Money as Rent for my House. 'Tis a vain thing to say, Money begets not Money; for that no doubt it does.

2. Would it not look odly to a Stranger, that should come into this Land, and hear in our Pulpits Usury preach'd against; and yet the Law allow it? Many men use it; perhaps some Churchmen themselves. No Bishop nor Ecclesiastical Judge, that pretends power to punish other faults, dares punish, or at least does punish any man for doing it.

Pious Uses.

1. **T**HE ground of the Ordinary's taking part of a Man's Estate (who dy'd without a Will) to Pious Uses, was this; To give it some body to pray, that his soul might be deliver'd out of Purgatory, now the pious Uses come into his own Pocket. 'Twas well exprest by *John O Powls* in the Play, who acted the Priest; one that was to be hang'd, being brought to the Ladder, would fain have given something to the Poor; he feels for his Purse, (which *John O Powls* had pickt out of his Pocket before) missing it, crys out, He had lost his Purse; now he intended to have given someting to the Poor: *John O Powls* bid him be pacified, for the Poor had it already.

War.

1. **D**O not under-value an Enemy by whom you have been worsted. When our Country-men came home from fighting with the *Saracens*, and were beaten by them, they pictured them with huge, big, terrible Faces (as you still see the Sign of the *Saracen's-head* is) when in truth they were

like other men. But this they did to save their own Credits.

2. Martial-Law in general, means nothing but the Martial-Law of this, or that place; with us to be us'd in *Fervore Belli*, in the Face of the Enemy, not in time of Peace; there they can take away neither Limb nor Life. The Commanders need not complain for want of it, because our Ancestors have done Gallant things without it.

3. *Question.* Whether may Subjects take up Arms against their Prince? *Answ.* Concieve it thus; Here lies a Shilling betwixt you and me; Ten Pence of the Shilling is yours, Two Pence is mine: By agreement, I am as much King of my Two Pence, as you of your Ten Pence: If you therefore go about to take away my Two Pence, I will defend it; for there you and I are equal, both Princes.

4. Or thus, Two supream Powers meet; one says to the other, Give me your Land; if you will not, I will take it from you: The other, because he thinks himself too weak to resist him, tells him, Of Nine Parts I will give you Three, so I may quietly enjoy the rest, and I will become your Tributary. Afterwards the Prince comes to exact Six Parts, and leaves but Three; the Contract then is broken, and they are in Parity again.

5. To know what Obedience is due to the Prince, you must look into the Contract betwixt him and his People: as if you would know what Rent is due from the Tenant to the Landlord, you must look into the Lease. When the Contract is broken, and there is no third Person to judge, then the Decision is by Arms. And this is the Case between the Prince and the Subject.

6. *Question.* What Law is there to take up Arms against the Prince, in Case he break his Covenant? *Answ.* Though there be no written Law for it, yet there is Custom; which is the best Law of the Kingdom; for in *England* they have always done it. There is nothing express between the King of *England* and the King of *France*; that if either Invades the other's Territory, the other shall take up Arms against him, and yet they do it upon such an Occasion.

7. 'Tis all one to be plunder'd by a Troop of Horse, or to have a Man's Goods taken from him by an Order from the Council-Table. To him that dies, 'tis all one whether it be by a Penny Halter, or a Silk Garter ; yet I confess the Silk Garter pleases more ; and like *Trots* we love to be tickled to Death.

8. The Souldiers say they Fight for Honour ; when the truth is they have their Honour in their Pocket. And they mean the same thing that pretend to Fight for Religion. Just as a Parson goes to Law with his Parishioners ; he says, For the Good of his Successors, that the Church may not lose its Right ; when the meaning is to get the Tythes into his own Pocket.

9. We Govern this War as an unskilful Man does a Casting-Net ; if he has not the right trick to cast the Net off his Shoulder, the Leads will pull him into the River. I am afraid we shall pull our selves into Destruction.

10. We look after the particulars of a Battle because we live in the very time of War. Where as of Battles past we hear nothing but the number slain. Just as for the Death of a Man ; When he is sick, we talk how he slept this Night, and that Night ; what he eat, and what he drunk : But when he is dead, we only say, He died of a Fever, or name his Disease ; and there's an end.

11. *Boccaline* has this passage of Souldiers, They came to *Apollo* to have their profession made the Eighth Liberal Science, which he granted. As soon as it was nois'd up and down, it came to the Butchers, and they desir'd their Profession might be made the Ninth : For say they, the Souldiers have this Honour for the killing of Men ; now we kill as well as they ; but we kill Beasts for the preserving of Men, and why should not we have Honour likewise done to us ? *Apollo* could not Answer their Reasons, so he revers'd his Sentence, and made the Souldiers Trade a Mystery, as the Butchers is.

Witches.

1. **T**HE Law against Witches does not prove there be any ; but it punishes the Malice of those people, that use such means, to take away mens Lives. If one should profess that by turning

his Hat thrice, and crying Buz ; he could take away a man's life (though in truth he could do no such thing) yet this were a just Law made by the State, that who-soever should turn his Hat thrice, and cry Buz ; with an intention to take away a man's life, shall be put to death.

Wife.

1. **H**E that hath a handsome Wife, by other men is thought happy ; 'tis a pleasure to look upon her, and be in her company ; but the Husband is cloy'd with her. We are never content with what we have.

2. You shall see a Monkey sometime, that has been playing up and down the Garden, at length leap up to the top of the Wall, but his Clog hangs a great way below on this side ; the Bishop's Wife is like that Monkey's Clog, himself is got up very high, takes place of the Temporal Barons, but his wife comes a great way behind.

3. 'Tis reason a man that will have a Wife should be at the charge of her Trinkets, and pay all the scores she sets on him. He that will keep a Monkey, 'tis fit he should pay for the Glasses he breaks.

Wisdom.

1. **A** Wife Man should never resolve upon any thing, at least never let the World know his Resolution, for if he cannot arrive at that, he is ashamed. How many things did the King resolve in his Declaration concerning *Scotland*, never to do, and yet did 'em all ? A man must do according to accidents and Emergencies.

2. Never tell your Resolution before hand ; but when the Cast is thrown, Play it as well as you can to win the Game you are at. 'Tis but folly to study, how to Play Size-ace, when you know not whether you shall throw it or no.

3. Wife Men say nothing in dangerous times The Lion you know call'd the Sheep, to ask her if his breath smelt ; she said, Ay ; he bit off her head for a fool. He call'd the Wolf and askt him : He said no ;

he tore him in pieces for a Flatterer. At last he call'd the Fox and ask'd him ; truly he had got a Cold and could not smell. King James was pictur'd &c.

Wit.

1. **W**IT and Wisedom differ ; Wit is upon the sudden turn, Wisedom is in bringing about ends.

2. Nature must be the ground-work of Wit and Art ; otherwise whatever is done will prove but Jack-puddings work.

3. Wit must grow like Fingers ; if it be taken from others, 'tis like Plums stuck upon Black thornes ; there they are for a while but they come to nothing.

4. He that will give himself to all manner of ways to get Money may be rich ; so he that lets fly all he knows or thinks, may by chance be Satyrically witty. Honesty sometimes keeps a man from growing rich ; and Civility from being witty.

5. Women ought not to know their own Wit, because they will still be shewing it, and so spoil it ; like a Child that will continually be shewing its fine new Coat, till at length it all bedawbs it with its Pah-hands.

6. Fine Wits destroy themselves with their own Plots, in meddling with great affairs of State. They commonly do as the Ape that saw the Gunner put Bullets in the Cannon, and was pleas'd with it, and he would be doing so too ; at last he puts himself into the Piece, and so both Ape, and Bullet were shot away together.

Women.

1. **L**ET the Women have power of their heads, because of the Angels. The reason of the words, because of the Angels, is this ; The Greek Church held an Opinion that the Angels fell in Love with Women. This fancy Saint Paul discreetly catches, and uses it as an Argument to perswade them to modesty.

2. The Grant of a place, is not good by the Canon-Law before a man be dead ; upon this ground some mischief might be plotted against him in present possession, by poisoning, or some other way. Upon

the same reason a Contract made with a Woman during her husband's life, was not valid.

3. Men are not troubled to hear a Man dispraised, because they know, though he be naught, there's worth in others. But Women are mightily troubled to hear any of them spoken against as if the Sex it self were guilty of some unworthiness.

4. Women and Princes must both trust somebody ; and they are happy, or unhappy according to the desert of those under whose hands they fall. If a man knows how to manage the favour of a Lady, her Honour is safe, and so is a Princes.

5. An Opinion grounded upon that, *Genesis 6. The Sons of God saw the Daughters of Menth that they were fair.*

Year.

1. **T**Was the manner of the Jews (if the Year did not fall out right, but that it was dirty for the people to come up to *Jerusalem*, at the Feast of the Passover ; or that their Corn was not ripe for their first Fruits) to intercalate a Month, and so to have, as it were, two *Februarys*; thrusting up the Year still higher, *March* into *April's* place, *April* into *May's* place, &c. Whereupon it is impossible for us to know when our Saviour was born, or when he dy'd.

2. The Year is either the year of the Moon, or the Year of the Sun ; there's not above Eleven days difference. Our moveable Feasts are according to the Year of the Moon ; else they should be fixt.

3. Though they reckon Ten days sooner beyond Sea ; yet it does not follow their Spring is sooner than ours ; we keep the same time in natural things, and their Ten days sooner, and our Ten days later in those things mean the self same time ; just as Twelve *Sous* in French, are Ten Pence in English.

4. The lengthening of days is not suddenly perceiv'd till they are grown a pretty deal longer, because the Sun, though it be in a Circle, yet it seems for a while to go in a right Line. For take a Segment of a great Circle especially, and you shall doubt whether it be

straight or no. But when that Sun is got past that Line, then you presently perceive the days are lengthened. Thus it is in the Winter and Summer Solstice ; which is indeed the true reason of them.

5. The Eclipse of the Sun is, when it is new Moon ; the Eclipse of the Moon when 'tis full. They say *Dionysius* was converted by the Eclipse that happened at our Saviour's Death, because it was neither of these, and so could not be natural.

Zelots.

1. **O**NE would wonder Christ should Whip the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, and no Body offer to resist him (considering what Opinion they had of him.) But the reason was, they had a Law, that whosoever should profane *Sanctitatem Dei, aut Templi*; the Holiness of God, or the Temple, before Ten persons, 'twas lawful for any of them to kill him, or to do any thing this side killing him ; as Whipping him, or the like. And hence it was, that when one struck our Saviour before the Judge where it was not lawful to strike (as it is not with us at this day) he only replies ; If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the Evil ; but if well why smitest thou me ? He says nothing against their smiting him, in case he had been guilty of speaking Evil, that is Blasphemy ; and they could have prov'd it against him. They that put this law in Execution were called Zelots ; but afterwards they committed many Villainies.

FINIS

English Reprints.

ROGER ASCHAM.

TOXOPHILUS.

1545.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

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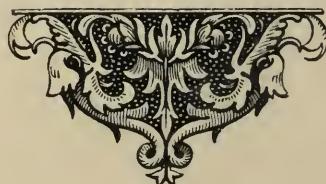
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3

CHRONICLE

of
some of the principal events
in the
LIFE, WORKS, and TIMES
of
ROGER ASCHAM,

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Author. Tutor to Princess, afterwards Queen Elizabeth. Secretary of Embassy under Edward VI. Latin Secretary to Queens Mary and Elizabeth. Friend of Queen Elizabeth, &c.

* Probable or approximate dates.

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

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

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

- 1511-12. 3. Hen. VIII. c. 3. required—under penalty on default of 12d per month—all subjects under 60, not lame, decrepid, or maimed, or having any other lawful Impediment; the Clergy Judges &c excepted: to use shooting in the long bow. Parents were to provide every boy from 7 to 17 years, with a bow and two arrows: after 17, he was to find himself a bow and four arrows. Every Bower for every Ewe bow he made was to make 'at the lest ij Bowes of Elme Wiche or other Wode of mean price,' under penalty of Imprisonment for 8 days. Butts were to be provided in every town. Aliens were not to shoot with the long bow without licence.
3 Hen. VIII. c. 13. confirms 19. Hen. VII. c 4 'against shooting in Cross-bowes &c,' which enacted that no one with less than 200 marks a year should use. 'This act increased the qualification from 200 to 300 marks.—*Statutes of the Realm. iii. 25. 32.*

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

Roger's first years were spent under his father's roof, but he was received at a very youthful age into the family of Sir Antony Wingfield, who furnished money for his education, and placed Roger, together with his own sons, under a tutor, whose name was R. Bond. The boy had by nature a taste for books, and showed his good taste by reading English in preference to Latin, with

Childhood.

'My sweete tyme spent at Cambridge: The Scholemaster, fol. 60, Ed. 1570.

wonderful eagerness. . . . —*Grant. Condensed translation by Dr. Giles in Life: see p. 10, No. 9.*

"This communication of teaching youthe, maketh me to remembre the right worshipfull and my singuler good mayster, Sir Humfrey Wingfelde, to whom nexte God, I ought to refer for his manifolde benefites bestowed on me, the poore talent of learnyng, whiche god hath lent me: and for his 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 learnyng in his house amonges whome I my selfe was one. For whom at terme tymes he woulde bryng downe from London bothe bowe and shaftes. And when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him selfe in to the fycle, and se them shoote, and he that shot fayrest, shulde haue the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot ilfaououredlye, shulde be mocked of his felowes, til he shot better."—*p. 140.*

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

1534. Feb. 18. He takes his B.A. æt. 18. "Being a boy, new Bacheler of arte,

I chanced amonges my companions to speake against the Pope: which matter was than in every mans mouth, because *Dr. Haines* and *Dr. Skippe* were cum from the Court, to debate the same matter, by preaching and disputation in the vniuersitie. This hapned the same tyme, when I stooode to be felow there: my taulke came to *Dr. Medcalfes* [Master of St. John's Coll.] eare: I was called before him and the Seniores: and after greuous rebuke, and some punishment, open warning was geuen to all the felowes, none to be so hardie to geue me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threatnes, the good father himselfe priuile procured, that I should euen than be chosen felow. But, the election being done, he made countenance of great discontentment therat. This good mans goodnes, and fatherlie discretion, vsed towardes me that one day, shall never out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life. And for the same cause, haue I put it here, in this small record of learning. For next Gods prouidence, surely that day, was by that good fathers meanes, *Dies natalis*, to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learning I haue, and of all the furderance, that hethereto else where I haue obtainyd."—*Scho. fol. 55.*

1537-40. "Before the king's majesty established his lecture at Cambridge, I was appointed by the votes of all the university, and was paid a handsome salary, to profess the Greek tongue in public; and I have ever since read

- ‘My sweete tyme spent at Cambridge.’ *The Scholemaster, fol. 6o. Ed. 1570.*
- Tutor.**
1537. July 3. a lecture in St. John's college, of which I am a fellow.”
 (22) *To Sir W. Paget in 1544.*
 [die martis post festum Dini Petri et Pauli (June 29)]
 æt. 21. *Grant]. Is installed M.A.*
1538. Spring. Visits his parents in Yorkshire, whom he had not seen
 æt. 22. for seven years.
- Autumn. Date of his earliest extant letter.
- 1540-1542. Is at home in Yorkshire, for nearly two years, with quartan fever. Probably about this time he attended the archery meetings at York and Norwich. pp. 159. 160.
1540. æt. 24. ‘In the great snowe,’ journeying ‘in the hye waye betwixt Topcliffe vpon Swale; and Borrowe bridge,’ he watches the nature of the wind by the snow-drifts. p. 157.
1541. æt. 25. Upon his repeated application, Edward Lee, Archbp of York, grants him a pension of 40s. (= £40 of present money) payable at the feast of Annunciation and on Michaelmas day. *see (24)*. This pension ceased on the death of the Archbp in 1544.
- 1541-2. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. ‘An Acte for Mayntanance of Artyllarie and debarringe of unlaful Games’ confirms 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3 and, *inter alia*, directs that no Bowyer shall sell a Ewe bow to any between 8 and 14 years, above the price of 12d, but shall have for such, Ewe bows from 6d to 12d; and likewise shall sell bows at reasonable prices to youth from 14 to 21 years. Ewe bows ‘of the taxe called Elke’ were not to be sold above 3s 4d, under penalty of 20s.—*Statutes of the Realm. iii. 837.*
1544. *Spring. æt. 28. Aschan writes *Toxophilus*.
 After Lady Day. Both his parents die. “How hard is my lot! I first lost my brother, such an one as not only our family, but all England could hardly match, and now to lose both my parents as if I was not already overwhelmed with sorrow!” (21) *To Cheke.*
- Before July. “I have also written and dedicated to the king's majesty a book, which is now in the press, *On the art of Shooting*, and in which I have shown how well it is fitted for Englishmen both at home and abroad, and how certain rules of art may be laid down to ensure its being learnt thoroughly by all our fellow-countrymen. This book, I hope, will be published before the king's departure, and will be no doubtful sign of my love to my country, or mean memorial of my humble learning. (22) *To Sir W. Paget.*
- July—Sept. 30. The king out of the kingdom, at the head of 30,000 men at the siege of Boulogne, in France.
1545. æt. 29. Aschan presents *Toxophilus* to the king, in the gallery at Greenwich. He is granted a pension of £10. pp. 165-166.
 He is ill again, and unable to reside at Cambridge.
1546. æt. 30. Succeeds Cheke as Public Orator of his University, in which capacity he conducts its correspondence.
1547. Jan. 28. Edward VI. comes to the throne.
 Aschan's pension which ceased on the death of Henry VIII., was confirmed and augmented by Edward VI., whom he taught to write. [Aschan's pension is one of the prominent things in his life.]
1548. Feb. æt. 32. Is Tutor to Princess Elizabeth, at Cheston. Attacked by her steward, he returns to the university.
1549. Sept. æt. 33 While at home in the country, Aschan is appointed, at the instigation of Cheke, as Secretary to Sir Richard Morison, sent out as Ambassador to Emperor Charles V.
1550. æt. 34. On his way to town, has his famous interview with Lady Jane Grey at Broadgate. *Scholemaster, fol. 12.*

- Secretary of Embassy.
- Sept 21 The Embassy embarks at Billingsgate, and finally reaches Augsburg on Oct. 28; where it appears to have remained more than a year.
- 1552 Oct. Ascham writes, probably from Spires, *A Report and Discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the affaires and state of Germany and the Emperour Charles his court, during certaine yeares while the sayd Roger was there.* Published at London, the next year, without date.
1553. July 6. Mary succeeds to the crown.
1553. July 7. Writes from Brussels.
On the death of the King the Embassy is recalled.
1554. April. Though a Protestant, Ascham escapes persecution; his pension of £10 is renewed and increased, *see p. 165.*
May 7. He is made Latin Secretary to the Queen, with a salary of 40 marks.
Resigns his Fellowship and Office of Public Orator.
- June 1. *et. 38.* Marries Margaret Howe.
He sometimes reads Greek with the Princess Elizabeth.
- = 1558. Nov. 17. Elizabeth begins to reign.
Ascham's pension and Secretaryship are continued.
1560. Mar. 11. Is made prebend of Wetwang, in York Cathedral. He
et. 44. had now possession of a considerable income. It would be satisfactory if he could be cleared from the suspicion of a too great love for cock-fighting.
1563. Dec. 10. The Court being at Windsor on account of the plague
et 47. in London, Sir W. Cecil gave a dinner in his chamber. A conversation on Education arose on the news 'that diuerse Scholers of Eaton be runne awaie from the Schole, for feare of beating.' Sir Richard Sackville, then silent, afterwards renewed the subject with Ascham; who finally writes for his grandson, Robert Sackville, *The Scholemaster*, first published by his widow in 1570.
- His constitution had been enfeebled by frequent attacks of ague. Imprudently sitting up late to finish some Latin verses which he designed to present to the queen as a new-year's gift, and certain letters to his friends, he contracted a dangerous malady, during which he was visited and consoled by his pious friend Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and William Gravet, a prebendary of that church and vicar of St. Sepulchre's London. Ascham died 30 Dec. 1568. His last words were "I desire to depart and to be with Christ."
- He was buried at St. Sepulchre's. Nowell preached his funeral sermon, and testified that he never saw or heard of a person of greater integrity of life, or who was blessed with a more christian death. Queen Elizabeth, when informed of his decease, declared that she would rather have lost £10,000, than her tutor Ascham.
- Buchanan did honour to his memory in the following epitaph:
*Aschamum extinctum patriæ, Graiaeque Camæna,
Et Latiae verâ cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundis amicis,
Re modica, in mores dicere fama neguit.*
- which has been thus rendered by Archdeacon Wragham.
*O'er Ascham, withering in his narrow urn,
The muses—English, Grecian, Roman—mourn;
Though poor, to greatness dear, to friendship just:
No scandal's self can taint his hallow'd dust.*
- Cooper. Ath. Cantab., p. 366.*
- Latin Secretary to Queens Mary and Elizabeth.
- Illness and death.

INTRODUCTION.



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

“ But, of all kinde of pastimes, fitte for a Ientleman, I will, godwilling, in fitter place, more at large, declare fullie, in my booke of the Cockpitte : which I do write, to satissie som, I trust, with som reason, that be more curious, in marking other mens doinges, than carefull in mendyng their owne faultes. And som also will nedes busie them selues in merueling, and adding thereunto vnfrendlie taulke, why I, a man of good yeares, and of no ill place, I thanke God and my Prince, do make choise to spend soch tyme in writyng of trifles, as the schole of shoting, the Cockpitte, and this booke of the first Principles of Grammer, rather, than to take some weightie matter in hand, either of Religion, or Ciuell discipline.

Wise men I know, will well allow of my choise herein : and as for such, who haue not witte of them selues, but must learne of others, to iudge right of mens doynges, let them read that wise Poet *Horace* in his *Arte Poetica*, who willeth wisemen to beware, of hie and loftie Titles. For, great shippes, require costlie tackling, and also afterward dangerous gouernment : Small boates, be neither verie chargeable in makyng, nor verie oft in great ieoperdie : and yet they cary many tymes, as good and costlie ware, as greater vessells do. A meane Argument, may easelie beare, the light burden of a small faute, and haue alwaisme at hand, a ready excuse for ill handling : And, some praise it is, if it so chaunce, to be better in deede, than a man dare venture to feeme. A hye title, doth charge a man, with the heauie burden, of to great a promise, and therfore sayth *Horace* verie wittelie, that,

that Poet was a verie foole, that began hys booke, with a goodlie verse in deede, but ouer proude a promise.

Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum,
And after, as wifelie

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

Meening *Homer*, who, within the compasse of a smal Argument, of one harlot, and of one good wife, did vtter so moch learning in all kinde of sciences, as, by the iudgement of *Quintilian*, he deserueth so hie a praise, that no man yet deserued to sit in the seconf degree beneath him. And thus moch out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending penne, and paper, and tyme, vpon trifles, and namele to aynswere some, that haue neither witte nor learning, to do any thyng them felues, neither will nor honestie, to say well of other" *

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

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

* folios 20. 21. Ed. 1570.

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

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

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

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

Now, we must leave the reader to listen to the pleasant talk of the two College Fellows, *Lover of Learning* and *Lover of Archery*; as they discourse, beside the wheat fields in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, throughout the long summer’s afternoon, upon ‘the Booke and the Bowe.’

* p. 14. † *Shakspeare and his Times.* i. 439 Ed. 1817. ‡ p. 12.

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* Editions not seen.

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

I. As a separate publication.

1. 1545. London. *Editio princeps*. Engraved title page, see
I vol. 4to. opposite page. The Colophon is as on p. 165.

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

I. As a separate publication.

2. 1571. London. TOXOPHILUS, The Schole, or partitions
I vol. 4to. of shooting contayned in ij. booke, written
by Roger Ascham, 1544. And now newlye
perused. Pleasaunt for all Gentlemen and
Yomen of England for theyr pastime to reade,
and profitable for their vse to folovve bothe
in vvarre and peace. *Anno 1571*. Imprinted
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Dunstones Churche by Thomas Marshe.

3. 1589. London. Same title as No. 2. AT LONDON. Printed
I vol. 8vo. by ABELL IEFFES, by the consent of *H.
Marsh.* *Anno 1589* The Colophon is
AT LONDON, Printed by Abell Ieffes,
dwelling in Phillip Lane, at the Signe of
the Bell. *Anno Domini 1589*.

6. 1788. Wrexham. Same title as No. 2, of which it is a
I vol. 8vo. modernized reprint. Ed. with a Dedication
and Preface, by Rev. JOHN WALTERS M. A.
Master of Ruthin School, and late Fellow
of Jesus College, Oxford.

10. 1865. London. I vol. 8vo. TOXOPHILUS: &c., published
separately from Dr Giles' Edition, No. 9.

11. 1 July 1868. English Reprints: see title at page 1.
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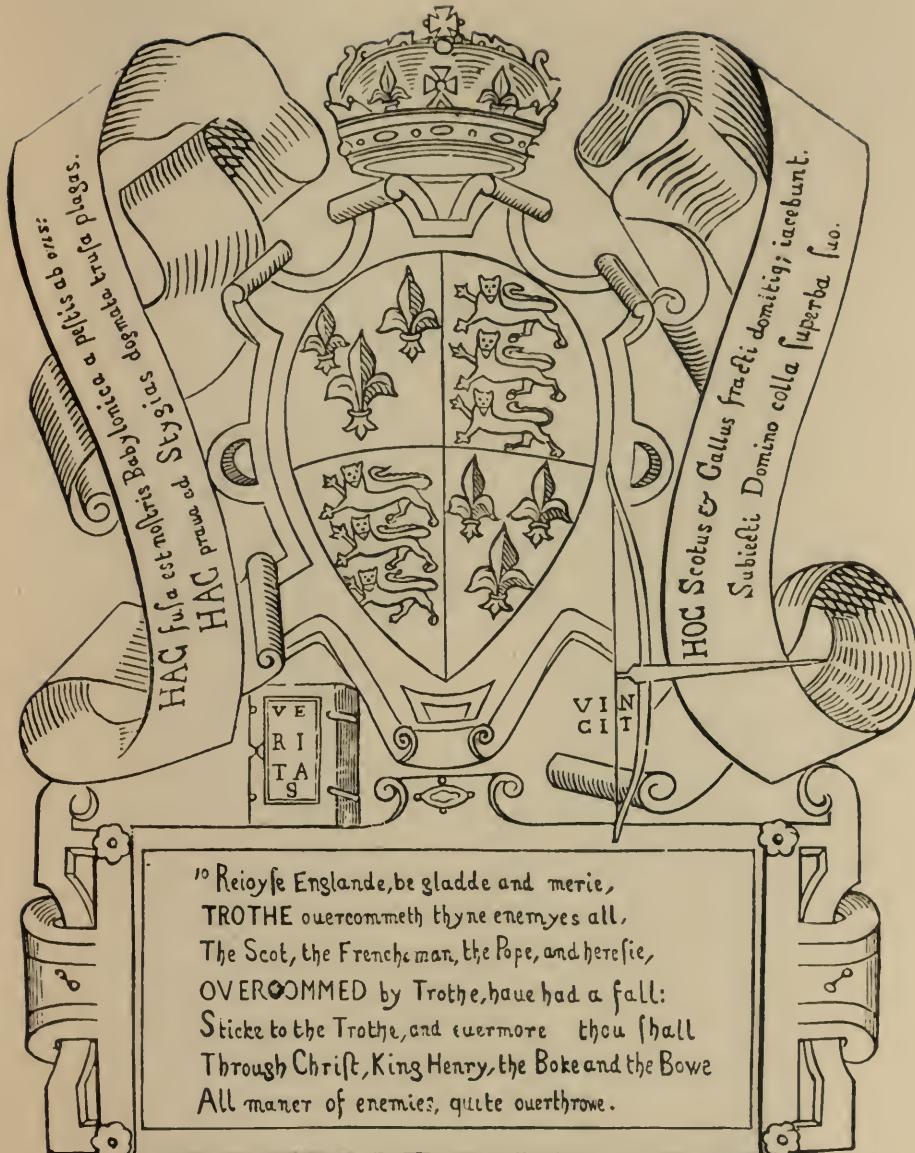
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I vol. 4to. The English Works of Roger Ascham, Pre-
ceptor to Queen Elizabeth. [Life by Dr JOHN-
SON.] Ed. by JAMES BENNETT, Master of
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'Toxophilus' occupies pp 51-178.

5. n. d. London. I vol. 4to. Another impression of No 4.

7. 1815. London. Same title as No. 4. A new edition. [Ed:
I vol. 4to. by J. G. COCHRANE, and limited to 250
copies. *Dr Giles.*]

8. * n. d. London. No. 7 'was re-issued some time afterwards,
I vol. 8vo. with a new title and the addition of a half-
title, but without a date.' *Dr Giles, Pref. to
his Edition No. 9.*

9. 1864-5. London. The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, now
3 vols. [vol. 1 has first collected and revised, with a life of the
2 parts] 8vo. author; by Rev. DR GILES, formerly Fellow
of C.C.C. Oxford. 'Toxophilus' occupies
ii. 1-165. [This is by far the best edition of
Ascham's works.]



*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 & arte sua.
Docta manus dedit hunc, dedit hunc mens docta libellum :
Quæ uidet Ars Vsus uisa, parata facit.
Optimus hæc author quia tradidit optima scripta,
Conuenit hec uobis optima uelle sequi.*

* To the mooste gracieuse, and our moste drad Soueraigne lord,
 Kyng Henrie the. viii, by the grace of God, kyng
 of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, Defen-
 der of the faythe, and of the churche
 of Englande and also of Irelande
 in earth supreme head, next vn-
 der Christ, be al health
 victorie, and fe-
 licite.



HAT tyme as, mooste gracious Prince, your highnes this last year past, tooke that your moost honorable and victorious iourney into Fraunce, accompanied vwith such a porte of the Nobilitie and yeomanrie of Englande, as neyther hath bene lyke knowven by experiance, nor yet red of in Historie : accompanied also vwith the daylie prayers, good hartes, and vvilles 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 forvward so noble an enterprize, yet with my good vvyll, prayer, and harte, nothinge behynde hym that vvas formoste of all, conceyued a vvonderful desire, bi the praier, vvishing, talking, and communication that vvas in euery mans mouth, for your Graces moost victoriouse retourne, to offer vp sumthinge, at your home cumming to your Highnesse, vwhich shuld both be a token of mi loue and deutie tovvard your Maiestie, and also a signe of my good minde and zeale tovvarde mi countrie.

This occasion geuen to me at that time, caused me

* This dedication is entirely omitted in second edition, 1571.

to take in hand againe, this litle purpose of shoting, begon of me before, yet not ended than, for other studies more mete for that trade of liuinge, vvhiche God and mi frendes had set me vnto. But vwhen your Graces mooste ioifull and happie victorie preuented mi dailie and spedie diligencie to performe this matter, I vvas compelled to vvaite an other time to prepare and offer vp this litle boke vnto your Maiestie. And vvhian it hath pleased youre Highenesse of your infinit goodnesse, and also your most honorable Counfel to knovv and pervse ouer the contentes, and some parte of this boke, and so to alovv it, that other men might rede it, throughe the furderaunce and setting forthe of the right worshipfull and mi Singuler good Master sir Vwilliam Pagette Knight, moost vvorthe Secretarie to your highnes, and most open and redie succoure to al poore honest learned mens futes, I moost humblie beseeche your Grace to take in good vvorthe this litle treatise purposed, begon, and ended of me onelie for this intent, that Labour, Honest pastime and Vertu, might recoueragaine that place and right, that Idlenesse, Vnthrifftie gamning and Vice hath put them fro.

And althoughe to haue vvridden this boke either in latin or Greke (vvhich thing I vvold be verie glad yet to do, if I might surelie knovv 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 vvritten this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men: vwhere in this I trust that your Grace (if it shall please your Highenesse to rede it) shal perceave it to be a thinge Honeste for me to vwrite, pleasaunt for some to rede, and profitable for manie to folovv, 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 for Honestie to rule it, not lurking in corners for misorder to abuse it.

Therefore I trust it shal apere, to be bothe a sure token
of my zeele to set forvarde shootinge, and some signe
of my minde, tovvardes honestie and learninge.

Thus I vvil trouble your Grace no longer, but
vvith my daylie praier, I vvill beseche God to
preferue your Grace, in al health and feli-
citie : to the feare and ouerthrovve
of all your ennemis : to the
pleasure, ioyfulnesse and
succour of al your sub-
iectes : to the vtter
destruction
of papi-
strie and heresie : to the con-
tinuall setting forth of
Goddes vvorde
and his glo-
rye.

Your Graces most
bounden Scholer,

Roger Ascham.

TO ALI. GENTLE MEN AND YOMEN OF
ENGLANDE.

BIas the wyfe man came to Crefus the ryche kyng, on a tyme, when he was makynge newe shyppes, purposyng to haue subdued by water the out yles lying betwixt Grece and Asia minor: What newes now in Grece, saith the king to Bias? None other newes, but these, fayeth Bias: that the yles of Grece haue prepared a wonderful compayne of horfemen, to ouerrun Lydia withall. There is nothyng vnder heauen, fayth the kynge, that I woulde so foone wiffhe, as that they durst be so bolde, to mete vs on the lande with horse. And thinke you fayeth Bias, that there is anye thyng which they wolde sooner wyffshe, then that you shulde be so fonde, to mete them on the water with shyppes? And so Crefus hearyng not the true newes, but perceyuyng the wife mannes mynde and counfell, both gaue then ouer makyng of his shyppes, and left also behynde him a wonderful example for all commune wealthes to folowe: that is euermore to regarde and set most by that thing wherevnto nature hath made them moost apt, and 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 soever it feme to be: but that flyll, accordyng to the oulde wont of England, youth shoulde vse it for the moost honest pastyme in peace, that men myght handle it as a mooste sure weapon in warre. Other stronge weapons whiche bothe experiance 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 shotoyng : but yat both, not compared togither, whether shuld be better then the other, but so ioyned togither that the one shoulde be alwayes an ayde and helpe for the other, myght so 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 gentlemen, partly moued by the loue whiche I haue alwayes borne towarde shotoyng, haue wrytten this lytle treatise, wherein if I haue not satissfyed any man, I trust he wyll the rather be content with my doyng, bycause I am (I suppose) the firste, whiche hath sayde any thynge in this matter (and fewe begynnynges be 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 euery man, to hurte or displease no man, intendencyng 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, vnthrifstie games, and vice : whyche thing I haue laboured onlye in this booke, shewynge howe fit shooptyng is for all kyndes of men, howe honest a pastyme for the mynde, howe holosome an exercise 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 pleasure, to misvse it, but abiding in the open fight and face of the worlde, for good men if it fault by theyr wisdome to correct it.

And here I woulde desire all gentlemen and yomen, to vse this pastime in suche a mean, that the outragiousnes of great gamyng, shuld not hurte the honestie of shotoyng, which of his owne nature is alwayes ioyned with honestie : yet for mennes faultes oftentimes blamed vnworthely, as all good thynges haue ben, and euermore shall be.

If any man woulde blame me, eyther for takynge such a matter in hande, or els for writing it in the Englyshe tongue, this answere I may make hym, that whan the beste of the realme thinke it honest for them to vse, I one of the meanest forte, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write : And though to haue written it in an other tonge, had bene bothe more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name, yet I can thinke my labour wel bestowed, yf with a little hynderaunce of my profyt and name, maye come any fourtheraunce, to the pleasure or commoditie, of the gentlemen and yeomen of Englande, for whose sake I tooke this matter in hande. And as for ye Latin or greke tongue, euery thing is so excellently done in them, that none can do better : In the Englysh tongue contrary, euery thinge in a maner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worse. For therein 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 : 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 folowe thys councel of Aristotle, to speake as the common people do, to thinke as wise men do ; and so shoulde euery man vnderstante 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. 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 facke, read wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drynke, neyther easie to be knownen, nor yet holsom for the bodye. Cicero in folowyng Ifocrates, Plato and Demostenes, increased the latine tounge after an

other forte. This waye, bycause dyuers men yat write, do not know, they can neyther folowe it, bycause of theyr ignorauncie, nor yet will prayse it, for verye arrogauncie, ii faultes, feldome the one out of the others companye.

Englysh writers by diuerfitie of tyme, haue taken diuerse matters in hande. In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but booke of fayned cheualrie, wherein a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye. Yf any man suppose they were good ynough to passe the time with al, he is deceyued. For surelye vayne woordes doo woorke no smal thinge in vayne, ignoraunt, and younge mindes, specially yf they be gyuen any thynge thervnto of theyr owne nature. These bokes (as I haue heard say) were made the mooste parte in Abbayes, and Monasteries, a very likelie and fit fruite of suche an ydle and 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 shooote. 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 shaste nor bowe, wyll be as busie as the best, but suche one commonly plucketh doune a fyde, 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 shaftes, and good knowledge in shootinge, but they haue bene brought vp in suche euyl fauoured shootyng, that they can neyther shooote 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, haue folowed summe yonge shooters, whiche

bothe wyll begyn to shoote, for a lytle moneye, and also wyll vse to shote ones or twise about the marke for nought, afore they beginne a good. And therfore did I take this little matter in hande, to assaye my selfe, and hereafter by the grace of God, if the iudgement of wyse men, that looke on, thinke that I can do any good, I maye perchaunce caste my shafte amonge other, for better game.

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

I truste no man will be offended with this litle booke excepte it be summe fletchers and bowiers, thinking hereby that manye that loue shootynge shall be taughte to refuse suche noughtie wares as they woulde vtter. Honest fletchers and bowyers do not so, and they that be vnhonest, oughte rather to amende them selues for doinge ill, than be angrie with me for sayinge wel. A fletcher hath euen as good a quarell to be angry with an archer that refuseth an ill shaft, as a bladefsmith hath to a fletcher yat 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 alfo be content that a shooter knowe a good shafte in euery

poynte 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 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 shottynge, as he hym selfe shoulde knowe a shafte, for hys aduaantage in sellynge. And the rather bycause shaftes be not made so muche to be folde, but chefely to be vsed. And seyng that vse and occupieng is the ende why a shafte is made, the making as it were a meane for occupying, surely the knowlege in euery poynte of a good shafte, is more to be required in a shooter than a fletcher.

Yet as I sayde before no honest fletcher will be angry with me, seinge I do not teache howe to make a shafte whiche belongeth onely 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 better knownen to the commoditie of al shoters, and good shottynge may perchaunce be the more occupied to the profite of all bowyers and fletchers. And thus I praye God that all fletchers getting theyr lyuynge truly, and al archers vsynge shottynge honestly, and all maner of men

that fauour artillery, may lyue continuallye in

healthe and merinesse, obeying theyr

prince as they shulde, and louing

God as they ought, to whom

for al things be al ho-

nour and glorye for

euer. Amen

TOXOPHILVS,

The schole of shootinge conteyned in tvvo bookes.

*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. . .	Fol. 1.	[A p. 25.]
Shootyng most honest pastyme. . .	3.	[B 29.]
The inuention of shootinge. . .	5.	[C 31.]
Shootyng fit for princes and greate men. 5.	[32.]
Shootyng, fit for Scholers and studentes. 8.	[D 37.]	
Shootyng fitter for studentes than any mufike or Inſtrumentes. . .	9.	[E 39.]
Youthe ought to learne to finge. . .	11.	[41.]

No manner of man doth or can vse to muche shootynge.	14.	[p. 44.]
Agaynst vnlawfull gammes and namelye cardes and dese.	16.	[ſ 49.]
Shootyng in war.	24.	[ſ 62.]
Obedience the best propertie of a Soul- dyar.	25.	[63.]
Reasons and authorites agaynst shoot- ynge in war with the confutacion of the same.	26.	[65.]
God is pleased with stronge wepons and valyaunt feates of war.	28.	[70.]
The commoditie of Shootyng in war throughe the Histories Greke and Latin, and all nations Christen and Heathen. 29.		[H 70.]
Vfe of shootynge at home caufethe stronge shootinge in warre.	41.	[ſ 88.]
Vfe of shootynge at home, except men be apte by nature, and connyng by teach- yng, doth little good at all.	43.	[91.]
Lacke of learnynge to shoothe caufethe Eng- lande lacke many a good archer.	46.	[95.]
In learnyng any thyng, a man must couete to be best, or els he shal neuer attayne to be meane.	47.	[98.]

A Table conteyning the seconde booke.

	Brafer	[p. 108.]
	Shotingloue	[109.]
	Strynge	[110.]
	Bowe	[112.]
	Shaftes	[122.]
Proper for euery sere mannes vfe.		
By knowing thinges belon- ging to shoo- tyng.	General to all men.	[150.]
Bothe comme party.	Wether Marke.	[160.]
Hittyng the marke, by		
Shotyng streyght.	Standinge	[147.]
Kepyng a length.	Nockyng	[148.]
By hand- linge thyn- ges belonging to shoptyng.	Drawinge	[148.]
	Holdyng	[149.]
	Lowsinge.	[149.]
within a man.	Bolde corage.	[164.]
Auoydyng all affection.		[164.]

TOXOPHILVS,

A,

The first boke of the schole of shoting.

Philologus.

Toxophilus.

Philologus You studie to sore Toxophile. **A**

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

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

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 walkynge, I fortuned 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 lokynge 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 pace and earnest lokying, your boke led you, not you it.

Tor. In dede as it chaunced, my mynde went faster then my feete, for I happened here to reade in *Phedro Platonis*, a place that entretes wonderfullie of the nature of soules, which place (whether it were for the paffynge eloquence of Plato, and the Greke tongue, or for the hyghe and godlie description of the matter, kept my mynde so occupied, that it had no leisure to loke to my feete. For I was reding howe some soules being well fethered, flewe alwayes about heauen and heauenlie matters, other some hauinge their fethers mowted awaye, and droupinge, sanke downe into earthlie things.

In Phedro.

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.

Tor. I am gladde now that you letted me, for my head akes with loking on it, and bycause you tell me so, I am verye sorie yat 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 to his boke in.

Tor. 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 ye best time vpon the best thinges: And me thought you shot verie wel, and at that marke, at which euery good scoler shoulde moste busfilie shote at. And I suppose 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, shoting is not the worst thing in the world, yet if we shote, and time shote, we ar[e] not like to be great winners at the length. And you know also wescholers haue more ernest and weightie matters in hand, nor we be not borne to pastime and pley, as you know wel ynough who sayth.

Tor. Yet the same man in the same place *Philologe*,

by your leue, doth admitte holsome, honest
and manerlie pastimes to be as necessarie
to be mingled with sad matters of the minde, as eating
and sleping is for the health of the body, and yet we
be borne for neither of bothe. And Aristotle him selfe sayth, yat although it were
M. Cic. in off.
a fonde and a chyldish thing to be to ernest in pastime
and play, yet doth he affirme by the authōritie of the
oulde Poet Epicharmus, that a man may vse play for
ernest matter sake. And in an other place,
Arist. de morib. 10. 6.
yat as rest is for labour, and medicines for
Arist. Pol. 8. 3.
helth, so is pastime at tymes for sad and weightie
studie.

P̄hi. How moche in this matter is to be giuen to
ye 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 faue it) maketh me remembre, yat those
husbandmen which rise erliest, and come latest home,
and are content to haue their diner and other drinck-
inges, 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 yat purposeth to be a good husband,
and desireth to repe and enjoy much fruite, of learn-
inge, musle tylle and sowe thereafter. Our beste feede
tyme, which be scholers, as it is verie tymelye, and
whan we be yonge : so it endureth not ouerlonge, and
therefore it maye not be let slippe one houre, oure
grounde is verye harde, and full of wedes, our horse
wherwith we be drawen very wylde as Plato sayth.
And infinite other molettes whiche wil
make a thirstie scholer take hede how he
In Phedro.
spendeth his tyme in sporte and pleye.

Tor. That Aristotle and Tullie spake ernestlie, and
as they thought, the ernest matter which they entreat
vpon, doth plainlye proue. And as for your hus-
bandrie, it was more probablie tolde with apt wordes

propre to ye thing, then throughly proued with reasons belongyng to our matter. Far contrariwise I herd my selfe a good husbande at his boke ones faye, that to omit studie somtime 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 smal, and when it is brought into the barne and threshed, gyueth very euill faul. So those which neuer leauе 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 hufbandrie me thinke, is more like the life of a couetouse snudge that oft very euill preues, 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 dompyffshe wittes can neuer be hurte with continuall studie, as ye se in luting, that a treble minikin string must alwayes be let down, but at suche time as when a man must nedes playe: when ye 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, wheroft the one is quicke of cast, tricke, and trimme both for pleasure and profyte: the other is a lugge flowe 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 till the nexte daye at after dyner: and when I came to them, purposing to haue gone on shottynge, 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 worfe: 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 vnbent 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 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 ye moost learning of all. For a mans witte fore occupied in ernest studie, must be as wel recreated with some honest pastime, as the body fore 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.

Ouid.

And I promise you shoting by my iudgement, is ye moost honest pastime of al, and suche one I am sure, of all other, that hindreth learning litle or nothing at all, whatfoever you and some other saye, whiche are a gret dele iorer against it alwaies than you nede to be.

Phi. Hindereth learninge litle or nothinge at all? that were a meruayle to me truelie, and I am sure seing you say so, you haue some reason wherewith you can defende shootinge withall, and as for wyl (for the loue that you beare towarde shotinge) I 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 willinge and able to defende it, and I so redy and glad to heare what may be fayne of it I suppose we canne not passe the tyme better ouer, neyther you for ye honestie of your shoting, nor I for myne owne mindsake, than to se what can be sayed with it, or agaynst it, and speciallie in these dayes, whan so many doeth vse it, and euerie man in a maner doeth common of it.

Tor. To speake of shootinge *Philologe*, trulye I woulde I were so able, either as I my selfe am willing or yet as the matter deserueth, but seing with wifshing we can not haue one nowe worthie, whiche so worthie

a thinge can worthilie praise, and although I had rather haue anie other to do it than my selfe, yet my selfe rather then no other. I wil not fail to faye in it what I can wherin if I faye litle, laye that of my litle habilitie, not of the matter it selfe which deserueth no lyttle thinge to be fayde of it.

Phi. If it deserue no litle thinge to be fayde of it Toxophile, I maruell howe it chaunceth than, that no man hitherto, hath written any thinge of it: wherin you must graunte me, that eyther the matter is noughe, 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 faye one good woord of it, seinge that very triflinge matters hath not lacked great learned men to sette them out, as gnattes and nuttes, and many other mo like thinges, wherfore eyther you may honestlie laye verie great faut vpon men bycause they neuer yet prayfed it, or els I may iustlie take awaye no litle thinge from shooting, bycause it neuer yet deserued it.

Tor. Trulye herein Philologe, you take not so muche from it, as you giue to it. For great and commodious thynges are neuer greatlie prayfed, not bycause they be not worthie, but bicause their excellencie nedeth no man hys prayfe, hauinge all theyr commendation of them selfe not borrowed of other men his lippes, which rather prayfe them selfe, in spekyng much of a litle thyng than that matter whiche they entreat vpon. Great and good thinges be not prayfed. For who euer prayfed Hercules (fayeth the Greke prouerbe). And that no man hitherto hath written any booke of shooting the fault is not to be layed in the thyng whiche was worthie to be written vpon, but of men which were negligent in doyng it, and this was the cause therof as I suppose. Menne that vsed shooptyng 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 that hitherto were able to wryte vpon it. Yet howe

longe shotyng hath continued, what common wealthes hath moste vsed it, howe honeste a thynge it is for all men, what kynde of liuing so euer they folow, what pleasure and profit commeth of it, both in peace and warre, all maner of tongues and writers, Hebreue, Greke and Latine, hath so plentifullie 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 perfectnesse amonges men, is not toulde.

Phi. Than *Toxophile*, if it be so as you do saye, let vs go forwarde and examin howe plentifullie this is done that you speke, and firste of the inuention of it, than what honestie and profit is in the vfe 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, which thinge if you do, not onelye I nowe for youre communication but many other mo, when they shall knowe of it, for your labour, and shotyng it selfe also (if it coulde speke) for your kyndnesse, wyll can you very moche thanke.

Toxoph. What good thynges men speake of shoting and what good thinges shooting brings to men as my wit and knowlege will serue me, gladly shall I fay 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 yat you can also speke well ynough of shooting, for youre learning, but go on with the first part. And I do not doubt, but what my desyre, what your loue toward it, the honestie of shooting, the profite that may come thereby to many other, shall get the seconde parte out of you at the last.

Toxoph. Of the first finders out of shoting, diuers men diuerslye doo wryte. Claudiiane the poete sayth that nature gaue example of shotyng first, by the Porpentine, which doth shote his prickes, and will hitte any thinge that fightes with it:

Claudianus
in histri.

whereby men learned afterwarde to immitate the same
in fyndyng out both bowe and shaftes. Plin. 7. 56.
Plinie referreth it to Schythes the sonne
of Iupiter. Better and more noble wryters bringe
shotinge 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 expreflye. And
also if we shall beleue Nicholas de Lyra,
Lamech killed Cain with a shafte. So this
great continuaunce of shotinge doth not a lytle praise
shotinge: nor that neither doth not a litle set it oute,
that it is referred to th[e] inuention of Apollo, for the
which poyn特 shotinge is highlye praised of Galene: where he sayth, yat mean craftes
be first found out by men or beastes, as
weauing by a spider, and suche other: but high and
commendable sciencies by goddes, as shotinge and
musicke by Apollo. And thus shotyng for the necef-
sitie of it vsed in Adams dayes, for the noblenesse of
it referred to Apollo, hath not ben onelie commended
in all tungen and writers, but also had in greate price,
both in the best commune wealthes in warre tyme for
the defence of their countrey, 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 syndyng oute of it,
little prayse is gotten to shotinge therby, feinge good
wittes maye mooste easelye of all fynde oute a trifelynge matter.
But where as you faye that mooste com-
mune wealthes haue vsed it in warre tyme, and all de-
grees of men maye verye honestlye vse it in peace
tyme: I thynke you can neither shewe by authoritie,
nor yet proue by reason.

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

In sympo.
In hym.
Apollo.
Gen. 21.

Nic. de lyra.

Galen in ex-
hor. ad bo-
nas artes.

Cyaxares the kynge of the Medees, and
greate graundefather to Cyrus, kepte a forte
of Sythians with him onely for this purpose, to teache
his sonne 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 vfed : 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.

Herod. in clio.Xen. in insti
Cyri. 1.Ad Quint.
Fra. 1. 1.

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

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

Strabo. 15.

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 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.

Tranq. Suet.Herodia. 1.

Phi. In dede you praife shoting very wel, in yat
you shewe that Domitian and Commodus loue
shottinge, 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 Com-
modus is true of them bothe, and that was this : that

beside strength of bodie and good shotinge, 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 th[e] emperoure, wherin he doeth commend him for. iii. things, 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 and lawes for it, as the Persians which vnder Cyrus conquered in a maner all the worlde, had a lawe that their children shulde learne thre thinges, onelie from v. yeare oulde vnto xx. to ryde an horse well, to shote well, to speake truthe alwayes and neuer lye. The Romaines (as Leo the[e]imperour in his boke of sleightes of warre² telleth) had a lawe that euery man shoulde vse shoting in peace tyme, while he was. xl. yere olde and that cuerye houise 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 Englannde in parliamente for the fettyng forwarde of shoting, through this 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.

¶hi. That suche princes and suche commune welthes haue moche regarded shoting, you haue well

Themist.
in ora, 6.

Herod. in clio.

Leo de stra-
tag. 20.

declared. But why shotinge ought so of it selfe to be regarded, you haue scarcelye yet proued.

Tor. 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, yat neither great mens qualites being commendable be without great authoritie, for other men honestly to folow them: nor yet those great learned men that wrote suche thinges, lacke good reason iustly at al tymes for any other to approue them. Princes beinge children oughte to be brought vp in shoting: both bycause it is an 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 paynefull pastymes to be men: but cockerde vp with inwarde noughtie ydle wantonnesse to be women. For how fit labour is for al youth, Iupiter or els Minos amonges them of Grece, and Lycurgus amonges the Lacedemonians, do shewe by their lawes, which neuer or deyned any thing for ye bringyng vp of youth that was not ioyned with labour. And the labour which is in shoting of al other is best, both bycause it encreaseth strength, and preferueth health moost, beinge not vehement, but moderate, not overlayng any one part with weryfomnesse; but softly exercisynge euery 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 the best physcions, 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, escheweinge

Cic. 2. Tus.
Qu.

Gal. 2. de
san. tuend.

shorte, or gone, or either syde wide, for the which causes Aristotle him selfe sayth that shoting and vertue is very like. Moreouer that shoting of all other is the moost honest pastyme, and hath leest occasion to noughtiness ioyned with it. ii. thinges very playnelye do proue, which be as a man wolde faye, 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 tyme, it hydes it not, it lurkes not in corners and hudder-mother: but openly accuseth and bewrayeth it selfe, which is the nexte waye to amendment, as wyse men do faye. And these thinges I suppose be signes, not of noughtiness, for any man to disallowe it: but rather verye playne tokens of honestie, for euerye man to prayse it.

The vfe of shotinge also in greate mennes chyldren shall greatlye encrease the loue and vfe of shotinge in all the residue of youth. For meane mennes myndes loue to be lyke greate menne, as Plato and Isocrates do faye. And that euerye bodye shoulde 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 imitation of moost ernest thinges to be done in manhode.

Wherfore, shoting is fitte for great mens children, both bycause it strengthneth the body with holsome labour, and pleaseth the mynde with honest pastime and also encourageth all other youth ernestlye 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 straytelye to com-maunde shoting. Therfore seinge Princes moued by honest occasions, hath in al commune wealthes vsed

Arist. i. de
morib.

Iso. in nic.

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 *Toxophile*, but if you can proue me thatscholers and men gyuen to learning maye honestlie vse shoting, I wyll soone graunt you that all other sortes of men maye not onely 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 iudgementes, are fette afore temporall men, onelye to followe them: whereby they may the better and stronglyer defende the commune wealth withall. And nothing belongeth to scholers and learned men, which haue an other parte of the commune wealth, quiete and peaceable put to their cure and charge, whose ende as it is diuerse from the other, so there is no one waye that leadeth to them both.

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: So scholers maye the boldlyer 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 Englannde how moche good it hath done, both oulde men and *Chronicles* doo tell: and also our enemies can beare vs recorde. For if it be true (as I haue hearde saye) when the kynge of Englannde hath ben in Fraunce, the preestes at home bicause they were archers, haue ben able to ouerthrowe all Scotlande. Agayne ther is an other thing which aboue all other doeth moue me, not onely to loue shotinge, to prayse shoting, to exhorte all other to shotinge, but also to

D

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 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 wisdome, and his counsell, so greatlye laboureth to go forwarde: whiche thing surelye they do, bycause they knowe it to be in warre, the defence and wal of our countrie, in peace, an exercise moost holsome for the body, a pastime moost honest for the mynde, and as I am able to proue my selfe, of al other mooste fit and agreeable with learninge and learned men.

Phi. If you can proue this thing so playnly, as you speake it ernestly, 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 shotinge, blindlie iudge of shokinge. For loue and al other to ernest affections be not for nought paynted blinde. Take heide (I saye) least you prefer shokinge 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 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 Mufes.

Tor. 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 songs and good shoting deliteth Apollo. Cal. hym. 2.

Butas concerning whether of them is
moste fit for learning, and schòlers to vse, G
you may faye what you will for your pleasure, this I am
sure that Plato and Aristotle bothe, in their bokes en-
treatinge of the common welthe, where they shew
howe youthe shoulde be brought vp in. iiiii. thinges, in
redinge, in writing, in exercise of bodye, and singing,
do make mention of Musicke and all kindes of it,
wherein they both agre, that Musicke vsed amonges
the Lydians is verie ill for yong men, which be stu-
dentes for vertue and learning, for a certain nice, foste,
and smoth swetnesse of it, whiche woulde rather entice
them to noughtines, than stirre them to honestie.

An other kinde of Musicke inuented by the Dorians,
they both wonderfully prayse, alowing it to be verie fynt
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 matters.
Nowe whether these balades and roundes, these gal-
ardes, pauanes and daunces, so nicelye fingered, so
swetely tuned, be lyker the Musike of the Lydians or
the Dorians, you that be learned iudge. And what so
euer ye iudge, this I am sure, yat lutes, harpes, all
maner of pypes, barbitons, sambukes, with other
instrumentes every one, whyche standeth by fine and
quicke fingeringe, be condemned of Aris- Aristot. pol.
8. 6.
totle, as not to be brought in and vsed
amonge them, whiche studie for learning and vertue.

Pallas when she had inuented a pipe, cast it away,
not so muche fayeth 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 the

Satyr, defender of pipinge, doth well declare, where Marsyas had his skine quite pulled ouer his head for his labour.

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 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 be lesse able to brooke, strong 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,

Herodotus
in Clio.

shewe by playne and euident example, as that of Cyrus, whiche after he had ouercome the Lydians, and taken their kinge Cresus prisoner, yet after by the meane of one Pactyas a verye headie manne amonges the Lydians, they rebelled agaynst Cyrus agayne, then Cyrus had by an by, broughte them to vtter destruction, yf Cresus being in good fauour with Cyrus had not hertelie defyred him, not to reuenge Pactyas faulte, in shedynghe theyr blood. But if he would folowe his counsell, he myght brynge to passe, that they shoulde neuer more rebel agaynst hym, And yat was this, to make them weare long kyrtils, to ye foot lyke woomen, and that euerye one of them shoulde haue a harpe or a lute, and learne to playe and sing whyche thinge if you do sayth Cresus (as he dyd in dede) you shall se them quickelye of men, made women. And thus lutinge 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 Historiographer write, of one Sesostris kinge of Egypte, whiche storie because it is somewhat longe, and very lyke in al poyntes to the other and also you do well ynoughe remembre it, feynge you read it so late in Sophoclis commentaries, I wyll nowe passe ouer. Therefore eyther Aristotle and Plato knowe not what was good and euyll for learninge and vertue, and the example of wyse histories be vainlie set afore vs or els the minstrelsie of lutes, pipes, harpes, and all other that standeth by suche nice, fine, minikin fingering (suche as the mooste parte of scholers whom I knowe vse, if they vse any) is farre more fitte for the womannishnesse of it to dwell in the courte among ladies, than for any great thing in it, whiche shoulde helpe good and sad studie, to abide in the vniversitie amonges scholers. But perhaps you knowe some great goodnesse of suche musicke and suche instrumentes, 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 thought my selfe these kindes of musicke fit for learninge, but that whyche I sayde was rather to proue you, than to defende the matter. But yet as I woulde haue this sorte of musicke decaye amonge scholers, euen so do I wyf she from the bottome of my heart, that the laudable custome of Englande to teache 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 fayeth in Sophocles.

*Seldome at all good things be knownen how good to be
Before a man suche things do misse out of his handes.*

Nymphod.

Comment.
in Antig.

That milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the

Sophocles
in Aiace.

bringing vp of children than musike is, both Gallen proueth by authoritie, and dayly vse teacheth by experience. For euen the little babes lacking the vse of reason, are scarfe so well stilled in fuckyng theyr mothers pap, as in hearynge theyr mother syng.

Agayne how fit youth is made, by learning to sing, for grammar and other sciences, bothe we dayly do see, and Plutarch learnedly doth proue, and Plato wifelie did alowe, which 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 prayfed through al the scripture, therfore nowe I wil speke nothing of it, rather than I shuld speke to litle of it.

Befyde al these commodities, truly. ii. degrees of menne, which haue the highest offices vnder the king in all this realme, shal greatly lacke the vse of Singinge, preachers and lawiers, bycause they shal not without this, be able to rule their brestes, for euery purpose. For where is no distinction in telling glad thinges and fearfull thinges, gentilnes and cruelnes, softenes and vehementnes, and fuche 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 thundre, they quake : If he chyde, they feare : If he complayne, they fory 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 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 knownen many wel learned, haue done, bicause theyr voyce was not stayed afore, with learnyng to synge.

For all voyces, great and small, base and shril, weke or
foste, may be holpen and brought to a good poynt, by
learnyng to syng.

Whether this be true or not, they that stand mooste
in nede, can tell best, whereof some I haue knownen,
whiche, because they learned not to sing, whan they
were boyes, were fayne to take peyne in it, whan they
were men. If any man shulde heare me Toxophile,
that woulde thinke I did but fondly, to suppose that a
voice were so necessarie to be loked vpon, I would
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 was not
ashamed to learne howe he shoulde vtter his foundes
aptly of a dogge, the other setteth oute no poynte of
rhetorike, so fullie in all his bookees, 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, and that singing is an helpe towarde the same as
dayly experience doth teache, example of wyse men
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 for the amendment of this thynge, but
because I am lyke to be none this yeare, I wil speake
no more of it, at this time.

Tor. 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 ye vniversitie, 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 agaynst Musiske for the same.

Therfore as concerning Musiske, I can be content to

graunt you your mynde: But as for shooting, surely I suppose that you can not perfwade me, by no meanes, that a man can be earnest in it, and earnest at his booke to: but rather I thynke that 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.

Tor. Ouer ernest shooting surely I will not ouer ernestlye defende, for I euer thought shooting shoulde be a wayter vpon 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 tragedie you red openly not long ago, in a maner glorieth faying this verse.

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

Euripid. in
Alcest.

Therfore a learned man ought not to much to be ashamed to beare that some tyme, whiche Apollo god of lerning him selfe was not ashamed always to beare. And bycause ye woulde haue a man wayt vpon the Muses, and not at all medle with shottynge I maruell that you do not remembre howe that the ix. muses their selfe as fone as they were borne, wer put to nourse to a lady called Euphemis whiche had a son named Erotus with whome the nine Muses for his excellent shootinge, kepte euer more companie withall, and vsed dayly to shooote togither in ye mount Pernafus; 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 Muses 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 shottynge maye well ynough be companion with honest studie.

P̄hi. Well Toxophile, if you haue no stronger defence of shottinge then Poetes, I feare yf your com-

panions which loue shotinge, hearde you, they wolde thinke you made it but a triflyng and fabling matter, rather then any other man that loueth not shotinge coulde be perfwaded by this reason to loue it.

Tutor. Euen as I am not so fonde but I knowe that these be fables, so I am sure you be not so ignorauant, but you knowe what suche noble wittes as the Poetes had, ment by such matters: which oftentymes vnder the couering of a fable, do hyde and wrappe in goodlie preceptes of philosophie, with the true iudgement 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 controuerfies, by these. ii. Poetes and suche lyke authorities. Therfore if in this matter I feme to fable, and nothyng proue, I am content you iudge so on me: seinge the same iudgement shall condemne with me Plato, Aristotle, and Galene, whom in that errorr I am wel content to folowe. If these oulde examples proue nothing for shoting, what faye you to this? that the best learned and sageſt men in this Realme, which be nowe alyue, both loue shoting and vſe shoting, as the best learned bifshoppes that be: amonges whome *Philologe*, you your ſelfe knowe. iii. or. v. which as in all good learning, vertue and sageſſe they gyue 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 ernest ſtudie muſt be re-created with honest paſtime ſufficientlye I haue proued afore, both by reaſon and authoritie of the best learned men that euer wrote. Then ſeing paſtymes be lefull, the mooſt fitteſt for learning, is to be fought for. A paſtyme, faith Aristotle, muſt be lyke a Arist. po. 7. medicine. Medicines ſtande by contra- ries, therfore the nature of ſtudying conſidered, the fitteſt paſtyme ſhal ſoone appeare. In ſtudie euery parte of the body is ydle, which thing caufeth groſſe and colde humours, to gather togither and vexē

scholers verye moche, the mynde is altogther 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 vnbent, to gather and fetche 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 away no profyte thereat. This knewe 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 vnequall, whiche is condempned of Galene: the example very ill for other men, when by so manye actes they be made vnlawfull.

Running, leaping, and coyting be to vile for scholers, and so not fit by Aristotle his iudgement: walking alone into the felde, hath no token of courage in it, a pastyme lyke a simple man which is neither flesh nor fyshe. Therfore if a man woulde haue a pastyme holesome and equall for euery parte of the bodye, pleasaunt and full of courage for the mynde, not vile and vnhonest to gyue ill example to laye men, not kepte in gardynes and 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 chefely of all other for shotynge.

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

Aristot.
pol. 7. 17.

Gal. de san
tuend. 2.

Toroph. 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 wawe with his heeles, moche lyke the pastyme that boyes vse in the churche when their master is awaye, to swinge and totter in a belrope : to make a fiste, and stretche out bothe his armes, and so stande lyke a roode. To go on a man his tiptoes, stretching out th[e] one of his armes forwarde, the other backewarde, which if he blered out his tunge also, myght be thought to daunce Anticke verye properlye. To tumble ouer and ouer, to toppe ouer tayle : To set backe to backe, and se who can heauie 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 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 perfsons and places, onely shoting shal appere, wherin all these commodities maye be founde.

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.

Toxoph. Surely Philologe, I am very glad to se you come to that poynte 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 may spende by anye possibilite, more tyme in shotinge then 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 busynesses, and also spent in moche vn-

thriftinesse, but in no wise it can be applyed to shoting. 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. iii. partes, Spring tyme, Somer, faule of the leafe, and winter wheroft 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, a man maye faye 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 shall well perceyue, that where a man wolde shote one daye, he shall be fayne to leauue of. iii. Now when tyme it selfe graunteth vs but a little 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 to moche dare not: sage men for other greater busynesses, wyll not: aged men for lacke of strengthe, can not: Ryche men for couetousnesse fake, care not: poore men for cost and charge, may not: masters for their houshalde keping, hede not: seruauntes kept in by their maisters very oft, shall not: craftes men for getting of their lyuing, verye moche leyasure haue not: and many there be that oft beginnes, but for vnaptnesse proues not: 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 scarse. x.

yat vseth any great shoting. And those whome you se shote the moost, with how many thinges are the[y] 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 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. A little blayne, a small cutte, yea a filie poore worme in his finger, may kepe him from shoting wel ynough. Breaking and ill luck in bowes I wyll passe ouer, with an hundred mo sere thinges, whiche chaunce euery daye to them that shote moost, wheroft the leest of them may compell a man to leauue shoting. And these 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 altogytter to giue a man leauue to shote, and any one of them denied, a man can not shote: and seing euery one of them maye chaunce, and doth chaunce euery day, I meruayle any 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 I can denye no-
thinge of it, I meruayle greatly how it chaunceth, that those, whiche vse shoting be so moche marked of men, and oftymes blamed for it, and yat 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) Cardes
and dyse. 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 reparation as bowe and shaftes, they wolde neuer hurte a man his hande, nor neuer weare his gere. A man shulde neuer flee a man with shoting wyde at the cardes. In wete and drye, hote and coulde, they woulde neuer forsake a man, he shewed what great varietie there is in them for euerye mans capacitiē: if one game 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.

Tur. I can not deny, but shoting (as all other good thinges) may be abused. And good thinges ungoodlye 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 as for shoting, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I fayde before) which shoulde be rather a token of honestie to prayse it, then any signe of nougntineſſe 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 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 little white ſtone is ſene amonges. iii. hundred blacke. Of thoſe that blame shotinge and shoters, I wyll faye no more at this tyme but this, that beſide that they ſtoppe and hinder shoting, which the kinges grace wolde haue forwarde, they be not moche vnlyke in this poynt to Wyll Somer the king his foole, which ſmiteth him that ſlandeth alwayes before his face, be he neuer ſo worshipfull a man, and neuer greatly loikes 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 comparissons fayth learned men, make playne matters : I wyl surely folowe him in the same. Honest thynges (sayeth Plato) In phedro.
be knownen from vnhonest things, by this difference, vnhonestie hath euer present pleasure in it, hauing neyther good pretence going before, nor yet any profit folowing after ; which faying descrybeth generallye, bothe the nature of shooting and gamning whiche is good, and which is euyl, verie well.

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

Loth I am to compare these thinges togyther, and yet I do it not bicause there is any comparison at al betwixte them, but therby a man shal se how good the one is, howe euil the other. 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 clean contrarye is in the other, as shall playnlye appere, if we consider, bothe their beginnynges, theyr encreasynge, theyr fructes, and theyr endes, whiche I wyl foone rydde ouer.

C The fyrste brynger in to the worlde of shootynge, was Apollo, whiche for his wisdome, and great commodities, brought amonges 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 ore was an vngracious God, called *Theuth*, which for his noughtines Plato in Phedro. came neuer in other goddes companyes, and therfore Homer doth despise onse to name him,

in all his workes. The other father was a Lydian borne, whiche people for suche gamnes, and other vnthriftnes, as boowlyng and hauntyng of tauernes, haue bene euer had in most vile reputation, in all storyes and writers.

Herodot. n
Clio.

The Fosterer vp of shoting is Labour, ye companion of vertue, the maynteyner of honestie, the encreaser of health and welthinesse, whiche admytteth nothinge in a maner in to his companye, that standeth not, with vertue and honestie, and therefore fayeth the oulde poete Epicharmus very pretelye in Xenophon, that God selleth vertue, and all other good things to men for labour.

Xen de dict.
et fact. Soc.

The Nource of dise and cardes, is werisom Ydlenesse, enemy of vertue, ye drowner of youthe, that tarieth in it, and as Chaufer doth faye 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, ye other Open place, whyche. ii. keepe shooting from euyl companye, and suffers it not to haue to much swinge, but euermore keepes it vnder awe, that it darre do nothyng in the open face of the worlde, but that which is good and honest. Lykewyse, dysinge and cardynge, haue. ii. Tutours, the one named Solitarioufenes, whyche lurketh in holes and corners, the other called Night an vngratiouse couer of nougynesse, whyche two thynges be very Inkepers and receyuers of all nougynesse and nougynie thinges, and thereto they be in a maner, ordeyned by Nature. For on the nighte tyme and in corners, Spirites and theues, rattenes and mise, toodes and oules, nyghtecrowes and poulcattes, foxes and foumerdes, with all other vermine, and noysome beastes, vse mooste styringe, when in the daye lyght, and in open places whiche be ordeyned of God for honeste thynges, they darre not ones come, whiche thinge Euripides noted verye well, fayenge.

It thinges the night, good thinges the daye doth haunt and vse.

Iphi. in. Tau.

Companions of shoting, be prouidens, good heed giuing, true meatinge, honest comparison, whyche thinges agree with vertue very well. Cardinge and dysinge, haue a forte of good felowes also, goyng com-
monly in theyr companye, as blynde Fortune, stumbl-
ing chaunce, spittle lucke, false dealyng, crafty conueyance,
braynlesse brawlynge, false forswerynge, whiche good
feloes wyll sone take a man by the sleue, and cause
him take his Inne, some wyth beggerye, some wthy
goute and dropsie, some with thefte and robbery, and
seldome they wyl leauue a man before he come 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 iud-
gements condemned, I nede not shewe the matter is fo-
playne.

Therfore, whan the Lydians shall inuent better thinges than Apollo, when flothe and ydlenes shall encrease vertue more than labour, whan the nyghte and lurking corners, giueth lesse occasion to vnchristinesse, than lyght daye and opennes, than shal shotynge and suche gamninge, be in summe comparison lyke. Yet euen as I do not shewe all the goodnes, whiche is in shotynge, 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 fauegarde of lyght and opennes, accompanied with prouision and diligens, loued and allowed by euery good mannes sentence. Euen lykewyse do I not open halfe the nougntines whiche is in cardyng and dysing, whan I shewe howe they are borne of a desperate mother, norished in ydlenes, encresed by licence of nyght and corners, accompanied wthy Fortune, chaunce, deceyte, and craftines: condemned and banished, by all lawes and iudgements.

For if I woulde enter, to descrybe the monstruouse-
nes of it, 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 gladly do I remembre these verses of hys.

*Hazardry is very mother of lesinges,
And of deceytle, and cursed sweringes,
Blasphemie of Christ, manslaughter, and waſte also,
Of catel of tyme, of other thynges mo.*

¶ *Mother of lesinges*) trulye it maye well be called so, if a man confydre 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, and at laſte, yf he leauē it not, loseth God, and heauen and all: and in ſtede of theſe thinges winneth at length, eyther hangyng or hell.

¶ *And of deceytle*) 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 vaantage, flattes, gourdes to chop and chaunge whan they lyſte, to lette the trew diſe fall vnder the table, and ſo take vp the falſe, and if they be true diſe, what ſhyfte wil they make to ſet ye one of them with flyding, 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 ſkyll of them? Howe will they go about, yf they perceyue an honeſt man haue money, which liſt not playe, to prouoke him to playe? They wyl feke his company, they wil let hym paye nought, yea and as I hearde a man ones faye that he dyd, they wil ſend for hym to ſome house, and ſpend perchaunce, a crowne on him, and at laſt wyll one begin to faye: what my maſters, what ſhall we do? ſhall euerye man playe his xii. d. whyles an apple roſte in the fyre, and than we wyll

drinke and departe : Naye wyl an other faye, as falie as he, you can not leauue 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 content, for surely I woulde winne no mannes money here, but euen as much as wolde paye for mye 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 faye, sticke not in honest company for. xii. d. I wyll beare your halfe, and here is my money.

Nowe al this is to make him to beginne, for they knowe if he be ones in, and be a loofer, yat he wyl not sticke at his. xii. d. 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 with settyng of dyse, some with hauinge outelandishe syluer coynes guylded, to put away at a tyme for good gold. Than if ther come a thing in controuersie, muste you be iudged by the table, and than farewell the honest man hys parte, for he is borne downe on euerye syde.

Nowe fir, besyde all these thinges they haue certayne termes, as a man woulde faye, appropriate to theyr playing: wherby they wyl drawe a mannes money, but paye none, whiche they cal barres, that surely he that knoweth them not, maye foone be debarred of all that 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 neuer leauue : For vayn hope (which hope sayth Euripides, destroyeth many a man and Citiie) dryueth hym on so farre, that he can neuer In suppli. 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, as he did the other, the
thirde shall espye them to be false dise, and shall crye
oute, harde, with 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 his owne also,
thinking himselfe wel, that he scapeth with his lyfe.

Cursed sweryng, blasphemie of Christ.) 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
And by the blood of Christ, 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
Forsweringe, Ire, falsnes and Homicide. &c.*

Thoughe these verses be very ernestlie wrytten, yet
they do not halfe so grisely sette out the horyblenes of
blasphemy, which suche gammers 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 countenaun-
ces, and brenning eyes, with staringe and bragging,
with heart redie to leape out of the belly for swelling,
can be expressed ye 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, fware me God, from top to toe with, one
breath, that he had lost al his money for lacke of
sweringe : The other, losyng his money, and heaping
othes upon othes, one in a nothers necke, moost
horrible and not speakeable, 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, fware me by the fleshe of God, that yf sweryng woulde helpe him but one ace, he woulde not leue one pece of god vnsworne, neyther wythin nor without. The remembraunce of this blasphemy Philologe, doth make me quake at the heart, and therefore I wyll speake no more of it.

And so to conclude wyth suche gamnyng, I thynke there is no vngraciousenes in all thys worlde, that carieth so far from god, as thys faulte doth. And yf there were anye so desperate a perfone, that woulde begynne his hell here in earth, I trowe he shoulde not fynde hell more lyke hell it selfe, then the lyfe of those menis 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 somwhat to do with them.

Tor. 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 knownen dyuerse wayes, as Socrates (you knowe) doeth proue in Alcibiades. 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 oulde man and a yong, an honest man and a bawde: with suche lyke. Surelye euerye man ought to praye to God dayly, to kepe them from suche unthriftnesse, and speciallye all the youth of Englande: for what youth doth begynne, a man wyll folowe commonlye, euen to his dyinge daye: whiche thinge Adrastus in Euripides pretelye doth expresse, sayinge.

*What thing a man in tender age hath most in vre
That same to death alwayses 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.*

Euripides
in suppli.

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 crooked, when it is oulde, a man shal rather breake it than streyght it. And I thinke there is no one thinge yat crokes youth more then suche vnlefull games. Nor let no man 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 no man assure hym selfe that he can vse it honestlye: for if he stande therein, he may 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 forwarde, he can not stoppe though he woulde neuer so fayne, but he must nedes runne heedling, he knoweth not how farre. What honest pretences, vayne pleasure layeth dayly (as it were entisements or baytes, to pull men forwarde withall) Homer doeth well shewe, by the Sirenes, and Circes. And amonges all in that shyp there was but one Vlysses, and yet he hadde done to as the other dyd, yf a goddesse had not taught hym: And so lykewyse I thinke, they be easye to numbre, 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.

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

Torophi. 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 agaynst manye abuses, (as he sayde) and at last he spake agaynst candelles, and then he fearynge,

least some men woulde haue bene angrye and offended with him, naye fayeth he, you must take me as I meane : I speake not agaynst greate candelles, but agaynst lytle candels, for they be not all one (quoth he) I promyfeyou: And so euerye man laughed him to scorne.

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

Therefore, feing 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 lyfte 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 saying of Chaucer.

*Lordes might finde them other maner of pleye
Honest ynough to drieue the daye awaye.*

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 physcions do alowe in phyfike. So let youthe in steade of suche vnlefull games, whiche stande by ydlenesse, by solitariness, and corners, by night and darkenesse, by fortune and chaunce, by crafte and subtilitie, vse suche pastimes as stand by labour : vpon the daye light, in open fyght of men, hauynge suche an ende as is come to by conning, rather then by crafte : and so shulde vertue encrease, and vice decaye. For contrarye pastimes, must nedes worke contrary 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 fore troubled and ill at ease.

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

Tor. You playe your olde wontes Philologe, in dalyng with other mens wittes, not so moche to proue youre owne matter, as to proue what other men can say. But where you thinke that I take awaye moche vse of shoting, in lykening it to a medicine: because men vse not medicines every daye, for so shoulde their bodyes be hurt: I rather proue daylye vse of shoting therby. For although Aristotle fayeth that some medicines be no meate to lyue withall, whiche is true: Yet Hippocrates sayth that our daylye meates be medicines, to withstande Hippo, de med, purg. euyll withall, whiche is as true. For he maketh two kyndes of medicines, one our meate that we vse dailye, whiche purgeth softlye and slowlye, and in this similitude maye shoting be called a medicine, wherewith dayly a man maye purge and take away al vnlefull desyres to other vnlefull pastymes, as I proued before. The other is a quicke purging medicine, and seldomer to be occupied, excepte the matter be greater, and I coulde describe the nature of a quicke medicine, which shoulde within a whyle purge and plucke oute all the vnthrifte games in the Realme, through which the commune wealth oftentimes is fycke. For not

onely good quicke wittes to learnyng be thereby brought out of frame, and quite marred: But also manly wittes, either to attempt matters of high courage in warre tyme, or els to atcheue matters of weyght and wisdome in peace tyme, be made therby very quasie and faynt. For loke throughoute all histories written in Greke, Latyne, or other language, and you shal neuer finde that realme prosper in the whiche suche ydle pastymes are vfed. As concerning the medicyne, although some wolde be miscontent, if they hearde me meddle anye thynge with it: Yet betwixte you and me here alone, I maye the boldyer saye my fantasie, and the rather bycause I wyll onelye wysh for it, whiche standeth with honestie, not determyne of it which belongeth to authoritie. The medicine is this, that wolde to God and the kynge, all these vnthrifte 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 punyfshment 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 ago, by the moste noble oratour Demosthenes: which meruaileth greatly that deathe is appoynted for falsifyers and forgers of the coyne, and not as greate punyfshmente ordeyned for them, whiche by theyr meanes forges and falsifyses 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 brassyse wayes then dising and suche vnlefull pastymes.

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

Phil. The excellent commodityes of shotynge in peace tyme, Toxophile, you haue very wel and sufficiently declared. Wherby you haue so persuaded me,

Psalm. 90.

Demost. con-
tra Leptinem.

that God wyllyng hereafter I wyll both loue it the better, and also vse it the oster. For as moche as I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tunge, the nose, the handes and the feete be no fyter membres, or instrumentes for the body of a man, then is shotinge for the hole bodey of the realme. God hath made the partes of men which be best and moost necceſſarye, to ferue, not for one purpose onelye, but for manye: as the tunge 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 puttinge of all harmefull thinges, from the bodey. So shokinge 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 nougatyne humours be, whiche hurte and corrpute ſore that parte of the realme, wherin they do remayne.

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

Toꝝ. The vpperhande in warre, nexte the
goodneſſe of God (of whome al victorie
commeth, as scripture ſayth) standeth Mach 1.3. G
chefely in thre thinges: in the wysedome of the Prince, in the fleyghtes and pollicies of the capitaynes, and in the ſtrength and chereful forwardneſſe of the fouldyers. A Prince in his herte muſt be full of mercy and peace, a vertue mooft pleafaunt to Christ, mooft agreeable to mans nature, mooft proſytable for ryche and poore.

For than the riche man enioyeth with great pleaſure 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 ſomwhat: poore men in care,

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

Ad Nico.

After the wisdome of the prince, are valiaunt capitaynes moost necessary in warre, whose office and dutye is to knowe all fleigtes and pollicies for all kyndes of warre, which they maye learne. ii. wayes, either in daylye folowing and haunting the warres or els bicause wisdome bought with strypes, is many tymes ouercostlye: they maye bestowe sometyme in Vegetius, which entreateth suche matters in Latin metelye well, or rather in Polyenus, and Leo the Emperour, which setteth out al pollicies and duties of capitaynes in the Greke tungē very excellentlye. But chefelye I wolde wifshe (and if I were of authortie) I wolde counsel al the yong gentlemen of this realme, neuer to lay out of theyr handes. ii. authours Xenophon in Greke, and Cæsar in Latyn, where in they shulde folowe noble Scipio Africanus, as Tullie doeth saye: In whiche. ii. authours

De. Sen.

befydes eloquence a thinge mooste 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 to learne, than they dyd manfully exercize in the fyelde, for other men to followe.

The strengthe of war lyeth in the souldier, whose chyefe prayse and vertue, is obedience towarde his captayne, sayth Plato. And Xenophon being a gentle authour, mooste christianlye doeth saye, euen by these woordes, that

Obedience.

Plat. leg. 12.

Xen. Agesf.

that souldyer which firste serueth god, and than obeyeth hys captayne, may boldelie with all courage, hope to ouerthrowe his enemy. Agayne, without obedience, neither valiant man, stout horfe, nor goodly harnes doth any good at al. which obedience of ye souldier toward his captane, brought the whole empyre of ye worlde, into the Romanes handes, and whan it was brought, kepte it lenger, than euer it was kept in any common welth before or after.

Xen. Hippar.

And this to be true, Scipio Africanus, the moste noble captayne that euer was amonge the Romaynes, shewed very playnly, what tyme as he went into Afryke, to destroye Cartage. For he restinge hys hoofte 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 how they exercised themselues in kepyng of araye, and other feates, the gentleman of Sicilie asked Scipio, wherin lay hys chyefe hope to ouercome Cartage: He answered, in yonder feloes of myne whom you se play: And why sayth the other, bycause fayeth Scipio, that if I commaunded them to runne in to the toppe of this high castel, and cast them selues dounne backward vpon these rockes, I am sure they woulde do it.

Plutarchus.

Sallust also doth write, yat there were mo Romanes put to death of theyr captaynes for fetting on theyr enemyes before they had licence, than were for running away out of the fynelde, before they had foughten. These two examples do proue, that amonges the Romaynes, the obedience of the Captaynes, to se the same kepte wonderfull strayte. For they wel perceyued that an hoste full of obediency, falleth as feldome into the handes of theyr enemies as that bodye fawleth into Jeoperdye, the whiche is ruled by reason. Reason and Rulers beynge lyke in offyce, (for the one ruleth the bodye of man, the other ruleth the bodye of the common wealthe) ought to be lyke of condicions, and oughte to be obeyed in

Sal. in. Cat.

all maner of matters. Obedience is nourysshed by feare and loue, Feare is kept in by true iustice and equitie, Loue is gotten by wisdome, ioyned with liberalitie: For where a fouldyer seeth ryghteousnesse so rule, that a man can neyther do wronge nor yet take wronge, and that his capitayne for his wyfdom, 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 inwardre vertue, the nexte good poynt in a fouldier, is to haue and to handle his weapon wel, whereof the one must be at the appoynment of the captayne, the other lyeth in the courage and exercise of the fouldier: 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. 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 dialoge³ doth very well set out, wherein this is most notable, that when he hath shewed excedyng commodities of both, and some discommodities of gunnes, as infinite cost and charge, combersome carriage: and yf they be greate, the vncertayne leuelynge, 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 shotyng he cannot reherse one discommoditiie.

In Herc. fa.

Phi. That I meruayle greatly at, seing Nannius is so well learned, and so exercized in the authours of both the tunges: for I my selfe do remembre that shotyng in war is but smally praysed, and that of diuers captaynes in dyuers authors. For first in Euripides (whom you so highly praiise) 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 con-

cernyng shoting? whose words as farre as I remembre, be these, or not muche vnlyke.

*What prayse hath he at al, whiche neuer durst abide,
The dint of a speares poynt thruſt agaift his ſide
Nor neuer bouldrie buckeler bare yet in his leſte hande
Face to face his enemis bront ſtiffelie to wythſlānde,
But alwaye truſleth to a bowe and to a fethered ſlicke
Harnes ever moſt fit for him which to flie is quicke,*

Eurip. in
Herc. furent.

Bowe and ſhaftē is Armoure metteſt for a cowarde

Which dare not ones abide the bronte of battel ſharpe and harde.

*But he a man of manhode moſt is by mine affent
Which with harte and corage boulde, fullie hath him bent,
His enemis looke in every ſloure ſtoutelie to a bide,
Face to face, and fote to fote, tide what may be tide.*

Agayne Teucer the best Archer amonges all the Grecians, in Sophocles is called of Menelaus, a boweman, and a shooter as in villaynie and reproche, to be a thing of no price in warre. Moreouer Pandarus the best shooter in the worlde, whome Apollo hym ſelfe taught to ſhoote, bothe he and his ſhotyng is quyte contemned 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, and take him to a ſpeare, makynge a vowe that if euer he came home, he woulde breake his ſhaftes, and burne his bowe, lamentyng greatly, that he was ſo fonde to leauue at home his horſe and charyot wyth other weapons, for the truſt yat he had in his bowe. Homer ſignifieng thereby, that men ſhoule leue ſhoting out of warre, and take them to other wepons more fitte and able for the fame, and I trowe Pandarus woordes be muche what after thys forte.

*Ill chance ill lucke me hyther broughte
Ill fortune me that daye befell,
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,
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 forer said agaynst any thing, than the iudgement of Cyrus is agaynst shottynge, whiche doth cause his Persians beyng the best shooters to laye awaye theyr bowes and take them to fweardes and buckelers, speares and darteres, 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 wherein he purposed to shewe, as Tullie sayeth in dede, not the true historie, but the example of a perfite wise prince and common welthe, excepte that iudgement of chaungyng Artillerie, in to other wepons, he had alwayes thought best to be folowed, in all warre. Whose 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 speares and morispiques.

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

To. As concernynge your first example, taken oute of Euripides, I maruayle you wyl bring it for ye disprayse of shottynge, seyng Euripides doth make those verses, not because he thinketh them true, but because 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 doubt, whether he hath more eloquentlye confuted Lycus fayenge, or more worthelye fette oute the prayse of shottynge.

Xen Cyri.
Inst. 6.

Epist. 1. ad
Q. Fra.

Plutarch
M. Ant.

And as I am aduised, his woordes be muche hereafter
as I shall faye.

Against the wittie gifte of shotinge in a bowe Eurip. in.
Fonde and leud woordes thou leudlie doest out throwe, Herc. fur
Whiche, if thou wilte heare of me a woerde or twayne
Quicklie thou mayst lerne howe fondlie thou doest blame,
Firſte he that with his harneis him ſelue doth wal about,
That ſcarce is leſte one hole through which he may pepe out,
Such bondmen to their harneis to fight are nothinge mete
But ſoneſt of al other are troden under fete.
Yf he be ſtronge, his felonvſe faynt, in whome he putteth his truſi,
So loded with his harneis muſt nedes lie in the dufi,
Nor yet from death he cannot ſtarke, iſ onies his weapon breke,
Howe ſloute, howe ſtrong, howe great, howe longe,
ſo euer be ſuche a freke.
But who ſo euer can handle a bowe ſturdie ſtiffe and ſtronge
Wherwith lyke haylemanie ſhaftes he ſhootes into the thickeſt thronge:
This proſite 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 wiſedome moſte, which workes our enemies woo.
Whan we ſhal be far from all feare and ieoperdie of our ſoo.

Secondarily euuen as I do not greatlye regarde what Menelaus doth say in Sophocles to Teucer, bycause he ſpake it bothe in anger, and also to hym that he hated, euuen 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, and ranne awaie. Iliad. 8.

Thirdlye as concerning Pandarus, Homer doth not disprayſe 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 ſelue a couetouſe wretche, a foole wythouſe counſell, 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 ſluē. Hom. Ili. 5.

And bycause you make mencion of Homer, and

Troye matters, what can be more prayse for anye thynge, I praye you, than that is for shooptyng, that Troye coulde never be destroyed without the helpe of Hercules shaftes, whiche thinge doeth signifie, that although al the worlde were gathered in an army togyther, yet without shotinge they can never 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. Soph. phil.

Fourthlye where as Cyrus dyd chaunge
parte of his bowemen, wheroft he had plen- Xen. Cyri.
tie, into other menne of warre, wheroft 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 shaftes and heades
they occupied, what kynde of warre theyr enemies vsed.

Instit. 6.

But trulye as for the Parthians, it is playne, in
Plutarche, that in chaungyng theyr bowes
in to speares, they brought theyr selfe Plu. in. M.
into vtter destrukcion. For when they had chased Anton.
the Romaynes many a myle, through reason of theyr
bowes, at the last the Romaynes ashamed of their
fleing, and remembryng 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 might flyde ouer them, and do them no harme,
which thing when the Parthians perceyued, thinking
that ye Romaynes wer forweryed with laboure,
watche, and hungre : they layed 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 flewe them euery mother
son, saue a fewe that faued them felues with runnyng
awaye. And herein our archers of Englannde far passe
the Parthians, which for suche 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 fuche lyke weapon, to beate downe his enemyes withall.

Phi. Well *Toxophile*, seing that those examples whiche I 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 nowe, those examples whiche you haue marked of shotyng your selfe: whereby you are, and thinke to persuade other, yat shoting is so good in warre.

Tor. Examples surely I haue marked very many: from the begynning of tyme had in memorie of wrytyng, throughout all commune wealthes, and Empires of the worlde: wherof the mooste part I wyll passe ouer, lest I shoulde be tediouse: yet some I wyll touche, bycause they be notable, bothe for me to tell and you to heare.

And bycause the storie of the Iewes is for the tyme moost auncient, for the truthe mooste credible, it shalbe moost fitte to begynne with them. And although I knowe that God is the onely gyuer of victorie, and not the weapons, for all strength and victorie (sayth Iudas Machabeus) cometh from heauen: Yet surely strong weapons be the instrumentes wherwith god doth ouercome yat parte,

Mach. 1. 3.

which he wil haue ouerthrown. 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 harnest men layd for feare of treason, as Iudas Machabeus dyd wyth Nicanor Demetrius capitayne: And to haue engines of warre to beate downe cities with all: and to haue scout watche 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

Mach. 2. 14.

Mach. 1. 12.

H

goodly tombes for them which do noble feates in warre, and to haue their ymages made, and also their cote Armours to be set aboue theyr tombes, to
 their perpetual laude and memorie : as the Mach. 1. 13.
 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: insomoche that when the Iewes had any great vpperhande ouer the Gentiles, the fyrste thinge alwayes that the captayne dyd, was to exhort the people to gyue all the thankes to God for the victorye, and not to theyr bowes, wherwith they had slayne their Josue. 23.
 enemys: as it is playne that the noble Iosue dyd after so many kynges thrust downe by hym.

God, when he promyfeth helpe to the Jewes, he vfeth no kynde of speakyng so moche as this, that he wyll bende his bowe, and die his shafte in the Deutero. 32
 Gentiles blood: whereby it is manifest, that eyther God wyll make the Iewes shoote stronge shotes to ouerthrowe their enemies: or at leeste that shotinge is a wonderful mightie thing in warre, whervnto ye hygh power of God is lykened. Dauid in the Psalmes calleth bowes the vessels of death, a bytter Psal. 7. 63.
 thinge, and in an other place a myghty 75.
 power, and other wayes mo, which I wyll let passe, bycause euerye man readeth them daylye: But yet one place of scripture I must nedes remembre, which is more notable for ye prayse of shoting, then any yat euer I red in any other storie, and that is, when Saul was slayne of ye Philistians Regum 1. 31.
 being mightie bowmen, and Ionathas his sonne with him, that was so good a shoter, as ye scripture sayth, that he never shot shafte in vayne, and yat the kyngdome after Saules deathe came vnto Dauid: the first statute and lawe that euer Dauid

made after he was king, was this, that al
ye children of Israel shulde learne to shote,
according to a lawe made many a daye before yat tyme
for the setting out of shoting as it is written (fayeth
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 shotyng, was amonge the Iewes.

Regum. 2 1.

The Ethiopians which inhabite the furthest part
South in the worlde, were wonderfull bowmen: in
somoche that when Cambyses king of Herodotus in Thalia.
Persie being in Egipt, sent certayne am-
baffadours into Ethiope to the kynge there, with many
great gystes: the king of Ethiope perceyunge them
to be espyes, toke them vp sharply, and blamed
Cambyses greatly for such vnjust enterprises: but
after that he had princely entartayned them, he sent
for a bowe, and bente it and drewe it, and then vnbent
it agayne, and sayde vnto the ambaffadours, you shall
commende me to 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 conquerre
any other mans lande. This bowe, when it came
amonge the Persians, neuer one man in suche an in-
finite 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 Cambyses had suche enuy at him, that he
afterward flewe him: as doth appeare in the storye.

Sesostris the moost mightie king that euer was in
Egipt, ouercame a great parte of the worlde, and that
by archers: he subdued the Arabians, the Iues, the
Assyrians: he went farther into Scythia then any man
els: he ouercame Thracia, euen to the borders of
Germanie. And in token how he ouercame al men
he fet vp in many places great ymages to his owne
lykeness, hauynge in the one hande a bowe, in the

other a sharpe heeded shafte: that men
myght knowe, what weapon is hooсте
vſed, in conquerynge so manye people.

Herod. in.
Euterpe.

Diod. Sic. 2.

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

Herod. in clio.

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

Herod. in thalia.

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 of
a man, whiche he toke or flewe fyrfte in battayle.
The Scythians to be inuincible by reaſon of their
shotyng, the greate voyages of ſo manye noble con-
querours ſpent in that countrie in vayne, doeth well
proue: But ſpecially that of Darius the myghtie kyng
of Perfie, which when he had taryed there a great
ſpace, and done no good, but had forweryed his
hoſte with trauayle and hunger: At laſt the men
of Scythia ſent an ambaffadour with. iiiii. Herod. in.
gylfes: a byrde, a frogge, a mouse, and. Melpomen.
v. shaftes. Darius meruaylyng at the ſtraungeneſſe
of the gylfes, asked the messenger what they ſignifyed:
the messenger anſwered, that he had no further com-
maundement, but onely to delyuer his gylfes, 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 ſay his verdite. Darius
Iudgment was this, that ye Scythians gaue ouer into
the Persians handes, their lyues, their hole power,
both by lande and ſee, ſignyinge by the mouse the

earthe, by the frogge the water, in which they both liue, by ye birde their lyues which lyue in the ayer, by the shaft their hole power and Empire, that was maynteyned alwayes by shotinge. Gobryas a noble and wyse captayne amonges the Persians, was of a cleane contrary minde, saying, nay not so, but the Sythians meane thus by their gyttes, that except we get vs wynges, and flye into the ayer lyke birdes, or run into ye holes of the earthe lyke myse, or els lye lurkyng in fennes and marisses lyke frogges, we shall neuer returne home agayne, before we be vtterly vndone with their shaftes: which sentence fanke so sore into their hertes, yat Darius with all sped possible, brake vp his campe, and gat hym selfe homewarde. Yet howe moche the Persians them selues set by shotinge, wherby they encreased their empire so moche, doth appeare by.
 iii. manifest reasons: firste that they brought vppe theyr youth in the schole of shoting, vnto. xx. yere of age, as dyuerse noble Greke authours do faye.

Herod. in clio.
Xenoph. in cyrop.

Strab. II.

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.

*Darius the King lieth buried here
That in shoting and riding had never pere.*

Strab. 15.

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

Plutarch. in Agefila.

The Grecians also, but specially the noble Athenienses, had all their strength lyinge in Artillarie: and for yat purpose the citie of Athens had a thousand. men which were onely archers, in dayly wages, to watche and kepe the citie from al ieoperdie and fodein daunger: which archers also shuld cary to prisoun and warde any misdoer at ye commaunde-

Suidas.

ment 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 the valiaunt captayne slue and toke prisoners all the Lacedemonians besyde ye citie of Pylos, where Nestor somtyme was lord: the shaftes went so thicke that day (sayth Thucydides) that no man could se theyr enemies. A Lacedemonian taken prisoner, was asked of one at Athens, whether they were stoute fellowes 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 thereby, that no man (though he were never so stout) came in their walke, that escaped without death.

Herodotus descriyng the mighty hoost of Xerxes especially doth marke out, what bowes and shaftes they vsed, signifying yat therin lay their chefe strength. And at the same tyme Atossa, 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 stonge and fearfull bowes the Grecians vsed: wherby it is playne, that Artillarie was the thing, wherin both Europe and Asia at those dayes trusted moost vpon.

The best parte of Alexanders hoste were archers as playnelye doth appeare in Arianus, and other yat wrote his life: and those so stonge archers, that they onely, fundrye tymes ouercame their enemies, afore any other needed to fyght: as was sene in the battayl which Nearchus one of Alexander 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 men of Inde,

Plato in pro-
tagora.

Thucydid. 4.

Herod. in
Polym.

Esch. in Pers.

Arianus. 8.

Plin. lib. 16.
Cap. 36.

of Scythia, so many people in ye east of the Sarmatianes, and all the kyngdomes of the Parthians, he shall well perceyue halfe the parte of the worlde, to lyue in subiection, ouercome by the myght and power of shotinge.

In the commune wealth of Rome, which exceded all other in 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 necessarie and commune, that it was thought a thing not necessarie or requyred of anye man to be spoken vpon, as if a man shoulde describe a greate feaste, he woulde not ones name bread, although it be moooste common and necessary for all: but surely yf a feaste beyng never so great, lacked bread, or had fewsty and nougaty bread, all the other daynties shulde be vnfauerly, 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 Romaynes as concernyng shootyng. Seldome is shootinge named, and yea it dyd the mooste good in warre, as didde appere, verye playnlye in that battell, whiche Scipio Aphricanus had with the Numantines in Spayne, whome he coulde never ouercome, before he sette bowmen amonges his horse men, by whose myght they were clean vanquished.

Agayne, Tiberius fyghtynge with Armenius and Inguiomerus 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 fetche them downe with theyr shaftes as they had ben birdes, in whyche battell the Romaynes lost fewe or none, as doth appeare in the historie.

Cor, Tac. 2
But as I began to saye, the Romaynes 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 fundrie places in those bokes whiche he wrote in Greke, of the fleyghtes and pollicies of warre.²

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

Tor. The booke is rare trulie, but this laste yeare when master Cheke translated the sayd booke out of greke in to Latin, to ye kinges maiestie, he of his gentlenesse, wolde haue me very ofte in hys chamber, and for the familiaritie that I had wyth hym, more than manye other, woulde suffer me to reade of it, whan I woulde, the whiche thinge to do, surelye I was very desirous and glad, because of the excellent handelynge of all thynge, that euer he taketh in hande. And verily *Philologe*, as ofte as I remembre the departyng of that man from the vniversitie, (whiche thinge I do not seldome) so ofte do I well perceyue our moste helpe and futheraunce to learnynge, to haue gon awaye with him. For by ye great commoditie yat we toke in hearyng hym reade priuatly in his chambre, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato, we feele the great discommoditie in not hearynge of hym, Aristotle and Demosthenes, whiche. ii. authours with all diligence last of all he thought to haue redde vnto us. And when I consider howe manye men he succoured with his helpe, and hys ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were prouoked and styrred vp, by his councell and daylye example, howe they shulde come to learning, surely I perceyue that sentence of Plato to be true, which sayeth that there is nothyng better in any common wealthe, than that there shoulde be alwayes one or other, excellent passyng man, whose lyfe and vertue, shoulde plucke forwarde the will, diligence, laboure and hope of all other, that folowynge his footesteppes, they myght comme to the fame ende, wherevnto labour, lerning and vertue, had conueied him before. The great hinderance of learning, in lackinge thys man greatly I shulde lament, if this dif-

commoditie of oures, were not ioyned with the commoditie and health, of ye hole realme, for which purpose, our noble king full of wysedome hath called vp this excellent man full of learnynge, to teache noble prince Edwardre, an office ful of hope, conforte and solace to al true hertes of England: For whome al England dayly doth praye, yat he passing his Tutour in learnynge and knowledge folowynge his father in wisedome and felicitie, accordyng to ^{Cor. Tac. 2.} yat example which is set afore his eyes, may so set out and mayntayne goddes worde to the abolishment of al papistry, the confusion of al heresie, that thereby he feared of his ennemis, 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 vnayned religion perpetuall peace, concorde, and vnitie.

But to retourne to shooptynge agayne, what Leo fayeth of shooptynge amonges the Romaynes, hys woordes, be so muche for the prayse of shooptynge, and the booke also so rare to be gotten, 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 shooptyng, eyther more or lesse, and always to bear theyr bowe and theyr quiuere aboue with them, untill they be. xl. yeareshoulde.

For fithens shooptynge was necglected and decayed among the Romaynes, many a battayle and fytelde hath been loste. Agayne in the ii. booke and. 50. chapiter, (I call that by bookes and chapters, whyche the greke booke deuideth by chapters and paragraphs) Let your souldyers haue theyr weapons wel appoyneted and trimmed, but aboue all other thynges regarde moste shootringe, and therfore lette men when there is no warre, vse shooptynge at home: For the leauynge of, onely of shooptynge, hath broughte in ruyne and decaye, the hole Empire of Rome. Afterwarde he commaundeth agayne, hys capitayne by these wordes: Arme your hoste as I

^{Leo. II. 50.}

haue appoynted you, but specially with bowe and arrowes plentie. For shooptyng
 is a thinge of muche myghte and power in warre,
 and chyefely agaynst the Sarracenes and Turkes, whiche
 people hath all their hope of victorie in theyr bowe
 and shaftes: Befydes all this, in an other place, he
 wryteth thus to his Captayne: Artillerie is easie to be
 prepared, and in time of great nede, a thinge moste
 profitable, therfore we straytlye commaunde you to
 make proclamation to al men vnder our dominion.
 which be eyther in war or peace, to all
 cities, borowes and townes, and fynally to
 all maner of men, that euerye feare perfone haue bowe
 and shaftes of his owne, and euerye houfe besyde this,
 to haue a standing bearyng bowe, and. xl. shaftes
 for all nedes, and that they exercise them selues in
 holtes, hilles, and dales, playnes and wodes, for all
 maner of chaunces in warre.

Leo. 18. 21.

Leo. 20. 79.

Howe muche shooting was vsed among the olde Romanes and what meanes noble captaynes and Emperours made, to haue it encrease amonge them, and what hurte came by the decaye of it, these wordes, of Leo the emperor, which in a maner I haue reherfed woerde for woerde, playnly doth declare. And yet shooptyng, 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 faye, that he woulde haue his souldiers take of theyr arrowe heads, and one shote at an other, for theyr exercise, whiche playe yf Englyshe archers vsed, I thinke they shoulde fynde smal play and
 leffe pleasure in it at all.

Leo. 7. 18.

The great vpperhande maynteyned always in warre by artillery, doeth appeare verye playnlye by this reson also, that whan the spanyardes, franchmen, and germanes, grekes, macedonians, and egyptians, eche contry vsing one singuler weapon, for whyche they were greately feared in warre, as the Spanyarde *Lancea*, the Franche-man *Gesa*, the German *Framea*, the Grecian *Machera*,

the Macedonian *Sariffa*, yet coulde they not escape, but be subiectes to the Empire of Rome, whan the Pertians hauyng all theyr hope in artillerie, gaue no place to them, but ouercame the Romanes, ofter than the Romaynes them, and kepte battel with them, many an hundred yeare, and flue the ryche Crassus and hys son wyth many a stoute Romayne more, with their bowes. They draue Marcus Antonius ouer the hylles of Media in Armenia, to his great shame and reproch. They flue Iulianus Apostata, and Antonius Caracalla, they helde in perpetual pryson, ye most noble emperor Valerian in despite of all the Romaynes and many other princes, whiche wrote for his delyuerance, as Bel folis called kynge of kynges, Valerius kynge of Cadusia, Arthabesdes kyng of Armenia, and many other princes more, whom ye Parthians by reasoun of theyr artillerie, regarded neuer one whitte, and thus with the Romaynes, I maye conclude, that the borders of theyr empyre were not at the funne rysinge and funne settynge, as Tullye fayeth: 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 thynge surely shotyng was the cause.

From the fame contrie of Scythia the Gothians Hunnes, and Vandilians came wyth the fame wepons of artillarie, as Paulus Diaconus doth faye, and so berafte Rome of her empyre wyth fyre, spoyle, and waste, so yat in fuche a learned citie was lefte scarse 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 exercise in artillarye, was broughte to fuche thraldome and ruine.

After them the Turkes hauing an other name, but yet

M Crass.
Plutarch.
M Anto.
Iuliano.

the same people, borne in Scythia, brought
 vp onely in artillarie, by the same weapon
 haue subdued and beraf from the Christen men all
 Asia and Aphrike (to speake vpon,) and the moost
 noble 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,
 illwyll, stryfe, open battayle, and priuie enuye,
 coueytousnesse, oppression, vnmercifulnesse, with in-
 numerable sortes of vnspeakable daylye bawdrye:
 which thinges surely, yf God holde not his holy hand
 ouer vs, and plucke vs from them, wyl bryng vs to a
 more Turkishnesse and more beastlye blynde barbarouf-
 nesse: as callyng ill thinges good, and good thynge ill,
 contemnyng of knowledge and learnynge, settynge at
 nought, and hauyng for a 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 neades
 sprynge of such seede, and such effect nedes folowe
 of suche a cause: if reason, truthe, and God, be not
 altered, but as they are wont to be. For surely no
 Turkyfhe power can ouerthrowe vs, if Turkyfhe lyfe
 do not cast vs downe before.

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

But Christendome nowe I may tell you Philologe is
 mucche 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 fleye hym, yet he lyeth in his bed, hauinge more pleasure to lye in a flumber and scratche him selfe wher it ytcheth euen to the harde bone, than he hath redynes to ryse up lustelye, and dryue him awaye that woulde robbe hym and fleye hym. But I truste Christe wyl so lyghten and lyfte vp Christen mennes eyes, that they shall not slepe to death, nor that the turke Christes open enemy, shall euer boste that he hath quyte ouerthrownen 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 Casp. de re-shootyng, his priuie garde for his own person, bus Turc. is bowmen, the might of theyr shootynge is wel knownen 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 emperor his maiestie him selfe, at the Citie of Argier in Aphricke had his hooft sore handeled wyth the Turkes arrowes, when his gonne 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 shooke myghte peraduenture 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 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 surelye me thincke I am verie merye at my harte to remember how I shal finde at home in 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 called Textor, that writeth a boke whiche he nameth Officina,⁴ wherin he weueth vp many brokenended matters and settes out much rifraffe, pelfery, trumpery, baggage and beggerie ware clamparde vp of one that would feme to be fitter for a shop in dede than to write any boke. And amonges all other yll packed vp matters, he thrusteth 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 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 shooting somoche the worse, bycause they loued it, as Domitian and Commodus the emperours: partelye bycause Textor hath them in his boke, on whom I loked on bychaunce in the bookebynders shope, thynkyng 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 that be named here and there in poetes, as wolde holde vs talkyng whyles to morowe: 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 reckened all shoters that he can, he fayeth thus, Petrus Crinitus⁵ P. Crin. 3 10. wryteth, that the Scottes whiche dwell be- yonde 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 surelye do I knowe very well that Textor hath both red in Gaguinus the Frenche hystorie,⁶ and also hath hearde his father or graundfather taulke (except perchaunce he was borne

and bred in a Cloyster) after that sort of the shotynge of Englisshe men, that Textor neded not to haue gone so piuishlye beyonde Englannde for shoting, but myght very soone, euen in the first towne 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 warre in theyr owne feate as can be : but as for shotinge, they neyther can vse it for any profyte, nor yet wil chalenge it for any prayse, although master Textor of his gentlenesse wold gyue it them. Textor neaded not to haue fylled vppe his booke with suche lyes, if he hadde read the storye of Scotlante, whiche Ioannes 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 greate forfyte, that euerye Scotte shoulde learne to shote : yet neyther the loue of theyr countrie, the feare of their enemies, the auoydying of punishment, nor the receyuinge of anye profyte that myght come by it, coulde make them to be good Archers : whiche be vnapte and vnfytte therunto by Gods prouidence and nature.

Ioan Ma. 6

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

But to lette Textor and the Scottes go : yet one thynge woulde I wyshe 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 speakynge, one maner and trade in lyuynge, lyke courage and stomake in war, lyke quicknesse of witte to learning, hath made Englannde and Scotlante 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 vs, procuryng that thynge to be two, which God, nature, and reasoun, wold haue one.

Howe profytable suche an attonement were for Scotlande, both Iohannes Maior,⁷ and Ector Boetius⁸ whiche wrote the Scottes

John Maior. 6. hist. Scot.

Chronicles do tell, and also all the gentlemen of Scotlande with the poore communaltie, do wel knowe: So that there is nothing that stoppeth this matter, faue 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 maynetayne theyr Papisticall kyngdome, to the destruction 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 Engliske 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 Englannde, then we shulde take profitte in being ioyned to Scotlande.

Wales being headye, and rebelling many yeares agaynst vs, laye wylde, vntylled, vnhabited, without lawe, iustice, ciuitie and ordre: and then was amonges them more stealing than true dealing, more suretie for them that studyed to be noughe, then quyetnesse for them that laboured to be good: when nowe thanked be God, and noble Englannde, there is no countrie better inhabited, more ciuile, more diligent in honest craftes, to get bothe true and plentifull lyuynge withall. And this felicitie (my mynde gyueth me) within these few dayes shal chaunce also to Scotlande, by the godly wyfedome of oure mooste noble Prince kynge Henrye the. viii. by whome God hath wrought more wonderfull thynges then euer by any prince before: as banishing the byshop of Rome and herisie, bringyng to light god his worde and veritie, establishing suche iustice and

equitie, through euery parte of this his realme, as neuer was fene afore.

To suche a Prince of suche a wyfdome, God hath referued this mooste noble attonement: wherby neither we shalbe any more troubled, nor the Scottes with their best countries any more destroyed, nor ye see, whiche God ordeyneth profytale 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, so is he best of all pleased, to se thinges which be wyde and amyfse, brought to peace and attonement. But Textor (I behrowe him) hath almooste broughte vs from our communication of shoting. Now sir by my iudgement, the Artillarie of England farre excedeth all other realmes: but yet one thing I doubt and longe haue surely in that point doubted, when, or by whom, shotyping was first brought in to Englande, and for the same purpose as I was ones in compayne wyth syr Thomas Eliot knight, which surelie for his lerning in all kynde of knowlege bringeth much worshyp to all the nobilitie of Englande, I was so bould to aske hym, yf he at any tyme, had marked any thing, as concernyng the bryngynge in of shootynge in to Englande: he aunswered me gentlye agayne, that he had a worcke in hand which he nameth, *De rebus memorabilibus Angliae*, which I trust we shal se in print shortlye,⁷ and for the accomplayshmente of that boke, he had read and perused ouer many olde monumentes of Englande, and in seking for that purpose, he marked this of shootynge 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 wthyng so much, as with theyr

bowe and shaftes, whiche wepon beyng straunge and not sene here before, was wonderfull terrible vnto them, and this beginninge I can thynke verie well to be true. But now as concerning many examples for the prayse of English archers in warre, surely I wil not be long in a matter yat no man doubteth in, and those few yat I wil name, shal either be proued by ye histories of our enemies, or els done by men that nowe liue.

Kynge Edward the thirde at the battel of Cressie ageinst Philip ye Frenche king as Gaguinus the french Historiographer plainlye doeth tell, flewe that daye all the nobilitie of Fraunce onlye wyth hys archers.

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

Kynge Henrie the fiste a prince pereles and mooste vyctoriouse conqueroure of all that euer dyed yet in this parte of the world, at the battel of Agin court with. vii. thousand. fyghtyng men, and yet many of them fycke, beyng suche Archers as the Cronycle sayeth that mooste parte of them drewe a yarde, flewe all the Cheualrie of Fraunce to the nomber of .XL. thousand. and moo, and lost not paste. xxvi. Englysshe men.

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

The excellent prince Thomas Hawarde nowe Duke of Northfolk, for whose good prosperite with al his noble familie al English hertes dayly doth pray with bowmen

of England flew kyng Iamie with many a noble Scot cuen brant agenſt Flodon hil, in which battel ye ſtoute archers of Cheshire and Lanchaffshire for one day beſtoſed to ye death for their prince and country ſake, hath gotten immortall name and prayſe for euer.

The feare onely of Englyſh Archers haſthe done more wonderfull things 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 nobilitate of Scotlande for fere of the Archers of Englond (next the ſtroke of God) as both Englyſh men and Scotyshe men that were preſent haſt oulde me were drowened and taken paſtoners.

Nor that noble aȝte alſo, whyche althougle it be almoſt loſt by tyme, commeth not behynd in worthiſſe, whiche my ſynguler good frende and Maſter Sir William Walgraue and Sir George Somerſet dyd with with a fewe Archers to ye 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 Iackes, whych turne turned all fraunce to shame and reproche and thoſe. ii. noble knigheſtes to perpetuall prayſe and fame.

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

P̄hi. Theſe examples ſurelye apte for the
prayſe of ſhotyng, nor feyned by poeteſ, ¶
but proued by trewe histories, diſtinct by tyme and
order, hath delyted me excedyng muſe, but yet me
thynde that all thys prayſe beſongeth to ſtronge ſhootyng
and drawyng of myghtye bowes not to prickyng
and nere ſhotinge, for which cauſe you and many other
bothe loue and vſe ſhootyng.

Tɔx. Euer more Philologe you wyl haue ſome
ouertwhart reaſon to drawe forthe more communica-

tion withall, but neuerthelesse you shall perceave ii you wyl, that vse of prickyng, and desyre of nere shooptyng at home, are the onelye causes of stronge shooptyng 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 experiance teacheth the same in other thynges, for you shal se a weake smithe, whiche wyl wyth a lipe and turnyng of his arme, take vp a barre of yron, yat another man thrise as stronge, can not stirre. And a stronge man not vsed to shooote, hath his armes breste and shoulders, and other partes where-with he shuld drawe stronglye, one hindering and stoppinge an other, euen as a dozen stronge horses not vsed to the carte, lettes and troubles one another. And so the more stronge man not vsed to shooote, shoootes moost vnhanfumlye, but yet if a strong man with vse of shooting coulde applye all the partes of hys bodye toguther to theyr moost strengthe, than should he both drawe stronger than other, and also shooote better than other. But nowe a stronge man not vsed to shooote, at a girde, can heue vp and plucke in sunder many a good bowe, as wild horses at a brunte doth race and pluck in peces many a stronge carte. And thus stronge men, without vse, can do nothyng in shoting to any purpose, neither in warre nor peace, but if they happen to shooote, yet they haue done within a shooote or two when a weake man that is vsed to shooote, shal serue for all tymes and purposes, and shall shooote. x. shaftes, agaynst the others. iiiii. and drawe them vp to the poynte, euerye tyme, and shooote them to the mooste aduauntage, drawyng and withdrawing his shafte when he list, markynge at one man, yet let driuyng at an other man: whyche thynges in a set battayle, although a man, shal not alwayes vse, yet in bickerynges, and at ouerhwarde meatinges, when fewe archers be toguther, they do mooste good of all.

Agayne he that is not vsed to shooote, shall euermore

with vntowardnesse of houldynge his bowe, and nockynge his shafte, not lookyng to his ftryng betyme, put his bowe alwayes in ieoperdy of breakynge, and than he were better to be at home, moreouer he shal shoote very fewe shaftes, and 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 oste to euel profe.

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, yat the feare of a displeasure, shoulde do more harme than the displeasure it selfe.

Tox. Yes, ye knowe that a man whiche fereth to be banyshed, out of hys cuntrye, can neyther be mery, eate, drynke nor sleape for feare, yet when he is banished in dede, he slepeth and eateth, as well as any other. And many menne doubtyng and fearyng whether they shoulde dye or no, euen for verye feare of deathe, preuenteth them selfe with a more bytter deathe then the other death shoulde haue bene in deade. And thus feare is euer worse than the thynge feared, as is partelye proued, by the communication of Cyrus and Tigranes, the kynges funne of Armenie, in Xenophon.

Ciri. ped. 3.

Phi. I graunte Toxophile, that vse of shotyng maketh a man drawe strong, to shoote at most aduaantage, to kepe his gere, whiche is no small thinge in war, but yet me thinke, that the customeable shoting at home, speciallye at buttes and prickes, make nothynge at all for stronge shooting which doth moste good in war. Therfore I suppose yf men shulde vse to goo into the fyeldes, and learne to shote myghty stronge shoothes, and neuer care for any marke at al, they shulde do muche better.

Tor. The trouthe is, that fashion muche vſed, woulde 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, yat prouoketh a man to vſe ſhotinge moſte: For muche vſe maketh men ſhoote, bothe ſtrong and well, whiche two thinges in ſhootinge, euerу man doeth defyre. And the chyeſe mayntayner of vſe, in any thyng, is comparyſon, and honeſte contention. For whan a manne ſtryueth to be better than an other, he wyll gladly vſe that thing, though it be neuer ſo paynful wherein he woulde excell, whiche thynge Aristotle verye pretelye doth note, fayenge.

Where is comparison, there is victorie: Aristo rhetio.
ad Theod.
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 shall haue, in doyng better than other men.

Agayne, you knowe, Hefiodus wryteth Hesio in ope
et die. to hys brother Perſes, yat 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 craſte, moſte commonly, dwelle togyther, bycause in honeſt ſtryuynge togyther, who ſhall do beſt, euerу one maye waxe bothe cunninger and rycher, ſo lykewyſe in ſhootynge, to make matches to assemble archers togyther, to contendē who ſhall ſhoote beſt, and winne the game, encreaſeth ye vſe of ſhotynge wonderfully amonſt men.

Phī. 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 knowledge, howe to do the thinge, to which. ii. yf Vſe be ioyned, as thirde felowe, of them thre, proceſſeth perfectnſſe and excellencie: If a manne lacke the firſt two, Aptneſſe and Cunnyng, Vſe can

do lytle good, at all. For he yat woulde be an oratour and is nothinge naturallye fitte for it, that is to saye lacketh a good wytte and memorie, lacketh a good voyce, countenaunce and body, and other suche like, ye[t] 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 bryng out none other frute but playne follye and bablyng, so yat Vse is the laste and the least neccesarye, of all 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 shoothe I haue not vsed to shoothe: and so I thinke fwe hundred more in Englande do besyde me. And surelye yf I knewe that I were apte, and yat you woulde teach me howe to shoothe, 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 fyrist 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 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 ye gyfte of nature, Knowlege, is gotten by ye helpe of other: Vse lyeth in our owne diligence and labour. So that Aptnesse and vse be ours and within vs, through nature and labour: Knowledge not ours, but commynge by other: and therfore moost dilligently, 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 Englische men generally, be apte for shotyng, and howe? Lyke as that grounde is plentifull and frutefull, whiche withoute any tyllynge, bryngeth 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 ye foyle is so good: so England may be thought very frutefull and apt to brynge oute shooters, where children euen from the cradell, loue it: and yong men without any teachyng so diligentlye vse it. Agayne, lykewyse as a good grounde, well tylded, and well husbanded, bringeth out great plentie of byg eared corne, and good to the faule: so if the youthe of Englannde 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 they be. This commoditie shoulde folowe also yf the youth of Englannde 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, whiche growe of theyr owne accorde, to the destruction of bothe corne and grounde: Euen so shulde the teaching of youth to shote, not only make them shote well, but also plucke awaye by the rootes all other defyre to noughtye pastymes, as dysyng, cardyng, and boouling, which without any teaching are vsed euery where, to the great harme of all youth of this realme. And lykewise as burnyng of thistles and diligent weding them oute of the corne, doth not halfe so moche ryd them, as when ye ground is falloed and tilled for good grayne, as I haue hearde many a good husbandman say: euen so, neither hote punishment, nor yet diligent searching oute of suche vnthriftnesse 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. iiiii. 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, truly when he shalbe eyther compelled in war tyme for his country sake, or els prouoked at home for his pleasure sake, to faule to his bowe: he shal become 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 dede: excepte these. iii. thynges, Aptnesse, Knowledge, and Vse goo togyther.

P̄hil. Very well sayde *Toxophile*, and I promyse you, I agree to this iudgement of yours altogither and therefore I can not a lytle maruayle, why Englysshe men brynge no more helpe to 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 welfauouredlye, whiche thynge causeth manye neuer 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.

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 nougnty. For all Vse, in all thynges, yf it be not stayed with Cunnyng, wyll verie easely brynge a man to do yat thynge, what so euer he goeth aboute with muche illfaourednes and deformitie.

Which thinge how much harme it doth in learning both Crassus excellencie dothe proue in De Orat. 1. Tullie, and I my selfe haue experiens in my lytle shooting. And therfore Toxophile, you must nedes graunt me that ether Englishe men do il, in not ioynynge Knowlege of shooting to Vse, or els there is no knowlege or cunninge, which can be gathered of shooting.

To. Learnynge to shoothe is lytle regarded in England, for this consideracion, bycause men be so apte by nature they haue a greate redy forwardnesse and wil to vfe it, al though no man teache them, al thoughte no man byd them, and so of theyr owne corage they runne hedlynge on it, and shoothe they ill, shote they well, greate hede they take not. And in verie dede Aptnesse with Vse may do sumwhat without Knowledge, but not the tenthe parte, if so be they were ioyned with knowlege.

Whyche thre thynges be 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 shooptyng or no, surely I thynke that a man being wel exercised in it and sumwhat honestly learned with all, myght soone with diligent obseruynge and markynge the hole nature of shooptyng, find out as it were an Arte of it, as Artes in other matters haue bene founde oute afore, seynge that shooptyng standeth by those thinges, which maye both be thorowlye perceued, and perfityl knownen, and suche that neuer failes, but be euer certayne, belongyng to one moost perfect ende, as shooptyng streight, and keping of a length bring a man to hit the marke, ye chefe end in shooptyng: which two thynges a man may attaine vnto, by diligent vfyng, and well handlynge those instrumentes, which belong vnto them. Therfore I can not see, but there lieth hyd in the nature of Shootynge, an Arte, whiche by notynge, and obseruynge of him, that is exercised in it, yf he be any thyng learned at al, maye be taught, to the greate forderaunce of Artillarie through out al this Realme. And trewlye I meruell gretelye, that Englysshe men woulde neuer yet, seke for the Arte of shooptyng, seinge they be so apte vnto it, so prayded of there frendes, so feared of there ennemyes for it. Vegetius woulde haue maysters appointed, whyche shoulde teache youthe to

Vegetius.

shoote faire. Leo the Emperour of Rome, sheweth the same custome, to haue bene
 alwayses amongest ye olde Romaynes : whych custome
 of teachyng youth to shoote (saythe he) after it was
 omitted, and little hede taken of, brought the hole
 Empire of Rome, to grete Ruine. *Schola Persica*,
 that is the Scole of the Persians, ap-
 poynted to brynge vp youthe, whiles
 they were. xx. yeres olde in shooting, is as
 notably knowne in Histories as the Impire of ye
 Persians : whych schole, as doth apere in Cornelius
 Tacitus, as fone as they gaue ouer and fell
 to other idle pastimes, brought bothe them
 and ye Parthians vnder ye 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 a brode
 feylde nere euery Citie, made common for men to vse
 shotyng in, whyche sayeng the more reasounably it is
 spoken of Plato, the more vnreasonable 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 sayeth Tullie. Yf men can be
 perswaded to haue shootynge taughte, this
 au^ethoritie 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 her bycause she beyng left to a
 lytle blynd vse, lackes her best maintener which is
 cunnyng : 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: and the iustlier shootynge myght make thys
 complaynt, seyng that of fence and weapons there is

Leo. 6. 5.

Strabo. 11.

Cor. Tac. 2.

De leg. 7.

De Offi. 2.

made an Arte, a thyng in no wyse to be compared to shootynge.

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

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

And I maye telle you Philologe, the lacke of teachynge to shooote 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 proclamation, euerye man in the Citie, to hange a lanterne wthy a candell, afore his dore: whiche thynge the man dyd, but he dyd not lyght it: And so many bye bowes bicause of the acte, but yet they shote not: not of euyll wyll, but bycause they knowe not howe to shooote. But to conclude of this matter, in shoting as in all other thynges, Aptenesse is the fyrsyte, and chyefe thynge, whiche if it be awaye, neyther Cunnynghe or Vse, doeth anye good at all, as the Scottes and Fraunce men, wthy knowledge and Vse of shootynge, shall become good Archers, whan a cunnynghe shypwright shall make a stonge shyppe, of a Salowe tree: or whan a husbandman shall becom ryche, wthy sowyng wheat on Newmarket heath. Cunnynghe 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 wthy cunnyng, shall sooner go amisse, than strayght.

Vse maketh perfynesse, in doinge that thynge,

whervnto nature maketh a man apte, and knowlege maketh a man cunninge before. So yat it is not so doubtful, which of them three hath moost stroke in shoting as it is playne and euident, that all thre must be had, in excellent shooptyng.

P̄hi. For this communicacion Toxophile I am very glad, and yat 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 fawe them dayelye vse shooptyng, but yet I neuer founde none, that woulde talke of anye knowlege whereby a man might come to shooptyng. Therfore 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.

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

P̄hi. Howe lytle you haue looked of Aristotle, and how muche learnynge, you haue lost by shooptyng I can not tell, but this I woulde saye and yf I loued you neuer so ill, that you haue bene occupied **in** sumwhat els besyde shooptyng. But to our purpose, as I wyll not requyre a trade in shooptyng to be taught me after the futiltye of Aristotle, euen so do I not agre wyth you in this poynt, that you wold haue me learne to shoote with lokyng on them which shoote best, for to I knowe I should neuer come to shote meanelye. For in shooptyng as in all other thynges which be gotten by teachynge, there must be shewed a waye and a path

which shal leade a man to ye best and cheiffest point whiche is in shooptyng, whiche you do marke youre selfe well ynough, and vttered it also in your communication, when you sayde there laye hyd in ye nature of shooptyng a certayne waye whych wel perceyued and thorowlye knownen, woulde bring a man wythout any wanderyng to ye beste ende in shotyng whych you called hitting of the pricke. Therfore I would refer all my shootinge to that ende which 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 to me best shooptyng, not the beste shoter, which yf he be neuer so good, yet hath he many a faulte easelye of any man to be espyed. And therfore meruell not yf I requyre to folowe that example whych is without faulte, rather than that which hath so manye faultes. And thys waye euery wyse man doth folow in teachynge any maner of thyng. As Aristotle when he teacheth a man to be good he settes not before hym Socrates lyfe whyche was ye best man, but chiefe goodnessse it selfe accordynge to whych he would haue a man direc^te his lyfe.

Tor. 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 ferche out the perfite ende of any thyng, ye which perfite ende to fynde out, sayth Tullie, is the hardest thyng in the worlde, the onely Ora. ad. Bru. occasyon and cause, why so many sectes of Philosophers hathe bene alwayse in learnynge. 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 alwayses to heale the fycke, euer more to leade a shyppe without daunger, at al times to hit the prick : shall no Physcion, no shypmaster, no shoter euer do. And Aristotle saith that in all deades there are two pointes to be Arist. pol. 8. 6. marked, possibilitie and excellencie, but

chefely a wise man must folowe and laye hand on possilitie for feare he leafe bothe. Therfore seyng that which is moost perfect and best in shootring as alwayes to hit ye pricke, was neuer sene nor hard tel on yet amonges men, but onelye ymagine and thought vpon in a man his mynde, me thinck this is the wifest counfel and best for vs to folow rather that which a man maye come to, than yat whyche is vnpossible to be attained to, leste iustly that sayeng of ye wyse mayde Ismene in Sophocles maye be verifyed on vs.

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

P̄hi. Well yf the perfite ende of other matters, had bene as perfitye knowne, as the perfite ende of shottynge is, there had neuer bene so manye sefetes of Philosophers as there be, for in shoting both man and boye is in one opinion, that alwayes to hit the pricke is mooste perfecte end that can be imagyned, so that we shall not nede gretly contend in this matter. But now fir, whereas you thynke yat a man in learning to shooote or any thyng els, shuld rather wyselye folow possilitie, than vainly seke for perfite excellencie, surelye I wyl proue yat euery wyse man, yat wiselye wold learne any thyng, shal chiefly go aboute yat wherevnto he knoweth wel he shal neuer come. And you youre selfe I suppose shal confesse ye fame to be ye best way in teachyng, yf you wyl answere me to those thinges whych I wyl aske of you.

T̄or. And yat I wyl gladlye, both bycause I thynke it is vnpossible for you to proue it, and also bycause I desire to here what you can faye in it.

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

T̄or. It is so in dede.

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

T̄or. Ye truely.

P̄hi. A good purpose surely, but was ther euer physicion yet among so many whyche had laboured

in thys study, that at al times coulde heale all diseases?

Tor. No trewly; nor I thyncke neuer shalbe.

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

Tor. 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 hath not be[n] touched?

Tor. 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, whan ye take so greate heade, to kepe youre standynge, to shoothe 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?

Tor. Hit ye marke yf we could.

Phil. And doth euery man go about to hit the marke at every shoote?

Tor. 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.

Tor. No trewlye for that were a wonder.

Phil. Can any man hit it at all tymes?

Tor. 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.

Tor. Vnpossible in dede.

Phil. But to shoothe wyde and far of the marke is a thynge possyble.

Tor. No man wyll denie that.

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

Tor. Excellent surelie.

Phil. Than I am sure thosē be wiser men, which couete to shooote wyde than those whiche couete to hit the prycke.

Tor. Why so I pray you.

Phil. Because to shote wyde is a thynge possyble, and therfore as you saye youre selfe, of euery wyfe man to be folowed. And as for hittinge ye prick, bycause it is vnpossible, it were a vaine thynge to go aboute it ; but in good sadnesse *Toxophile* thus you se that a man might go throghe all craftes and sciences, and proue that anye man in his science coueteth that which he shal neuer gette.

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

Phil. I wyll tell you, euerye crafte and science standeth in two thynges : in Knowing of his crafte, and Working of his crafte : For perfyte knowlege bringeth a man to perfyte workyng. This knowe Paynters, karuers, Taylours, shomakers, and all other craftes men, to be true. Nowe, in euery crafte, there is a perfite excellencie, which may be better knownen in a mannes mynde, then folowed in a mannes dede : This perfyteneſſe, bycause it is generally layed as a brode wyde example afore al men, no one particular man is able to compasse it ; and as it is generall to al men, so it is perpetuall for al time whiche proueth it a thynge for man vnpossible : although not for the capacitie of our thinking whiche is heauenly, yet surelye for the habilitie of our working 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 leſte for De. Inuen 2. an other. Yet God suffereth vs to haue the perfyt knowledge of it, that ſuch a knowledge diligently

folowed, might bring forth accordyng as a man cloth labour, perfyte woorkyng. And who is he, that in learnynge to wryte, woulde forsake an excellent example, and folowe a worse?

Therfore seing perfyteneſſe it ſelue is an example for vs, let euerye man ſtudye howe he maye come nye it, which is a poynt of wyſdom, not reaſon with God why he may not attaine vnto it, which is vayne curoſitie.

Tor. Surely this is gaily ſaid Philologe, but yet this one thinge I am afraide of, leſt this perfitneſſe which you ſpeke on will diſcouraſe men to take any thynge in hande, bycauſe afore they begin, they know, they ſhal neuer come to an ende. And thus diſpayre ſhall diſpatche, euen at the fyrfte entrynge in, many a good man his purpose and intente. And I thiſke both you your ſelue, and al other men to, woulde counte it mere folie for a man to tell hym whome he teacheth, that he ſhal neuer optaine that, whyche he would fainelſt leaſne. And therfore this fame hyghe and perfite waye of teaching let vs leue it to hygher matters, and as for ſhootynge it ſhalbe content with a meaner waye well ynougue.

Phi. Where aſ you faye yat this hyghe perfitneſſe will diſcouraſe men, bycauſe they knowe, they ſhall neuer attayne vnto it, I am ſure cleane contrarie there is nothynge in the world ſhall incouraſe men more than it. And whye? For where a man ſeith, that though a nother man be neuer ſo excellente, yet it is poſſible for hym ſelue to be better, what payne or labour wyl that man refufe to take? yf the game be onſe wonne, no man wyl ſet forth hys foote to ronne. And thus perfitneſſe beyng ſo hyghe a thynge that men maye looke at it, not come to it, and beyng ſo plentifull and indifferent to euerye bodye that the plentifulneſſe of it may prouoke all men to labor, bycauſe it hath ynougue for all men, the indifferencey of it ſhall encourge euerye one to take more paine than hys fellowe, bycauſe euerye man is rewarded accordyng to his

nye commyng, and yet whych is moste meruel of al, ye more men take of it, the more they leue behynd for other, as Socrates dyd in wysdome, and Cicero in eloquens, whereby other hath not lacked, but hathe fared a greate deele ye better. And thus perfittnesse it selfe bycause it is neuer obteyned, euen therfore 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 yat it were fondnesse to teache a man to shoote, in lokyng at the most perfittnesse in it, but rather woulde haue a manne go some other way to worke, I trust no wyfe man wyl discomend that way, except he thincke himselfe wyser than Tullye, whiche doeth playnlye faye, 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 perfittnesse of it, whyche knowlege shoud 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 whose authoritie I do require of you this waye in teachynge me to shoote, which waye I praye you withoute any more delaye shew me as far forth as you haue noted and marked.

De Orat. 3.

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 frendeshypp in me, yf I take it in hande and not bring it to passe as you woulde haue it, you myghte thyncke great want of wysdome in me.

But aduyse you, seing ye wyll nedes haue it so, the blame shalbe yours, as well as myne: yours for puttynge vpon me so instaunlye, myne in receyuyng foondly a greater burthen then I am able to beare.

. Therfore I, more wyllynge to fulfyll your mynde, than hopyng to accomplaysh that which you loke for, shall speake of it, not as a master of shotyng, but as one not

altogytter ignoraunt in shotynge. And one thynge I am glad of, the sunne drawinge downe so fast into the west, shall compell me to drawe a pace to the ende of our matter, so that his darknesse 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 answere to it. **Phi.**

Very gladly Toxophile: for so

by ordre, those thynges

whiche I woulde

knowe, you shal

tell the bet-

ter: and

those

thynges

whiche you shall tell, **I**

shall remembre

the better.



TOXOPHI- LVS. B.

¶ THE SECONDE BOOKE OF the schole of shotyng.

Dhilol. What is the cheyfe poynte in shootynge,
that euerye manne laboureth to come to ?

Tor. To hyt the marke.

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

Tor. Twoo.

Phi. Whiche twoo ?

Tor. Shotinge streyght and kepynge of a lengthe.

Phi. Howe shoulde a manne shooote strayght, and
howe shulde a man kepe a length ?

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

Phi. Thynges belongyng to shotyng, whyche be
they ?

Tor. All thinges be outwarde, and some be instru-

mentes 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.

P̄hi. Which be instrumentes?

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

P̄hi. Whiche be general to all men?

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

P̄hi. Wherin standeth well handlynge of thynges?

Tor. 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.

P̄hi. What handlyng is proper to the Instrumentes?

Tor. Standynge, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowfing, wherby commeth fayre shotyng, 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.

P̄hi. Well sayde, what handlynge belongeth to the wether?

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

P̄hi. Well than go to, what handlynge belongeth to the marke?

Tor. To marke his standyng, to shote compasse, to draw euermore lyke, to lowfe euermore lyke, to confyder the nature of the pricke, in hylles and dales, in strayte planes and winding places, and also to espy his marke.

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

Tor. Good heede gyuynge, and auoydynge all affections: whiche thynges oftentimes do marre and make all. And these thynges spoken of me generally and brefely, yf they be wel knownen, had, and handled,

shall brynge a man to suche shooptyng, as fewe or none euer yet came vnto, but surely yf he misse in any one of them, he can neuer hyt the marke, and in the more he doth misse, the farther he shoteth from his marke. But as in all other matters the 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.

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

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

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

Tor. Little is to be sayd of the braſer. A bracer serueth for two causes, one to ſauē his arme from the ſtrype of the ſtryng, and his doublet from wearyng, and the other is, that the ſtryng glydynge ſharpelye and quicklye of the bracer, may make the sharper ſhoote. For if the ſtryng ſhoule lyght vpon the bare ſleue, the ſtrengthe of the ſhoote ſhoule ſtoppe and dye there. But it is best by my iudgemente, to gyue the bowe ſomuche bent, that the ſtryng neede neuer touche a mannes arme, and ſo ſhoule a man nede no bracer as I knowe manye good Archers, whiche occupye none. In a bracer a man muſte take hede of. iii. thinges, yat it haue no nayles in it, that it haue no buclies, that it be fast on with laces wythout agglettes. For 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 fyghte, and perilous for freatyng. And thus a

Bracer, is onely had for this purpose, that the stryng
maye haue redye passage.

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

Tor. A shootynge Gloue is chieflye, for to saue a
mannes fyngers from hurtynge, that he maye be able
to beare the sharpe stryng to the vttermost of his
strengthe. And whan a man shoothe, the might of
his shooote lyethe on the formoste fynger, and on the
Ringman, for the myddle fynger whiche is the longest,
lyke a lubber starteth backe, and beareth no weyghe
of the stryng in a maner at all, therfore the two other
fyngers, muste haue thicker lether, and that muste haue
thickest of all, where on a man lowfeth moste, and for
sure lowsyng, the formoste finger is moste apte, bycause
it holdeth best, and for yat purpose nature hath as a
man woulde saye, yocked it with the thoumbe. Ledder,
if it be nexte a mans skynne, wyl sweat, waxe hard and
chafe, therefore scarlet for the softnes of it and thick-
nesse wyth all, is good to fewe wythin a mannes gloue.
If that wylle not serue, but yet youre finger hurteth,
you muste take a fearynge cloth made of fine virgin
waxe, and Deres fewet, and put nexte your fynger, and
so on wyth youre gloue. If yet you fele your fynger
pinched, leaue shootyng both because than you shall
shooote nought, and agayn by litle and lytle, hurtyng
your finger, ye shall make it longe and longe to or you
shooote agayne. A newe gloue pluckes many shoootes
bycause the stryng goeth not freelye of, and therefore
the fingers muste be cut shorte, and trimmed with some
ointment, that the string maye glyd wel awaye. Some
wyth holdynge in the nocke of theyr shafte too harde,
rub the skyn of therē fingers. For this there be. ii.
remedyes, one to haue a goose quyll splettyd and
sewed againste the nockyne, betwixt the lining and
the ledder, whyche shall helpe the shooote 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 funder, that they

shal not hold the nock so fast as they did. The shooting gloue hath a purse whych shall serue to put fine linen cloth and wax in, twoo necessary thynges for a shooter, some men vse gloves or other suche lyke thyng on their bow hand for chafyng, because they houlde so harde. But that commeth commonlye, when a bowe is not rounde, but somewhat square, fine waxe shall do verye well in such a case to laye where a man holdeth his bow: and thus muche as concernynge your gloue. And these thynges 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 trow be the next.

Tox. The nexte 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 truste in honest stringers. And surely stringers ought more diligently to be looked vpon by the officers than ether bower or fletcher, bycause they may deceyue a simple man the more easelyer. And ill stringe brekethe many a good bowe, nor no other thyng halfe so many. In warre if a string breke the man is loste and is no man, for his weapon is gone, and althoughe he haue two stringes put one at once, yet he shall haue small leasure and lesse roume 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 now a dayes, or of flaxe or of filke, I leaue that to the iugemente of stringers, of whome we muste bye them on. **Eustathius** **Eustathius.** upon this verse of homere.

*Twang quoth the bow, and twang quoth the string,
out quicklie the shaft flie.*

Iliad. 4.

doeth tel, that in oulde tyme they made theyr bowe strynges of 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 tayle called for the matter of

them Hippias as dothe appeare in manye good authors of the Greke tongue. Great stringes, and lytle srynges be for diuerse purposes: the great stringe is more furer for the bowe, more stable to pricke wythal, but flower 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 your 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 place belong rather to the handlyng than to the thyng it selfe, yet bycause the thynge, and the handlynge of the thynge, be so ioyned together, I must nede some tyme couple the one wylt the other,) you must mark the fit length of your bowe. For yf the stringe be to short, the bending wyl gyue, and at the last flyp and so put the bowe in iepardye. Yf it be longe, the bendynge must nedes be in the smal of the string, which beyng fore twined must nedes knap in funder to ye distruction of manye good bowes. Moreouer you must looke that youre bowe be well nocked for fere the sharpnesse of the horne shere a funder the srynge. And that chaunceth ofte when in bending, the string hath but one wap to strengthe it wylt 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 never so lytle to were, trust it not, but a waye with it for it is an yll faued halpeny yat costes a man a crowne. Thus you se howe many iepardyes hangethe ouer the felye poore bowe, by reason onlye of the srynge. 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.

Tor. Bowes be broken twise as many wayes besyde

these. But a gayne in stringyng youre bowe, you must loke for muche bende or lytle bende for they be cleane contrarye.

The lytle bende hath but one commoditie, whyche is in shooptyng faster and farther shooote, and ye cause therof is, bycause the strynge hath so far a passage, or it parte wthy the shaste. The greate bende hath many commodities: for it maketh easyer shooptyng the bowe beyng halfe drawen afore. It needeth no bracer, for the strynge stoppeth before it come at the arme. It wyl not so fone hit a mannes fleue 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 youre bowe haue good byg bend, a shaftement and. ii. fyngers at the least, for these which I haue spoken of.

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

Tox. Dyuers countryes and tymes haue vsed alwayes dyuers 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, not 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 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 shooote wthy all.

The Ethiopians had bowes of palme tre, whiche seemed to be very stronge, but we haue none experiance of them. The lengthe of them was. iiiii. cubites. The men of Inde had theyr

Psalm. 17.

Hero. in pol.

bowes made of a rede, whiche was of a great strengthe. And no maruayle though bowe and shaftes were made thereof, for the redes be so great in Inde, as Herodotus sayth, that of euery ioynte of a rede, a man may make a fyshers bote. These bowes, fayeth Arrianus in Alexanders lyfe, gaue so great a stroke, that no harneys or buckler though it were neuer so strong, could wythstand it. The length of suche a bowe, was euen wyth the length of hym, that vsed it. The Lycians vsed bowes made of a tree, called in Latyn *Cornus*, (as concerning 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 Nymphē, and one of the maydens of Diana, had a bowe of this wood whereby the poete meaneth, that it was verye excellent to make bowes of.

As for 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 woulde haue a bowe made.

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

Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Virgiliius.

i.

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 ferue for our communication, at this time. A good bowe is knownen, much what as good counſayle is knownen, by the ende and prooſe of it, and yet bothe a bowe and good counſell, maye be made bothe better and worse, by well or vll handlynge

of them: as oftentimes chaunceth. And as a man both muste and wyll take counsell, of a wyfe 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 prooфе of it. And as a wyfe man wyll take plentye of counsel afore hand what soever need, so a shooter shulde haue alwayes. iii. or. iv. bowes, in store, what so euer chaunce.

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

Tor. Therefore shall I tell you some tokens in a bowe, that you shal be the feeldomer deceyued. If you come into a shoppe, and fynde a bowe that is small, long, heauy and strong, lyinge ft[r]eyght, not windyng, not marred with knot, gaule, wyndeshake, wem, freate or pynche, bye that bowe of my warrant. The beste colour of a bowe yat I fynde, is whan the backe and the bellye in woorkyng, be muche what after one maner, for such oftentimes 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 ye most parte, very brittle. Of the makyng of the bowe, I wyll not greatly meddle, leste I shoulde seeme to enter into an other mannes occupation, whyche I can no skyll of. Yet I woulde desyre all bowyers to seafon theyr staves well, to worke them and fynke them well, to giue them heetes conuenient, and tyllerynges plentye. For thereby they shoulde bothe get them selues a good name, (And a good name encreaseth a mannes profyte muche) and also do greate commodite to the hole Realme. If any men do offend in this poynte, I am afaynde they be those iourny men whiche labour more spedily to make manye bowes for theyr owne monye sake, than they worke dilligently to make good bowes, for the common welth sake, not layinge before theyr eyes, thys wyfe pruerbe.

Sone ynough, if we iynough.

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 dysfalowe hym: But yf he make Poste haste, bothe he that oweth the horse, and he peraduenture also that afterwarde shal bye the horfe, may chaunce to curse hym.

Suche hastiness I am afrayde, maye also be found amonges some of them, whych through out ye Realme in diuerse places worke ye kinges Artillarie for war, thinkynge yf they get a bowe or a sheafe of arrowes to some fashion, they be good ynough for bearynge gere. And thus that weapon whiche is the chiefe defence of the Realme, verye ofte doth lytle 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 ye bowe can be to good and chefe woode, nor yet to well seasoned or truly made, wyth hetynges and tillerynges, nether that shafte to good wood or to thorowely wrought, with the best pinion fedders that can be gotten, wherwith a man shal serue his prince, defende his 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 miscontent wyth me for saynge so. And in no case they ought to be displeased wyth me, seinge this is spoken also after that forte, not for the notyng of anye person feuerallye, but for the amendynge of euerye one generallye. But turne we agayne to knowe a good shooptyng bowe for oure purpose.

Euerye bowe is made eyther of a boughe, of a plante or of the boole of the tree. The boughe commonlye is verye knotty, and full of pinnes, weak, of small pithe, and sone wyll folowe the stringe, and feldome werith to any fayre coloure, yet for chyldren and yonge beginners it maye serue well ynoughe. The plante proueth many times wel, yf it be of a good and clene growth, and for

the pith of it is quicke ynoughe of cast, it wyll plye and bow far afore it breake, as al other yonge thinges do. The boole of ye tree is clenest without knot or pin, hauinge a faste and harde woode by reasonne of hys full groweth, stonge and myghtye of cast, and best for a bow, yf the staues be euen clouen, and be afterwarde wroughte not ouer[t]wharte the woode, but as the graine and streyght growyng of the woode leadethe a man, or elles by all reson it must sone breake, and that in many shiuers. This must be confidered 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 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 twise paide for is better than an ill bowe once broken.

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

Take your bow in to the feeld, shote in hym, sinke hym wyth deade heauye shaftes, looke where he commethe moost, prouyde for that place betymes, leste it pinche and so freat; when you haue thus shot in him, and perceyued good shootynge woode in hym, you must haue hym agayne to a good cunnyng, and trustie woorkeman, whyche shall cut hym shorter, and pike hym and dresse hym fytter, make hym comme rounde compace euery where, and whippyng at the endes, but with discretion, lest he whyp in funder or els freete, soner than he is ware of, he must also lay hym streyght, if he be caste or otherwise nede require, and if he be flatte made, gather hym rounde, and so shall he bothe shoote the faster, for farre shootynge, and also the furer for nere pryckynge.

Phi. What yf I come into a shoppe, and spye oute

a bow, which shal both than please me very wel whan I by him, and be also very fit and meete for me whan I shoote in hym: so that he be both weake ynoughe for easye shootynge, and also quycke and spedye ynoughe for farre castynge, 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 the greate trouble, and also some cost whiche you cunnyng archers very often put your selues vnto, beyng verye Englyshe men, neuer ceafynge piddelynge about your bowe and shaftes whan they be well, but eyther with shortyng and pikynge your bowes, or els with newe fethering, peecynge and headinge your shaftes, can neuer haue done vnyll they be starke noughe.

Tor. 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 away, euen as Cicero fayeth of a yonge mannes wit and style, which you knowe better than I. For euerye newe thyng muste alwayes haue more than it neadeth, or elles it wyll not waxe better and better, but euer decaye, and be worse and worse. Newe ale if it runne not ouer the barrell whan it is newe tunned, wil sone leafe his pith, and his head afore he be longe drawen on.

And lyke wyse as that colte whyche at the fyrste takynge vp, nedeth lytle breakyng and handlyng, but is fitte and gentle ynoughe for the saddle, feeldome or neuer proueth well, euen so that bowe whyche at the fyrste byinge, wythout any more proose and trimmyng, is fit and easie to shoote in, shall neyther be profitable to laste longe nor yet pleasaunt to shoote well. And therfore as a younge horse full of corage, wyth handlynge and breakinge, is brought vnto a sure pace and goynge, so shall a newe bowe fresshe and quicke of caste, by sinkyng and cuttyng, be brought to a flesfast shootyng. And an easie and gentle bow whan it is newe, is not muche vnlyke a softe spirited

boye when he is younge. But yet as of an vnrule boye with right handlyng, proueth oftenest of al a well ordered man ; so of an vnsit and staffysh bow with good trimming, muste nedes folowe alwayes a stedfast shottynge bowe.

And suche a perfite bowe, whiche neuer wyll deceyue a man, excepte a man deceyue it, must be had for that perfecte ende, whyche you looke for in shootinge.

Phi. Well Toxophile, I fee 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 yat manye learned men do faye, that it is easier to gette a good thynge, than to faue and keepe a good thyng, wherfore if you can teache me as concernyng that poynte, you haue satissfyed me plentifullye as concernyng a bowe.

Tox. Trulye it was the nexte thyng that I woulde haue come 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 thynge shall cause it bothe to be cleane, well fauoured, goodlye of colour, and shall also bryng as it were a cruste, ouer it, that is to say, shall make it euery where on the outsyde, so flyppery 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 before you breake it. This must be done oftentimes but specially when you come from shottynge.

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, whiche shal hurte a bowe, more than any rayne. For then you muste eyther alway rub it, or els leauie shottynge.

Your bowecase (this I dyd not promise to speake of,

bycause it is without the nature of shootynge, or els I shoulde truble me wylt other thinges infinite more : yet seyng it is a fauegarde for the bowe, somethynge I wyll faye of it) youre bowecase I faye, yf you ryde forth, muste neyther be to wyde for youre bowes, for so shall one clap vpon an other, and hurt them, nor yet so strayte that scarfe 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 oftymes moyste which hurteth the bowes very much. Therfore I haue fene good shooters which would haue for euerye bowe, a sere case made of wollen clothe, and than you maye putte. iii. or. iv. of them so cased, into a ledder case if you wyll. This wollen case shall bothe kepe them in funder, and also wyll 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 stand in. But take hede yat 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 muche as concernyng the fauyng 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. iv. 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 shorte, to long, not surely put on, wylt one wap, or put crooked on, or shorne in fundre wylt 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 must nedes violentlie rise vp, the whyche you shall well perceyue in bendyng of a bowe backward. Therfore a bowe that foloweth the stryng is least hurt with breakyng of strynges. By the shafte a bowe is broken ether when it is to short, and so you set it in your bow or when

Bowcase.

the nocke breakes for lytlenesse, or when the stryng flypes 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 bowe and al in ieopardy, bycause the strength of the bowe hath nothyng in it to stop the violence of it.

Thys kynde of breakynge is mooste perilouse for the standers by, for in such a case you shall se sometyme 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 bowe 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 hye for shootynge far. Thys waye pouleth the backe in funder, and then the bowe fleethe in manye peces.

So when you se a bowe broken, hauyng 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 spesyalleye in the vpper ende, the shafte nocke brake it.

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

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

The fourthe thyng that breketh a bow is fretes, whych make a bowe redye and apte to
breake by any of the. iii. wayes afore
sayde. Freetes be in a shaft as well as in a bowe,
and they be muche lyke a Canker, crepynge and en-
creasyng 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 fretes you must beware, yf youre bow
haue a knot in the backe, lest the places whyche be
nexte it, be not allowed strong ynoughe to bere with
the knotte, or elles the stonge knotte shall freate the
weake places nexte it. Freetes be fyrst litle pinches,
the whych when you perceave, pike the places about
the pinches, to make them somewhat weker, and as

Freetes.

well commynge as where it pinched, and so the pinches shall dye, and neuer encrease farther in to great freates.

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 freatyng.

Agayne bowes moost commonlye freate vnder the hande, not so 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 lowfe, and not to knyt fast, and the more lowfer the more weaker, the weaker, the redier to freate.

A bowe is not well made, whych hath not wood plentye in the hande. For yf the endes of the bowe be staffyshe, or a mans hande any thynge hoote the bellye must nedes sone frete. Remedie for fletes to any purpose I neuer hard tell of any, but onelye to make the freated place as stonge or stronger then any other. To fill vp the freate with lytle sheuers of a quill and glewe (as some say wyll do wel) by reason must be starke nought.

For, put case the freete dyd cease then, yet the caufe which made it freate a fore (and that is weakenesse of the place) bicause it is not taken away must nedes make it freate agayne. As for cuttyng out of freates wythe all maner of pecynge of bowes I wyll cleane exclude from perfite shootyng. For peced bowes be muche lyke owlde houſen, whyche be more chargeable to repayre, than commodiouse to dwell in. Agayne to swadle a bowe much about wyth bandes, verye feldome dothe anye good, excepte it be to kepe downe a spel in the backe, otherwyfe bandes eyther 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 sometyme bycause they 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 shillynges of a new bowe than to bestowe. x. d. of peacyng an olde bowe. For better is coste vpon somewhat worth, than spence vpon nothing worth. And thys I speke also bycause you woulde haue me referre all to perfitnesse in shooynge.

Moreouer there is an other thynge, whyche wyl sone cause a bowe be broken by one of the. iii. wayes whych be first spoken of, and that is shotyng in winter, when there is any froste. Froste is wherefoeuer is any waterish humour, as is in al woodes, eyther more or lesse, and you knowe that al thynges frosen and fise, 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, yat he maye shote safelye ynough in it. This rubbyng with waxe, as I fayde before, is a great succour, agaynst all wete and moystnesse.

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 muche 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, laste of al, howe to saue it from al harm and euylneffe.

And although many men can faye 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 talke longer on it: althogh I can not fe, what maye be sayd more of it. Therfore excepte you wyll pause a whyle, you may go forwarde to a shaste.

Tox. What shaftes were made of, in oulde tyme authours do not so manifestly shewe, as of bowes. Herodotus doth tel, that in the Hero. eutep. flood of Nilus, ther was a beast, called a water horse, of whose skinne after it was dried, the Egyptians made

shaftes, and darteres on. The tree called Sen. Hipp. *Cornus* was so common to make shaftes of, that in good authours of ye latyn tongue, *Cornus* is taken for a shafte, as in Seneca, and that place of Virgill, Virg. enei. 9.

Volat Itala Cornus.

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

In Crete and Italie, they vfed to haue their shaftes of rede also. The best reede for shaftes grewe in Inde, and in Rhenus a flood of Italy. Plin. 16. 36.

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

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

C Steles be made of dyuerse woodes. as.

- Brafell.
- Turkie wood.
- Fusticke.
- Sugercheste.
- Hardbeame.
- Byrche.

Affshe.
Ooke.
Seruis tree.
Hulder.
Blackthorne.
Beche.
Elder.
Aipe.
Salow.

These wooddes as they be most commonly vsed, so they be mooste fit to be vsed: yet some one sytter then an other for diuers mennes shotinge, as shalbe toulde afterwarde. And in this pointe as in a bowe you muste truste an honest fletcher. Neuerthelesse 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 shooptyng.

A stèle muste be well seasoned for Castinge, and it must be made as the grayne lieth and as it groweth or els it wyl neuer flye clene, as clothe cut ouerwhart and agaynst the wulle, can neuer hoose a manne cleane. A knottye stèle 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 shooote is hindred and stopped at the knotte, euen as a stome cast in to a plaine euen stil water, wyll make the water moue a greate space, yet yf there be any whirlynge plat in the water, the mouynge ceasethe when it commethe at the whyrlynge plat, whyche is not muche vnylike a knotte in a shafte yf it be confidered wel. So euery thyng as it is plaine and streight of hys owne nature so is it fittest for far mouynge. Therfore a stèle whyche is harde to stande in a bowe, without knotte, and streigthe (I meane not artificially streyghte as the fletcher dothe make it, but

naturally streight as it groweth in the wood) is best to make a shaft of, eyther to go cleane, fly far or stand surely in any wedder. Now howe big, how small, how heuye, how lyght, how longe, how short, a shafte shoulde be particularye for euerye man (seynge we must taulke of the generall nature of shooptyng) can not be toulde no more than you Rhethoricians can appoyn特 any one kynde of wordes, of sentences, of fygures fyt for euery matter, but euen as the man and the matter requyreth so the syttest to be vsed. Therfore as concernynge those contraryes in a shafte, euery man muste auoyde them and draw to the meane of them, whyche meane is best in al thynges. Yet yf a man happen to offend in any of the extremes it is better to offend in want and scantnesse, than in to muche and outragiouse exceedyng. As it is better to haue a shafte a lytle to shorte than ouer longe, somewhat to lyght, than ouer lumpysshe, a lytle to smal, than a greate deale to big, whiche thyng is not onely trewlye sayde in shooptyng, but in all other thynges that euer man goeth aboue, as in eatynge, taulkyng, and all other thynges lyke, whych matter was onse excellentlye disputed vpon, in the Scooles, you knowe when.

And to offend, in these contraryes commeth much yf men take not hede, throughe the kynd of wood, wheroft the shaft is made: Ffor some wood belongs to ye excedyng part, some to ye scant part, some to ye meane, as Brasell, Turkiewood, Fuslicke, Sugar cheste, and such lyke, make deade, heuy lumpish, hobblyng shaftes. Againe Hulder, black thorne, Serues tree, Beche, Elder, Afpe, and Salowe, eyther for theyr wekenes or lyghtenesse, make holow, starting, studding, gaddynge 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 sougheoute in euery thinge. And althoughe I knowe that some men shooote so stronge, that the deade woodes be lyghte ynoughe for them, and other some

so weeke, that the lowse woodes be lykewyse for them bigge ynough yet generally for the moost parte of men, the meane is the best. And so to conclude that, is alwayses beste for a man, whiche is metest for him. Thus no wood of his owne nature, is eyther to lyght or to heuy, but as the shooter is him selfe whyche dothe vse it. For that shafte whiche one yeare for a man is to lyghte and scuddinge, for the same seife 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 euery wood, prouide and fyt himselfe therafter. Yet as concerning 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 Aspe shall not doo. What heuynes doth in a stripe euery man by experience can tell, therfore Asshe being both swyfster 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 steele be fit for euery shooter. For those that be lytle brested and big toward the hede called by theyr lykenesse taperfashion, reshe growne, and of some merrye fellowes bobtayles, be fit for them whiche shote vnder hande bycause they shoothe wyth a softe lowse, and streses not a shaft muche in the breste where the weyghe of the bowe lyethe as you maye perceyue by the werynge of euery shaft.

Agayne the bygge brested shafte is fytle for hym, which shoteth right afore him, or els the brest being weke shoulde neuer wythstande that strong piththy kynde of shootynge, thus the vnderhande must haue a small breste, to go cleane awaye oute of the bowe, the forehande muste haue a bigge breste to bere the

great myghte of the bowe. The shafte must be made rounde nothyng flat wyth out 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 percyng of any thynge. And therfore Aristotle ſaythe that nature hath made the raine to be round, bycause it ſhoule the eafelyer enter throughe the ayre.

The nocke of the shafte is dyuersly made, for ſome be greate and full, ſome hanſome and lytle, ſome wyde, ſome narow, ſome depe, ſome ſhalowe, ſome round, ſome longe, ſome wyth one nocke, ſome wyth a double nocke, wheroſt euery one haſte hys propertye.

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

Peecyng of a shaft with brasell and holie, or other heauy woodes, is to make the ende compaffe heauy with the fethers in flying, for the ſtedfaſter ſhotyng. For if the ende were plumpe heauy wyth lead and the wood nexte it lyghte, the head ende woulde euer be downwardes, and neuer flye ſtrayght.

Two poyntes in peeing be ynough, leſt the moyſtneſſe of the earthe enter to moche into the peeinge, and ſo leufe the glue. Therefore many poyntes be more pleafaunt to the eye, than profitabla 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 ye nature of a fether in flying, if a man marke it wel, is able to bear vp a wonderful weyght: and I thinke suche peecing came vp first, thus: whan a good Archer hath broken a good shafte, in the fethers, and for the fantasie he hath had to it, he is lothe to leefe it, and therfore doeth he peece it. And than by and by other eyther bycause it is gaye, or elles because they wyll haue a shafte lyke a good archer, cutteth theyre hole shaftes, and peeceth them agayne: A thynge by my iudgement, more costlye than nedeffull.

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

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

Tor. Lytle, yes trulye: for there is no one thing, in al shoting, so moche to be loked on as the fether. For fyrsfe a question maye be asked, whether any other thing besyde a fether, be fit for a 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 yonge 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 fettyng on of your fether, whether it be pared or drawen with a thicke rybbe, or a thinne rybbe (the rybbe is ye hard quill whiche deuydeth the fether) a long fether better or a shorte, set on nere the nocke, or farre from the nocke, set on 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 fwyne backed (I muste vse

shoters wordes) or fadle backed, whether rounde, or square shorne? And whether a shaft at any tyme ought to be plucked, and how to be plucked.

Phi. Surely Toxophile, I thynke manye fletchers (although daylye they haue these thinges in vre) if they were asked fodeynly, 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.

Tor. That was ye fyrste poynte in dede, 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 Pl. 16. 36.
playnlye shewe, yet onely the Lycians I I. Pol. 1. 10.
reade in Herodotus to haue vsed shaftes without
fedders. Onelye a fedder is fit for a shaft 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 ye bow. So, Plate,
wood or horne can not serue, bycause the[y] 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 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 fwan for a dead
shaft (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 goose that hath all com-
modities in it. And trewelye at a short but, which
some man doth vse, ye Peacock fether doth seldome
kepe vp ye 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 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 so cunninge in shooptynge I praye you
who was that.

Phi. Hercules whyche had hys shaftes
fethered with Egles fethers as Hesiodus
dothe saye. Hesiod. in
Scuto. Her.

Tox. Well as for Hercules, seynge nether water nor
lande, heauen nor hell, coulde scarse contente hym to
abyde in, it was no meruell though 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, yat
they be very hard to come by. Yet welfare the gentle
gouse which bringeth to a man euen to hys
doore so manye excedyng commodities. A Gouse.

For the gouse is mans conforte in war and in peace
slepyng and wakynge. What prayse so euer is gyuen
to shooptynge the gouse may chalenge the beste parte in
it. How well dothe she make a man fare at his table?
Howe easelye dothe she make a man lye in hys bed?
How fit euen as her fethers be onelye for shooptynge, so
be her quylles fytte onelye for wrytyng.

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

Tox. The Romaynes I trowe Philologe not so
muche bycause a gouse wyth cryinge sauued theyr
Capitolium and head toure wyth their golden Iupiter
as Propertius doth say very pretely in thys verse.

Anseris et tutum uoce suisse Iouem.

Id est.

Propertius

Theues on a night had stolne Iupiter, had a gouse not a kekede.
Dyd make a golden gouse and set hir in the top of ye
Capitolium, and appoynted also the Cen- Liuinus 1.
Dec. 5.
fores to allow out of ye common hutche
yearly stipendes for ye findinge of certayne Geese, ye
Romaynes did not I saye giue al thys honor to a gouse

for yat good dede onely, but for other infinit mo which comme dayly to a man byn Geese, and surely yf I should declame in ye prayse of any maner of bestle lyuyng, I would chose a gouse, But the gouse hath made vs flee to farre from oure matter. Nowe 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 residue belonging to a fether: which thing I wyll shortlye course ouer: wherof, when you knowe the properties, you maye fitte your shaftes accordyng to your shotyng, which rule you must obserue in all other thynges too, bycause no one fashion or quantitie can be fitte for euery man, no more than a shooe or a cote can be. The oulde goose fether is stiffe 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 fattle and faule very moche. The same thing (although not so moche) is to be confydered in a goose and a gander. A fenny goose, euen as her flesh is blacker, stoorer, vnholsomer, so is her fether for the same cause courser storer and rougher, and therfore I haue 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 wyll be caryed to moche. The pinion fethers as it hath the firste place in the winge, so it hath the fyrt place in good fetheringe. You maye knowe it afore it be pared, by a bought whiche is in it, and agayne when it is colde, by the thinnesse aboue, and the thicknesse at the grounde, and also by the stifnes and finesse which wyll cary a 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 sommewhat to be looked on: for a good whyte, you haue sometyme an yll greye. Yet surelye it standeth with good reason to haue the cocke fether black or greye, as it were to gyue a man warning to nocke ryght. The cocke fether is called that which standeth aboue in ryght nocking, which if you do not obserue the other fethers must nedes run on the bowe, and so marre your shote. And thus farre of the goodnesse and choyse of your fether: now foloweth the setting on. Wherin you must looke that your fethers be not drawen for hastineffe, but pared euen and streyghte with diligence. The fletcher draweth a fether when he hath but one swappe at it with his knyfe, and then playneth it a lytle, with rubbynge it ouer his knyfe. He pareth it when he taketh leyture 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 faye so of his fletcher, as in dressinge of meate is communelye spoken of Cookes: and that is, that God sendeth vs good fethers, but the deuell noughtie Fletchers. Yf any fletchers heard me faye thus, they wolde not be angrye with me, excepte they were yll fletchers: and yet by reason, those fletchers too, ought rather to amend them felues for doing yll, then be angry with me for sayinge truth. The ribbe in a styffe fether may be thinner, for so it wyll stande cleaner on: but in a weake fether you must leauue a thicker ribbe, or els yf the ryb which is the foundacion and grounde, wherin nature hath set euerye clefte of the fether, be taken to nere the fether, it muste nedes folowe, that the fether shall faule, and droupe downe, euen as any herbe doeth whyche hath his roote to nere taken on with a spade. The lengthe and shortnesse of the fether, serueth for diuers shaftes, as a long fether for a long heauy, or byg shafte, the shorte fether for the contrary. Agayne the shorte may stande farther, the longe nerer the nocke. Youre fether muste stande almooste streyght on, but yet after that forte, yat it maye turne

rounde in flynge. And here I consider the wonderfull nature of shooptyng, whiche standeth all togyther by that fashion, which is moste apte for quicke mouynge, and that is by roundenesse. For firsste the bowe must be gathered rounde, in drawyng it must come rounde compasse, the stryne muste be rounde, the stèle rounde, the best nocke rounde, the feather shorne somwhat rounde, the shafte in flynge, muste turne rounde, and if it flye far, it flyeth a rounde compace. For eyther aboue or benethe a rounde compace, hyndereth the flynge. Moreouer bothe the fletcher in makyng your shafte, and you in nockyng your shafte, muste take heede that two fethers equallye runne on the bowe. For yf one fether runne alone on the bowe, it shal quicklye be worne, and shall not be able to matche with the other fethers, and agayne at the lowse, yf the shafte be lyght, it wyl starte, if it be heuye, it wil hoble. And thus as concernyng fettyng on of your fether. Nowe of coulyng.

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 muche vsed nowe a dayes, bothe be good. For roundnesse is apte for flynge of his owne nature, and al 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, De nat. deor. bycause it is so apte to perce and go thorowe the ayer wythall. Laste of all pluckynge of fethers is noughe, for there is no suerty in it, therfore let euery archer haue such shastes, 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 vncstante. And thus I haue knit vp in as shorte a roume as I coulde, the best fethers fetheringe and coulinge of a shafte.

Phi. I thynke surelye you haue so taken vp the matter wyth you, yat you haue leste nothyng be-hinde you. Nowe you haue brought a shafte to the head, whiche if it were on, we had done as concernyng all instrumentes belongyng to shootynge.

Tor. Necessitie, the inuentour of all goodnessse (as all authours in a maner, doo faye) amonges all other things inuented a shaft heed, firste to faue the ende from breakyng, then it made it sharpe to stycce 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 shooote nerer the marke at home, then is a fitte heed for both purposes. For if a shaft lacke a heed, it is worth nothyng for neither vfe. Therfore feinge 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 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.

Iliados 4

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

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

Odysse. 21.

It is playne in Homer, where Menelaus was wounded of Pandarus shafte, yat the heedes were not glewed on, but tyed on with a string, as the commentaries in Greke playnelye tell. Iliados. 4. And therfore shoters at that tyme to carry their shaftes withoute heedes, vntill they occupied them, and than

set on an heade as it apereth in Homer the. xxi. booke *Odyssi*, where Penelope brought Vlices 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, carienege a bagge full of heades, bothe of iron and brasie. Odysse. 21.

The men of Scythia, vfed heades of brasie. The men of Inde vfed heades of yron. The Ethiopians vfed heades of a harde sharpe stome, as bothe Herodotus and Pollux do tel. Clio. Hero Polym The Germanes as Cornelius Tacitus doeth saye, had theyr shaftes headed with bone, and many countryes bothe of olde tyme and nowe, vse heades of horne, but of all other yron and style muste 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. I. Pol. I : 10.

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

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

Pandarus heades and Vlyffes heades were broode arrow heades, as a man maye learne in Homer that woulde be curiouse in knowyng that matter. Hercules vfed forked heades, but yet they had thre pointes or forkes, when other mennes had but twoo. Plutarchus in Crasso. The Parthyans at that great battell where

they flewe ritche Crassus and his sonne vsed brode Arrowe heades, whyche stacke so sore that the Romaynes could not poule them out agayne. 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 wherwyth 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 heades, or brode arrowe heades. For firsste 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 ye same lytle barbes whiche they haue, were clene put away, they shuld be far better. For thys euery man doth graunt, yat a shaft as long as it flyeth, turnes, and whan it leueth turnyng it leueth goyng any farther. And euery thynge that enters by a turnyng and boring facion, the more flatter it is, the worse it enters, as a knife thoughe it be sharpe yet because of the edges, wil not bore so wel as a bodkin, for euery rounde thynge enters beste and therefore nature, sayeth Aristotle, made the rayne droppes rounde for quicke percyng the ayer. Thus, eyther shaftes turne not in flyeng, or els our flatte arrowe heades stoppe the shaftes in 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 sticks faster in.

Tox. These two reasons as they be bothe trewe, so they be both nought. For fyrst the lesse hoole, yf it be depe, is the worst to heale agayn: when a man shoteth at hys enemy, he defyreth rather yat it should enter far, than sticke 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 spedely? thus heades whyche make a lytle hole and depe, be better in war, than those which make a great hole and sticke fast in.

Herodia. i

Julius Pollux maketh mencion of certayne kindes of heades for war whiche beare fyre in them, and scripture also speaketh somwhat 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 shaste heades aboute wyth towne, and than set it on fyre and shoothe 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 yat 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 Englannde shoulde make their sheafe arrowe heades more harder poynted then they be : for I my selfe haue fene of late such heades set vpon sheafe Arrowes, as ye officers yf they had fene them woulde not haue bene content wyth all.

Pollux. 7.

Psal. 7.

Hero. Vran.

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

Sharpe heades at the ende wthout anye shoulders (I call that the shoulder in a heade whyche a mans finger shall feele afore it come to the poynte) wyl perche quycklye throughe a wynde, but yet it hath. ii. discommodities, the one that it wyl kepe no lengthe, it kepereth no lengthe, bycause no manne can poule it certaynlye as far one tyme as at an other: it is not drawen certaynlye so far one tyme as at an other,

bycause it lackethe sholdrynge wherwyth as wyth a
sure token a man myghte be warned when to lowse,
and also bycause menne are afayde of the sharpe
poynt for fettyng it in ye bow. The feconde incom-
moditie is when it is lyghted on ye ground, ye smal
poynte shall at euery tyme be in iepardye of hurtynge,
whyche thynge of all other wyll fonest make the shafte
lese the lengthe. Now when blonte heades be good
to kepe a lengthe wythall, yet nought for a wynde,
sharpe heades good to perche the wether wyth al,
yet nought for a length, certayne heademakers
dwellyng in London perceyuyng the commoditie of
both kynde of heades ioyned wyth a discommoditie,
inuented newe files and other instrumentes where wyth
[t]he[y] broughte heades for pryckynge to such a per-
fitnesse, that all the commodities of the twoo other
heades should be put in one heade wyth out anye dis-
commoditie at all. They made a certayne kynde of
heades whyche men call hie rigged, creased, or shoul-
dred heades, or syluer spone heades, for a certayne
lykenesse that fuche 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 wythal, to kepe a length
wythall bycause a man maye certaynly poule it to the
sholdrynge euery shoote and no farther, to perche a
wynde wythall bycause the pointe from the shoulder
forwarde, breketh the wether as al other sharpe thynge
doo. So the blonte shoulder serueth for a sure lengthe
kepynge, the poynte also is euer fit, for a roughe and
greate wether percying. 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 ye head?

Tox. Wel remembred. But that poynt belongeth to
fletchers, yet you may desyre hym to set youre heade,
full on, and close on. Ful on is whan the wood is
be[n]t hard vp to the ende or stoppyng of the heade,
close on, is when there is lefte wood on euerye syde

the shafste, ynouge to fyll the head withall, or when it is neyther to little nor yet to greate. If there be any faulte in any of these poyntes, ye head whan it lyghteth on any hard stome or grounde wil be in ieoperdy. eyther of breakynge, or els otherwyse hurtynge. Stoppyng of heades eyther wyth leade, or any thynge els, shall not nede now, bycause euery siluer spone, or showldred head is stopped of it selfe. Shorte heades be better than longe: 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 shootynge, whiche eueryfere archer ought, to prouide 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 wyth shootynge strayght, or kepynge of a lengthe, I wyll deferre them to that place, and now we will come, (God wyllyng) to handle oure instrumentes, the thing that euery man desireth to do wel.

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

Tor. To learne any thing (as you knowe better than I Philologe) and speciallye to do a thing with a mannes handes, must be done if a man woulde be excellent, in his youthe. Yonge trees in gardens, which lacke al senfes, and beastes without reason, when they be yong, may with handling and teaching, be brought to wonderfull thynges. And this is not onely true in natural things, but in artificiall things to, as the potter most connyngly doth cast his pottes whan his claye is fosfe and workable, and waxe taketh printe whan it is warme, and leathie weke, not whan claye and waxe be hard and oulde: and euen fo, euerye man in his youthe, bothe with witte and body is mooste apte and pliable to receyue any cunnynge that shulde be taught hym.

This communication of teaching youthe, maketh me to remembre the right worshipfull and my singuler good mayster, Sir Humfrey Wingfelde, to whom nexte God, I ought to refer for his manifolde benefites bestowed on me, the poore talent of learnyng, whiche god hath lent me: and for his 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 he woulde bryng downe from London bothe bowe and shaftes. And when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him selfe in to the fyelde, and se them shoote, and he that shot fayrest, shulde haue the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot ilfaououredlye, shulde be mocked of his felowes, til he shot better.

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

But to our purpose, he that muste come to this high perfectnes in shootring which we speake of, muste nedes begin to learne it in hys youthe, the omitting of whiche thinge in Englande, both maketh fewer shooters, and 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 faye, euen so Toxophile, haue you quyte discouraged me, and drawen my minde cleane from shootringe, seinge by this reson, no man yat 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 forte.

Tox. This thyng Philologe, shall discourage no man that is wyse. For I wyll proue yat wisdome may worke the same thinge in a man, that nature doth in a chylde.

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

A man maye by wisdome in learnyng any thing, and specially to shoote, haue thre lyke commodities also, wherby he maye, as it were become younge agayne, and so attayne to excellencie. For as a childe is apte by naturall youth, so a man by vsyng at the firste 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 ye last bryng hym to stronge shootynge.

And in stede of the feruente defyre, which prouoketh a chylde to be better than hys felowe, lette a man be as muche stirred vp with shamefastnes to be worse than all other. And the same place that feare hathe in a chylde, to compell him to take peyne, 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 Feare, the same thing in shootynge, maye a man be taughte by weake bowes, Shamefastnesse and Loue.

And hereby you may 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, and constantlie perseuer in this trade of learnyng to shote, shall attayne to perfectnesse therein.

Phi. This communication Toxophile, doeth please me verye well, and nowe I perceyue that mooste generally and chefly youthe muste be taughte to shoote, and secondarilie no man is debarred therfrom excepte it be

more thorough his owne negligence for bicause he wyll not learne, than any disabilitie, bicause he can not lerne.

Therfore seyng I wyll be glad to folowe your counfell 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 shosynge by your good reasons to day, that I wyll forfike no labour in the exercise of the same, I beseeche you imagyn that we had bothe bowe and shaftes here, and teache me howe I shold handle them, and one thynge I defyre 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 profytalbe vse, which is not handled after the moost cumlye fashion. As masters of fence haue no stroke fit ether to hit an other or else to defende hym selfe, whyche is not ioyned wylth a wonderfull cumlineffe. A Cooke can not chop hys herbes neither quickelye nor hanfomlye excepte he kepe suche a mesure with hys choppynge kniues as woulde delyte a manne both to se hym and heare hym.

Euerye hand craft man that workes best for hys owne profyte, workes most semelye to other mens fight. Agayne in buyldynge a house, in makynge a shyppe, euery parte the more hanfomely, they be ioyned for profyt and laste, the more cumlye they be fashioned to euery mans syght and eye. Nature it selfe taught men to ioyne alwayes welfauourednesse with profytablenessse. 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 profytablenessse.

As he that is gogle eyde and lokes a squinte hath both hys countenaunce clene marred, and hys fight sore blemmyshed, and so in all other members lyke. Moreouer what tyme of the yeare bryngeth mooste profyte wylth it for mans vse, the same also couereth and dekketh bothe earthe and trees wylth moost cumlynesse for mans pleasure. And that tyme whych takethe

awaye the pleasure of the grounde, carieth wyth hym also the profyt of the grounde, as euery man by expe-rience knoweth in harde and roughe winters. Some thynges there be whych haue no other ende, but onely cumlynesse, as payntyng, and Daunsing. And vertue it selfe is nothyng eles but cumlynesse, as al Philosophers do agree in opinion, therfore 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 experience dothe teache in other thynges, I praye you as I sayde before teatche me to shoothe as fayre, and welfauouredly as you can imagen.

Tor. Trewlye Philologe as you proue verye well in other matters, the best shooptyng, is alwayes the moost cumlye shooptyng but thys you know aswell 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 onlye, can neuer be taught by any Arte or craft. But maye be perceyued well when it is done, not described wel how it shoulde be done.

Yet neuerthelesse to come to it there be manye waye whych wayes men haue assayde in other matters, as yf a man would folowe in learnynge to shoothe faire, the noble paynter 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 exceeded al other, bycause the comelinessse of them al was broughte in to one moost perfyte comelinessse: So lykewyse in shotoynge yf a man, woulde set before hys eyes. v. or. vi. of the fayrest Archers that euer he saw shoothe, 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. As for an example, if the moost comely poynte in shooptyng that Hewe Prophete the Kynges feruaunte hath and as my frendes Thomas and Raufe Cantrell doth vse with the moost semelye facyons that.

iii. or iiiii. excellent Archers haue beside, were al ioyned in one, I am sure all men woulde wonder at ye excellencie of it. And this is one waye to learne to shoothe fayre.

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

Tox. I can teache you to shoothe 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 lyke-wyse can I faye of fayre shoothyng, it hath not this discommodite with it nor that discommoditie, and at last a man maye so shifte all the discommodities from shoothyng that there shall be left no thynge behynde but fayre shoothyng. And to do this the better you must remember howe that I toulde you when I descriyed generally the hole nature of shoothyng that fayre shoothyng came of these thynge, of standynge, nockynge, drawynge, howldynge and lowfsynge, the whych I wyll go ouer as shortly as I can, describyng the discommodities that men commonly vse in all partes of theyr bodies, that you yf you faulfe in any such maye knowe it and so go about to amend it. Faultes in Archers do excede the number of Archers, whyche come wyth vse of shoothyng wythoute teachynge. Vse and custome separated from knowlege and learnynge, doth not onely hurt shoothyng, but the moost weyghtye thynge in the worlde beside: And therfore I maruayle moche at those people whyche be the mayneteners of vses withoute knowlege hauynge no other worde in theyr mouthe but thys vse, vse, custome, custome. Suche men more wylful than wyse, beside other discommodities, take all place and occasion from al amendment. And thys I speake generally of vse and custome.

Whych thynge yf a learned man had it in hande yat woulde applye it to anye one matter, he myght handle it wonderfullye. But as for shoothyng, vse is the onely cause of all fautes in it and therfore chylderne

more easly and soner maye be taught 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 shootynge.

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

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

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

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

An other setteth forwarde hys lefte legge, and draweth backe wyth head and shoulders, as though he pouled at a rope, or els were afraycd of ye marke. An other draweth his shafte well, vntyll wythin. ii.

syngers of the head, and than he stayeth a lyttle, to looke at hys marke, and that done, pouleth it vp to the head, and lowfeth : whych waye although summe excellent shoters do vse, yet surely it is a faulte, and good mennes faultes are not to be folowed.

Summe men drawe to farre, summe to shorte, summe to flowlye, summe to quicklye, summe holde ouer longe, summe let go ouer sone.

Summe fette theyr shafte on the grounde, and fetcheth him vpwarde. An other poyneth vp towarde the skye, and so bryngeth hym downewardes.

Ones I sawe a manne whyche vsed a brasar on his cheke, or elles he had scratched all the skynne of the one syde, of his face, with his drawyng hand.

An other I sawe, whiche at euerye shooote, after the loose, lyfted vp his ryght legge so far, that he was euer in ieoperdye of faulyng.

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

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

Suche woordes be verye tokens of an ill mynde, and manifeste signes of a man that is subiecte to inmeasurable affections. Good mennes eares do abhor them, and an honest man therfore wyl auoyde them. And besydes those whiche muste nedes haue theyr tongue thus walkynge, other men vse other fautes as some will take theyr bowe and writhe and wrinche it, to poule in his shafte, when it flyeth wyde, as yf he draue a carte. Some wyll gyue two or. iii. strydes forwarde, daunsing and hoppyng after his shafte, as long as it flyeth, as though he were a madman. Some which feare to be to farre gone, runne backewarde as it were to poule his shafte backe. Another runneth forwarde, whan he feareth to be short, heau-

ynge after his armes, as though he woulde helpe his shafte to flye. An other writhes or runneth a 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 backewarde after the lowse. And an other swynges hys bowe aboue hym, as it were a man with a staffe to make roume in a game place. And manye other faultes there be, whiche nowe come not to my remembraunce. Thus as you haue hearde, manye archers wyth marrynge theyr face and countenaunce, wyth other partes, of theyr bodye, as it were menne that shoulde daunce antiquies, be farre from the comelye porte in shootringe, whiche he that woulde be excellent muste looke for.

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

And althoughe suche a perfyte cumlynesse can not be expressed wyth any precepte of teachyng, as Cicero and other learned menne do saye, yet I wyll speake (accordyng to my lytle knowlege) that thing in it, whych ys 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. Standyng, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowfyng, done as they shoulde be done, make fayre shootringe.

The fyrsle poynte is when a man shoulde shote, to take suche footyng and standyng as shal be both cumlye to the eye and profytale to hys vse, settynghys countenaunce and al the other partes of hys bodye after suche a behauour and porte, that bothe al hys strengthe may be employed to hys owne moost a[d]uantage, and hys shoot made and handled to other mens pleasure and delyte. A man must not go to hastely to it, for that is rashnesse, nor yet make to much to do about it, for yat is curiositie, ye one fote must not stande to far from the other, leste he stoupe to mucche whyche is vnsemelye, nor yet to nere

Standynge.

together, leste he stande to streyght vp, for so a man shall neyther vse hys strengthe well, nor yet stande stedfastlye.

The meane betwyxt bothe must be kept, a thing more pleasaunte to behoulde when it is done, than easie to be taught howe it shoulde be done.

To nocke well is the easiest poynte of all, and there in is no cunninge, but onely edylgente hede gyuyng, to fet hys shafte neyther to hye nor to lowe, but euen streyght ouerwharte hys bowe, Vnconstante nockynge maketh a man leese hys lengthe.

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

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

Drawynge.

Iliad. 4.

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 shooptyng low at the brest, and bicause there lefte pap hindred theyr shooptyng at the lowse they cut it of when they were yonge, and therfore be they called in lackynge theyr pap Amazones. Nowe a dayes contrarye wyse we drawe to the ryghte eare and not to the pap. Whether the olde waye in drawynge low to the pap, or the new waye to draw a loft to the eare be better, an excellente wryter in Greke called Procopius doth faye hys mynde, shewyng yat the oulde fashyon in drawing to ye pap was noughe of no pithe, and therfore saith Procopius: is Artyllarye disprayfed in Homer whych calleth it *ovridaror*. I. Weake and able to do no good. Draw-

Procopius
Hist. Pers

ying to the eare he prayseth greatly, whereby men shoothe bothe 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 I neuer red of other kynde of shooptyng, 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 syrft vp, of the which I am sure a man shall finde Crosbowes. lytle mention made on in any good Authour.

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

Lowfynge muste be muche lyke. So Lowsynge. quycke and hard yat it be wyth oute all girdes, so fofte and gentle that the shafte flye not as it were sente out of a bow case. The meane betwixte bothe, whyche is perfyte lowfynge is not so hard to be folowed in shooptynge as it is to be descrybed in teachyng. For cleane lowfynge you must take hede of hyttinge any thyng aboute you. And for Leo. the same purpose Leo the Emperour would haue al Archers in war to haue both theyr heades pouled, and there berdes shauen leste the heare of theyr heades shuld stop the syght of the eye, the heere of theyr berdes hinder the course of the strynge.

And these preceptes I am sure Philologe yf you folowe in standyng, nockyng, drawynge, holdynge, and lowfynge, shal bryng you at the last to excellent fayre shooptyng.

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

Tor. He that can ſhoote fayre, lacketh nothyng but ſhootyng ſtreight and kepyng of a length wheroſ commeth hyttinge of the marke, the ende both of ſhootyng and also of thys our communication. The handlyng of ye wether and the mark bicaufe they belong to ſhootyng ſtreighte, and kepynge of a lengthe, I wyll ioyne them togyther, ſhewinge what thinges belonqe to kepynge of a lengthe, and what to ſhootyng ſtreight.

The greatest enemy of ſhootyng is the wynde and the wether, wherby true kepyng a lengthe is cheſely hindred. If this thing were not, men by Wynde and
wether. teaching might be brought to wonderfull neare ſhootyng. It is no maruayle if the litle poore ſhaftē being ſent alone, ſo high in to the ayer, into a great rage of wether, one wynde tossinge it that waye, an other thys waye, it is no maruayle I faye, thoughe it leſe 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 faylyng on the ſea. And lykewife as in ſayling, the cheſe poynt of a good master, is to knowe the tokens of chaunge of wether, the course of the wyndes, that therby he maye the better come to the Hauen: euen 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: Good shooters alſo, yat 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 weake-nesse, in all matters great and smal, weyghtye and merye, and glorifie him, in whome only perfyte perfit-nesse is. But nowe sir, he that wyll at all aduentures vse the feas knowinge no more what is to be done in a tempest than in a caulme, shall foone becumme a marchaunt of Eele skinnes: so that shoter whiche putteth no difference, but shooteth in all lyke, in rough wether and fayre, shall alwayes put his wynninges in his eyes.

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

A mayster of a shippe first learneth to knowe the cumniyng of a tempest, the nature of it, and howe to behaue hym selfe in it, eyther with chaungyng his course, or poulynge 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 fyrt wyth diligent vse and markynge the wether, learne to knowe the nature of the wynde, and wyth wysedome, wyll measure in hys mynde, howe muche it wyll alter his shoote, eyther in lengthe kepynge, or els in streyght shotyng, and so with chaunging his standynge, or takynge an other shaste, the whiche he knoweth per-

sytlye to be fitter for his pourpose, eyther bycause it is lower fethered, or els bycause it is of a better wyng, wyll so handle wyth discretion hys shoote, that he shall seeme rather to haue the wether vnder hys rule, by good hede gyuynge, than the wether to rule hys shafte by any sodayne chaungyng.

Therefore in shootringe there is as muche difference betwixt 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 concernyng the wether, a perfyte archer muste firste learne to knowe the sure flyghte of his shaftes, that he may be boulde alwayes, to trust them, than muste he learne by daylye experience all maner of kyndes of wether, the tokens of it, whan it wyl cumme, the nature of it when it is cumme, the diuersitie and alteryng of it, whan it chaungeth, the decrease and diminishing of it, whan it ceaseth. Thirdly, these thinges knownen, 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 rougue wether shall take awaye from hys shoote the same shall iuste footyng restore agayne to hys shoote.

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

He that woulde knowe perfectly the winde and wether, muste put differences betwixte tymes. For diuersitie of tyme causeth diuersitie of wether, as in the whole yeare, Sprynge tyme, Somer, Faule of the leafe, and Winter; Lykewyfe in one day Mornynge, Noonetyme, After noone, and Euentyde, 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 artillerie, and not to ferche the cause, why it shoulde be so: whiche belongeth to a learned man and Philosophie.

In confydering the tyme of the yeare, a wyse Archer wyll folowe a good Shipman. In Winter and rough

wether, small bootes and lytle pinkes forsake the feas : And at one tyme of the yeare, no Gallies come abrode ; 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 faye, 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 fayre and cleare daye.

Thus euery archer muste knowe, not onelye what bowe and shafte is fitteſt for him to shoote withall, but also whattyme and feaſon is best for hym to ſhote in. And ſurely, in al other matters to, amouge al degrees of men, there is no man which doth any thing eyther more diſcretely for his commendation, or yet more profitable for his aduauntage, than he which wyll knowe perſitly for what matter and for what tyme he is mooft apte and fit. Yf men woulde go aboute matters whych they ſhould do and be fit for, and not ſuche thyngeſ whyche wylfullye they defyre and yet be vnfyt for, verely greater matters in the common welthe than ſhootyng ſhoulde be in better caſe than they be. This ignorauacie in men whyche know not for what tyme, and to what thynge they be fit, caufeth ſome wyſhe to be riche, for whome it were better a greate deale to be poore: other to be medlynge in euery mans matter, for whome it were more honeſtie to be quiete and ſtyll. Some to deſire to be in the Courte, whyche be borne and be fitter rather for the carte. Somme to be mayſters and rule other, whyche 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 ſhouldlearne. Some to be preſtes, whyche were fyter to be clerkes. And thys peruerfe iudgement of ye worlde, when men meſure them ſelfe a miſſe, bringeth muſe myſorder and greate vnfemelynesse to the hole body of the common wealth, as yf

a manne shold were his hooſe vpon his head, or a woman go wyth a fworde and a buckeler euery man would take it as a greate vncumlynesſe although it be but a tryfle in ſpecete of the other.

Thys peruerfe iudgement of men hindreth no thynge ſo much as learnynge, bycaufe commonlye thoſe whych be vnfittest for learnyng, be cheyfly ſet to learnyng.

As yf a man nowe a dayes haue two ſonnes, the one impotent, weke, fickly, lifpynge, ſtuttynge, and ſtamerynge, or hauyng any miſſhape in hys bodye: what doth the father of ſuche one commonlye faye? This boye is fit for nothyng els, but to ſet to lernyng and make a preſt of, as who would ſay, yat outcafes of the worlde, hauyng neyther countenaunce toungue nor wit (for of a peruerfe bodye cummeth commonly a peruerfe mynde) be good ynough to make thoſe men of, whiche ſhall be appoynted to preache Goddes hollye woordē, and miſter hys bleſſed ſacramentes, beſydes other mooſt weyghtye matters in the common welthe put ofte tymes, and worthelye to learned mennes diſcretiōn and charge: whan rather ſuche an offyce ſo hygh in dignitie, ſo godlye in admiſſion, ſhulde be committed to no man, whiche ſhulde not haue a countenaunce full of cumlynesſe to allure good menne, a bodye full of manlye authoritié to feare ill men, a witte apte for al learnyng with tongue and voyce, able to perfwade all men. And although fewe ſuche men as theſe can be founde in a common wealthe, yet ſurelye a godlye 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 gotten for ſuche an hie admiſſion, whiche is moſt properlye appoynted to goddes owne matters and buſineſſes.

This peruerfe iugement of fathers as concernyng the fitneſſe and vnfitteneſſe of theyr chyldeſen cauſeth the common wealthe haue many vnfitt miſters: And ſeyng that miſters be, as a man woulde ſay, iſtrumentes wherwith the common wealthe doeth worke all her matters withall, I maruayle howe it chaunceth

yat a pore shomaker hath so much wit, yat he will prepare no instrument for his science neither knyfe nor aule, nor nothing els whiche is not very fitte for him: the common wealthe can be content to take at a fonde fathers hande, the rifraffe of the worlde, to make those instrumentes of, wherwithal she shoulde worke ye 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 ye common welth. Fathers in olde time among ye noble Persians might not do with theyr children as they thought good, but as the iudgement of the common wealth al wayes thought best. This fault of fathers bringeth many a blot with it, to the 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 ye glasse of knowlege in euery mans hand, doth se such vncumlines in it: and yet winketh at it. This faulte and many suche lyke, myght be fone wyped awaye, yf fathers woulde bestow their children on yat thing alwayes, whervnto nature hath ordeined them mooste apte and fit. For if youth be grafted streyght, and not a wrye, the hole common welth wil florish therafter. Whan this is done, than muste euery man beginne to be more ready to amende hym selfe, than to checke an other, measuryng their matters with that wife prouerbe of Apollo, *Knowe thy selfe*: that is to saye, learne to knowe what thou arte able, fitte, and apt vnto, and folowe that.

This thinge shulde be bothe cumlie to the common wealthe, and moost profitable for euery one, as doth appere very well in all wife mennes deades, and specially to turne to our communication agayne in shootynge, where wife archers haue alwayes theyr instrumentes fit for theyr strength, and wayte euermore suche tyme and wether, as is most agreeable to their gere. Therfore if the wether be to fore, and vnfit for your shootynge, leaue of for that daye, and

wayte a better season. For he is a foole yat wyl not go, whome necessitie driueth.

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 matter it selfe, by whose occasion ye other were broughte in.

Tor. 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, 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 euery one of these times the wether altereth, as sumtyme wyndie, sumtyme caulme, sumtyme cloudie, sumtyme clere, sumtyme hote, sumtyme coulde, the wynde sumtyme moistye and thicke, sumtyme drye and smothe. A litle winde in a moystie day, stoppeth a shaste more than a good whiskynge 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 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 commonly moste certayne, and requireth least knowlege, wherin a meane shoter with meane geare, if he can shoote home, maye make best shifte. A syde wynde tryeth an archer and good gere verye muche. Sumtyme it bloweth a lofte, sumtyme hard by the grounde: Sumtyme it bloweth by blastes, and sumtyme it continueth al in one: Sumtyme ful fide

wynde, sumtyme quarter with hym and more, and lykewyse agaynst hym, as a man with castynge vp lyght grasse, or els if he take good hede, shall sensibly learne by experience. To se the wynde, with a man his eyes, it is vnpossible, the nature of it is so fyne, and subtile, yet this experiance of the wynde had I ones my selfe, and that was in the great snowe that fell. iiiii. yeares agoo : I rode in the hye waye betwixt Topcliffe vpon Swale, and Borowe bridge, the waye beyng sumwhat trodden afore, by waye fayrynge men. The feeldes on bothe sides were playne and laye almost yearde depe with snowe, the nyght afore had ben a litle froste, so yat the snowe was hard and crusted aboue. That morning the sun shone bright and clere, the winde was whistelinge a lofte, and sharpe accordyng to the tyme of the yeare. The snowe in the hye waye laye lowfe and troden wthy horse feete: so as the wynde blewe, it toke the lowfe snow with it, and made it so slide vpon the snowe in the felde whyche was harde and crusted by reason of the frost ouer nyght, that therby I myght fe verye wel, the hole nature of the wynde as it blewe yat daye. And I had a great delyte and pleasure to marke it, whyche maketh me now far better to remember it. Sometyme the wynd would be not past. ii. yeardes brode, and so it would carie the snowe as far as I could se. An other tyme the snow woulde blowe ouer halfe the felde at ones. Sometyme the snowe woulde tomble softly, by and by it would flye wonderfull fast. And thys I perceyued also that ye wind goeth by stremes and not hole togither. For I shoulde se one streme wthy in a Score on me, than the space of. ii. score no snow woulde stirre, but after so muche quantitie of grounde, an other streme of snow at the same very tyme shoulde be caryed lykewyse, but not equally. For the one woulde 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 somtyme it crooked thys waye somtyme that waye, and somtyme it ran

round aboue in a compase. And somtyme the snowe wold be lyft clene from the ground vp in to the ayre, and by and by it would be al clapt to the grounde as though there had bene no winde at all, streightway it woulde rise and flye agayne.

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

But feyng that a Mayster of a shyp, be he neuer so cunnyng, by the vncertaynty of the wynde, leefeth many tymes both lyfe and goodes, surelye it is no wonder, though a ryght good Archer, by the self same wynde so variable in hys owne nature, so vnsensyble to oure nature, leese manye a shoothe 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 yat doth mistrust is seldome begiled. For although therby he shall not attayne to that which is best, yet by these meanes he shall at leaste auoyde yat whyche is worst. Befyde al these kindes of windes you must take hede yf you se anye cloude apere and gather by lytle and little agaynst you, or els yf a showre of raine be lyke to come vpon you: for than both the dryuing of the wether and the thyckynge of the ayre increaseth the marke, when after ye showre al thynges are contrary clere and caulme, and the marke for the 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 standes, manye tymes you shal suppose to shoothe downe the wynde, when you shote cleane agaynst the wynde. And a good reason why. For the wynd whych commeth in dede against you, redoundeth bake agayne at the wal, and whyrleth backe to the prycke and a lytle farther and than turneth agayne, euen as a vehement water 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 deceyue quycklye a shooter that is not ware of it.

This experience had I ones my selfe at Norwytch in the chapel felde wythin the waulles. And thys waye I vsed in shootynge at those markes.

When I was in the myd way betwixt the markes 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 founde ye wynde when I was in the mid waye, so I was fayne than to be content to make the best of my shooote that I coulde. Euen suche an other experience had I in a maner at Yorke, at the prickes, lying betwixe the castell and Ouse syde. And although you smile Philologe, to heare me tell myne owne fondenes: yet feing you wil nedes haue me teach you somwhat in shotyng, I must nedes somtyme tel you of myne owne experience, and the better I may do so, bycause Hippocrates in teachynge physike, Hippo. De
morb. vulg. vseth verye muche the same waye. Take heede also when you shoothe nere the sea cost, although you be. ii. or. iii. miles from the sea, for there diligent markinge shall espie in the most clere daye wonderfull chaunginge. The same is to be considered lykewyse by a riuier side speciallie if

it ebbe and flowe, where he yat taketh diligent hede of ye tide and wether, shal lightly take away al yat he shooteth for. And thus of ye nature of windes and wether according to my marking you haue hearde Philologe: and hereafter you shal marke farre mo your selfe, if you take hede. And the wether thus marked as I tolde you afore, you muste take hede, of youre standing, yat therby you may win as much as you shal loose by the wether.

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

Tor. 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 ye only prayse of it, yet by my iudgement, it hindreth ye knowlege of shotyng, and maketh men more negligente: ye which is a disprayse. Though Ame be giuen, yet take hede, for at an other mans shote you can not wel take Ame, nor at your owne neither, 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 fayer daye. There may be a fault also, in drawing or lowfyng, 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, yat no earthe, nor weete be leste vpon it, for so should it leese the lengthe. You must loke at the head also, lest it haue had any stripe, at the last shoote. A stripe vpon a stone, many tymes will bothe marre the head, croke the shafte, and hurte the fether, wheroft the leſt of them all, wyll cause a man leafe

his lengthe. For suche things which chaunce euery shooote, many archers vse to haue summe place made in theyr cote, fitte for a lytle syle, a stome, a Hunfysshkin, 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 shaft is fit, than must you take your bow euuen in the middes or elles you shall both lease your lengthe, and put youre bowe in iepardye of breakynge. Nockynge iuste is next, which is muche of the same nature. Than drawe equallye, lowse equallye, wyth houldynge your hande euer of one heighth to kepe trew compasse. To looke at your shafte hede at the lowse, is the greatest helpe to kepe a lengthe that can be, whych thyng yet hindreth excellent shotyng, bicause a man can not shote streight perfittlye excepte he looke at his marke: yf I should shooote 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 diligentlye, kepe your standynge iustely, houlde and nocke trewlye, drawe and lowse equallye, and kepe your compace certaynelye, you shall neuer misse of your lengthe.

Phi. Then there is nothyng behinde to make me hit ye marke but onely shooting streight.

Tor. No trewlye. And fyrste I wyll tell you what shystes Archers haue founde to shooote streyght, than what is the best waye to shooote streyght. As the wether belongeth specially to kepe a lengthe (yet a fide winde belongeth also to shote streyght) euuen so the nature of the pricke is to shote streyght. The lengthe or shortnesse of the marke is alwayes vnder the rule of the wether, yet sumwhat there is in ye marke, worthye to be marked of an Archer. Yf the prickes stand of a streyght plane ground they be ye best to shote at. Yf ye marke stand on a hyl syde or ye ground be vnequal with pites and turninge wayes betwyxte the markes, a mans eye shall thynke that

to be streight whyche is crooked: The experience of this thing is fene in payntyng, the cause of it is knownen by learnynge.

And it is ynough for an archer to marke it and take hede of it. The cheife cause why men can not shoothe 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 shoothe by himselfe he is a frayde to pull the shafte throughe the bowe, and therfore looketh alwayes at hys shafte: yll vse confirmeth thys faulfe as it doth many mo.

And men continewe the longer in thys faulfe bycause it is so 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 ye markes: and ones I sawe a good archer whiche did caste of his gere, and layd his quauer with it, euen in the midway betwixt ye prickes. Summe thought he dyd so, for fauegarde of his gere: I suppose he did it, to shoothe streyght withall. Other men vse to espie summe marke almoost a bow wide of ye pricke, and than go about to kepe him selfe on yat hande that the prycke is on, which thing howe much good it doth, a man wil not beleue, that doth not proue it. Other and those very good archers in drawyng, loke at the marke vntill they come almost to ye head, than they looke at theyr shafte, but at ye very lowse, with a feconde 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 hauyng a mans eye alwaye on his marke, is the only waye to shote streight, yea and I suppose so redye and easy a way yf it be learned in youth and confirmed with vse, yat a man shall neuer misse therin. Men doubt yet in loking at ye mark what way is best whether betwixt the bowe and the stringe, aboue or beneth hys hand, and many wayes moo: yet it maketh no great matter which way a man looke at his marke yf it be ioyned with comly shotyng. The diuersitie of mens standyng and drawing caufeth

diuerse men [to] loke at theyr marke diuerse wayes: yet they al lede a mans hand to shooote streight yf nothyng els stoppe. So that cumlynesse is the only iudge of best lokyng at the marke. Some men wonder why in casting a mans eye at ye marke, the hand should go streyght. Surely ye he confydered the nature of a mans eye, he wolde not wonder at it: For this I am certayne of, that no seruaunt to hys mayster, no chylde to hys father is so obedient, as euerye ioynte and pece of the body is to do what 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 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 fone signifie a thynge by the eye, as euery parte is redye to folow, or rather preuent the byddyng of the eye. Thys is playne in many thinges, but most euident in fence and feyghtynge, as I haue heard men saye. There euery parte standyng in feare to haue a blowe, runnes to the eye for helpe, as yonge chyldren do to ye mother: the foote, the hand, and al wayteth vpon the eye. Yf the eye byd ye hand either beare of, or smite, or the foote ether go forward, or backward, it doth so: And that whyche is moost wonder of all the one man lookyng stedfastly at the other mans eye and not at his hand, wyl, euen as it were, rede in his eye where he purposeth to smyte nexte, for the eye is nothyng els but a certayne wyndowe for wit to shote oute hir head at.

Thys wonderfull worke of god in makynge all the members so obedient to the eye, is a pleasaunte thynge to remember and loke vpon: therfore an Archer maye be sure in learnyng to looke at hys marke when he is yong, alwayes to shooote streyghte. The thynges that hynder a man whyche looketh at hys marke, to shooote streyght, be these: A fyde wynde, a bowe either to stronge, or els to weake, an ill arme, whan the fether runneth on the bowe to much, a byg brested shaste, for

hym that shoteth vnder hande, bycause it wyll hobble: a little brested shafte for hym yat shoteth aboue ye hande, because 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 leauue to looke at his shafte, and learne to loke at his 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 vsed wyl cause hym forsake lokynge at hys shafte. Yet let hym take hede of settynge his shafte 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 for keypynge a lengthe, I am sure the rules whiche I gaue you, will neuer disceyue you, so that there shal lacke nothyng, eyther of hittinge the marke alwayes, or elles verye nere shotynge, excepte the faulfe be onely in youre owne selfe, whiche maye come. ii. wayes, eyther in hauing a sainct harte or courage, or elles in sufferynge 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 do his duetie, yf lacke of courage were not, men myght do mo mastries than they do, as doeth appere in leapynge and vaultinge.

All affections and specially anger, hurteth bothe mynde and bodye. The mynde is blynde therby: and yf the mynde be blynde, it can not rule the bodye aright. The body both blood and bone, as they say, is brought out of his ryght course by anger: Wherby a man lacketh his right strengthe, and therfore can not shoote wel. 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, dilligently marked, no doubt ye shal shoote as well as cuer man dyd yet, by the grace of God.

Thys communication handled by me Philologe, as I knowe wel not perfyly, 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 woulde haue me rather faulte in mere follye, to take that thynge in hande whyche I was not able for to perfourme, than by any honeste shamefastnes withsay your request and minde, which I knowe well I haue not satissified. But yet I wyl thinke this labour of mine the better bestowed, if tomorow or some other daye when you haue leysour, you wyl spende as much tyme with me here in this same place, in entreatinge the question *De origine animæ*. and the ioynyng of it with the bodye, that I maye knowe howe far Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoicians haue waded in it.

¶hi. How you haue handeled this matter Toxophile I may not well tel you my selfe nowe, but for your gentenesse and good wyll towarde learnyng and shotyng, I wyll be content to shewe you any pleasure whensoever you wyll: and nowe the sunne is doun therfore if it please you, we wil go home and drynke in my chambre, and there I wyll tell you playnelye what I thinke of this communication and also, what daye we will appoyn特 at your request for the other matter, to mete here agayne.

Deo gratias.

LONDONI. 

In oedibus Edouardi VVhytchurch.

Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum folium.

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Deo gratias.

LONDONI. 

In ædibus Edouardi VVhytchurch.

Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum folium.

I. TOXOPHILUS, THE FOUNDATION OF ASCHAM'S AFTER-FORTUNES. In a humorous letter to Queen Elizabeth, on 10. Oct. 1567. (87.) : Ascham divides his idea of her into two ; and asking her in one personality as his friend, to intercede with her other personality, as queen, to relieve him from his difficulties, recounts to her the history of his pension.

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

more speaking, before I had done her any service, of her own bountifull goodness made my patent twenty pounds by year during my life, for her and her successors."

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

(170.) To BISHOP GARDINER. [About April 1554.]

In writing out my patent I have left a vacant place for your wisdom to value the sum; wherein I trust to find further favour; for I have both good cause to ask it, and better hope to obtain it, partly in consideration of my unrewarded pains and undischarged costs, in teaching King EDWARD's person, partly for my three years' service in the Emperor's court, but chiefly of all when King HENRY first gave it me at Greenwich, your lordship in the gallery there asking me what the king had given me, and knowing the truth, your lordship said it was too little, and most gently offered me to speak to the king for me. But then I most happily desired your lordship to reserve that goodness to another time, which time God hath granted even to these days, when your lordship may now perform by favour as much as then you wished by good will, being as easy to obtain the one as to ask the other. And I beseech your lordship see what good is offered me in writing the patent: the space which is left by chance doth seem to crave by good luck some words of length, as *viginti* or *triginta*, yea, with the help of a little dash *quadraginta* would serve best of all. But sure as for *decem* it is somewhat with the shortest: nevertheless I for my part shall be no less contented with the one than glad with the other, and for either of both more than bound to your lordship. And thus God prosper your lordship. Your lordship's most bounden to serve you.

R. ASKAM.

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

2. The Byzantine Emperor LEO VI [b 865—ascended the throne 1. Mar. 886—d 911], farnamed in flattery the *Philosopher*, is reputed to have written, besides other works, one entitled *Tῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τακτικῶν συντομός παράδοσις*, (A summary exposition of the art of war). Sir John Cheke's translation into Latin, of this book, in 1543 or 1544, was published at Basle in 1554, under the title of *Leonis Imperatoris. De bellico apparatu Liber, e græco in latinum conuersus, IOAN CHECO Cantrabrigensi Interp.*

3. The Dutchman PETER NANNING, latinized NANNIUS, [b 1500—d 21 July 1557] was Professor of Latin, in college of 'the three languages' in the University of Louvain. He wrote a short tract of 34 pp, *De milite peregrino*: in which, in a dialogue

between Olympius and Xenophon, he discusses Archery-v-Guns. This tract is attached to another entitled *Oratio de obſidione Louaniensi*. Both were published at Louvain in September 1543.

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

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

6. The French Chronicler, ROBERT GAGUIN [b about 1425—d 22. July. 1502.] General of the Order of the Trinitarians, and reputed the best narrator of his age. The first edition of his *Compendium super Francorum gestis* was published in Paris, in 1495.

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

8. HECTOR BOETHIUS, or BOECE, or BOEIS [b about 1470—d about 1550] a native of Dundee, became Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. wrote *Scotorum historie a prima gentis origine. &c.* in 17 books, first published in Paris in 1526, and subsequently enlarged in later editions.

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



English Reprints.

JOSEPH ADDISON.

Criticism

on

MILTON's

Paradise Lost.

FROM 'THE SPECTATOR.'

31 December, 1711—3 May, 1712.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

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

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

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

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

Time servs not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home in the spacious circuits of her musing hath liberty to propose to her self, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting, whether that Epick form whereof the two poems of *Homer*, and those other two of *Virgil* and *Tasso* are a diffuse, and the book of *Iob* a brief model: or whether the rules of *Aristotle* herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be follow'd, which in them that know art, and use judgement is no transgression, but an enriching of art. And lastly what King or Knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Chris-

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

Criticism on ‘Paradise Lost.’

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

† p. 49.

‡ p. 75.

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

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

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

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

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

† pp. 54, 55.

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

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

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

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

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

† D 43.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ADDISON'S CRITICISM ON MILTON'S 'PARADISE LOST.'

* Editions not seen.

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

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. As a separate publication.

1719. London. Notes on the Twelve Books of Paradise Lost, Col.
1 vol. 12mo. lected from the SPECTATOR. Written by Mr. Addison.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. As a separate publication.

- 1 Aug. London. English Reprints: see title at p. 1.
1808. 1 vol. 8vo.

II. With other works.

1721. London. Addison's works [Ed: with Life by T. TICKELL.] The
4 vols. 4to. criticism occupies iii. 268-382.
1761. Birmingham. Baskerville edition. Addison's works. The criticism
4 vols. 4to. occupies iii. 246-355.
1762. London. A familiar Exposition of the Poetical Works of
1 vol. 8vo. Milton. To which is prefixed Mr. Addison's Criticism
on 'Paradise Lost.' With a preface by the Rev. Mr.
DODD. The criticism occupies pp. 1-144.
- *1790. Edinburgh. Papers in the Tatler, Spectator, Guardian, and Free-
4 vols. 8vo. holder, together with his Treatise on the Christian Re-
ligion, &c. Watt.
1801. London. The Poetical works of John Milton. Ed. by REV.
6 vols. 8vo. H. J. TODD, M.A. The criticism occupies i. 24-194.
1804. London. Selections from the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, and
3 vols 8vo. Freeholder. With a preliminary Essay by ANNA
LÆTITIA BARBAULD. The criticism occupies ii. 38-170.
1804. London. Addison's works. Collected by Mr. TICKELL. The
6 vols. 8vo. criticism occupies ii. 83-221.
1811. London. Addison's works. With notes by Bp. HURD. The
6 vols. 8vo. criticism occupies iv. 78-208.
1819. London. Second edition of No. 6. The criticism occupies i.
7 vols. 8vo. 1-153.
1826. London. Third edition of No. 6. The criticism, without quota-
6 vols. 8vo. tions, occupies ii. viii.-xcviii.
1849. London. A new edition of No. 7. The criticism occupies
2 vols. 8vo. ii. 169-184.
1856. New York. Addison's works. Ed. by G. W. GREENE. The criticism
6 vols. 8vo. occupies vi. 24-168.
1856. London. Bohn's British Classics. Addison's works. A new
6 vols. 8vo. edition of No. 9. The criticism occupies iii. 170-283.





Joseph Addison,
CRITICISM
ON
Milton's
PARADISE LOST.

FROM 'THE SPECTATOR.'

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

DRYDEN. Under Milton's picture in Tonson's folio
(the fourth) edition of *Paradise Lost*, &c. 1688.



NOTE ON THE EARLY ISSUES OF 'THE SPECTATOR.'

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| I. | <p>1711. No. 1 of <i>The Spectator</i> appears 'To be Continued every Day.'</p> <p>Mar. 1. It is a foolscap folio, printed in two columns on each of its two pages; advertisements occupying the greater part of the fourth column. The serial continues for ninety-three weeks.</p> <p>June 1. No. 80 appears.</p> <p>June 2. No. 81 appears.</p> <p>Sept. 13. No. 169 appears.</p> |
| III. | <p>Sept. 14. No. 170 appears.</p> <p>Nov. 20. No. 227 has the following announcement. "There is now Printing by Subscription two Volumes of the SPECTATORS 2nd Ed. on a large character in Octavo; the Price of the two Vols. well Bound and Gilt two Guineas. Those who are inclined to Subscribe, are desired to make their first Payments to Jacob Tonson, Bookseller in the Strand; the Books being so near finished, that they will be ready for the Subscribers ator before Christmas next."</p> <p>Dec. 18. No. 251 appears.</p> <p>19. No. 252 appears.</p> <p>31. No. 262. The papers on Milton are announced</p> |
| IV. | <p>1712.</p> <p>Jan. 5. No. 267. The first paper on <i>Paradise Lost</i> appears.</p> <p>8. No. 269 has this announcement. "The First and Second Volumes of the SPECTATOR in 8vo are now ready to be delivered to the Subscribers, by J. Tonson at Shakespear's Head over-against Catherine-street in the Strand."</p> <p>Jan. 12. No. 273. The second Milton paper appears.</p> <p>18. No. 278 advertises "This Day is Published, A very neat Pocket Edition of the SPECTATOR, in 2 Vols. 12°. Printed for 3rd Ed. Sam. Buckley at the Dolphin in Little-Britain, and J. Tonson at Shakespear's Head over-against Catherine-street in the Strand."</p> <p>Jan. 19—Mar. 8. Eight more papers on <i>Paradise Lost</i> appear.</p> |
| V. | <p>There is no announcement in the Original issue, when Vols. III and IV were ready for delivery to the subscribers of the first 2nd Ed. two, of which they were issued, with an Index, as a completion. Vol. III contains a List of the subscribers to the second edition of these earlier numbers of <i>The Spectator</i>. The list contains 402 names, including a large proportion of aristocratic titles; and among other the names of Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Blackmore, &c. The probability is that as the subscribers would naturally complete their sets, the reprinting would go on a little in rearre of the Original issue, and that these volumes were delivered some time in April. The 4 volumes apparently realized £1,608.</p> <p>April ? 10. Annoe, c. 18 comes into force. It imposes a Stamp duty of an Halfpenny upon every Pamphlet or Paper contained in Half a Sheet, and One Shilling upon every printed advertisement.—Statutesix. 617. This stamp is still seen on many copies.</p> <p>Nov. 11. No. 533 advertises "This Day is Publish'd, A very neat Pocket edition of the 3d and 4th Volumes of the Spectator in 12°. To which is added a compleat Index to the whole 4 Volumes. &c."</p> <p>Dec. 6. No. 555. Steele announcing, in his own name, the conclusion of the series, states, "I have nothing more to add, but having swelled this Work to 555 Papers, they will be disposed into 2nd Ed. seven Volumes, four of which are already publish'd, and the three others in the Press. It will not be demanded of me why I now leave off, tho' I must own my self obliged to give an Account to the Town of my Time hereafter, since I retire when their Partiality to me is so great, that an Edition of the former Volumes of Spectators of above Nine thousand each Book is already sold off, and the Tax on each half Sheet has brought into the Stamp-Office one Week with another above 20/- a Week arising from this single Paper, notwithstanding it at first reduced it to less than half the number that was usually Printed before this Tax was laid." He is evidently referring to the original daily issues.</p> |

Collected, in second edition, into volumes VII. VI. V.

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

VIII. 1714. June 18—Dec. 20. Nos 556-635 are published.

SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE PAPERS CONSTITUTE 'THE SPECTATOR.'

The SPECTATOR.

Nulla venenato Littera missa Foco est.

Ov.

{*Satirical Reflexions I avoid.*

Another translation.

*My paper flows from no satiric vein,
Contains no poison, and conveys no pain. Adapted}*

Monday, December 31. 1711.



Think my self highly obliged to the Publick for their kind Acceptance of a Paper which visits them every Morning, and has in it none of those *Seasonings* that recommend so many of the Writings which are in vogue among us.

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

There is not one of these abovementioned Subjects that would not sell a very indifferent Paper, could I think of gratifying the Publick by such mean and base Methods: But notwithstanding I have rejected every thing that favours of Party, every thing that is loose and immoral, and every thing that might create Uneasiness in the Minds of particular Persons, I find that the Demand for my Papers has encreased every Month since their first Appearance in the World. This does not perhaps reflect so much Honour upon my self, as on my Readers, who give a much greater Attention to Discourses of Virtue and Morality, than ever I expected, or indeed could hope.

When I broke loose from that great Body of Writers who have employed their Wit and Parts in propagating Vice and Irreligion, I did not question but I should be treated as an odd kind of Fellow that had a Mind to appear singular in my Way of Writing: But the general Reception I have found, convinces me that the World is not so corrupt as we are apt to imagine; and that if those Men of Parts who have been employed in viciating the Age had endeavoured to rectify and amend it, they needed not to have sacrificed their good Sense and Virtue to their Fame and Reputation. No Man is so sunk in Vice and Ignorance, but there are still some hidden Seeds of Goodness and Knowledge in him; which give him a Relish of such Reflections and Speculations as have an Aptness in* them* to improve the Mind and to make the Heart better.

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

As I have been thus tender of every particular Person's Reputation, so I have taken more than ordi-

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

I have been so very scrupulous in this Particular of not hurting any Man's Reputation, that I have forborn mentioning even such Authors as I could not name with Honour. This I must confess to have been a Piece of very great Self-denial : For as the Publick relishes nothing better than the Ridicule which turns upon a Writer of any Eminence, so there is nothing which a Man that has but a very ordinary Talent in Ridicule may execute with greater Ease. One might raise Laughter for a Quarter of a Year together upon the Works of a Person who has published but a very few Volumes. For which Reasons I am astonished, that those who have appeared against this Paper have made so very little of it. The Criticisms which I have hitherto published, have been made with an Intention rather to discover Beauties and Excellencies in the

Writers of my own Time, than to publish any of their Faults and Imperfections. In the mean while I should take it for a very great Favour from some of my underhand Detractors, if they would break all Measures with me so far, as to give me a Pretence for examining their Performances with an impartial Eye: Nor shall I look upon it as any Breach of Charity to criticise the Author, so long as I keep clear of the Person.

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

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

*Si quid novisli rectius iſtis
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.*

If you have made any better Remarks of your own, communicate them with Candour; if not, make use of these I present you with.

The SPECTATOR.

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii. Propert.
 { Give place, ye Roman, and ye Grecian Wits. }

Saturday, January, 5. 1712.

 HERE is nothing in Nature so irksom[e] as general Discourses, especially when they turn chiefly upon Words. For this Reason I shall wave the Discussion of that Point which was started some Years since, Whether Milton's *Paradise Lost* may be called an Heroick Poem? Those who will not give it that Title, may call it (if they please) a Divine Poem. It will be sufficient to its Perfection, if it has in it all the Beauties of the highest kind of Poetry; and as for those who say [alledge] it is not an Heroick Poem, they advance no more to the Diminution of it, than if they should say *Adam* is not *Aeneas*, nor *Eve Helen*.

I shall therefore examine it by the Rules of Epic Poetry, and see whether it falls short of the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, in the Beauties which are essential to that kind of Writing. The first Thing to be considered in an Epic Poem, is the Fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the Action which it relates is more or les so. This Action should have three Qualifications in it. First, It should be but one Action. Secondly, It should be an entire Action; and Thirdly, It should be a great Action. To consider the Action of the *Iliad*, *Aeneid*, and *Paradise Lost* in these three several Lights. Homer to preserve the Unity of his Action haftens into the midst of things, as Horace has oberved: Had he gone up

to *Leda's Egg*, or begun much later, even at the Rape of *Helen*, or the Investing of *Troy*, it is manifest that the Story of the Poem would have been a Series of several Actions. He therefore opens his Poem with the Discord of his Princes, and with great Art interweaves in the several succeeding parts of it, an account of every thing [material] which relates to the Story [them], and had passed before that fatal Diffension. After the same manner *Aeneas* makes his first appearance in the *Tyrrhene Seas*, and within sight of *Italy*, because the Action proposed to be celebrated was that of his Settling himself in *Latium*. But because it was necessary for the Reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of *Troy*, and in the preceding parts of his Voyage, *Virgil* makes his Hero relate it by way of Episode in the second and third Books of the *Aeneid*. The Contents of both which Books come before those of the first Book in the Thread of the Story, tho' for preserving of this Unity of Action, they follow them in the Disposition of the Poem. *Milton*, in Imitation of these two great Poets, opens his *Paradise Lost* with an Infernal Council plotting the Fall of Man, which is the Action he proposed to celebrate; and as for those great Actions, which preceded in point of time, the Battel of the Angels, and the Creation of the World, (which would have entirely destroyed the Unity of his Principal Action, had he related them in the same Order that they happened) he cast them into the fifth, sixth and seventh Books, by way of Episode to this noble Poem.

Aristotle himself allows, that *Homer* has nothing to boast of as to the Unity of his Fable, tho' at the same time that great Critick and Philosopher endeavours to palliate this Imperfection in the *Greek Poet*, by imputing it in some Measure to the very Nature of an Epic Poem. Some have been of Opinion, that the *Aeneid* labours also in this particular, and has Episodes which may be looked upon as Excrencencies rather than as Parts of the Action. On the contrary, the

Poem which we have now under our Consideration, hath no other Episodes than such as naturally arise from the Subject, and yet is filled with such a multitude of astonishing Circumstances [Incidents], that it gives us at the same time a Pleasure of the greatest Variety, and of the greatest Simplicity. {uniform in its Nature, though diversified in the Execution.}

I must observe also, that as *Virgil* in the Poem which was designed to celebrate the Original of the *Roman Empire*, has described the Birth of its great Rival, the *Carthaginian Commonwealth*. *Milton* with the like Art in his Poem on the Fall of Man, has related the Fall of those Angels who are his professed Enemies. Besides the many other Beauties in such an Episode, it's running Parallel with the great Action of the Poem, hinders it from breaking the Unity so much as another Episode would have done, that had not so great an Affinity with the principal Subject. In short, this is the same kind of Beauty which the Criticks admire in the *Spanish Fryar*, or the *Double Discovery*, where the two different Plots look like Counterparts and Copies of one another.

The second Qualification required in the Action of an Epic Poem is, that it should be an *entire Action*: An Action is entire when it is compleat in all its Parts; or as *Aristotle* describes it, when it consists of a Beginning, a Middle, and an End. Nothing should go before it, be intermix'd with it, or follow after it, that is not related to it. As on the contrary, no single Step should be omitted in that just and regular Progress [Process] which it must be supposed to take from its Original to its Consummation. Thus we see the Anger of *Achilles* in its Birth, its Continuance and Effects; and *Æneas*'s Settlement in *Italy*, carried on through all the Oppositions in his way to it both by Sea and Land. The Action in *Milton* excels (I think) both the former in this particular; we see it contrived in Hell, executed upon Earth, and punished by Heaven. The parts of it are told in the most distinct manner,

and grow out of one another in the most natural Method.

The third Qualification of an Epic Poem is its *Greatness*. The Anger of *Achilles* was of such Consequence, that it embroiled the Kings of *Greece*, destroy'd the Heroes of *Troy*, and engaged all the Gods in Factions. *Aeneas's* Settlement in *Italy* produced the *Cæsars*, and gave Birth to the *Roman Empire*. *Milton's* Subject was still greater than either of the former ; it does not determine the Fate of single Persons or Nations, but of a whole Species. The united Powers of Hell are joyned together for the Destruction of Mankind, which they effected in part, and would have completed, had not Omnipotence it self interposed. The principal Actors are Man in his greatest Perfection, and Woman in her highest Beauty. Their Enemies are the fallen Angels : The Messiah their Friend, and the Almighty their Protector. In short, every thing that is great in the whole Circle of Being, whether within the Verge of Nature, or out of it, has a proper Part assigned it in this noble Poem.

In Poetry, as in Architecture, not only the whole, but the principal Members, and every part of them, should be Great. I will not presume to say, that the Book of Games in the *Aeneid*, or that in the *Iliad*, are not of this nature, nor to reprehend *Virgil's* Simile of a Top, and many other of the same nature in the *Iliad*, as liable to any Censure in this Particular ; but I think we may say, without offence to [derogating from] those wonderful Performances, that there is an unquestionable Magnificence in every Part of *Paradise Lost*, and indeed a much greater than could have been formed upon any Pagan System.

But *Aristotle*, by the Greatness of the Action, does not only mean that it should be great in its Nature, but also in its Duration, or in other Words, that it should have a due length in it, as well as what we properly call Greatness. The just Measure of this kind of Magnitude, he explains by the following

Similitude. An Animal, no bigger than a Mite, cannot appear perfect to the Eye, because the Sight takes it in at once, and has only a confused Idea of the whole, and not a distinct Idea of all its Parts ; If on the contrary you should suppose an Animal of ten thousand Furlongs in length, the Eye would be so filled with a single Part of it; that it could not give the Mind an Idea of the whole. What these Animals are to the Eye, a very short or a very long Action would be to the Memory. The first would be, as it were, lost and swallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. *Homer* and *Virgil* have shewn their principal Art in this Particular; the Action of the *Iliad*, and that of the *Aeneid*, were in themselves exceeding short, but are so beautifully extended and diversified by the Intervention [Invention] of *Episodes*, and the Machinery of Gods, with the like Poetical Ornaments, that they make up an agreeable Story sufficient to employ the Memory without overcharging it. *Milton's* Action is enriched with such a variety of Circumstances, that I have taken as much Pleasure in reading the Contents of his Books, as in the best invented Story I ever met with. It is possible, that the Traditions on which the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* were built, had more Circumstances in them than the History of the *Fall of Man*, as it is related in Scripture. Besides it was easier for *Homer* and *Virgil* to dash the Truth with Fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the Religion of their Country by it. But as for *Milton*, he had not only a very few Circumstances upon which to raise his Poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest Caution in every thing that he added out of his own Invention. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the Restraints he was under, he has filled his Story with so many surprising Incidents, which bear so close an Analogy with what is delivered in Holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate Reader, without giving Offence to the most scrupulous.

The Modern Criticks have collected from several Hints in the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* the Space of Time, which is taken up by the Action of each of those Poems; but as a great Part of *Milton's Story* was transacted in Regions that lie out of the reach of the Sun and the Sphere of Day, it is impossible to gratifie the Reader with such a Calculation, which indeed would be more curious than instructive; none of the Criticks, either Ancient or Modern, having laid down Rules to circumscribe the Action of an Epic Poem with any determined number of Years, Days, or Hours.†

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

† See p. 151.



The SPECTATOR.

— — — *Notandi sunt tibi Mores.*

Hor.

{*Note well the Manners.*}

Saturday, January 12. 1712.

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

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

Homer does not only out-shine all other Poets in the Variety, but also in the Novelty of his Characters. He has introduced among his *Græcian* Princes a Person, who had lived thrice the Age of Man, and conversed with *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Polyphemus*, and the first Race of Heroes. His principal Actor is the Off-spring [Son] of a Goddess, not to mention the Son [Off-spring] of *Aurora* [other Deities], who has [have] likewise a Place in his Poem, and the venerable *Trojan* Prince, who was the Father of so many Kings and Heroes. There is in these several Characters of *Homer*.

a certain Dignity as well as Novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the Nature of an Heroic Poem. Tho', at the same time, to give them the greater variety, he has described a *Vulcan*, that is, a Buffoon among his Gods, and a *Thersites* among his Mortals.

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

—*Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum* [Virg.]

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

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

Milton was so sensible of this Defect in the Subject of his Poem, and of the few Characters it would afford

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

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

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

* See also pp. 45 : 70-72 ; 133-135.

We may likewise observe with how much Art the Poet has varied several Characters of the Persons that speak in his infernal Assembly. On the contrary, how has he represented the whole Godhead exerting it self towards Man in its full Benevolence under the Three-fold Distinction of a Creator, a Redeemer and a Comforter !

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

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

Milton's Poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its Readers, whatever Nation, Country or People he may belong to, not to be related to the Persons who are the principal Actors in it ; but what is still infinitely more to its Advantage, the principal Actors in this Poem are not only our

Progenitors, but our Representatives. We have an actual Interest in every thing they do, and no less than our utmost Happiness or *Misery* is concerned, and lies at Stake in all their Behaviour.

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

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

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

In my next I shall go through other parts of Milton’s Poem; and hope that what I shall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only serve as a Comment upon Milton, but upon Aristotle.

The SPECTATOR.

Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.

Hor

{*He knows what best befits each Character.*}

Saturday, January 19. 1712.

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

The Sentiments in an [all] Epic Poem are the Thoughts and Behaviour which the Author ascribes to the Persons whom he introduces, and are *just* when they are conformable to the Characters of the several Persons. The Sentiments have likewise a relation to *Things* as well as *Persons*, and are then perfect when they are such as are adapted to the Subject. If in either of these Cases the Poet argues, or explains, magnifies or diminishes, raises Love or Hatred, Pity or Terror, or any other Passion, we ought to consider whether the Sentiments he makes use of are proper for these [their] Ends. *Homer* is censured by the Criticks for

his Defect as to this Particular in several parts of the *Iliad* and *Odysssey*, tho' at the same time those who have treated this great Poet with Candour, have attributed this Defect to the Times in which he lived. It was the fault of the Age, and not of *Homer*, if there wants that Delicacy in some of his Sentiments, which appears in the Works of Men of a much inferior Genius. Besides, if there are Blemishes in any particular Thoughts, there is an infinite Beauty in the greatest part of them. In short, if there are many Poets who wou'd not have fallen into the mea[n]ness of some of his Sentiments, there are none who cou'd have rise[n] up to the Greatness of others. *Virgil* has excelled all others in the Propriety of his Sentiments. *Milton* shines likewise very much in this Particular: Nor must we omit one Consideration which adds to his Honour and Reputation. *Homer* and *Virgil* introduced Persons whose Characters are commonly known among Men, and such as are to be met with either in History, or in ordinary Conversation. *Milton's* Characters, most of them, lie out of Nature, and were to be formed purely by his own Invention. It shews a greater Genius in *Shakespear* to have drawn his *Calyban*, than his *Hotspur* or *Julius Cæsar*: The one was to be supplied out of his own Imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon Tradition, History and Observation. It was much easier therefore for *Homer* to find proper Sentiments for an Assembly of *Grecian* Generals, than for *Milton* to diversifie his Infernal Council with proper Characters, and inspire them with a variety of Sentiments. The Loves of *Dido* and *Æneas* are only Copies of what has passed between other Persons. *Adam* and *Eve*, before the Fall, are a different Species from that of Mankind, who are descended from them; and none but a Poet of the most unbounded Invention, and the most exquisite Judgment, cou'd have filled their Conversation and Behaviour with such Beautiful Circumstances during their State of Innocence.

Nor is it sufficient for an Epic Poem to be filled with such Thoughts as are *Natural*, unless it abound also with such as are *Sublime*. *Virgil* in this Particular falls short of *Homer*. He has not indeed so many Thoughts that are Low and Vulgar ; but at the same time has not so many Thoughts that are Sublime and Noble. The truth of it is, *Virgil* seldom rises into very astonishing Sentiments, where he is not fired by the *Iliad*. He every where charms and pleases us by the force of his own Genius ; but seldom elevates and transports us where he does not fetch his Hints from *Homer*.

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

From what has been said we may infer, that as there are two kinds of Sentiments, the Natural and the Sublime, which are always to be pursued in an Heroic Poem, there are also two kinds of Thoughts which are carefully to be avoided. The first are such as are affected and unnatural ; the second such as are mean and vulgar. As for the first kind of Thoughts we meet with little or nothing that is like them in *Virgil*: He has none of those little Points and Puerilities that are so often to be met with in *Ovid*, none of the

Epigrammatick Turns of *Lucan*, none of those swelling Sentiments which are so frequent[ly] in *Statius* and *Claudian*, none of those mixed Embellishments of *Tasso*. Everything is just and natural. His Sentiments shew that he had a perfect Insight into Human Nature, and that he knew every thing which was the most proper to affect it. *I remember but one Line in him which has been objected against, by the Criticks, as a point of Wit. It is in his ninth Book, where *Fune* speaking of the *Trojans*, how they survived the Ruins of their City, expresses her self in the following Words ;

*Num capti potuere capi, num incensa cremarunt
Pergama?* —————

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

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

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

* From 'I remember' to 'Flames?' omitted in second edition.

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

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

—Satan beheld their Piight,
And to his Mates thus in derision call'd,
O Friends, why come not on these Victors proud!

*E'er while they fierce were coming, and when we,
To entertain them fair with open Front,
And Breast, (what could we more) propounded terms
Of Composition, straight they chang'd their Minds,
Flew off, and into strange Vagaries fell,
As they would dance, yet for a Dance they seem'd
Somewhat extravagant, and wild, perhaps
For Joy of offer'd Peace; but I suppose
If our Proposals once again were heard,
We should compel them to a quick Refust.*

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



The SPECTATOR.

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

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

Roscommon. }

Saturday, January 26. 1712.



AVING already treated of the Fable, the Characters, and Sentiments in the *Paradise Lost*, we are in the last place to consider the *Language*; and as the learned World is very much divided upon *Milton* as to this Point, I hope they will excuse me if I appear particular in any of my Opinions, and encline to those who judge the most advantagiously of the Author.

It is requisite that the Language of an Heroic Poem should be both Perspicuous and Sublime. In proportion as either of these two Qualities are wanting, the Language is imperfect. Perspicuity is the first and most necessary Qualification; insomuch, that a good-natured Reader sometimes overlooks a little Slip even in the Grammar or Syntax, where it is impossible for him to mistake the Poet's Sense. Of this kind is that Passage in *Milton*, wherein he speaks of *Satan*.

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

And that in which he describes *Adam* and *Eve*.

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

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

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

however, you may see an Instance or two [meet with some Instances, as] in the following Passages.

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

—*Awhile Discourse they hold,
No fear left Dinner cool ; when thus began
Our Author—*

*Who of all Ages to succeed, but feeling
The Evil on him brought by me, will curse
My Head, ill fare our Ancestor impure,
For this we may thank Adam—*

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

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

many others the Endeavour after Perspicuity prejudices its Greatness.

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

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

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

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

Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce Pains not feel.
[Yet to their Gen'ral's Voice they soon obey'd.]
— Who shall tempt with wandring Feet
The dark unbottom'd Infinite Abyss,
And through the palpable Obscure find out his way,

*His uncouth way, or spread his airy Flight
Upborn with indefatigable Wings
Over the vast Abrupt!—*

[———*So both ascend
In the Visions of God*——]

B. 2.]

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

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

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

I must likewise take notice, that there are in *Milton*

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

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

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

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

Those who have not a Taste for this Elevation of Stile, and are apt to ridicule a Poet when he departs from the common Forms of Expression, would do well to see how *Aristotle* has treated an ancient Author,

called *Euclid*, for his insipid Mirth upon this Occasion. Mr. Dryden used to call this sort of Men his Prose-Criticks.

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



The SPECTATOR.

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

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

Roscommon.]

Saturday, February 2. 1712.



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

It is in Criticism, as in all other Sciences and Speculations; one who brings with him any implicit Notions and Observations which he has made in his reading of the Poets, will find his own Reflections methodized and explained, and perhaps several little Hints that had passed in his Mind, perfected and im-

proved in the Works of a good Critick; whereas one who has not these previous Lights, is very often an utter Stranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong Interpretation upon it.

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

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

The truth of it is, there is nothing more absurd, than for a Man to set up for a Critick, without a good Insight into all the Parts of Learning; whereas many of those who have endeavoured to signalize themselves by Works of this Nature among our *English* Writers, are not only defective in the above-mentioned Particulars, but plainly discover by the Phrases which they make use of, and by their confused way of thinking, that they are not acquainted with the most common and ordinary Systems of Arts and Sciences. A few general Rules extracted out of the *French* Authors, with a certain Cant of Words, has sometimes set up an Illiterate heavy Writer for a most judicious and formidable Critick.

One great Mark, by which you may discover a Critick who has neither Taste nor Learning, is this, that he seldom ventures to praise any Passage in an Author which has not been before received and applauded by the Publick, and that his Criticism turns wholly upon little Faults and Errors. This part of a Critick is so very easie to succeed in, that we find every ordinary Reader, upon the publishing of a new Poem, has Wit and Ill-nature enough to turn several Passages of it into Ridicule, and very often in the right Place. This Mr. *Dryden* has very agreeably remarked in those two celebrated Lines,

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

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

Such a Mirth as this, is always unseasonable in a Critick, as it rather prejudices the Reader than con-

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

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

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

The SPECTATOR.

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

Saturday, February 9, 1712.



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

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

The Implex Fable is therefore of two kinds: In the first the chief Actor makes his way through a long Series of Dangers and Difficulties, 'till he arrives at Honour and Prosperity, as we see in the Stories [Story] of *Ulysses* and **Aeneas*.* In the second, the chief Actor in the Poem falls from some eminent pitch of Honour and Prosperity, into Misery and Disgrace. Thus we see *Adam* and *Eve* sinking from a State of Innocence and Happiness, into the most abject Condition of Sin and Sorrow.

The most taking Tragedies among the Ancients were built on this last sort of Impenetrable Fable, particularly the Tragedy of *OEdipus*, which proceeds upon a Story, if we may believe *Aristotle*, the most proper for Tragedy that could be invented by the Wit of Man. I have taken some pains in a former Paper to shew, that this kind of Impenetrable Fable, wherein the Event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an Audience than that of the first kind ; notwithstanding many excellent Pieces among the Ancients, as well as most of those which have been written of late Years in our own Country, are raised upon contrary Plans. I must however own, that I think this kind of Fable, which is the most perfect in Tragedy, is not so proper for an Heroic Poem.

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

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

† See p. 147.

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

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

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

If the Reader would be at the pains to see how the Story of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* is delivered by those

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

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

of his Blindness, his Panegyrick on Marriage, his Reflections on *Adam* and *Eve's* going naked, of the Angels eating, and several other Passages in his Poem, are liable to the same Exception, tho' I must confess there is so great a Beauty in these very Digressions, that I would not wish them out of his Poem.

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

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

—————*The small Infantry*
Warr'd on by Cranes—————

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

A Third Fault in his Sentiments, is an unnecessary Ostentation of Learning, which likewise occurs very frequently. It is certain that both *Homer* and *Virgil* were Masters of all the Learning of their Times, but it shews it self in their Works after an indirect and concealed manner. *Milton* seems ambitious of letting us know, by his Excursions on Free-will and Predestination, and his many Glances upon History, Astronomy, Geography and the like, as well as by the Terms and Phrases he sometimes makes use of, that he was acquainted with the whole Circle of Arts and Sciences.

If, in the last place, we consider the *Language* of this great Poet, we must allow what I have hinted in a former Paper, that it is [often] too much laboured, and sometimes obscured by old Words, Transpositions, and Foreign Idioms. *Seneca's Objection* to the Stile of a great Author, *Riget ejus oratio, nihil in eā placidum, nihil lene*, is what many Criticks make to *Milton*: as I cannot wholly refute it, so I have already apologized for it in another Paper; to which I may further add, that *Milton's* Sentiments and Ideas were so wonderfully Sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have represented them in their full Strength and Beauty, without having recourse to these Foreign Assistancess. Our Language funk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of Soul, which furnished him with such glorious Conceptions.

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

And brought into the World a World of woe.
— *Begirt th' Almighty Throne*
Beseeching or besieging —
This tempted our attempt —
At one Slight bound high overleapt all bound.

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

The last Fault which I shall take notice of in *Milton's* Stile, is the frequent use of what the Learned call *Technical Words*, or Terms of Art. It is one of the great Beauties of Poetry, to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse of it self in such easy Language as may be understood by ordinary Readers: Besides that the Knowledge of a Poet should rather seem born with him, or inspired, than

drawn from Books and Systems. I have often wondered how Mr. *Dryden* could translate a Passage of *Virgil* after the following manner.

*Tack to the Larboard, and stand off to Sea,
Veer Star-board Sea and Land.—*

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

I shall in my next *Saturday's** Paper [Papers] give an Account of the many particular Beauties in *Milton*, which would have been too long to insert under those general Heads I have already treated of, and with which I intend to conclude this Piece of Criticism.



The SPECTATOR.

—*voleat hæc sub luce videri,
Fudicis argutum que non formidat acumen.* Hor.
{—*Some choose the clearest Light,
And boldly challenge the most piercing Eye.* Roscommon.}

Saturday, February 16. 1712.



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

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

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

His Invocation to a Work which turns in a great

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

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

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

*Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate,
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blazed, his other parts beside
Prone on the Flood, extended long and large,*

*Lay floating many a rood—
 Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
 His mighty Stature; on each hand the flames
 Driv'n backward slope their pointing Spires, and rowl'd
 In Billows, leave i' th' mid'st a horrid vale.
 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
 Aloft, incumbent on the dusky Air
 That felt unusual weight—*

*His pondrous Shield
 Ethereal temper, massie, large and round
 Behind him cast; the broad circumference
 Hung on his Shoulders like the Moon, whose orb
 Thro' Optick Glass the Tuscan Artifts view
 At Ev'ning from the top of Fefole,
 Or in Valdarno to descry new Lands,
 Rivers or Mountains on her fpotty Globe.
 His Spear to equal which the tallest pine
 Hewn on Norwegian Hills to be the Mast
 Of some great Ammiral, were but a wand
 He walk'd with to support uneasie Steps
 Over the burning Marl—*

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

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

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

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

His Sentiments are every way answerable to his Character, and are* suitable to a created Being of the most exalted and most depraved Nature. Such is that in which he takes Possession of his Place of Torments.

—*Hail Horrors, hail
Infernall World, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor, one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time.*

And afterwards,

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

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

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

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

The Catalogue of Evil Spirits has a great deal [Abundance] of Learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of

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

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

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

+ This passage was added in the author's life-time, but subsequent to the second edition. The earliest issue with it in that I have seen, is *Notes upon the Twelve Books of 'Paradise Lost.'* London 1719. p. 43.

'the Feast of *Adonis*, is of a bloody Colour; which the
 'Heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of
 'Sympathy in the River for the Death of *Adonis*, who
 'was killed by a wild Boar in the Mountains, out of
 'which this Stream rises. Something like this we saw
 'actually come to pass; for the Water was stain'd to
 'a surprising rednes; and, as we observed in Travelling,
 'had discolour'd the Sea a great way into a reddish
 'Hue, occasion'd doubtless by a sort of Minium, or
 'red Earth, washed into the River by the violence of
 'the Rain, and not by any stain from *Adonis's* Blood.'}

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

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

The Character of *Mammon*, and the Description of the *Pandæmonium*, are full of Beauties.

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

*The Seat of Desolation, void of Light,
Save what the glimmering of those livid Flames
Cayls pale and dreadful—*

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

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

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

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

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

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

The sudden Production of the *Pandæmonium* ;

*Anon out of the Earth a Fabrick huge
Rose like an Exhalation, with the Sound
Of dulcet Symphonies and Voices sweet.*

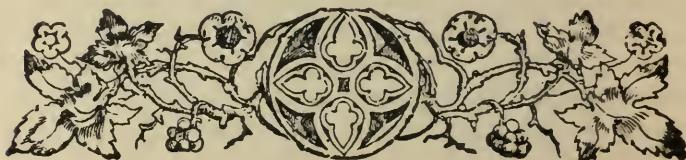
The Artificial Illuminations made in it,

—*From the arched Roof
Pendent by subtle Magick, many a Row
Of Starry Lamps and blazing Crescents, fed
With Naptha and Asphaltus yielded Light
As from a Sky*—

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

' by leading him into other agreeable Images. *Homer*, says he, excelled in this Particular, whose Comparisons abound with such Images of Nature as are proper to relieve and diversifie his Subjects. He continually instructs the Reader, and makes him take notice, even in Objects which are every Day before our Eyes, of such Circumstances as we should not otherwise have observed. To this he adds, as a Maxim universally acknowledged, that it is not necessary in Poetry for the Points of the Comparison to correspond with one another exactly, but that a general Resemblance is sufficient, and that too much nicety in this Particular favours of the Rhetorician and Epigrammatist.'

In short, if we look into the Conduct of *Homer*, *Virgil* and *Milton*, as the great Fable is the Soul of each Poem, so to give their Works an agreeable Variety, their Episodes are so many short Fables, and their Similes so many short Episodes; to which you may add, if you please, that their Metaphors are so many short Similes. If the Reader considers the Comparisons in the First Book of *Milton*, of the Sun in an Eclipse, of the Sleeping *Leviathan*, of the Bees swarming about their Hive, of the Fairy Dance, in the view wherein I have here placed them, he will easily discover the great Beauties that are in each of those Passages.



The SPECTATOR.

*Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque silentes,
Et Chaos, & Phlegethon, loca nocte silentia late ;
Sit mihi fas audita loqui : sit numine vestro
Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas.* Virg.

{ *Ye Realms, yet unreveal'd to human Sight,
Ye Gods who rule the Regions of the Night,
Ye gliding Ghosts, permit me to relate
The mystic Wonders of your silent State.* Dryden. }

Saturday, February 23. 1712.



Have before observed in general, that the Persons whom *Milton* introduces into his Poem always discover such Sentiments and Behaviour, as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective Characters.

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

*Satan was now at hand, and from his Seat
The Monster moving onward came as fast*

*With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode,
Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
Admir'd, not fear'd——*

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

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

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

It may be worth while to observe, that *Milton* has represented this violent impetuous Spirit, who is hurried on by such precipitate Passions, as the *first* that rises in the Assembly, to give his Opinion upon their present Posture of Affairs. Accordingly he declares himself abruptly for War, and appears incensed at his Companions, for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his Sentiments are Rash, Audacious and Desperate. Such is that of arming themselves with their Tortures, and turning their Punishments upon him who inflicted them.

—No, let us rather chuse,
Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once
O'er Heavens high tow'rs to force resilles way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Against the Torturer; when to meet the Noise
Of his almighty Engine he shall hear
Infernal Thunder, and for Lightning see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels; and his throne it self
Mixt with Tartarean Sulphur, and strange fire,
His own invented Torments—

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

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

Mammon's Character is so fully drawn in the First Book, that the Poet adds nothing to it in the Second. We were before told, that he was the first who taught Mankind to ransack the Earth for Gold and Silver, and that he was the Architect of *Pandæmonium*, or the Infernal Palace, where the Evil Spirits were to

meet in Council. His Speech in this Book is every way [where] suitable to so depraved a Character. How proper is that Reflection, of their being unable to taste the Happiness of Heaven were they actually there, in the Mouth of one, who while he was in Heaven, is said to have had his Mind dazled with the outward Pomps and Glories of the Place, and to have been more intent on the Riches of the Pavement, than on the Beatifick Vision. I shall also leave the Reader to judge how agreeable the following Sentiments are to the same Character.

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

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

*Space may produce new Worlds, whereof so rife
There went a fame in Heav'n, that he e'er long*

*Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven :
Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere :
For this infernal Pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor th' Abyss
Long under Darkness cover. But these thoughts
Full Counsel must mature :—*

It is on this Project that *Bcëlzebub* grounds his Proposal.

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

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

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

The rising of this great Assembly is described in a very Sublime and Poetical manner.

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

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

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

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

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

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

This Episode of the fallen Spirits, and their Place of Habitation, comes in very happily to unbend the Mind of the Reader from its Attention to the Debate. An ordinary Poet would indeed have spun out so many

Circumstances to a great Length, and by that means have weakned, instead of illustrated, the principal Fable.

The Flight of Satan to the Gates of Hell is finely imaged.

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

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

I need not mention to the Reader the beautiful Circumstance in the last Part of this Quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three Persons concerned in this Allegory are tempted by one common Interest to enter into a Confederacy together, and how properly *Sin* is made the Portress of Hell, and the only Being that can open the Gates to that World of Tortures.

The descriptive Part of this Allegory is likewise very strong, and full of Sublime Ideas. The Figure of Death, [the Regal Crown upon his Head,] his Menace to Satan, his advancing to the Combat, the Outcry at his Birth, are Circumstances too noble to be past over in Silence, and extreamly suitable to this *King of Terrors*. I need not mention the Justnes of Thought which is observed in the Generation of these

several Symbolical Persons; that *Sin* was produced upon the first Revolt of *Satan*, that *Death* appeared soon after he was cast into Hell, and that the Terrors of Conscience were conceived at the Gate of this Place of Torments. The Description of the Gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of *Milton's* Spirit.

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

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

The Womb of Nature and perhaps her Grave.

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

The SPECTATOR.

*Nec deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit—*

Hor.

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

Saturday, March 1, 1712.



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

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

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

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

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

*Now had th' Almighty Father from above,
From the pure Empyrean where he sits
High thron'd above all height, bent down his Eye,
His own Works and their Works at once to view.
About him all the Sanctities of Heav'n
Stood thick as Stars, and from his Sight receiv'd*

*Beatitude past utterance : On his right
The radiant image of his Glory sat,
His only Son ; On earth he first beheld
Our two first Parents, yet the only two
Of Mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,
Reaping immortal fruits of Joy and Love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrival'd love,
In blissful Solitude ; he then survey'd
Hell and the Gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the Wall of Heav'n on this side night
In the dun air sublime, and ready now
To stoop with wearied wings, and willing feet
On the bare outside of this world, that seem'd
Firm land imbosom'd without firmament,
Uncertain which, in Ocean or in Air.
Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future he beholds,
Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If the Fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true History; if it is only Marvellous, it is no better than a Romance. The great Secret therefore of Heroic Poetry is to relate such Circumstances, as may produce in the Reader at the same time both Belief and Astonishment. This often happens [is brought to pass] in a *well chosen* Fable, by the Account of such things as have really happened, or at least of such things as have

happen'd, according to the received Opinions of Mankind. *Milton's Fable* is a Master-piece of this Nature ; as the War in Heaven, the Condition of the fallen Angels, the State of Innocence, the Temptation of the Serpent, and the Fall of Man, though they are very astonishing in themselves, are not only credible, but actual Points of Faith.

The next Method of reconciling Miracles with Credibility, is by a happy Invention of the Poet ; as in particular, when he introduces Agents of a superior Nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful, and what is not to be met with in the ordinary course of things. *Ulysses's* Ship being turned into a Rock, and *Æneas's* Fleet into a Shoal of Water Nymphs, though they are very surprizing Accidents, are nevertheless probable, when we are told that they were the Gods who thus transformed them. It is this kind of Machinery which fills the Poems both of *Homer* and *Virgil* with such Circumstances as are wonderful, but not impossible, and so frequently produce in the Reader the most pleasing Passion that can rise in the Mind of Man, which is Admiration. If there be any Instance in the *Æneid* liable to Exception upon this Account, it is in the beginning of the third Book, where *Æneas* is represented as tearing up the Myrtle that dropped Blood. To qualify this wonderful Circumstance, *Polydorus* tells a Story from the Root of the Myrtle, that the barbarous inhabitants of the Country having pierced him with Spears and Arrows, the Wood which was left in his Body took Root in his Wounds, and gave birth to that bleeding Tree. This Circumstance seems to have the Marvellous without the Probable, because it is represented as proceeding from Natural Causes, without the Interposition of any God, or rather Supernatural Power capable of producing it. The Spears and Arrows grow of themselves, without so much as the Modern help of an Enchantment. If we look into the Fiction of *Milton's Fable*, though we find it full of surprizing Incidents,

they are generally suited to our Notions of the Things and Persons described, and temper'd with a due measure of Probability. I must only make an Exception to the Lymbo of Vanity, with his Episode of Sin and Death, and some of the imaginary Persons in his *Chaos*. These Passages are astonishing, but not credible ; the Reader cannot so far impose upon himself as to see a Possibility in them ; they are the Description of Dreams and Shadows, not of Things or Persons. I know that many Critics look upon the Stories of *Circe*, *Polypheme*, the *Sirens*, nay the whole *Odysssey* and *Iliad*, to be Allegories ; but allowing this to be true, they are Fables, which considering the Opinions of Mankind that prevailed in the Age of the Poet, might possibly have been according to the Letter. The Persons are such as might have acted what is ascribed to them, as the Circumstances in which they are represented, might possibly have been Truths and Realities. This appearance of Probability is so absolutely requisite in the greater kinds of Poetry, that *Aristotle* observes the Ancient Tragick Writers made use of the Names of such great Men as had actually lived in the World, tho' the Tragedy proceeded upon such Adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the Subject more Credible. In a Word, besides the hidden Meaning of an Epic Allegory, the plain literal Sense ought to appear probable. The Story should be such as an ordinary Reader may acquiesce in, whatever Natural Moral or Political Truth may be discovered in it by Men of greater Penetration.

Satan, after having long wandered upon the Surface, or outmost Wall of the Universe, discovers at last a wide Gap in it, which led into the Creation, and which* is described as the Opening through which the Angels pass to and fro into the lower World, upon their Errands to Mankind. His Sitting upon the brink of this Passage, and taking a Survey of the whole Face of Nature that appeared to him new and fresh in all its

Beauties, with the Simile illustrating this Circumstance, fills the Mind of the Reader with as surprising and glorious an Idea as any that arises in the whole Poem. He looks down into that vast hollow of the Universe with the Eye, or (as *Milton* calls it in his first Book) with the Kenn of an Angel. He surveys all the Wonders in this immense Amphitheatre that lie between both the Poles of Heaven, and takes in at one View the whole Round of the Creation.

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

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

In the following part of the Speech he points out the Earth with such Circumstances, that the Reader

can scarce forbear fancying himself employ'd on the same distant view of it.

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

I must not conclude my Reflections upon this Third Book of *Paradise Lost*, without taking notice of that celebrated Complaint of *Milton* with which it opens, and which certainly deserves all the Praises that have been given it; tho' as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as an Excrecence, than as an essential Part of the Poem. The same Observation might be applied to that beautiful Digression upon Hypocrisie, in the same Book.



The SPECTATOR.

*Nec satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia funto. Hor.
{'Tis not enough a Poem's finely writ;
It must affect and captivate the Soul. }*

Saturday, March 8. 1712.

HOSE, who know how many Volumes have been written on the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, will easily pardon the Length of my Discourse upon *Milton*. The *Paradise Lost* is look'd upon, by the best Judges, as the greatest Production, or at least the noblest Work of Genius, in our Language, and therefore deserves to be set before an *English* Reader in its full Beauty. For this Reason, tho' I have endeavoured to give a general Idea of its Graces and Imperfections in my Six First Papers, I thought my self obliged to bestow one upon every Book in particular. The Three First Books I have already dispatched, and am now entring upon the Fourth. I need not acquaint my Reader, that there are Multitudes of Beauties in this great Author, especially in the Descriptive Parts of his Poem, which I have not touched upon, it being my Intention to point out those only, which appear to me the most exquisite, or those which are not so obvious to ordinary Readers. Every one that has read the Criticks, who have written upon the *Odysssey*, the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, knows very well, that though they agree in their Opinions of the great Beauties in those Poems, they have nevertheless each of them discovered several Master-Stroaks, which have escaped the Observation of the rest. In the same manner, I question not, but any Writer, who shall treat of this Subject after me, may find several Beauties in *Milton*,

which I have not taken notice of. I must likewise observe, that as the greatest Masters of Critical Learning differ from one another, as to some particular Points in an Epic Poem, I have not bound my self scrupulously to the Rules, which any one of them has laid down upon that Art, but have taken the Liberty sometimes to join with one, and sometimes with another, and sometimes to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the Reason of the thing was on my side.

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

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

I must not quit this Head, without further observing,

that there is scarce a Speech of *Adam* or *Eve* in the whole Poem, wherein the Sentiments and Allusions are not taken from this their delightful Habitation. The Reader, during their whole Course of Action, always finds himself in the Walks of *Paradise*. In short, as the Criticks have remarked, that in those Poems, wherein Shepherds are Actors, the Thoughts ought always to take a Tincture from the Woods, Fields, and Rivers ; so we may observe, that our first Parents seldom lose Sight of their happy Station in any thing they speak or do ; and, if the Reader will give me leave to use the Expression, that their Thoughts are always *Paradisiacal*.

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

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

This Speech is, I think, the finest that is ascribed to *Satan* in the whole Poem. The Evil Spirit afterwards proceeds to make his Discoveries concerning

our first Parents, and to learn after what manner they may be best attacked. His bounding over the Walls of *Paradise*; his sitting in the Shape of a Cormorant upon the Tree of Life, which stood in the Center of it, and over-topp'd all the other Trees of the Garden; his alighting among the Herd of Animals, which are so beautifully represented as playing about *Adam* and *Eve*, together with his transforming himself into different Shapes, in order to hear their Conversation; are Circumstances that give an agreeable Surprize to the Reader, and are devised with great Art, to connect that Series of Adventures in which the Poet has engaged this great Artificer of Fraud.

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

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

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

Zephon's Rebuke, with the Influence it had on *Satan*, is exquisitely Graceful and Moral. *Satan* is afterwards led away to *Gabriel*, the chief of the Guardian Angels, who kept watch in *Paradise*. His disdainful Behaviour on this occasion is so remarkable a Beauty, that the most ordinary Reader cannot but take notice of it.

Gabriel's discovering his approach at a distance, is drawn with great strength and liveliness of Imagination.

*O Friends, I hear the tread of nimble Feet
Hastening this way, and now by glimbs discern
Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade;
And with them comes a third of Regal Port,
But faded splendor wan; who by his gait
And fierce demeanour seems the Prince of Hell,
Not likely to part hence without contest;
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.*

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

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

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

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

I must however observe in this Place, that the breaking off the Combat between *Gabriel* and *Satan*, by the

hanging out of the Golden Scales in Heaven, is a Refinement upon *Homer's Thought*, who tells us, that before the Battel between *Hector* and *Achilles*, *Jupiter* weighed the Event of it in a pair of Scales. The Reader may see the whole Passage in the 22d *Iliad*.

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

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

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

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

We are, in the last place, to consider the Parts which *Adam* and *Eve* act in the Fourth Book. The Description of them as they first appear'd to *Satan*, is

exquisitely drawn, and sufficient to make the fallen Angel gaze upon them with all that Astonishment, and those Emotions of Envy, in which he is represented.

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

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

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

— *When Adam first of Men* —
Sole Partner and sole part of all these joys,
Dearer thy self than all; —
But let us ever praise him, and extol
His bounty, following our delightful task,

*To prune those growing plants, and tend these flowers,
Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.
To whom thus Eve repli'd : O thou for whom
And from whom I was form'd, flesh of thy flesh,
And without whom am to no end, my Guide
And head, what thou hast said is just and right.
For we to him indeed all praises owe,
And daily thanks, I chiefly who enjoy
So far the happier Lot, enjoying thee
Preeminent by so much odds, while thou
Like consort to thy self canst no where find, &c.*

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

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

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

*So spake our general Mother, and with eyes
Of Conjugal attraction unreprov'd,*

*And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd
On our first father, half her swelling breast
Naked met his under the flowing Gold
Of her loose tresses hid; he in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive charms
Smit'd with Superior Love, ——*

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

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

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

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

Most of the Modern Heroic Poets have imitated the Ancients, in beginning a Speech without premising, that the Person said thus or thus; but as it is easie to imitate the Ancients in the Omission of two or three Words, it requires Judgment to do it in such a manner as they shall not be miss'd, and that the Speech may begin naturally without them. There is a fine Instance of this Kind out of *Homer*, in the Twenty-Third Chapter of *Longinus*.



The SPECTATOR.

— *major rerum mihi nascitur ordo.* Virg.
 { *A larger Scene of Action is display'd.* Dryden. }

Saturday, March 15, 1712.

CE were told in the foregoing Book how the Evil Spirit practised upon *Eve* as she lay asleep, in order to inspire her with Thoughts of Vanity, Pride and Ambition. The Author, who shews a wonderful Art throughout his whole Poem, in preparing the Reader for the several Occurrences that arise in it, founds upon the above-mentioned Circumstance the first part of the Fifth Book. *Adam* upon his awaking, finds *Eve* still asleep, with an unusual Discomposure in her Looks. The Posture in which he regards her, is described with a wonderful Tenderness [not to be expressed*]†, as the Whisper with which he awakens her, is the softest that ever was conveyed to a Lover's Ears

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

* See *Errata*, at the end of No. 369, in the original issue.

*Calls us, we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tended plants, how blows the Citron Grove,
What drops the Myrrhe, and what the balmie Reed,
How Nature paints her colours, how the Bee
Sits on the bloom, extracting liquid sweet.
Such whispring wak'd her, but with startled Eye,
On Adam, whom embracing thus she spake.
O Sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My Glory, my perfection, glad I see
Thy face, and morn return'd——*

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

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

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

His preferring the Garden of *Eden* to that

— *Where the Sapient King
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian Spouse,*

shews that the Poet had this delightful Scene in his Mind.

Eve's Dream is full of those *high Conccts engendring Pride*, which we are told the Devil endeavoured to instil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where she fancies her self awaken'd by *Adam* in the following beautiful Lines.

*Why sleep'st thou, Eve? now is the pleasant time,
The cool, the silent, saxe where silence yields
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
Tunes sweetest his Love-labour'd song; now reigns
Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light
Shadowy sets off the face of things; in vain
If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, Natures desire,
In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
Attract'd by thy beauty still to gaze.*

An injudicious Poet would have made *Adam* talk through the whole Work, in such Sentiments as this [these]. But Flattery and Falshood are not the Courtship of *Milton's Adam*, and cou'd not be heard by *Eve* in her State of Innocence, excepting only in a Dream produced on purpose to taint her Imagination. Other vain Sentiments of the same kind in this relation of her Dream, will be obvious to every Reader. Tho' the Catastrophe of the Poem is finely prefaged on this occasion, the Particulars of it are so artfully shadow'd, that they do not anticipate the Story which follows in the Ninth Book. I shall only add, that tho' the Vision it self is founded upon Truth, the Circumstances of it are full of that Wildness and Inconsistency which are natural to a Dream. *Adam*, conformable to his superior Character for Wisdom, instructs and comforts *Eve* upon this occasion.

*So clear'd he his fair Spouse, and she was clear'd, -
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wiped them with her hair;
Two other precious drops that ready stood,
Each in their chryslal sluice, he e'er they fell*

*Kiss'd as the gracious Signs of sweet remorse
And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended.*

The Morning Hymn is written in Imitation of one of those Psalms, where, in the Overflowings of his Gratitude and Praise, the Psalmist calls not only upon the Angels, but upon the most conspicuous parts of the inanimate Creation, to join with him in extolling their Common Maker. Invocations of this Nature fill the Mind with glorious Ideas of God's Works, and awaken that Divine Enthusiasm, which is so natural to Devotion. But if this calling upon the dead parts of Nature, is at all times a proper kind of Worship, it was in a particular manner suitable to our first Parents, who had the Creation fresh upon their Minds, and had not seen the various Dispensations of Providence, nor consequently could be acquainted with those many Topicks of Praise which might afford matter to the Devotions of their Posterity. I need not remark that* [the] beautiful Spirit of Poetry which runs through this whole Hymn, nor the Holiness of that Resolution with which it concludes.

Having already mentioned those Speeches which are assigned to the Persons in this Poem, I proceed to the Description which the Poet gives us* of *Raphael*. His Departure from before the Throne, and his Flight thro' the Quires [Choirs] of Angels, is finely imaged. As *Milton* every where fills his Poem with Circumstances that are marvellous and astonishing, he describes the Gate of Heaven as framed after such a manner, that it open'd of it self upon the approach of the Angel who was to pass through it.

—'till at the gate
*Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide,
On golden Hinges turning, as by work
Divine the Sovereign Architect had fram'd.*

The Poet here seems to have regarded two or three Passages in the eighteenth *Iliad*, as that in particu-

lar where, speaking of *Vulcan*, *Homer* says, that he had made Twenty *Tripodes*, running on Golden Wheels, which, upon Occasion, might go of themselves to the Assembly of the Gods, and, when there was no more use for them, return again after the same manner. *Scaliger* has rallied *Homer* very severely upon this Point, as Mons^r. *Dacier* has endeavoured to defend it. I will not pretend to determine, whether in this Particular of *Homer*, the Marvellous does not lose sight of the Probable. As the miraculous Workmanship of *Milton*'s Gates is not so extraordinary as this of the *Tripodes*, so I am perswaded he would not have mentioned it, had not he been supported in it by a Passage in the Scripture, which speaks of Wheels in Heaven that had Life in them, and moved of themselves, or stood still, in Conformity with the Cherubims, whom they accompanied.

There is no question but *Milton* had this Circumstance in his Thoughts, because in the following Book he describes the Chariot of the *Messiah* with *living* Wheels, according to the Plan in *Ezekiel*'s Vision.

—Forth rush'd with whirlwind found
The Chariot of Paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
It self instinct with Spirit—

I question not but *Boffu*, and the two *Daciers*, who are for vindicating every thing that is censured in *Homer*, by someting Parallel in Holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting *Vulcan*'s *Tripodes* with *Ezekiel*'s Wheels.

Raphael's Descent to the Earth, with the Figure of his Person, is represented in very lively Colours. Several of the *French*, *Italian*, and *English* Poets have given a loose to their Imaginations in the Description of Angels: But I do not remember to have met with any, so finely drawn and so conformable to the Notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in *Milton*. After having set him forth in all his Heavenly Plumage,

and represented him as alighting upon the Earth, the Poet concludes his Description with a Circumstance, which is altogether new, and imagined with the greatest Strength of Fancy.

—*Like Maia's Son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that Heav'nly fragrance fill'd
The Circuit wide*—

Raphael's Reception by the Guardian Angels ; his passing through the Wilderness of Sweets ; his distant Appearance to *Adam*, have all the Graces that Poetry is capable of bestowing. The Author afterwards gives us a particular Description of *Eve* in her Domestick Employments.

*So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent,
What choice to chuse for delicacy best,
What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
Tastes, not well joyn'd, inelegant, but bring
Taste after Taste, upheld with kindliest change;
Beslirs her then &c.*—

Though in this, and other Parts of the same Book, the Subject is only the Housewifry of our First Parent, it is set off with so many pleasing Images and strong Expressions, as make it none of the least agreeable Parts in this Divine Work.

The natural Majesty of *Adam*, and at the same time his submissive Behaviour to the Superior Being, who had vouchsafed to be his Guest ; the solemn Hail which the Angel bestows on the Mother of Mankind, with the Figure of *Eve* ministring at the Table, are Circumstances which deserve to be admir'd.

Raphael's Behaviour is every way suitable to the dignity of his Nature, and to that Character of a sociable Spirit, with which the Author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received Instructions to converse with *Adam*, as one Friend converses with another, and to warn him of the Enemy, who was contriving his Destruction : Accordingly he is repre-

sented as sitting down at Table with *Adam*, and eating of the Fruits of *Paradise*. The Occasion naturally leads him to his Discourse on the Food of Angels. After having thus entered into Conversation with Man upon more indifferent Subjects, he warns him of his Obedience, and makes a natural Transition to the History of that fallen Angel, who was employed in the Circumvention of our First Parents.

Had I followed Monsieur *Boffu's* Method in my First Paper on *Milton*, I should have dated the Action of *Paradise Lost* from the Beginning of *Raphael's* Speech in this Book, as he supposes the Action of the *Aeneid* to begin in the second Book of that Poem. I could alledge many Reasons for my drawing the Action of the *Aeneid*, rather from its immediate Beginning in the first Book, than from its remote Beginning in the Second, and shew why I have considered the Sacking of *Troy* as an *Episode*, according to the common Acceptation of that Word. But as this would be a dry un-entertaining Piece of Criticism, and perhaps unnecessary to those who have read my First Paper, I shall not enlarge upon it. Which-ever of the Notions be true, the Unity of *Milton's* Action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the Fall of Man in its immediate Beginning, as proceeding from the Resolutions taken in the Infernal Council, or in its more remote Beginning, as proceeding from the First Revolt of the Angels in Heaven. The Occasion which *Milton* assigns for this Revolt, as it is founded on Hints in Holy Writ, and on the Opinion of some great Writers, so it was the most proper that the Poet could have made use of.

The Revolt in Heaven is described with great Force of Imagination [Indignation], and a fine Variety of Circumstances. The Learned Reader cannot but be pleased with the Poet's Imitation of *Homer* in the last of the following Lines.

*At length into the limits of the North
They came, and Satan took his Royal Seat*

*High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a Mount, with Pyramids and tow'rs
From Diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of Gold
The palace of great Lucifer (so call
That structure in the Dialect of men
Interpreted) ——————*

Homer mentions Persons and Things, which he tells us in the Language of the Gods are call'd by different Names from those they go by in the Language of Men. Milton has imitated him with his usual Judgment in this particular place, wherein he has likewise the Authority of Scripture to justify him. The part of Abdiel, who was the only Spirit that in this Infinite Host of Angels preserved his Allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us a noble Moral of religious Singularity. The Zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a becoming Warmth of Sentiments and Expressions, as the Character which is given us of him denotes that generous Scorn and Intrepidity which attends Heroic Virtue. The Author, doubtless, designed it as a Pattern to those who live among Mankind in their present State of Degeneracy and Corruption.

*So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found,
Among the faithless, faithful only he;
Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unshaken, unseduc'd, unterrify'd;
His Loyalty he kept, his Love, his Zeal:
Nor Number, nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
Though Single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
Long way through hostile Scorn, which he fustain'd
Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought;
And with retorted Scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud Tow'rs to swift Destruction doom'd.*



The SPECTATOR.

—*vocat in Certamina Divos.*

Virg.

{*He calls embattled Deities to Arms.*}

Saturday, March 22, 1712.

CE are now entering upon the Sixth Book of *Paradise Lost*, in which the Poet describes the Battel of Angels; having raised his Reader's Expectation, and prepared him for it by several Passages in the preceding Books. I omitted quoting these Passages in my Observations on the former Books, having purposely reserved them for the opening of this, the Subject of which gave occasion to them. The Author's Imagination was so inflamed with this great Scene of Action, that wher-ever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his Poem.

—*Him the Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie,
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In Adamantine Chains and penal fire,
Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.*

We have likewise several noble Hints of it in the Infernal Conference.

*O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers
That led th' imbatteled Seraphim to War,
Too well I see and rue the dire event,
That with sad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty host*

*In horrible destruction laid thus low.
But see the angry victor hath recall'd
His Ministers of Vengeance and pursuit
Back to the Gates of Heav'n : The Sulphurous hail,
Shot after us in Storm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery Surge, that from the precipice
Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling, and the thunder
Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his Shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.*

There are several other very Sublime Images on the same Subject in the First Book, as also in the Second.

*What when we fled amain, pursu'd and strook
With Heav'n's afflicting Thunder, and besought
The deep to shelter us; this Hell then seem'd
A refuge from those wounds-----*

In short, the Poet never mentions any thing of this Battel but in such Images of Greatness and Terrour, as are suitable to the Subject. Among several others, I cannot forbear quoting that Passage where the Power, who is describ'd as presiding over the Chaos, speaks in the Third Book.

*Thus Satan ; and him thus the Anarch old
With faultring speech and visage incompos'd,
Ansver'd, I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late .
Made head against Heav'n's King, though overthrown.
I saw and heard, for such a numerous host
Fled not in Silence through the frightened deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worse confounded ; and Heav'n's Gates
Pour'd out by Millions her victorious bands
Pursuing-----*

It required great Pregnancy of Invention, and Strength of Imagination, to fill this Battel with such Circumstances as should raise and astonish the Mind of the Reader ; and, at the same time, an exactness

of Judgment to avoid every thing that might appear light or trivial. Those, who look into *Homer*, are surprized to find his Battels still rising one above another, and improving in Horrour, to the Conclusion of the *Iliad*. Milton's Fight of Angels is wrought up with the same Beauty. It is ushered in with such Signs of Wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The First Engagement is carried on under a Cope of Fire, occasion'd by the Flights of innumerable burning Darts and Arrows, which are discharged from either Host. The second Onset is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial Thunders, which seem to make the Victory doubtful, and produce a kind of Consternation, even in the Good Angels. This is followed by the tearing up of Mountains and Promontories ; till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of Majesty and Terrour. The Pomp of his Appearance, amidst the Roarings of his Thunders, the Flashes of his Lightnings, and the Noise of his Chariot Wheels, is described with the utmost Flights of Human Imagination.

There is nothing in the first and last Days Engagement, which does not appear natural and agreeable enough to the Ideas most Readers would conceive of a Fight between two Armies of Angels.

The Second Day's Engagement is apt to startle an Imagination, which has not been raised and qualified for such a Description, by the reading of the Ancient Poets, and of *Homer* in particular. It was certainly a very bold Thought in our Author, to ascribe the first use of Artillery to the Rebel Angels. But as such a pernicious Invention may be well supposed to have proceeded from such Authors, so it entered very properly into the Thoughts of that Being, who is all along described as aspiring to the Majesty of his Maker. Such Engines were the only Instruments he could have made use of to imitate those Thunders, that in all Poetry, both Sacred and Prophane, are represented as the Arms of the Almighty. The tearing up

the Hills was not altogether so daring a Thought as the former. We are, in some measure, prepared for such an Incident by the Description of the Gyants War, which we meet with among the Ancient Poets. What still made this Circumstance the more proper for the Poets use, is the Opinion of many learned Men, that the Fable of the Gyants War, which makes so great a Noise in Antiquity, [and gave Birth to the sublimest Description in *Hesiod's Works,*] was an Allegory founded upon this very Tradition of a Fight between the good and bad Angels.

It may, perhaps, be worth while to consider with what Judgment *Milton*, in this Narration, has avoided every thing that is mean and trivial in the Descriptions of the *Latin* and *Greek* Poets; and, at the same time, improved every great Hint which he met with in their Works upon this Subject. *Homer* in that Passage, which *Longinus* has celebrated for its Sublimeness, and which *Virgil* and *Ovid* have copied after him, tells us, that the Gyants threw *Offa* upon *Olympus*, and *Pelion* upon *Offa*. He adds an Epithet to *Pelion* (*ειροσίφυλλον*) which very much swells the Idea, by bringing up to the Reader's Imagination all the Woods that grew upon it. There is further a great Beauty in his singling out by Name these three remarkable Mountains so well known to the *Greeks*. This last is such a Beauty as the Scene of *Milton's* War could not possibly furnish him with. *Claudian* in his Fragment upon the Gyants War, has given full Scope to that wildness of Imagination which was natural to him. He tells us, that the Gyants tore up whole Islands by the Roots, and threw them at the Gods. He describes one of them in particular taking up *Lemnos* in his Arms, and whirling it to the Skies, with all *Vulcan's* Shop in the midst of it. Another tears up Mount *Ida*, with the River *Enipeus* which ran down the sides of it ; but the Poet, not content to describe him with this Mountain upon his Shoulders, tells us that the River flowed down his Back, as he held it up in that

Posture. It is visible to every judicious Reader, that such Ideas favour more of Burlesque than of the Sublime. They proceed from a Wantonness of Imagination, and rather divert the Mind than astonish it. *Milton* has taken every thing that is Sublime in these several Passages, and composes out of them the following great Image.

*From their Foundations loofning to and fro
They pluck'd the feated Hills with all their load,
Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by the shaggy tops
Up-lifting bore them in their Hands:—*

We have the full Majesty of *Homer* in this short Description, improved by the Imagination of *Claudian*, without its Puerilities.

I need not point out the Description of the fallen Angels, seeing the Promontories hanging over their Heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless Beauties in this Book, which are so conspicuous, that they cannot escape the Notice of the most ordinary Reader.

There are indeed so many wonderful stroaks of Poetry in this Book, and such a variety of Sublime Ideas, that it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this Paper. Besides that, I find it in a great measure done to my Hand, at the end of my Lord *Roxcommon's* Essay on Translated Poetry. I shall refer my Reader thither for some of the Master-Stroaks in the Sixth Book of *Paradise Lost*, tho' at the same time there are many others which that noble Author has not taken notice of.

Milton, notwithstanding the Sublime Genius he was Master of, has in this Book drawn to his Assistance all the helps he could meet with among the Ancient Poets. The Sword of *Michael*, which makes so great an havock among the bad Angels, was given him, we are told, out of the Armory of God.

—————*But the Sword
Of Michael from the Armory of God*

*Was giv'n him temper'd so, that neither keen
Nor solid might resist that edge : it met
The Sword of Satan with sleep force to smite
Descending, and in half cut sheere,——*

This Passage is a Copy of that in *Virgil*, wherein the Poet tells us, that the Sword of *Aeneas*, which was given him by a Deity, broke into pieces the Sword of *Turnus*, which came from a Mortal Forge : As the Moral in this place is Divine, so by the way we may observe, that the bestowing on a Man who is favour'd by Heaven such an Allegorical Weapon, is very conformable to the old Eastern way of Thinking. Not only *Homer* has made use of it, but we find the *Jewish* Hero in the Book of *Maccabees*, who had fought the Battels of the chosen People with so much Glory and Success, receiving in his Dream a Sword from the hand of the Prophet *Jeremy* [*Jeremiah*]. The following Passage, wherein *Satan* is described as wounded by the Sword of *Michael*, is in imitation of *Homer*.

*The girding Sword with discontinuous wound
Pass'd through him, but th' Ethereal substance closed
Not long divisible, and from the gash
A stream of Nectarous humour issuing flow'd
Sanguin, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,
And all his Armour slain'd——*

Homer tells us in the same manner, that upon *Diomedes* wounding the Gods, there flow'd from the Wound an *Ichor*, or pure kind of Blood, which was not bred from Mortal Viands ; and that tho' the Pain was exquisitely great, the Wound soon closed up and healed in those Beings who are vested with Immortality.

I question not but *Milton* in his Description of his furious *Moloch* flying from the Battel, and bellowing with the Wound he had receiv'd, had his Eye upon *Mars* in the *Iliad*, who upon his being wounded, is represented as retiring out of the Fight, and making an Outcry louder than that of a whole Army when it

begins the Charge. *Homer* adds, that the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, who were engaged in a general Battel, were terrified on each side with the bellowing of this wounded Deity. The Reader will easily observe how *Milton* has kept all the horrour of this Image without running into the Ridicule of it.

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

Milton has likewise rais'd his Description in this Book with many Images taken out of the Poetical Parts of Scripture. The Meffiah's Chariot, as I have before taken notice, is form'd upon a Vision of *Ezekiel*, who, as *Grotius* observes, has very much in him of *Homer*'s Spirit in the Poetical Parts of his Prophecy.

The following Lines in that glorious Commission which is given the Meffiah to extirpate the Host of Rebel Angels, is drawn from a Sublime Passage in the Psalms.

*Go then thou mightiest in thy Father's might
Ascend my Chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That shake Heav'n's basis, bring forth all my War
My Bow, my thunder, my almighty arms,
Gird on thy fword on thy puissant thigh.*

The Reader will easily discovr many other Stroaks of the same nature.

There is no question but *Milton* had heated his Imagination with the Fight of the Gods in *Homer*, before he entered upon this Engagement of the Angels. *Homer* there gives us a Scene of Men, Heroes and Gods mixed together in Battel. *Mars* animates

the contending Armies, and lifts up his Voice in such a manner, that it is heard distinctly amidst all the Shouts and Confusion of the Fight. *Jupiter* at the same time Thunders over their Heads; while *Neptune* raises such a Tempest, that the whole Field of Battel, and all the tops of the Mountains shake about them, The Poet tells us, that *Pluto* himself, whose Habitation was in the very Center of the Earth, was so a[f]righted at the shock, that he leapt from his Throne. *Homer* afterwards describes *Vulcan* as pouring down a Storm of Fire upon the River *Xanthus*, and *Minerva* as throwing a Rock at *Mars*; who, he tells us, covered seven Acres in his Fall.

As *Homer* has introduced into his Battel of the Gods every thing that is great and terrible in Nature, *Milton* has filled his Fight of Good and Bad Angels with all the like Circumstances of Horrour. The Shout of Armies, the Rattling of Brazen Chariots, the Hurling of Rocks and Mountains, the Earthquake, the Fire, the Thunder, are all of them employed to lift up the Reader's Imagination, and give him a suitable Idea of so great an Action. With what Art has the Poet represented the whole Body of the Earth trembling, even before it was created.

*All Heaven resounded, and had Earth been then
All Earth had to its Center shook—*

In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole Heaven shaking under the Wheels of the Messiah's Chariot, with that Exception to the Throne of God?

*Under his burning Wheels
The steadfast Empyrean shook throughout,
All but the Throne it self of God—*

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears cloathed with so much Terrour and Majesty, the Poet has still found means to make his Readers conceive an Idea of him, beyond what he himself was able to describe.

*Yet half his strength he put not forth, but checkt
His thunder in mid volley, for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.*

In a word, Milton's Genius which was so great in it self, and so strengthened by all the helps of Learning, appears in this Book every way Equal to his Subject[s], which was the most Sublime that could enter into the Thoughts of a Poet. As he knew all the Arts of affecting the Mind, had he not given [he knew it was necessary to give] it certain resting places and Opportunities of recovering it self from time to time : He has [therefore] with great Address interspersed several Speeches, Reflections, Similitudes, and the like Reliefs to diversifie his Narration, and ease the Attention of his [the] Reader, that he might come fresh to his great Action, and by such a Contrast of Ideas, have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his Description.

Addison corrected and re-corrected this last sentence. The first and last readings, as in the original and second editions, are as above. The intermediate reading, according to the *Errata* in No. 369, of the original issue, is as follows :

As he knew all the Arts of affecting the Mind, he has given it certain resting places and Opportunities of recovering it self from time to time : several Speeches, Reflections, Similitudes, and the like Reliefs being interspersed, to diversifie his Narration, and ease the attention of his Reader.



The SPECTATOR.

— — — *Vt his exordia primis
Omnia, & ipse tener Mundi concreverit orbis.
Tum durare solum, & discludere Nerea ponto
Cæperit, & rerum paullatim sumere formas.* Virg.

{*He sung the secret Seeds of Nature's Frame ;
How Seas, and Earth, and Air, and active Flame,
Fell thro' the mighty Void, and in their Fall
Were blindly gather'd in this goodly Ball.
The tender Soil then stiff'ning by degrees
Shut from the bounded Earth the bounding Seas.
Then Earth and Ocean various Forms disclose,
And a new Sun to the new World arose.* Dryden.}

Saturday, March 29. 1712.



ONGINUS has observed, that there may be a Lostiness in Sentiments, where there is no Passion, and brings Instances out of Ancient Authors to support this his Opinion.

The Pathetick, as that great Critick observes, may animate and inflame the Sublime, but is not essential to it. Accordingly, as he further remarks, we very often find that those, who excell most in stirring up the Passions, very often want the Talent of Writing in the Great and Sublime manner ; and so on the contrary. *Milton* has shewn himself a Master in both these ways of Writing. The Seventh Book, which we are now entering upon, is an Instance of that Sublime, which is not mixt and work'd up with Passion. The Author appears in a kind of composed and sedate Majesty ; and tho' the Sentiments do not give so great [an] Emotion as those in the former Book, they abound with as magnificent Ideas.

The Sixth Book, like a troubled Ocean, represents Greatness in Confusion; the Seventh affects the Imagination like the Ocean in a Calm, and fills the Mind of the Reader without producing in it any thing like Tumult or Agitation.

The Critick abovementioned, among the Rules which he lays down for succeeding in the Sublime way of Writing, proposes to his Reader, that he should imitate the most celebrated Authors who have gone before him, and have been engaged in Works of the same nature; as in particular that if he writes on a Poetical Subject, he should consider how *Homer* would have spoken on such an Occasion. By this means one great Genius often catches the Flame from another, and writes in his Spirit, without copying servilely after him. There are a thousand Shining Passages in *Virgil*, which have been lighted up by *Homer*.

Milton, though his own natural Strength of Genius was capable of furnishing out a perfect Work, has doubtless very much raised and ennobled his Conceptions, by such an Imitation as that which *Longinus* has recommended.

In this Book, which gives us an Account of the Six Days Works, the Poet received but very few Assistancess from Heathen Writers, who were Strangers to the Wonders of Creation. But as there are many Glorious Stroaks of Poetry upon this Subject in Holy Writ, the Author has numberless Allusions to them through the whole Course of this Book. The great Critick, I have before mentioned, tho' an Heathen, has taken notice of the Sublime manner in which the Law-giver of the *Jews* has described the Creation in the first Chapter of *Genesis*; and there are many other Passages in Scripture, which rise up to the same Majesty, where this Subject is toucht upon. *Milton* has shewn his Judgment very remarkably, in making use of such of these as were proper for his Poem, and in duly qualifying those high Strains of Eastern Poetry,

which were suited to Readers whose Imaginations were set to an higher pitch than those of colder Climates.

Adam's Speech to the Angel, wherein he desires an Account of what had passed within the Regions of Nature before his [the] Creation, is very great and solemn. The following Lines, in which he tells him that the Day is not too far spent for him to enter upon such a Subject, are exquisite in their kind.

*And the Great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race through sleep, suspens in Heav'n
Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he hears,
And longer will delay to hear thee tell
His Generaition, &c.—*

The Angel's encouraging our first Parent[s] in a modest pursuit after Knowledge, with the Causes which he assigns for the Creation of the World, are very just and beautiful. The Messiah, by whom, as we are told in Scripture, the Heavens were made, goes [comes*] forth in the Power of his Father, surrounded with an Host of Angels, and cloathed with such a Majesty as becomes his entering upon a Work, which, according to our Conceptions, looks like [appears] the utmost exertion of Omnipotence. What a beautiful Description has our Author raised upon that Hint in one of the Prophets. *And behold there came four Chariots out from between two Mountains, and the Mountains were Mountains of Brafs.*

*About his Chariot numberless were pour'd
Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
And virtues, winged Spirits, and Chariots wing'd,
From the Armoury of God, where stand of old
Myriads between two brazen mountains lodg'd
Against a solemn day, harness'd at hand;
Celestial Equipage; and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them spirit liv'd
Attendant on their lord: Heav'n open'd wide
Her ever-during Gates, Harmonious sound
On golden Hinges moving—*

I have before taken notice of these Chariots of

God, and of these Gates of Heaven, and shall here only add, that *Homer* gives us the same Idea of the latter as opening of themselves, tho' he afterwards takes off from it, by telling us, that the Hours first of all removed those prodigious heaps of Clouds which lay as a Barrier before them.

I do not know any thing in the whole Poem more Sublime than the Description which follows, where the Messiah is represented at the head of his Angels, as looking down into the *Chaos*, calming its Confusion, riding into the midst of it, and drawing the first Outline of the Creation.

*On Heav'nly ground they stood, and from the shore
They view'd the vast immeasurable Abyss
Outrageous as a Sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds
And surging waves, as Mountains to assault
Heav'n's height, and with the Center mix the Pole.*

*Silence, ye troubled waves, and thou Deep, Peace,
Said then th' Omnipic word, your Discord end:*

*Nor staid, but on the wings of Cherubim
Up-lifted, in Paternal Glory rode
Far into Chaos, and the world unborn;
For Chaos heard his voice: him all his train
Follow'd in bright Procession to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then staid the fervid wheels, and in his hand
He took the golden Compasses, prepared
In Gods eternal Store, to circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things:
One foot he Center'd, and the other turn'd,
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
This be thy just Circumference, O World.*

The Thought of the Golden Compasses is conceiv'd altogether in *Homer's* Spirit, and is a very noble Incident in this wonderful Description. *Homer*, when he speaks of the Gods, ascribes to them several Arms and

Instruments with the same greatness of Imagination. Let the Reader only peruse the Description of *Minerva's* *Ægis*, or Buckler, in the Fifth Book, with her Spear, which could [would] overturn whole Squadrons, and her Helmet, that was sufficient to cover an Army, drawn out of an hundred Cities: The Golden Compasses, in the above-mentioned Passage appear a very natural Instrument in the Hand of him, whom *Plato* somewhere calls the Divine Geometrician. As Poetry delights in cloathing abstracted Ideas in Allegories and sensible Images, we find a magnificent Description of the Creation form'd after the same manner in one of the Prophets, wherein he describes the Almighty Architect as measuring the Waters in the hollow of his Hand, meting out the Heavens with his Span, comprehending the Dust of the Earth in a Measure, weighing the Mountains in Scales, and the Hills in a Ballance. Another of them describing the Supreme Being in this great Work of Creation, represents him as laying the Foundations of the Earth, and stretching a Line upon it. And in another place as garnishing the Heavens, stretching out the North over the empty place, and hanging the Earth upon nothing. This last noble Thought *Milton* has express'd in the following Verse:

And Earth self-balanc'd on her Center hung.

The Beauties of Description in this Book lie so very thick, that it is impossible to enumerate them in this Paper. The Poet has employed on them the whole Energy of our Tongue. The several great Scenes of the Creation rise up to view one after another, in such a manner that the Reader seems present at this wonderful Work, and to assist among the Quires [Choirs] of Angels, who are the Spectators of it. How glorious is the Conclusion of the first Day.

— *Thus was the first day Ev'n and Morn.*

*Nor past uncelebrated, nor unfung
By the Celestial Quires, when Orient light*

*Exhaling first from Darkness they beheld ;
Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth ; with joy and shout
The hollow universal Orb they fill'd.*

We have the same elevation of Thought in the third Day ; when the Mountains were brought forth, and the Deep was made.

*Immediately the mountains huge appear
Emergent, and their broad bare backs up heave
Into the Clouds, their tops ascend the Sky.
So high as heav'd the tumid hills, so low
Down funk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
Capacious bed of Waters—*

We have also the rising of the whole vegetable World described in this Day's Work, which is filled with all the Graces that other Poets have lavished on their Descriptions of the Spring, and leads the Reader's Imagination into a Theatre equally surprizing and beautiful.

The several Glories of the Heav'ns make their appearance on the Fourth Day.

*First in his East the glorious lamp was seen
Regent of day, and all th' Horizon round
Invested with bright rays, jocond to run
His Longitude through Heav'n's high rode : the Gray
Dawn, and the Pleiades before him danced
Shedding sweet influence : less bright the moon,
But opposite in levell'd West was set,
His Mirror, with full face borrowing her light
From him, for other light she needed none
In that aspect, and still that distance keeps
Till night ; then in the East her turn she shines
Revolv'd on Heav'n's great Axe, and her reign
With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,
With thousand thousand stars, that then appear'd
Spangling the Hemisphere—*

One would wonder how the Poet could be so concise in his Description of the Six Days Works, as to

comprehend them within the bounds of an Episode, and at the same time so particular, as to give us a lively Idea of them. This is still more remarkable in his Account of the Fifth and Sixth Day[s], in which he has drawn out to our view the whole Animal Creation, from the Reptil to the Behemoth. As the Lion and the Leviathan are two of the noblest Productions in this World of living Creatures, the Reader will find a most exquisite Spirit of Poetry, in the Account which our Author gives us of them. The Sixth Day concludes with the Formation of Man, upon which the Angel takes occasion, as he did after the Battel in Heaven, to remind *Adam* of his Obedience, which was the principal Design of this his Visit.

The Poet afterwards represents the Messiah returning into Heaven, and taking a Survey of his great Work. There is something inexpressibly Sublime in this Part of the Poem, where the Author describes that great Period of Time, fill'd with so many Glorious Circumstances ; when the Heavens and the Earth were finished ; when the Messiah ascended up in Triumph through the Everlasting Gates ; when he look'd down with pleasure upon his new Creation ; when every Part of Nature seemed to rejoice in its Existence ; when the Morning Stars fang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy.

*So Ev'n and Morn accomplish'd the Sixth day :
 Yet not till the Creator from his Work
 Desiring, tho' unwearied, up return'd,
 Up to the Heav'n of Heav'ns his high abode,
 Thence to behold this new created world
 Th' addition of his empire; how it shew'd
 In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair
 Answering his great Idea. Up he rode
 Follow'd with acclamation and the Sound
 Symphonious of ten thousand harps that tun'd
 Angelic Harmonies : the earth, the air
 Resounded, (thou remember'st, for thou heard'st)*

*The Heavens and all the Constellations rung,
The Planets in their Station list'ning stood,
While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.
Open, ye everlasting gates, they sung,
Open, ye Heav'n's, your living doors, let in
The great Creator from his work return'd
Magnificent, his six days work, a World.*

I cannot conclude this Book upon the Creation, without mentioning a Poem which has lately appeared under that Title. The Work was undertaken with so good an Intention, and is executed with so great a Mastery, that it deserves to be looked upon as one of the most useful and noble Productions in our *English Verse*. The Reader cannot but be pleased to find the Depths of Philosophy enlivened with all the Charms of Poetry, and to see so great a Strength o' Reason, amidst so beautiful a Redundancy of [the] Imagination. The Author has shewn us that Design in all the Works of Nature, which necessarily leads us to the Knowledge of its first Cause. In short, he has illustrated, by numberless and incontestable Instances, that Divine Wisdom, which the Son of *Sirach* has so nobly ascribed to the Supreme Being in his Formation of the World, when he tells us, that *He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his Works.*†

† In the advertisements immediately under this paragraph in the Original issue is the following :—

Lately Publish'd,
Creation. A Philosophical Poem. Demonstrating the Existence and
Providencie of a God. In Seven Books. By Sir Richard Blackmore, Knt., M.D.,
and Fellow of the College of Physicians in London, &c. &c.



The SPECTATOR.

*Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset.*

Natus homo est ————— Ov. Met.

{*A Creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was Man design'd;
Conscious of Thought, of more capacious Breast,
For Empire form'd, and fit to rule the rest.* Dryden.}

Saturday, April 5, 1712.



HE Accounts which *Raphael* gives of the Battel of Angels, and the Creation of the World, have in them those Qualifications which the Criticks judge requisite to an Episode. They are nearly related to the principal Action, and have a just Connection with the Fable.

The Eighth Book opens with a beautiful Description of the Impression which this Discourse of the Archangel made on our first Parent. *Adam* afterwards, by a very natural Curiosity, enquires concerning the Motions of those Celestial Bodies which make the most glorious Appearance among the six Days Works. The Poet here, with a great deal of Art, reprents *Eve* as withdrawing from this part of their Conversation to Amusements that seem more suitable to her Sex. He well knew, that the Episode in this Book, which is filled with *Adam's* Account of his Passion and Esteem for *Eve*, would have been improper for her hearing, and has therefore devised very just and beautiful Reasons for her Retiring.

*So spake our Sire, and by his Countenance seem'd
Entring on studious thoughts abstruse: which Eve
Perceiving where she sat retired in sight,
With lowness Majestick from her Seat*

*And Grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers
To visit how they prosper'd, bud and bloom,
Her Nursery; they at her coming sprung,
And toucht by her fair tendance gladlier grew.
Yet went she not, as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her ear
Of what was high: Such pleasure she reserv'd
Adam relating, she sole Auditress;
Her Husband the relater she preferr'd
Before the Angel, and of him to ask
Chose rather: he, she knew, would intermix
Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal Careffes: from his Lip
Not words alone pleased her. O when meet now
Such pairs in Love, and mutual honour join'd?*

The Angel's returning a doubtful Answer to *Adam's* Enquiries, was not only proper for the Moral Reason which the Poet assigns, but because it would have been highly absurd to have given the Sanction of an Archangel to any particular System of Philosophy. The chief Points in the *Ptolemaic* and *Copernican* Hypothesis are described with great Conciseness and Perspicuity, and at the same time dressed in very pleasing and Poetical Images.

Adam, to detain the Angel, enters afterwards upon his own History, and relates to him the Circumstances in which he found himself upon his Creation; as also his Conversation with his Maker, and his first Meeting with *Eve*. There is no part of the Poem more apt to raise the attention of the Reader, than this Discourse of our great Ancestor; as nothing can be more surprizing and delightful to us, than to hear the Sentiments that arose in the first Man while he was yet new and fresh from the hands of his Creator. The Poet has interwoven every thing which is delivered upon this Subject in Holy Writ with so many beautiful Imaginations of his own, that nothing can be conceived

more just and natural than this whole Episode. As our Author knew this Subject could not but be agreeable to his Reader, he would not throw it into the relation of the six Days Works, but reserved it for a distinct Episode, that he might have an opportunity of expatiating upon it more at large. Before I enter on this part of the Poem, I cannot but take notice of two shining Passages in the Dialogue between *Adam* and the Angel. The first is that wherein our Ancestor gives an Account of the Pleasure he took in conversing with him, which contains a very noble Moral.

*For while I sit with thee, I seem in Heav'n,
And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
Than fruits of Palm-tree pleasanteſt to thirſt
And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
Of ſweet repaſt; they fatiate, and ſoon fill,
Tho' pleaſant, but thy words with Grace divine
Imbu'd, bring to their ſweetneſs no fatiety.*

The other I shall mention is that in which the Angel gives a reason why he should be glad to hear the Story *Adam* was about to relate.

*For I that day was abſent, as befell,
Bound on a Voyage uncouth and obſcure,
Far on excursion towards the Gates of Hell;
Squar'd in full Legion (ſuch command we had)
To ſee that none thence iſſued forth a Spy,
Or enemy, while God was in his work,
Leſt he incenſt at such eruption bold,
Destruction with Creation might have mix'd.*

There is no question but our Poet drew the Image in what follows from that in *Virgil's Sixth Book*, where *Aeneas* and the Sibyl stand before the *Adamantine Gates* which are there describ'd as shut upon the place of Torments, and listen to the Groans, the clank of Chains, and the noife of Iron Whips that were heard in those Regions of Pain and Sorrow.

*Fast we found, fast shut
The dismal gates, and barricadoed strong;*

*But long e'er our approaching heard within
Noise, other than the sound of Dance or Song,
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.*

Adam then proceeds to give an Account of his Condition and Sentiments immediately after his Creation. How agreeably does he represent the posture in which he found himself, the beautiful Landskip that surrounded him, and the gladness of Heart which grew up in him on that occasion.

—*As new waked from soundest sleep
Soft on the flowry herb I found me laid
In balmy sweat, which with his beams the Sun
Soon dried, and on the reeking moisture fed.
Streight toward Heav'n my wondering eyes I turn'd.
And gaz'd a while the ample Sky, 'till rais'd
By quick instinctive motion up I sprung
As thitherward endeavouring, and upright
Stood on my feet; about me round I saw
Hill, Dale, and shady woods and funny plains,
And liquid lapse of murmuring streams; by these
Creatures that liv'd, and mov'd, and walk'd, or flew,
Birds on the branches warbling; all things smil'd:
With fragrance, and with Joy my heart overflow'd.*

Adam is afterwards described as surpriz'd at his own Existence, and taking a Survey of himself, and of all the Works of Nature. He likewise is represented as discovering by the Light of Reason, that he and every thing about him must have been the effect of some Being infinitely good and powerful, and that this Being had a Right to his Worship and Adoration. His first address to the Sun, and to those parts of the Creation which made the most distinguished Figure, is very natural and amusing to the Imagination.

—*Thou Sun, said I, fair Light,
And thou enlight'ned earth, so fresh and gay,
Ye Hills and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods and Plains,
And ye that live and move, fair creatures tell,
Tell if you saw, how came I thus, how here?*

His next Sentiment, when upon his first going to Sleep he fancies himself losing his Existence, and falling away into nothing, can never be sufficiently admired. His Dream, in which he still preserves the Consciousness of his Existence, together with his removal into the Garden which was prepared for his Reception, are also Circumstances finely imagined, and grounded upon what is delivered in Sacred Story.

These and the like wonderful Incidents, in this Part of the Work, have in them all the Beauties of Novelty, at the same time that they have all the Graces of Nature. They are such as none but a great Genius could have thought of, though, upon the perusal of them, they seem to rise of themselves from the Subject of which he treats. In a Word, though they are natural they are not obvious, which is the true Character of all fine Writing.

The Impression which the Interdiction of the Tree of Life left in the Mind of our first Parent, is described with great Strength and Judgment, as the Image of the several Beasts and Birds passing in review before him is very beautiful and lively.

—*Each Bird and Beast behold
Approaching two and two, these cowering low
With blandishment; each bird stoop'd on his Wing:
I nam'd them as they pass'd*—

Adam, in the next place, describes a Conference which he held with his Maker upon the Subject of Solitude. The Poet here represents the Supreme Being, as making an Essay of his own Work, and putting to the tryal that reasoning Faculty, with which he had endued his Creature. Adam urges, in this divine Colloquy, the Impossibility of his being happy, tho' he was the Inhabitant of *Paradise*, and Lord of the whole Creation, without the Conversation and Society of some rational Creature, who should partake those Blessings with him. This Dialogue, which is supported chiefly by the Beauty of the Thoughts, without other Poetical

Ornaments, is as fine a part as any in the whole Poem : The more the Reader examines the justness and delicacy of its Sentiments, the more he will find himself pleased with it. The Poet has wonderfully preserved the Character of Majesty and Condescension in the Creator, and at the same time that of Humility and Adoration in the Creature, as particularly in those beautiful Lines.

*Thus I presumptuous ; and the Vision bright,
As with a f'mile more brightned, thus reply'd. &c.
——— I with leave of speech implor'd
And humble deprecation thus reply'd,
Let not my Words offend thee, Heav'nly power,
My maker, be propitious while I speak &c.*

Adam then proceeds to give an account of his second Sleep, and of the Dream in which he beheld the Formation of Eve. The new Passion that was awakened in him at the sight of her is touched very finely.

*Under his forming hands a Creature grew,
Manlike, but different Sex ; so lovely fair,
That what seem'd fair in all the World seem'd now
Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd,
And in her looks ; which from that time infus'd
Sweetnes into my heart, unfelt before,
And into all things from her air inspir'd
The spirit of Love and amorous delight.*

Adam's Distress upon losing sight of this beautiful Phantom, with his Exclamations of Joy and Gratitude at the Discovery of a real Creature, who resembled the Apparition which had been presented to him in his Dream ; the Approaches he makes to her, and his manner of Courtship, are all laid together in a most exquisite Propriety of Sentiments.

Tho' this part of the Poem is work'd up with great Warmth and Spirit, the Love, which is described in it, is every way suitable to a State of Innocence. If the Reader compares the Description which Adam here gives of his leading Eve to the Nuptial Bower, with

that which Mr. *Dryden* has made on the same Occasion in a Scene of his *Fall of Man*, he will be sensible of the great Care which *Milton* took to avoid all Thoughts on so delicate a Subject, that might be offensive to Religion or Good-manners. The Sentiments are chaste, but not cold, and convey to the Mind Ideas of the most transporting Passion, and of the greatest Purity. What a noble Mixture of Rapture and Innocence has the Author joined together, in the Reflection which *Adam* makes on the Pleasures of Love, compared to those of Sense.

*Thus have I told thee all my State, and brought
My Story to the Sum of earthly bliss
Which I enjoy, and must confess to find
In all things else delight indeed, but such
As us'd or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement desire ; these delicacies
I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits and flowers.
Walks, and the melody of Birds ; but here
Far otherwise, transported I behold,
Transported touch ; here passion first I felt,
Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superior and unmov'd, here only weak
Against the Charm of beauties powerfull glance.
Or nature fail'd in me, and left some part
Not proof enough such object to sustain,
Or from my side subducting, took perhaps
More than enough ; at least on her beslow'd
Too much of ornament, in outward shew
Elaborate, of inward less exact.*

*When I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
And in herself compleat, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
Seems wisest, virtuouslest, discreetest, best :
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded : Wisdom in discourse with her
Loses discountenanc'd, and like folly shews ;*

*Authority and reason on her wait,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally ; and to consummate all,
Greatness of mind and nobleness their Seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard Angelick plac'd.*

These Sentiments of Love, in our first Parent, gave the Angel such an Insight into Humane Nature, that he seems apprehensive of the Evils which might befall the Species in general, as well as *Adam* in particular, from the Excess of this Passion. He therefore fortifies him against it by timely Admonitions ; which very artfully prepare the Mind of the Reader for the Occurrences of the next Book, where the Weakness of which *Adam* here gives such distant discoveries, brings about that fatal Event which is the Subject of the Poem. His Discourse, which follows the gentle Rebuke he receiv'd from the Angel, shews that his Love, however violent it might appear, was still founded in Reason, and consequently not improper for *Paradise*.

*Neither her outside form so fair, nor ought
In procreation common to all kinds
(Though higher of the genial bed by far,
And with mysterious reverence I deem)
So much delights me as those graceful acts,
Those thousand decencies that daily flow
From all her words and actions mixt with love
And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
Union of mind, or in us both one Soul ;
Harmony to behold in wedded pair.*

Adam's Speech, at parting with the Angel, has in it a Deference and Gratitude agreeable to an Inferior Nature, and at the same time a certain Dignity and Greatness, suitable to the Father of Mankind in his State of Innocence.

The SPECTATOR.

In te omnis domus inclinata recumbit. Virg.

{*On thee the Fortunes of our House depend.*}

Saturday, April 12. 1712.

F we look into the three great Heroic Poems which have appear'd in the World, we may observe that they are built upon very flight Foundations. *Homer* lived near 300 Years after the *Trojan War*, and, as the Writing of History was not then in use among the *Greeks*, we may very well suppose, that the Tradition of *Achilles* and *Ulysses* had brought down but very few Particulars to his Knowledge, tho' there is no question but he has wrought into his two Poems such of their remarkable Adventures as were still talked of among his Contemporaries.

The Story of *Æneas*, on which *Virgil* founded his Poem, was likewise very bare of Circumstances, and by that means afforded him an Opportunity of embellishing it with Fiction, and giving a full Range to his own Invention. We find, however, that he has interwoven, in the course of his Fable, the principal Particulars, which were generally believed among the *Romans*, of *Æneas* his Voyage and Settlement in *Italy*.

The Reader may find an Abridgment of the whole Story, as collected out of the Ancient Historians, and as it was received among the *Romans*, in *Diony-
sius Halicarnasseus*.

Since none of the Criticks have consider'd *Virgil's* Fable, with relation to this History of *Æneas*, it may

not, perhaps, be amiss to examine it in this Light, so far as regards my present Purpose. Whoever looks into the Abridgment abovementioned, will find that the Character of *Æneas* is filled with Piety to the Gods, and a superstitious Observation of Prodigies, Oracles, and Predictions. *Virgil* has not only preserved this Character in the Person of *Æneas*, but has given a place in his Poem to those particular Prophecies which he found recorded of him in History and Tradition. The Poet took the matters of Fact as they came down to him, and circumstanced them after his own manner, to make them appear the more natural, agreeable or surprising. I believe very many Readers have been shocked at that ludicrous Prophecy, which one of the *Harpyes* pronounces to the *Trojans* in the Third Book, namely, that before they had built their Intended City, they should be reduced by Hunger to eat their very Tables. But, when they heard that this was one of the Circumstances that had been transmitted to the *Romans* in the History of *Æneas*, they will think the Poet did very well in taking notice of it. The Historian abovementioned, acquaints us that a Prophetess had foretold *Æneas*, that he should take his Voyage Westward, till his Companions should eat their Tables, and that accordingly, upon his landing in *Italy*, as they were eating their Flesh upon Cakes of Bread, for want of other Conveniences, they afterwards fed on the Cakes themselves, upon which one of the Company said merrily, ‘We are eating our Tables.’ They immediately took the Hint, says the Historian, and concluded the Prophecy to be fulfilled. As *Virgil* did not think it proper to omit so material a Particular in the History of *Æneas*, it may be worth while to consider with how much Judgment he has qualified it, and taken off every thing that might have appeared improper for a Passage in an Heroic Poem. The Prophetess who foretells it is an hungry *Harpy*, as the Person who discovers it is young *Ascanius*.

Heus etiam mensas consumimus inquit Iulius!

Such an Observation, which is beautiful in the mouth of a Boy, would have been ridiculous from any other of the Company. I am apt to think that the changing of the *Trojan* Fleet into Water-Nymphs, which is the most violent Machine of the whole *Eneid*, and has given Offence to several Critics, may be accounted for the same way. *Virgil* himself, before he begins that Relation, premises that what he was going to tell appeared incredible, but that it was justified by Tradition. What further confirms me that this change of the Fleet was a celebrated Circumstance in the History of *Æneas*, is, that *Ovid* has given a place to the same *Metamorphosis* in his account of the Heathen Mythology.

None of the Criticks, I have met with, having considered the Fable of the *Æneid* in this Light, and taken notice how the Tradition, on which it was founded, authorizes those Parts in it which appear the most Exceptionable; I hope the Length of this Reflection will not make it unacceptable to the curious Part of my Readers.

The History, which was the Basis of *Milton's* Poem, is still shorter than either that of the *Iliad* or *Æneid*. The Poet has likewise taken care to insert every Circumstance of it in the Body of his Fable. The Ninth Book, which we are here to consider, is raised upon that brief Account in Scripture, wherein we are told that the Serpent was more subtile than any Beast of the Field, that he tempted the Woman to eat of the Forbidden Fruit, that she was overcome by this Temptation, and that *Adam* followed her Example. From these few Particulars *Milton* has formed one of the most Entertaining Fables that Invention ever produced. He has disposed of these several Circumstances among so many beautiful and natural Fictions of his own, that his whole Story looks only like a Comment upon sacred Writ, or rather seems to be a full

and compleat Relation of what the other is only an Epitome. I have insisted the longer on this Consideration, as I look upon the Disposition and Contrivance of the Fable to be the Principal Beauty of the Ninth Book, which has more *Story* in it, and is fuller of Incidents, than any other in the whole Poem. Satan's traversing the Globe, and still keeping within the Shadow of the Night, as fearing to be discovered by the Angel of the Sun, who had before detected him, is one of those beautiful Imaginations [with] which [he] introduces this his second Series of Adventures. Having examined the Nature of every Creature, and found out one which was the most proper for his Purpose, he again returns to Paradise ; and, to avoid Discovery, sinks by Night with a River that ran under the Garden, and rises up again through a Fountain that issued from it by the Tree of Life. The Poet, who, as we have before taken notice, speaks as little as possible in his own Person, and, after the example of *Homer*, fills every Part of his Work with Manners and Characters, introduces a Soliloquy of this Infernal Agent, who was thus restless in the Destruction of Man. He is then describ'd as gliding through the Garden under the resemblance of a Mist, in order to find out that Creature in which he design'd to tempt our first Parents. This Description has something in it very Poetical and Surprizing.

*So saying, through each thicket Dank or Dry
Like a black Mist, low creeping, he held on
His Midnight Search, where soonest he might find
The Serpent: him fast sleeping soon he found
In Labyrinth of many a round self-roll'd,
His head the midst, well stor'd with subtle wiles.*

The Author afterwards gives us a Description of the Morning, which is wonderfully suitable to a Divine Poem, and peculiar to that first Season of Nature ; he represents the Earth before it was curst, as a great Altar breathing out its Incense from all parts, and

sending up a pleasant Savour to the Nostrils of its Creator; to which he adds a noble Idea of *Adam* and *Eve*, as offering their Morning Worship, and filling up the universal Confort of Praife and Adoration.

*Now when as sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flowers, that breathed
Their morning incense, when all things that breath
From th' Earth's great Altar send up silent praise
To the Creatour, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell, forth came the human pair
And joyn'd their vocal worship to the Choir
Of Creatures wanting voice* —————

The Dispute which follows between our two first Parents is represented with great Art: It arises [proceeds] from a difference of Judgment, not of Passion, and is managed with Reason, not with Heat; it is such a Dispute as we may suppose might have happened in *Paradise*, had Man continued Happy and Innocent. There is a great Delicacy in the Moralities which are interspersed in *Adam's Discourse*, and which the most ordinary Reader cannot but take notice of. That force of Love which the Father of Mankind so finely describes in the Eighth Book, and which I inserted in my last *Saturday's Paper*, shews it self here in many beautiful Instances: As in those fond Regards he casts towards *Eve* at her parting from him.

*Her long with ardent look his eye purfued
Delighted but desiring more her stay.
Oft he to her his charge of quick return
Repeated, she to him as oft engaged
To be return'd by noon amid the Bowre.*

In his impatience and amusement during her Absence.

————— Adam the while
*Waiting desirous her return, had wove
Of choicest flowers a Garland to adorn
Her Tresses, and her rural labours crown,*

*As Reapers oft are wont their Harvest Queen.
Great Joy he promised to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delay'd;*

But particularly in that passionate Speech, where seeing her irrecoverably lost, he resolves to perish with her, rather than to live without her.

*Some cursed fraud
Or enemy hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruin'd; for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die;
How can I live without thee, how forego
Thy sweet converse and love so dearly join'd,
To live again in these wild woods forlorn?
Should God create another Eve, and I
Another rib afford, yet loss of thee
Would never from my heart; no, no, I feel
The link of nature draw me: Flesh of Flesh,
Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy State
Mine never shall be parti'd Blis or Woe.*

The beginning of this Speech, and the Preparation to it, are animated with the same Spirit as the Conclusion, which I have here quoted.

The several Wiles which are put in Practice by the Tempter, when he found *Eve* separated from her Husband, the many pleasing Images of Nature, which are intermixt in this part of the Story, with its gradual and regular Progress to the fatal Catastrophe, are so very remarkable, that it would be superfluous to point out their several [respective] Beauties.

I have avoided mentioning any particular Similitudes in my Remarks on this great Work, because I have given a general account of them in my Paper on the First Book. There is one, however, in this part of the Poem which I shall here quote, as it is not only very beautiful, but the closest of any in the whole Poem; I mean that where the Serpent is describ'd as rolling forward in all his Pride, animated by the evil

Spirit, and conducting *Eve* to her Destruction, while *Adam* was at too great a distance from her, to give her his Assistance. These several Particulars are all of them wrought into the following Similitude.

Hope elevates, and Joy
Brighten's his Crest, as when a wand'ring fire
Compact of unctuous vapour, which the night
Condenses, and the cold invirons round,
Kindled through agitation to a flame,
(Which oft, they say, some evil spirit attends)
Hovering and blazing with delusive light,
Misleads th' amaz'd Night-wanderer from his way
To boggs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
There swallow'd up and lost, from succour far :

That secret Intoxication of Pleasure, with all those transient flushings of Guilt and Joy which the Poet represents in our first Parents upon their eating the forbidden Fruit, to those flaggings of Spirit, damps of Sorrow and mutual Accusations which succeed it, are conceiv'd with a wonderful Imagination, and described in very natural Sentiments.

When *Dido* in the Fourth *Aeneid* yielded to that fatal Temptation which ruin'd her, *Virgil* tells us, the Earth trembled, the Heavens were filled with flashes of Lightning, and the Nymphs howl'd upon the Mountain Tops. *Milton*, in the same Poetical Spirit, has describ'd all Nature as disturbed upon *Eve's* eating the forbidden Fruit.

So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the Fruit, she plucked, she eat:
Earth felt the wound, and nature from her Seat
Sighing through all her works gave signs of Woe
That all was lost

Upon *Adam's* falling into the same Guilt, the whole Creation appears a second time in Convulsions.

He scrupl'd not to eat
Against his better knowledge ; not deceiv'd,

*But fondly overcome with Female charm.
Earth trembled from her Entrails, as again
In pangs, and nature gave a second groan,
Sky lowered and muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at compleating of the mortal Sin——*

As all Nature suffer'd by the guilt of our first Parents, these Symptoms of Trouble and Consternation are wonderfully imagin'd, not only as Prodigies, but as Marks of her Sympathizing in the Fall of Man.

Adam's Converse with *Eve*, after having eaten the forbidden Fruit, is an exact Copy of that between *Jupiter* and *Juno*, in the Fourteenth *Iliad*. *Juno* there approaches *Jupiter* with the Girdle which she had received from *Venus*, upon which he tells her, that she appeared more charming and desirable than she ever had done before, even when their Loves were at the highest. The Poet afterwards describes them as reposing on a Summet of Mount *Ida*, which produced under them a Bed of Flowers, the *Lotus*, the *Crocus*, and the *Hyacinth*, and concludes his Description with their falling a-sleep.

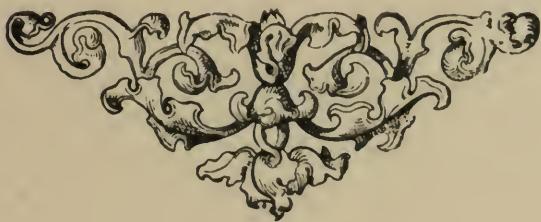
Let the Reader compare this with the following Passage in *Milton*, which begins with *Adam's* Speech to *Eve*.

*For never did thy Beauty since the Day
I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd
With all Perfections so inflame my Sense
With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever, bounty of this virtuous Tree.*

*So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood
Of Eve, whose Eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he feised, and to a shady bank
Thick over-head with verdant roof embowr'd
He led her nothing loth : Flow'rs were the Couch,
Pansies, and Violets, and Asphodel,
And Hyacinth, Earth's freshest softest lap.
There they their fill of Love, and Loves disport*

*Took largely, of their mutual guilt the Seal,
The Solace of their Sin, 'till dewy sleep
Oppress'd them* ——————

As no Poet seems ever to have studied *Homer* more, or to have resembled him in the greatness of Genius than *Milton*, I think I shou'd have given but a very imperfect Account of his Beauties, if I had not observed the most remarkable Passages which look like Parallels in these two great Authors. I might, in the Course of these Criticisms, have taken notice of many particular Lines and Expressions which are translated from the *Greek* Poet, but as I thought this would have appeared too minute and over-curious, I have purposely omitted them. The greater Incidents, however, are not only set off by being shown in the same Light, with several of the same Nature in *Homer*, but by that means may be also guarded against the Cavils of the Tasteless or Ignorant.



The SPECTATOR.

† Reddere persone scit convenientia cuique. Hor.
{He knows what best befits each character.}

[*— quis talia fando
Temperet à lachrymis?* —] Virg.]
{ *Who can relate such Woes without a Tear?* }

Saturday, April 19. 1712.



THE Tenth Book of *Paradise Lost* has a greater variety of Persons in it than any other in the whole Poem. The Author upon the winding up of his Action introduces all those who had any Concern in it, and shews with great Beauty the influence which it had upon each of them. It is like the last Act of a well written Tragedy, in which all who had a part in it are generally drawn up before the Audience, and represented under those Circumstances in which the determination of the Action places them.

I shall therefore consider this Book under four Heads, in relation to the Celestial, the Infernal, the Human, and the Imaginary Persons, who have their respective Parts allotted in it.

To begin with the Celestial Persons : The Guardian Angels of *Paradise* are described as returning to Heaven upon the Fall of Man, in order to approve their Vigilance ; their Arrival, their manner of Reception, with the Sorrow which appeared in themselves, and in those Spirits who are said to Rejoice at the Conversion of a Sinner, are very finely laid together in the following Lines.

*Up into Heav'n from Paradise in haste
Th' angelick guards ascended, mute and sad
For man, for of his slate by this they knew
Much wond'ring how the subtle Fiend had stoln*

[†] This motto was changed in second edition for the one below it.

*Entrance unseen. Soon as th' unwelcome news
From earth arriv'd at Heaven Gate, displeas'd
All were who heard, dim sadness did not spare
That time Celestial visages, yet mixt
With pity, violated not their bliss.
About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
Th' Aethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befell: They tow'rds the throne supream
Accountable made hastle to make appear
With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance,
And easily approv'd; when the most High
Eternal father from his secret cloud,
Amidst in thunder utter'd thus his voice.*

The same Divine Person who in the foregoing parts of this Poem interceded for our first Parents before their Fall, overthrew the rebel Angels, and created the World, is now represented as descending to *Paradise*, and pronouncing Sentence upon the three Offenders. The cool of the Evening, being a Circumstance with which Holy Writ introduces this great Scene, it is Poetically described by our Author, who has also kept religiously to the form of Words, in which the three several Sentences were passed upon *Adam*, *Eve*, and the Serpent. He has rather chosen to neglect the numerousness of his Verse, than to deviate from those Speeches which are recorded on this great occasion. The Guilt and Confusion of our first Parents standing naked before their Judge, is touch'd with great Beauty. Upon the Arrival of *Sin* and *Death* into the Works of the Creation, the Almighty is again introduced as speaking to his Angels that surrounded him.

*See with what heat these Dogs of Hell advance
To waste and havock yonder world, which I
So fair and good created, &c.*

The following Passage is formed upon that glorious Image in Holy Writ which compares the Voice of an innumerable Host of Angels, uttering Hallelujahs, to the Voice of mighty Thunderings, or of many Waters.

*He ended, and the Heav'ny Audience loud
Sung Hallelujah, as the sound of Seas,
Through multitude that sung: Just are thy ways,
Righteous are thy Decrees in all thy Works,
Who can extenuate thee?—*

Though the Author in the whole course of his Poem, and particularly in the Book we are now examining, has infinite Allusions to places of Scripture, I have only taken notice in my Remarks of such as are of a Poetical Nature, and which are woven with great Beauty into the Body of his [this] Fable. Of this kind is that Passage in the present Book, where describing *Sin* [and *Death*] as marching through the Works of Nature, he adds,

*—Behind her Death
Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horse:—*

Which alludes to that Passage in Scripture so wonderfully Poetical, and terrifying to the Imagination. *And I looked, and behold, a pale Horse, and his Name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with sickness, and with the beasts of the earth.* Under this first head of Celestial Persons we must likewise take notice of the Command which the Angels received, to produce [the] several Changes in Nature, and fully the Beauty of the Creation. Accordingly they are represented as infecting the Stars and Planets with malignant Influences, weakning the Light of the Sun, bringing down the Winter into the milder Regions of Nature, planting Winds and Storms in several Quarters of the Sky, storing the Clouds with Thunder, and in short, perverting the whole frame of the Universe to the condition of its Criminal inhabitants. As this is a noble Incident in the Poem, the following Lines, in which we see the Angels heaving up the Earth, and

placing it in a different posture to the Sun from what it had before the Fall of Man, is conceived with that sublime Imagination which was so peculiar to this great Author.

*Some say he bid his angels turn a canse
The Poles of earth twice ten degrees and more
From the Sun's Axe; they with labour pus'd
Oblique the Centrick Globe.—*

We are in the second place to consider the Infernal Agents under the View which *Milton* has given us of them in this Book. It is observed by those who would set forth the Greatness of *Virgil's* Plan, that he conducts his Reader thro' all the Parts of the Earth which were discover'd in his time. *Asia, Africk and Europe* are the several Scenes of his Fable. The Plan of *Milton's* Poem is of an infinitely greater extent, and fills the Mind with many more astonishing Circumstances. *Satan*, having surrounded the Earth seven times, departs at length from *Paradise*. We afterwards [then] see him steering his Course among the Constellations, and after having traversed the whole Creation, pursuing his Voyage through the *Chaos*, and entering into his own Infernal Dominions.

His first appearance in the Assembly of Fallen Angels is work'd up with Circumstances which give a delightful Surprize to the Reader; but there is no Incident in the whole Poem which does this more than the Transformation of the whole Audience, that follows the account their Leader gives them of his Expedition. The gradual change of *Satan* himself is described after *Ovid's* manner, and may vie with any of those celebrated Transformations which are looked upon as the most beautiful parts in that Poet's Works. *Milton* never fails of improving his own Hints, and bestowing the last finishing Touches to every Incident which is admitted into his Poem. The unexpected Hiss which rises in this Episode, the Dimensions and Bulk of *Satan* so much superior to those of the Infernal Spirits who lay under the same Transformation, with the

annual Change which they are supposed to suffer, are Instances of this kind. The Beauty of the Diction is very remarkable in this whole Episode, as I have observed in the Sixth Paper of these my Remarks the great Judgment with which it was contrived.

The Parts of *Adam* and *Eve*, or the Humane Persons, come next under our Consideration. *Milton's* Art is no where more shewn than in his conducting the parts of these our first Parents. The Representation he gives of them, without falsifying the Story, is wonderfully contrived to influence the Reader with Pity and Compassion towards them. Tho' *Adam* involves the whole Species in Misery, his Crime proceeds from a Weakness which every Man is inclin'd to pardon and commiserate, as it seems rather the frailty of Humane Nature, than of the Person who offended. Every one is apt to excuse a Fault which he himself might have fallen into. It was the Excess of Love for *Eve* that ruined *Adam* and his Posterity. I need not add, that the Author is justified in this particular by many of the Fathers, and the most Orthodox Writers. *Milton* has by this means filled a great part of his Poem with that kind of Writing which the French Criticks call the *Tender*, and which is in a particular manner engaging to all sorts of Readers.

Adam and *Eve*, in the Book we are now considering, are likewise drawn with such Sentiments as do not only interest the Reader in their Afflictions, but raise in him the most melting Passions of Humanity and Commiseration. When *Adam* sees the several Changes in Nature produced about him, he appears in a disorder of Mind suitable to one who had forfeited both his Innocence and his Happiness. He is filled with Horror, Remorse, Despair; in the anguish of his Heart he expostulates with his Creator for giving [having given] him an unasked Existence.

*Did I request thee, Maker, from my Clay
To mould me Man, did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me, or here place*

*In this delicious Garden ? as my will
Concurr'd not to my being, 'twere but right
And equal to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resign, and render back
All I receiv'd* —————

He immediately after recovers from his Presumption, owns his Doom to be just, and begs that the Death which is threaten'd him may be inflicted on him.

————— *Why delays*
*His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'a on this day ? Why do I overlive,
Why am I mock'd with Death, and lengthen'd out
To Deathless pain ? how gladly would I meet
Mortality my Sentence, and be earth
Insensible, how glad would lay me down
As in my mothers lap ? there should I rest
And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
Would thunder in my ears, no fear of worse
To me and to my off-spring, would torment me
With cruel expectation.* —————

This whole Speech is full of the like Emotion, and varied with all those Sentiments which we may suppose natural to a Mind so broken and disturb'd. I must not omit that generous Concern which our first Father shows in it for his Posterity, and which is so proper to affect the Reader.

————— *Hide me from the face*
*Of God, whom to behold was then my height
Of Happiness : yet well, if here would end
The misery, I deserv'd it, and would bear
My own deservings ; but this will not serve ;
All that I eat, or drink, or shall beget,
Is propagated Curse. O voice once heard
Delightfully, encrease and multiply,
Now Death to hear !* —————

————— *In me all*
*Posterity stands curst : Fair Patrimony
That I must leave you, Sons ; O were I able
To waste it all my self, and leave you none !*

*So disinherited how woud you bless
Me now your curse! Ah, why should all Mankind
For one Mans fault thus guiltieſ be conaemn'd
If guiltleſſ? But from me what can proceed
But all corrupt—*

Who can afterwards behold the Father of Mankind extended upon the Earth, uttering his Midnight Complaints, bewailing his Existence, and wishing for Death, without sympathizing with him in his Distress?

*Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
Through the ſtill night, not now, as e're man fell
Wholesome and cool and mild, but with black Air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom
Which to his evil Conscience repreſented
All things with double terrour: on the Ground
Outſtrech'd he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
Curs'd his Creation, Death as oft accus'd
Of tardy execution.—*

The Part of *Eve* in this Book is no leſs paſſionate, and apt to ſway the Reader in her Favour. She is repreſented with great Tendernes as approaching *Adam*, but is ſpurn'd from him with a Spirit of Upbraiding and Indignation conformable to the Nature of Man, whose Paſſions had now gained the Dominion over him. The following Paſſage, wherein ſhe is deſcribed as renewing her Addreſſes to him, with the whole Speech that follows it, have ſomething in them exquifitely moving and pathetick.

*He adied not, and from her turn'd: but Eve
Not ſo repulſt, with tears that ceas'd not flowing
And treffes all disorder'd, at his Feet
Fell humble, and embracing them, beſought
His peace, and thus proceeding in her plaint.*

*Forsake me not thus Adam, witneſs Heav'n
What love ſincere and reverenc in my heart
I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
Unhappily deceiv'd; thy Suppliant
I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not,
Whcreon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,*

*Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
My only strength and stay: Forlorn of thee
Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
While yet we live scarce one short hour perhaps,
Between us two let there be peace, &c.*

Adam's Reconcilement to her is worked up in the same Spirit of Tenderness. Eve afterwards proposes to her Husband, in the Blindness of her Despair, that to prevent their Guilt from descending upon Posterity they should resolve to live Childless; or, if that could not be done, that they should seek their own Deaths by violent Methods. As those Sentiments naturally engage the Reader to regard the Mother of Mankind with more than ordinary Commiseration, they likewise contain a very fine Moral. The Resolution of dying to end our Miseries does not shew such a degree of Magnanimity as a Resolution to bear them, and submit to the Dispensations of Providence. Our Author has therefore, with great Delicacy, represented Eve as entertaining this Thought, and Adam as disapproving it.

We are, in the last place, to consider the Imaginary Persons, or *Sin* and *Death*, who act a large part in this Book. Such beautiful extended Allegories are certainly some of the finest Compositions of Genius; but, as I have before observed, are not agreeable to the Nature of an Heroic Poem. This of *Sin* and *Death* is very exquisite in its kind, if not considered as a Part of such a Work. The Truths contained in it are so clear and open that I shall not lose time in explaining them, but shall only observe, that a Reader who knows the strength of the English Tongue will be amazed to think how the Poet could find such apt Words and Phrases to describe the Action[s] of these [those] two imaginary Persons, and particularly in that Part where *Death* is exhibited as forming a Bridge over the *Chaos*: a Work suitable to the Genius of Milton.

Since the Subject I am upon gives me an Opportunity of speaking more at large of such Shadowy and

imaginary Persons as may be introduced into Heroic Poems, I shall beg leave to explain my self on [in] a Matter which is curious in its kind, and which none of the Criticks have treated of. It is certain *Homer* and *Virgil* are full of imaginary Persons, who are very beautiful in Poetry when they are just shown, without being engaged in any Series of Action. *Homer* indeed represents *Sleep* as a Person, and ascribes a short Part to him in his *Iliad*; but we must consider that tho' we now regard such a Person as entirely Shadowy and unsubstantial, the Heathens made Statues of him, placed him in their Temples, and looked upon him as a real Deity. When *Homer* makes use of other such Allegorical Persons it is only in short Expressions, which convey an ordinary Thought to the Mind in the most pleasing manner, and may rather be looked upon as Poetical Phrases than allegorical Descriptions. Instead of telling us that Men naturally fly when they are terrified, he introduces the Persons of *Flight* and *Fear*, who he tells us are inseparable Companions. Instead of saying that the Time was come when *Apollo* ought to have received his Recompence, he tells us that the *Hours* brought him his Reward. Instead of describing the Effects which *Minerva's Aegis* produced in Battell, he tells us that the Brims of it were encompassed by *Terror*, *Rout*, *Discord*, *Fury*, *Pursuit*, *Massacre* and *Death*. In the same Figure of speaking he represents *Victory* as following *Diomedes*; *Discord* as the Mother of Funerals and Mourning, *Venus* as dressed by the *Graces*, *Bellona* as wearing Terror and Consternation like a Garment. I might give several other Instances out of *Homer*, as well as a great many out of *Virgil*. *Milton* has likewise very often made use of the same way of speaking, as where he tells us that *Victory* sat on the right hand of the Messiah, when he march'd forth against the Rebel Angels; that at the rising of the Sun the *Hours* unbarr'd the Gates of Light; that *Discord* was the Daughter of *Sin*. Of the same nature are those Expressions where describing the singing of the Nightin-

gale, he adds, *Silence was pleased*; and upon the Messiah's bidding Peace to the *Chaos*, *Confusion heard his voice*. I might add innumerable other* Instances of our Poet's writing in this beautiful Figure. It is plain that these I have mentioned, in which Persons of an imaginary Nature are introduced, are such short Allegories as are not designed to be taken in the literal Sense, but only to convey particular Circumstances to the Reader after an unusual and entertaining Manner. But when such Persons are introduced as principal Actors, and engaged in a Series of Adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an Heroic Poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal Parts. I cannot forbear therefore thinking that *Sin* and *Death* are as improper Agents in a Work of this Nature, as *Strength* and *Violence* [*Necessity*] in one of the Tragedies of *Eschylus*, who represented those two Persons nailing down *Prometheus* to a Rock, for which he has been justly censured by the greatest Criticks. I do not know any imaginary Person made use of in a more Sublime manner of thinking than that in one of the Prophets, who describing God as descending from Heaven, and visiting the Sins of Mankind, adds that dreadful Circumstance; *Before him went the Pestilence*. It is certain this imaginary Person might have been described in all her purple Spots. The *Fever* might have march'd before her, *Pain* might have stood at her right Hand, *Phrenzy* on her left, and *Death* in her Rear. She might have been introduced as gliding down from the Tail of a Comet, or darted upon the Earth in a Flash of Lightning: She might have tainted the Atmosphere with her Breath; the very glaring of her Eyes might have scattered Infection. But I believe every Reader will think that in such Sublime Writings the mentioning of her as it is done in Scripture has something in it more just, as well as great, than all that the most fanciful Poet could have bestowed upon her in the Richness of his Imagination.

The SPECTATOR.

*Crudelis ubique
 Luctus, ubique pavor, & plurima Mortis Imago.* Virg.
 {*All Parts resound with Tumults, Complaints, and Fears,
 And grisly Death in fundry Shapes appears.*
 Dryden.}

Saturday, April 26. 1712.



MILTON has shewn a wonderful Art in describing that variety of Passions which arise in our first Parents upon the breach of the Commandment that had been given them. We see them gradually passing from the triumph of their Guilt thro' Remorse, Shame, Despair, Contrition, Prayer, and Hope, to a perfect and compleat Repentance. At the end of the Tenth Book they are represented as prostrating themselves upon the Ground, and watering the Earth with their Tears: To which the Poet joins this beautiful Circumstance, that they offer'd up their Penitential Prayers on the very place where their Judge appeared to them when he pronounced their Sentence.

*They forthwith to the place
 Repairing, where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
 Before him reverent, and both confess'd
 Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears
 Watring the Ground —*

[There is a Beauty of the same kind in a tragedy of Sophocles, where *Oedipus*, after having put out his own Eyes, instead of breaking his Neck from the Palace Battlements (which furnishes so elegant an Entertainment for our English Audience) desires that he may be conducted to Mount *Cithaeron*, in order to end his Life in that very Place where he was exposed in his

Infancy, and where he should then have died, had the Will of his Parents been executed.]

As the Author never fails to give a Poetical turn to his Sentiments, he describes in the beginning of this Book the Acceptance which these their Prayers met with, in a short Allegory form'd upon that beautiful Passage in Holy Writ. *And another Angel came and stood at the Altar, having a golden Censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all Saints upon the Golden Altar, which was before the throne: And the smoak of the incense which came with the Prayers of the Saints, ascended up before God.*

— To Heav'n their prayers
*Flew up, nor mis'd the way, by envious winds
 Blown vagabond or frustrate: in they pass'd
 Dimensionless through Heav'ly doors, then clad
 With incense, where the Golden Altar fumed,
 By their great intercessor, came in sight
 Before the Father's throne—*

We have the same Thought expressed a second time in the Intercession of the Messiah, which is conceived in very Emphatick Sentiments and Expressions.

Among the Poetical parts of Scripture which Milton has so finely wrought into this part of his Narration, I must not omit that wherein *Ezekiel* speaking of the Angels who appeared to him in a Vision, adds that *every one had four faces, and that their whole bodies, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about.*

— *The Cohort bright
 Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
 Had, like a double Janus, all their shape
 Spangled with eyes—*

The assembling of all the Angels of Heaven to hear the Solemn Decree passed upon Man is represented in very lively Ideas. The Almighty is here describ'd as remembring Mercy in the midst of Judgment, and

commanding *Michael* to deliver his Message in the mildest terms, least the Spirit of Man, which was already broken with the Sense of his Guilt and Misery, should fail before him.

————— *Yet least they faint
At the sad Senience rigorously urg'd,
For I behold them softned and with tears
Bewailing their excess, all terror hide.*

The Conference of *Adam* and *Eve* is full of moving Sentiments. Upon their going Abroad after the melancholy Night which they had passed together, they discover the Lion and the Eagle pursuing each of them their Prey towards the Eastern Gates of *Paradise*. There is a double Beauty in this Incident, not only as it presents great and just Omens which are always agreeable in Poetry; but as it expresses that Enmity which was now produced in the Animal Creation. The Poet, to shew the like changes in Nature, as well as to grace his Fable with a noble Prodigy, represents the Sun in an Eclipse. This particular Incident has likewise a fine effect upon the Imagination of the Reader, in regard to what follows: For, at the same time that the Sun is under an Eclipse, a bright Cloud descends in the Western quarter of the Heavens, filled with an Host of Angels, and more luminous than the Sun it self. The whole Theatre of Nature is darkned, that this glorious Machine may appear in all its lustre and magnificence.

————— *Why in the East
Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning light
More orient in that Western cloud that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something heav'nly fraught?
He err'd not; for by this the Heav'nly bands
Down from a Sky of Jasper lighted now
In Paradise, and on a Hill made halt;
A glorious apparition—————*

I need not observe how properly this Author, who always suits his Parts to the Actors whom he intro-

duces, has employed *Michael* in the Expulsion of our first Parents from *Paradise*. The Arch-angel on this occasion neither appears in his proper Shape, nor in that familiar manner with which *Raphael* the sociable Spirit entertained the Father of Mankind before the Fall. His Person, his Port and Behaviour, are suitable to a Spirit of the highest Rank, and exquisitely describ'd in the following Passage.

— — — — —

*Th' Archangel soon drew nigh
Not in his shape Celestial; but as man
Clad to meet man; over his lucid arms
A military vest of purple flow'd
Livelier than Melibæan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by Kings and Heroes old
In time of truce; Iris had dipt the Wooff:
His starry helm, unbuckled, shew'd him prime
In Manhood where Youth ended; by his side
As in a glistring Zodiack hung the Sword,
Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the Spear.
Adam bow'd low; he kingly from his state
Inclined not, but his coming thus declar'd.*

Eve's Complaint upon hearing that she was to be removed from the Garden of *Paradise* is wonderfully beautiful. The Sentiments are not only proper to the Subject, but have something in them particularly soft and womanish.

*Must I then leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
Thee, native Soil, these happy walks and shadies,
Fit haunt of Gods? Where I had hoped to spen.d
Quiet though sad the respite of that day
That must be mortal to us both. O flow'rs
That never will in other Climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At Even, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first opening bud, and gave you names,
Who now shall rear you to the Sun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from th' ambrosial fount?
Thee lastly, Nuptial bowre, by me adorn'd*

*With what to fight or smell was sweet ; from thee
How shall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower world, to this obscure
And wild, how shall we breath in other air
Less pure, accustom'd to immortal fruits ?*

Adam's Speech abounds with Thoughts which are equally moving, but of a more Masculine and elevated Turn. Nothing can be conceived more Sublime and Poetical, than the following Passage in it :

*This most afflicts me, that departing hence
As from his face I shall be hid, deprived
His blessed Count'nce ; here I could frequent,
With worship, place by place where he vouchsafed
Presence divine, and to my Sons relate ;
On this mount he appear'd, under this tree
Stood visible, among these Pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this fountain talk'd :
So many grateful Altars I would rear
Of graffie turf, and pile up every Stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory,
Or monument to ages, and thereon
Offer sweet smelling Gums and fruits and flowers :
In yonder nether world where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or footsteps trace ?
For though I fled him angry, yet recall'd
To life prolong'd and promised race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost Skirts
Of Glory, and far off his Steps adore.*

The Angel afterwards leads *Adam* to the highest Mount of *Paradise*, and lays before him a whole Hemisphere, as a proper Stage for those Visions which were to be represented on it. I have before observed how the Plan of Milton's Poem is in many Particulars greater than that of the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*. *Virgil's* Hero, in the last of these Poems, is entertained with a sight of all those who are to descend from him ; but tho' that Episode is justly admired as one of the noblest

Designs in the whole *Aeneid*, every one must allow that this of *Milton* is of a much higher Nature. *Adam's* Vision is not confined to any particular Tribe of Mankind, but extends to the whole Species.

In this great Review, which *Adam* takes of all his Sons and Daughters, the first Objects he is presented with exhibit to him the Story of *Cain* and *Abel*, which is drawn together with much Closeness and Propriety of Expression. That Curiosity and natural Horror which arises in *Adam* at the Sight of the first dying Man is touched with great beauty.

*But have I now seen death, is this the way
I must return to native dust? O Sight
Of terror foul and ugly to behold,
Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!*

The second Vision sets before him the Image of Death in a great Variety of Appearances. The Angel, to give him a General Idea of those Effects, which his Guilt had brought upon his Posterity, places before him a large Hospital, or Lazar-house, fill'd with Persons lying under all kinds of Mortal Diseases. How finely has the Poet told us that the sick Persons languished under Lingring and Incurable Distempers by an apt and Judicious use of such Imaginary Beings, as those I mentioned in my last Saturday's Paper.

*Dire was the tossing, deep the Groans, Despair
Tended the Sick, busie from Couch to Couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invoked
With vows as their chief good and final hope.*

The Passion which likewise rises in *Adam* on this Occasion is very natural.

*Sight so deform what Heart of rock could long
Dry-ey'd behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Tho' not of Woman born; Compassion quell'd
His best of Man, and gave him up to tears.*

The Discourse between the Angel and *Adam* which follows, abounds with noble Morals.

As there is nothing more delightful in Poetry, than a Contrast and Opposition of Incidents, the Author, after this melancholy prospect of Death and Sickness, raises up a Scene of Mirth, Love and Jollity. The secret Pleasure that steals into *Adam's* Heart, as he is intent upon this Vision, is imagined with great Delicacy. I must not omit the Description of the loose Female troupe, who seduced the Sons of God as they are call'd in Scripture.

*For that fair female troupe thou saw'st that seem'd
Of Goddesses so Blithe, so Smooth, so Gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consisteth
Womans domestick honour and chief praise;
Bred only and compleated to the taste
Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
To dress, and trouble the tongue, and roul the Eye.
To these that sober race of Men, whose lives
Religious titled them the Sons of God,
Shall yield up all their vertue, all their fame
Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
Of those fair Atheists———*

The next Vision is of a quite contrary Nature, and filled with the Horrors of War. *Adam*, at the sight of it, melts into Tears, and breaks out in that passionate Speech ;

*O what are these
Deaths ministers not Men, who thus deal death
Inhumanly to Men, and multiply
Ten thousand fold the Sin of him who slew
His Brother: for of whom such Massacre
Make they but of their Brethren, men of men ?*

Milton, to keep up an agreeable variety in his Visions, after having raised in the Mind of his Reader the several Ideas of Terror which are conformable to the Description of War, passes on to those softer Images of Triumphs and Festivals, in that Vision of Lewdness and Luxury, which ushers in the Flood.

As it is visible, that the Poet had his Eye upon *Ovid's* account of the universal Deluge, the Reader may observe with how much Judgment he has avoided every thing that is redundant or puerile in the *Latin* Poet. We do not here see the Wolf swimming among the Sheep, nor any of those wanton Imaginations which *Seneca* has found fault with, as unbecoming this great Catastrophe of Nature. If our Poet has imitated that Verse in which *Ovid* tells us, that there was nothing but Sea, and that this Sea had no Shoar to it, he has not set the Thought in such a light as to incur the Censure which Criticks have passed upon it. The latter part of that Verse in *Ovid* is idle and superfluous; but just and beautiful in *Milton*.

*Jamque mare & tellus nullum discriminem habebant,
Nil nisi pontus erat, deerant quoque littora ponto.* Ovid.

—Sea cover'd Sea,
Sea without Shoar— Milton.

In *Milton* the former part of the Description does not forestall the latter. How much more great and solemn on this occasion is that which follows in our *English* Poet,

—And in their palaces
Where luxury late reign'd, Sea Monsters whelp'd
And Stabl'd—

than that in *Ovid*, where we are told, that the Sea Calfs lay in those places where the Goats were used to browze? The Reader may find several other Parallel Passages in the *Latin* and *English* Description of the Deluge, wherein our Poet has visibly the Advantage. The Sky's being over-charged with Clouds, the descending of the Rains, the rising of the Seas, and the appearance of the Rainbow, are such Descriptions as every one must take notice of. The Circumstance relating to *Paradise* is so finely imagined and suitable to the Opinions of many learned Authors, that I cannot forbear giving it a place in this Paper.

— Then shall this mount
 Of Paradise by might of Waves be moved
 Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
 With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees a drift
 Down the great river to the op'ning Gulf,
 And there take root an Island salt and bare,
 The haunt of Seals and Orcs, and Sea-Mews clang:

The Transition which the Poet makes from the Vision of the Deluge, to the Concern it occasioned in *Adam*, is exquisitely graceful, and copied after *Virgil*, tho' the first Thought it introduces is rather in the Spirit of *Ovid*.

How didst thou grieve, then, Adam, to behold
 The end of all thy Off-spring, end so sad,
 Depopulation; thee another floud,
 Of tears and sorrow, a floud thee also drown'd,
 And sunk thee as thy Sons: 'till gently rear'd
 By th' Angel, on thy feet thou floodst at last,
 Though comfortless, as when a father mourns
 His Children, all in view destroy'd at once.

I have been the more particular in my Quotations out of the Eleventh Book of *Paradise Lost*, because it is not generally reckoned among the most shining Books of this Poem. For which reason, the Reader might be apt to overlook those many Passages in it, which deserve our Admiration. The Eleventh and Twelfth are indeed built upon that single Circumstance of the Removal of our first Parents from *Paradise*; but tho' this is not in it self so great a Subject as that in most of the foregoing Books, it is extended and diversified with so many surprizing Incidents and pleasing Episodes, that these two last Books can by no means be looked upon as unequal Parts of this divine Poem. I must further add, that had not *Milton* represented our first Parents as driven out of *Paradise*, his Fall of Man would not have been compleat, and consequently his Action would have been imperfect.

THE SPECTATOR.

Segniūs irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus— Hor.
 { — What we hear moves less than what we see.
 Roscommon. }

Saturday, May, 3. 1712.


 MILTON, after having represented in Vision the History of Mankind to the First great Period of Nature, dispatches the remaining Part of it in Narration. He has devised a very handsome Reason for the Angel's proceeding with *Adam* after this manner; tho' doubtless, the true Reason was the difficulty which the Poet would have found to have shadowed out so mixt and complicated a Story in visible Objects. I could wish, however, that the Author had done it, whatever Pains it might have cost him. To give my Opinion freely, I think that the exhibiting Part of the History of Mankind in Vision, and part in Narrative, is as if an History Painter should put in Colours one half of his Subject, and write down the remaining part of it. If Milton's Poem flags any where, it is in this Narration, where in some places the Author has been so attentive to his Divinity, that he has neglected his Poetry. The Narration, however, rises very happily on several Occasions, where the Subject is capable of Poetical Ornaments, as particularly in the Confusion which he describes among the Builders of *Babel*, and in his short Sketch of the Plagues of *Egypt*. The Storm of Hail and Fire, with the Darkness that overspread the Land for three Days, are described with great Strength. The beautiful Passage, which follows, is raised upon noble Hints in Scripture.

— Thus with ten wounds
*The River-Dragon tam'd at length submits
 To let his Sojourners depart, and oft
 Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as Ice
 More harden'd after thaw, till in his rage
 Pursuing whom he late dismiss'd, the Sea
 Swallows him with his host, but them lets pass
 As on dry land between two Chrystral walls,
 Aw'd by the rod of Moses so to stand
 Divided* —

The *River-Dragon* is an Allusion to the Crocodile, which inhabits the *Nile*, from whence *Egypt* derives her Plenty. This Allusion is taken from that Sublime Passage in *Ezekiel*. *Thus faith the Lord God, behold, I am against thee Pharaoh King of Egypt, the great Dragon that lieth in the midst of his Rivers, which hath said, My River is mine own, and I have made it for my self.* Milton has given us another very noble and Poetical Image in the same Description, which is copied almost Word for Word out of the History of *Moses*.

*All night he will pursue, but his approach
 Darkness defends between till morning watch ;
 Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
 God looking forth, will trouble all his host,
 And craze their Chariot Wheels : when by command
 Moses once more his potent Rod extends
 Over the Sea ; the Sea his Rod obeys ;
 On their Embatelled ranks the waves return
 And overwhelm their War :* —

As the Principal Design of this *Episode* was to give *Adam* an Idea of the Holy Person, who was to reinstate Human Nature in that Happiness and Perfection from which it had fallen, the Poet confines himself to the Line of *Abraham*, from whence the *Messiah* was to Descend. The Angel is described as seeing the Patriarch actually travelling towards the Land of *Promise*, which gives a particular Liveliness to this part of the Narration.

I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith

*He leaves his Gods, his Friends, and [his] native Soil
Ur of Chaldaea, passing now the Ford
To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
Of Herds and flocks, and numerous servitude;
Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth
With God, who call'd him, in a Land unknown.
Canaan he now attains; I see his tents
Pitch't about Sechem, and the neighbouring plain
Of Moreh, there by promise he receives
Gift to his Progeny of all that Land;
From Hamath Northward to the Desart South;
(Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd.)*

As Virgil's Vision in the Sixth Æneid probably gave Milton the Hint of this whole Episode, the last Line is a Translation of that Verse, where Anchises mentions the Names of Places, which they were to bear hereafter.

Hæc tum nomina erunt, nunc junt fine nomine terræ.

The Poethas very finely represented the Joy and Gladness of Heart, which rises in *Adam* upon his Discovery of the Messiah. As he sees his Day at a distance through Types and Shadows, he rejoices in it; but when he finds the Redemption of Man compleated, and *Paradise* again renewed, he breaks forth in Rapture and Transport,

*O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce. &c.*

I have hinted, in my Sixth Paper on *Milton*, that an Heroic Poem, according to the Opinion of the best Criticks, ought to end happily, and leave the Mind of the Reader, after having conducted it through many Doubts and Fears, Sorrows and Disquietudes, in a state of Tranquillity and Satisfaction. *Milton's* Fable, which had so many other Qualifications to recommend it, was deficient in this Particular. It is here therefore, that the Poet has shewn a most exquisite Judgment, as well as the finest Invention, by finding out a Method to supply this Natural Defect in his Subject. Accordingly he leaves the Adversary of Mankind, in

the last View which he gives us of him, under the lowest State of Mortification and Disappointment. We see him chewing Ashes, grovelling in the Dust, and loaden with Supernumerary Pains and Torments. On the contrary, our two first Parents are comforted by Dreams and Visions, cheared with Promises of Salvation, and, in a manner, raised to a greater Happiness than that which they had forfeited : In short, *Satan* is represented miserable in the height of his Triumphs, and *Adam* triumphant in the height of Misery.

Milton's Poem ends very nobly. The last Speeches of *Adam* and the Arch-angel are full of Moral and Instructive Sentiments. The Sleep that fell upon *Eve*, and the effects it had in quieting the Disorders of her Mind, produces the same kind of Consolation in the Reader, who cannot peruse the last beautiful Speech which is ascrib'd to the Mother of Mankind, without a secret Pleasure and Satisfaction.

*Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know ;
For God is also in Sleep, and dreams advise,
Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
Presaging, since with Sorrow and Hearts distress
Wearied I fell asleep : but now lead on ;
In me is no delay : with thee to go
Is to stay here ; without thee here to stay
Is to go hence unwilling ; thou to me
Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou
Who for my wilful crime art banish'd hence.
This further Consolation yet secure
I carry hence ; though all by me is lost
Such favour, I unworthy, am vouchsaf'd,
By me the promis'd Seed shall all restore.*

The following Lines which conclude the Poem rise in a most glorious blaze of Poetical Images and Expressions.

Heliodorus in his *Aethiopicks* acquaints us that the Motion of the Gods differs from that of Mortals, as the former do not stir their Feet, nor proceed Step by Step, but slide o'er the Surface of the Earth by an

uniform Swimming of the whole Body. The Reader may observe with how Poetical a Description Milton has attributed the same kind of Motion to the Angels who were to take Possession of *Paradise*.

*So spake our Mother Eve, and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but answer'd not; for now too nigh
Th' Arch-angel flood, and from the other hill
To their fix'd station, all in bright array
The Cherubim descended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as ev'nning mist
Ris'n from a River, o'er the marsh glides,
And gathers ground fast at the lab'rers heel
Homeward returning. High in Front advanc'd,
The brandish'd Sword of God before them blaz'd
Fierce as a Comet ——————*

The Author helped his Invention in the following Passage, by reflecting on the Behaviour of the Angel, who, in Holy Writ, has the Conduct of *Lot* and his Family. The Circumstances drawn from that Relation are very gracefully made use of on this Occasion.

*In either hand the hastning Angel caught
Our ling'ring Parents, and to the Eastern gate
Led them direct; and down the Cliff as fast
To the subjeeted plain; then disappear'd.
They looking back &c. ——————*

The Prospect [Scene] which our first Parents are surprised with upon their looking back on *Paradise*, wonderfully strikes the Reader's Imagination, as nothing can be more natural than the Tears they shed on that Occasion.

*They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy Seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming brand, the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery Arms:
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to chuse
Their place of rest, and providence their Guide:
If I might presume to offer at the smallest Alteration*

in this Divine Work, I should think the Poem would end better with the Passage here quoted, than with the two Verses which follow.

*They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.*

These two Verses, though they have their Beauty, fall very much below the foregoing Passage, and renew in the Mind of the Reader that Anguish which was pretty well laid by that Consideration,

*The World was all before them, where to chuse
Their place of rest, and providence their Guide.*

The number of Books in *Paradise Lost* is equal to those of the *Aeneid*. Our Author in his First Edition had divided his Poem into ten Books, but afterwards broke the Seventh and the Eleventh each of them into two different Books, by the help of some small Additions. This second Division was made with great Judgment, as any one may see who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the sake of such a Chimerical Beauty as that of resembling *Virgil* in this particular, but for the more just and regular Disposition of this great Work.

Those who have read *Boffu*, and many of the Criticks who have written since his time, will not pardon me if I do not find out the particular Moral which is inculcated in *Paradise Lost*. Tho' I can by no means think with the last-mentioned French Author, that an Epic Writer first of all pitches upon a certain Moral, as the Ground-work and Foundation of his Poem, and afterwards finds out a Story to it: I am, however, of Opinion, that no just Heroic Poem ever was, or can be made, from whence one great Moral may not be deduced. That which reigns in *Milton* is the most universal and most useful that can be imagined: it is in short this, *that Obedience to the Will of God makes Men happy, and that Disobedience makes them miserable*. This is visibly the Moral of the principal Fable which turns upon *Adam* and *Eve*, who

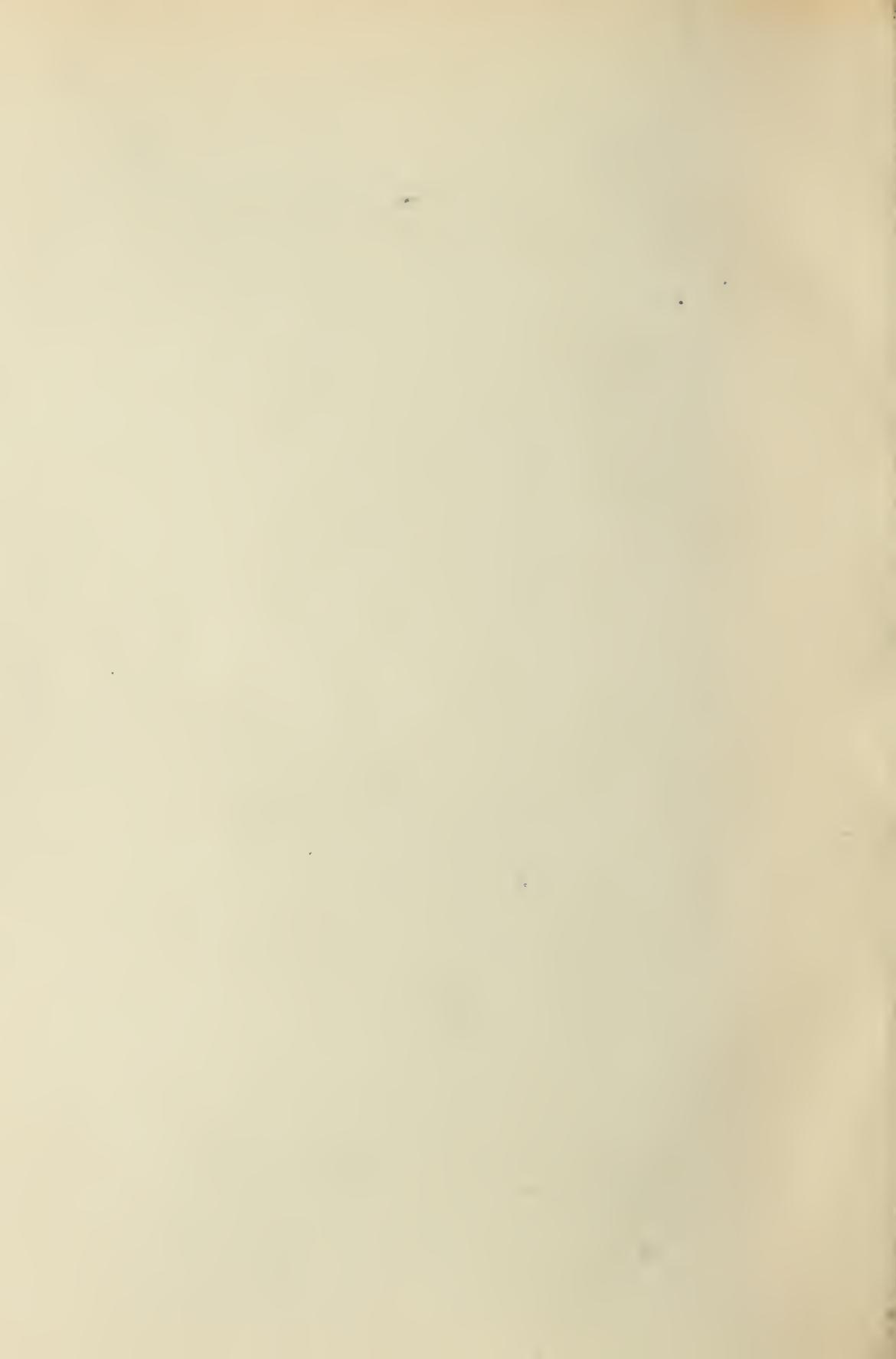
continued in *Paradise* while they kept the Command that was given them, and were driven out of it as soon as they had transgressed. This is likewise the Moral of the principal Episode, which shews us how an innumerable multitude of Angels fell from their State of Blifs, and were cast into Hell upon their Disobedience. Besides this great Moral, which may be looked upon as the Soul of the Fable, there are an infinity of Under-Morals which are to be drawn from the several parts of the Poem, and which make this Work more useful and instructive than any other Poem in any Language.

Those who have criticised on the *Odysssey*, the *Iliad*, and *Aeneid*, have taken a great deal of pains to fix the number of Months or Days contain'd in the Action of each of those Poems. If any one thinks it worth his while to examine this Particular in *Milton*, he will find that from Adam's first Appearance in the Fourth Book, to his Expulsion from *Paradise* in the Twelfth, the Author reckons ten Days. As for that part of the Action which is described in the three first Books, as it does not pass within the Regions of Nature, I have before observ'd that it is not subject to any Calculations of Time.

I have now finish'd my Observations on a Work which does an Honour to the English Nation. I have taken a general View of it under those four Heads, the Fable, the Characters, the Sentiments and the Language, and made each of them the Subject of a particular Paper. I have in the next place spoken of the Censures which our Author may incur under each of these Heads, which I have confined to two Papers, tho' I might have enlarged the number, if I had been disposed to dwell on so ungrateful a Subject. I believe, however, that the severest Reader will not find any little fault in Heroic Poetry, which this Author has fallen into, that does not come under one of those Heads among which I have distributed his several Blemishes. After having thus treated at large of *Paradise Lost*, I could not think it sufficient to have celebrated this Poem in the whole, without descending to Particulars. I have therefore bestowed a

Paper upon each Book, and endeavoured not only to shew [prove] that the Poem is beautiful in general, but to point out its particular Beauties, and to determine wherein they consist. I have endeavoured to shew how some Passages are beautiful by being Sublime, others by being Soft, others by being Natural ; which of them are recommended by the Passion, which by the Moral, which by the Sentiment, and which by the Expression. I have [likewise] endeavoured to shew how the Genius of the Poet shines by a happy Invention, a distant Allusion, or a judicious Imitation ; how he has copied or improved *Homer* or *Virgil*, and raised his own Imaginations by the use which he has made of several Poetical Passages in Scripture. I might have inserted [also] several Passages of *Tasso*, which our Author has likewise* imitated ; but as I do not look upon *Tasso* to be a sufficient Voucher, I would not perplex my Reader with such Quotations, as might do more Honour to the *Italian* than the *English* Poet. In short, I have endeavoured to particularize those innumerable Kinds of Beauty, which it would be tedious to recapitulate, but which are essential to Poetry, and which may be met with in the Works of this great Author. Had I thought, at my first engaging in this Design, that it would have led me to so great a length, I believe I should never have entered upon it ; but the kind Reception which it has met with among those whose Judgments I have a Value for, as well as the uncommon Demands which my Bookseller tells me has been made for these particular Discourses, give me no Reason to repent of the Pains I have been at in composing them.





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