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DE RE SAGITTARIA

Volume I
This thesis is an edition of Roger Ascham's Toxophilus (1545), the first in modern spelling since the Giles Edition of 1864-5, and the only one to include the original text with the modern version. The title is that given by Ascham himself to this work in a Latin letter to Sir William Paget (translated by Giles, I.xi and by Hatch, p. 94).

The thesis is in two volumes. Volume One contains a General Introduction which addresses various themes in Toxophilus from a historical point of view. The themes have never been considered at any length by previous students of Ascham's work, most of whom are scholars of English language and literature.

In Chapter One, Toxophilus is evaluated in the context of contemporary literary debate on the Commonwealth and of sixteenth century works on military science. Since the structure and style have been analysed extensively by English scholars and critics, it has been considered unnecessary to cover this ground again, rather attention has been given to Ascham's choice and use of dialogue and of the vernacular. Comparison is made with a sixteenth century dialogue by a Spanish author, Fernando Basurto. The classical foundations of Toxophilus are discussed in Chapter Three, since Ascham's following of classical models raises Toxophilus from the level of a mere instruction handbook on archery to a work of enduring literary quality. At the beginning of the Treatise, Ascham addresses his work to the Gentlemen and Yeomen of England, and although the work forms no part of the Speculum Principis genre or of the "courtesy" books of the sixteenth century, it does contain a portrait of the ideal Prince and refers to the duties and education of the aristocracy. It has many themes in common and in contrast with both Machiavelli's Il Principe and Erasmus' The Education of the Christian Prince, and a comparison with these works is made in Chapter Four. The fifth chapter analyses Ascham's concepts of work and leisure in the light of the developments which shaped work and leisure in mid-sixteenth century England, and in relation to their cultural and historical setting. The Conclusion is a summary of the findings, and provides an overall view of Toxophilus in a twentieth century context.

The Printing History and Description and Treatment of the Copy-Text are contained in the Appendices, and a comparison is made with a previous edition of Toxophilus in early modern English by an American scholar.

Volume Two contains the Edition of Toxophilus. A glossary of unusual words is given where necessary at the foot of the page, and historical and classical reference notes are appended.

The methodology used in the writing of this thesis involved data collection and analysis. Statutes and documents relevant to the text were studied, also classical sources, descriptive and biographical data related to Roger Ascham, and late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Primary Sources. Secondary works were examined for bias and contradiction and direct statements by authors in the form of judgements, criticisms and evaluations of Toxophilus were appraised and conclusions drawn. No doctoral thesis on this subject has been found in British Universities, and the last one by an American author appeared in 1974.
DE RE SAGITTARIA.

AN EDITED VERSION OF ROGER ASCHAM'S TOXOPHILUS IN MODERN SPELLING, WITH THE ORIGINAL TEXT INCLUDED

TWO VOLUMES

ENDA MARY MONICA CULLY

MAY 1991

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF MODERN HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN, IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE PH.D. DEGREE
DE RE SACSTABILIA

On the Relation of Honor and Secrecy to the Order

DEDICATORY WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7TH, 1937

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Ender Mary Monica Sully

May 1991
I declare that this Thesis is entirely my own work, unless otherwise stated, and that it has not been submitted as an exercise for a Degree in any other University.

I agree that the Library may lend or copy this Thesis upon request, without further reference to me.

Enda Mary Monica Sulby.

May 1991
Contrasting aspects of Roger Ascham's personality and his place in the history of English literature have been the subject of controversy among modern critics. The contextualisation of his three works in English shows that he is an outstanding representative of the age in which he lived, an age in which concern for the commonwealth because of its socio-economic problems and military weakness impelled writers to highlight the evils in society and to seek out remedies for them. Ascham's view of the prevailing conditions which would bring about a decline in archery were expressed in Toxophilus, as he believed that archery practice was essential for the moral and physical development of the individual, and was a necessary preparation for war. His treatise is among the first of the many military works produced between 1539 and 1600.

Ascham chose to write in the vernacular and he used an amalgam of Platonic and Ciceronian dialogue in order to persuade his readers of the validity of his dialectic. The dialogue form enabled him to discuss both sides of the question and to present his treatise on three levels: as a treatise on archery, as a treatise on learning any skill or body of knowledge, and as a treatise on sound judgement and the image of perfection. His deliberate following of classical models raised it from the level of a mere instruction book to a work of literary significance. At the same time, he never sacrificed content to style, as this would have been a betrayal of his Protestantism and of his function as a Christian-humanist author.
Ascham addressed Toxophilus to the Gentlemen and Yeomen of England. The humanist concept of the ideal gentleman found expression in the "courtesy" books and Speculum Principis which were produced in the sixteenth century, and although Toxophilus forms no part of this genre per se, it contains a portrait of the Prince and delineates the duties of the aristocracy. A comparison with the works of Erasmus and Machiavelli in this genre reveals that the Archer-Prince has more in common with Machiavelli's Il Principe than with Erasmus' Christian Prince but Ascham's holistic view of man was more realistic than that of either Erasmus or Machiavelli.

Ascham was convinced that archery practice in peacetime was a "leisure" pursuit which provided efficient archers in wartime. Nevertheless, he did not aspire to restoring archery to its former status but hoped it could exist alongside the new artillery. He used the word "leisure" in the Greek sense of "schole" and "anapausis", and his concept of work was a concept of duty. The practice of archery, obligatory by Statute, was part of that duty, since its neglect would have wide ramifications for the individual and for the whole nation.

The present edition of Toxophilus is the first in modern spelling since the Giles edition of 1864-65, and the only one to include the original text with the modern version. The title, "De Re Sagitarria" is that given by Ascham himself to his work in a letter to Sir William Paget. (Giles 1.i.52 and Hatch p. 94). The classical and historical reference notes contain a wealth of material not found in any previous edition.

VIII
INTRODUCTION

Two contrasting portraits of Roger Ascham emerge from a study of his voluminous correspondence and his writing, in particular his three works in English. On the one hand, he appears as a classical scholar with a wide range of interests including numismatics and chess, an educator who became Tutor to the Royal Family, an ardent Humanist who corresponded with and was respected by many renowned Continental Humanists such as Sturm and Nannius, a devout supporter of the reformed English Church and a patriot with a deep-rooted love of King and country which at times bordered on xenophobia. In contrast to this, there is the picture of the impecunious Cambridge don of yeoman stock, forever in quest of patronage which would give him financial security, continually dogged by ill-health, and, as Ryan so aptly expressed it, a "chronic grumbler against fortune." That he lacked the flair of many of his contemporaries like Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Elyot is evident from the fact that he managed to survive as Mary's Latin Secretary without renouncing his Protestantism. The anonymous author of an article in The Retrospective Review believes that his learning and integrity insured him protection, but these qualities were not enough to protect his friend, Sir John Cheke, from exile and disgrace. It is more likely that the Marian authorities were not concerned about the impact he might have on his contemporaries as a result of his ardent Protestantism and so they allowed him to go his own way unmolested. It is also noteworthy that
while knighthoods were conferred on both Cheke and Elyot, Ascham never even achieved his goal of becoming Professor of Greek in succession to Cheke in St. John's College, Cambridge. His humble birth does not account for his failure to obtain advancement either in the University or in public service. Sir John Cheke's mother, the wife of a beadle, was left so poor when her husband died that she was obliged to keep a wine shop in Camden Town in order to support her family, but these circumstances did not hinder the progress of her son's career.

Ryan considers that among other factors Ascham's poor health may explain his inability to forward his career either at court or in public service, and his letters seem to confirm this. Writing to Bishop Holgate from Yorkshire during the winter of 1541-2, he said:

> Six months ago, more or less, I was driven by the accession of a quartan fever into such straitened circumstances, and the course of my studies was so precluded that not only was any opportunity of advancing unhampered in my work cut off, but I was almost deprived of the possibility of returning to the University once more.

There is also the question of his love of gambling. The first reference to this is in Camden's Annals, published almost forty years after his Elegy on Roger Ascham. Camden attributes the fact that Ascham lived and died a poor man to the fact that he was "too too much given to Dicing and Cock-fighting." Ryan assures his readers that this allegation is not supported by evidence. Nevertheless, he relates an incident in which Sir Thomas Smith commented on Ascham's interest in "gallos" (cocks) which prevented him from taking a full interest in "galli" (political
affairs in France). All these facts seem to imply that Ascham was indeed addicted to gambling, as Philologus asserted when he commented on Toxophilus' detailed knowledge of the habits of gamblers. Although Toxophilus' denial was convincing, these details taken together lead one to the conclusion that Ascham's poverty could have been the result of imprudent gambling expenses. Giles did not arrive at a decision as to whether Ascham was poor "by his own fault or the fault of others," and he quotes a letter which he [Ascham] sent to his brother-in-law admonishing him to avoid dicing and gambling because "the more you use them the less you will be esteemed, the cunninger you be at them, the worse man you will be counted." However, as Ryan points out, it would be wrong to place too much emphasis on these human failings and to lose sight of the more noteworthy characteristics of the "good man".

Similarly, there is no consensus regarding Ascham's place in the history of English Literature. Lehmberrg believes that he is an all-round failure, academically, politically and in his personal life, and he goes so far as to say that he is not a political figure who improves with acquaintance; indeed, the more one knows of his work, the less important it seems.

Unhistorical assumptions about Ascham's writing have also been made, such as that of H.O. Taylor, who asserts that his works reveal "the thoroughly English satisfaction" at the privilege of being able to associate with those whose birth was superior to his own, and he concludes that when
Englishmen confine themselves to the production of "pseudo-classical literature and to pure scholarship" the result is empty.\textsuperscript{21} In antithesis to these comments are those of critics who attempt to sentimentalise Ascham's writing by extolling his "many highly-touched traces of nature",\textsuperscript{22} his "easiness and joyousness of spirit",\textsuperscript{23} his "strong, spacious manhood" which scorned whatever seemed "in the smallest degree to smack of effeminacy."\textsuperscript{24} These anomalies arise because critics tend to view Ascham and his works in retrospect rather than through the eyes of his contemporaries and in the context of the age in which he lived. Contemporary standards are applied to a sixteenth century situation, and the picture which emerges is unsatisfactory and unhistorical.

The true Ascham is revealed in his letters and in his three works in English which guarantee him a mention in every History of English Literature. From these, a more balanced view emerges, one which Ryan aimed at giving in his standard biography,\textsuperscript{25} and one which gives an insight into the events and personalities of his time. A letter from Richard Brandesby to Ascham, written from Malines on 11th Nov. 1553, describes how highly Peter Nannius thought of Ascham's "affability, moderation, gentleness and indescribable worth", his "sound judgement and his good taste in language," his "notable strength without excess."\textsuperscript{26} Furthermore, he states that the virtues which are evident in Ascham's letters were also perceived by Nannius in "his countenance and in his manners; for he [Nannius] while a splendid soothsayer of some inherent quality, thus a physiognomist of no mean skill."\textsuperscript{27} This is
the only physical description of Ascham which exists. The bas-relief in St. John's College Library is not a true likeness, and the painting of Ascham and Lady Jane Grey by J.C. Horsley is based on an account of their meeting which is recorded in The Schoolmaster. The fact that no true likeness of Ascham has survived is unusual, since the representation of physical likenesses was a preoccupation of the Humanists. There is evidence of this in the numerous portraits and medals which formed part of an Erasmus Exhibition held in Basle in Sept. 1986.

John Sturm, the great German Humanist, also extols Ascham's learning in a letter to Sir William Paget, and refers to "his usefulness to your Kingdom, his humanity, refinement, mild disposition which made him gentle, peaceful, friendly to all men, unfriendly to no man, a lover of beauty." Considering that Sturm and Ascham never met, these conclusions were drawn from correspondence alone, so the extent of their authenticity is limited. Nevertheless, the fact that an outstanding German scholar could write in such glowing terms of Ascham to a member of the English aristocracy is evidence that Ascham had a considerable impact on Continental humanists.

It has been said that it is "by The Schoolmaster that he [Ascham] lives," but an examination of Toxophilus will show that it is an equally enduring work. The practical principles of archery which it delineates are as valid today as when it was written, and its classical foundations and the clarity of its style provide an example of the efforts made by English writers to produce a work of art in the vernacular, using the limited vocabulary at their
and with only classical models in Greek and Latin to guide them. Emile Legouis, having reviewed the works of Sir Thomas Elyot, Sir Thomas Wilson and Roger Ascham, concludes that Ascham is "l'écrivain le plus savoureux de cette époque."³²

It is a curious phenomenon that there are few British studies of Ascham's Life and Works.³³ Until Lawrence Ryan's biography was published in 1963, the only full-length biography was in German,³⁴ and there are also several monographs written in that language.³⁵ The only complete book-length study of Ascham's Humanism is in Italian,³⁶ and there is a French Play, Jane Grey, Tragédie en Cinq Actes et en vers, in which Ascham appears in major speaking roles in Acts One, Four, Five and Eleven.³⁷ It is to the U.S.A. that one must look for the most prolific studies on various aspects of Ascham's Life and Works, even for the standard biography.

No new edition of Toxophilus in modern spelling has appeared since the Giles Edition of 1864-5, contained in The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, Now First Collected and Revised with a Life of the Author. The Manchester Simon Archery Foundation was responsible for a reprint of Toxophilus from the Giles Edition in 1985, and the complete Giles Edition was reprinted in America in 1970.³⁸ The authoritative version of Ascham's three works in English is that of William Aldis Wright, which is in the original early modern English, and has no introduction.³⁹

An examination of the standard sources reveals two doctoral theses related specifically to this study. A critical edition of Toxophilus was produced by Dr. Ann E.
Although the title would seem to indicate that it is parallel to this research, there are significant differences. As an English scholar, Dr. Morehead's main emphasis is on structure, style and language. She relies heavily on Ryan's analysis of the structure and acknowledges this debt. There is also a consideration of the suitability of archery as a subject for a humanistic treatise, and a brief history of the longbow which is unrelated to the text. The Reference Notes include the classical references in the marginalia, brief historical notes and glosses for the main technical terms, but there are lacunae and some errors in these, possibly due to the fact that many primary sources were not available to the author. The actual editing of this edition is discussed in the Appendices to the present edition.

William E. Smith's "Roger Ascham: the Rise and Fall of the Longbow." University of Utah, 1977, is in two parts, the first being a straightforward history of the longbow in England, without reference to the text of Toxophilus. This relies heavily on secondary works, in particular Charles Oman's History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century. In the second part, the author argues that Toxophilus was written in the context of the 1541 Statute, and he describes the work as a "patriotic archery handbook."

There are also several theses which are peripherally related to this research. Among these is Maurice Hatch's annotated translation of Ascham's Latin Letters in the Giles Edition. The major part of my quotations from Ascham's letters are taken from this translation. There is
also an edition of Ascham's English letters by Albert McCharg Hayes, Princeton University, 1934, but this is not available in the U.K. so I have used the Giles Edition for these.

The purpose of the present edition is to produce and edit a version of the 1545 Edition of Toxophilus, British Museum No.C.31.b.39, S.T.C.837, with the original text facing each page. This has been included in order to allow the work to retain the quality of belonging to its own historical period and to allow the reader to enjoy the beauty of the sixteenth century publication. Both historians and English scholars will find the work significant because it is the first edition of Toxophilus to contain both the 1545 text and a version in modern spelling. Some of the Primary Sources used for reference have not been quoted before in any related research, and the General Introduction addresses themes in Toxophilus from a historical point of view, themes which have not been treated in any previous research. The treatise is placed in its historical context both as part of the contemporary literary debate on the Commonwealth which was a feature of mid-century Tudor England, and as a military work. What distinguishes Toxophilus from other contemporary works is Ascham's use of the classics, for which, as a classical scholar, he was not dependent on translations, so the classical foundations of the text are discussed and analysed. Since the treatise is addressed to the Gentlemen and Yeoman of England, the Humanist concept of the ideal gentleman is considered, and because Toxophilus contains a portrait of the Prince, it is discussed in relation to the
Speculum Principis genre, and a comparison is made with the works of Erasmus and Machiavelli in this genre. This comparison reveals Ascham's affinity with some of the principles expounded by Machiavelli, despite his abhorrence of this author which he expresses in The Schoolmaster. The main theme of Toxophilus, the use of archery in peacetime in order to promote efficient archers in wartime, is considered in a chapter dealing with Ascham's concept of work and leisure. Here, the topic is addressed in the context of Tudor ideas of work and leisure. No critical edition of a text would be complete without reference to structure and style, but since these topics have been adequately treated by English scholars and critics, the General Introduction concentrates on Ascham's choice and use of the dialogue form and of the vernacular. The Printing History and the Description of the Copy-Text are contained in the Appendices.

After the three editions of Toxophilus in the sixteenth century, no further edition appeared until that of James Bennet in 1761. This edition is notable for the fact that it is prefixed by a brief biography of Ascham by Samuel Johnson. In the inscription of this edition, addressed to the Earl of Shaftsbury, Johnson comments that Ascham is an author who is "undeservedly neglected", and he expresses the hope that the inscription to his patron may "awaken attention and regard." The conclusion of this prefatory letter embodies not only Johnson's aspirations but also those of all students of Ascham's writing:

To propagate the works of such a writer will not be unworthy of your Lordship's patriotism, for I
know not what greater benefit you can confer on your country than that of preserving worthy names from oblivion by joining them with your own.44

A closer look at Ascham's works and their contextualisation suggests that Ascham is not a mere footnote in history by reason of his connections with famous people, but rather is an outstanding representative of the age in which he lived, an age of transition, change and social upheaval in which man's progress towards excellence was given a new meaning by the Christian-Humanist amalgam of the literature of classical antiquity, the principles of Christianity renewed and redefined by the Reformation of the English Church, and the precepts expounded in the numerous courtesy and Speculum Principis literature of the age.
INTRODUCTION

6. It is incorrectly stated in the Encyclopedia Britannica, 1929, Vol. II, pp. 500-01, that Ascham was Cambridge's first Regius Professor of Greek.
8. Ryan, p. 228.
10. ibid. p. 6.
12. ibid. p. 162.
17. Giles, l.i. p. xcix.
18. ibid. 2. pp. 29-30.
22. Retrospective Review, op.cit. p. 84.
27. ibid. pp. 504-05.
   See also:
   "Lethrediensis", "Portrait of Ascham," N.&Q., 2nd
   (Plate of a Painting by J.C. Horsley.)
29. Erasmus Von Rotterdam, Vorkämpfer für friedem und
   Toleranz. Katalog des Historischen Museums
   Basel. Ausstellung in der Barfusserkirche vom 26
   April bis September 1986. Medals, pp. 79, 107-
   Profile of Erasmus, pp. 269-70.
   224.
   des Cours et Conference, 5th May, 1914, pp. 384-
   9.
33. I have found no Doctoral Thesis on Roger Ascham in any
   British University.
34. Katterfeld, Alfred, Roger Ascham: Sein Leben und seine
35. For example:
   Hettler, Albert, Roger Ascham: Sein Stil und seine
   Beziehung zur Antike. Ein Beiträge zur
   Entwichlen der englischen Sprache unter dem
   Einfluss des Humanismus. Elberfeld: Wuppertaler,
   1915. 100 pp.
36. Miglior Giorgio, La dottrina umanistica inglese, Bari,
   1975.
37. Soumet, Alexandre and Daltenheyrm, Gabrielle, "Jane
   Grey, Tragedie en cinq actes et en vers." in
   Magasin Theatral 37, 1844, pp. 1-2.
   See:
   Birkbeck, Terry, F.C., "Ascham and Lady Jane Grey,"
   N.&Q., 6th Ser. N.7, 10th March, 1883, p. 194.
   The author states that Ascham's account of Lady Jane
   Grey in The Schoolmaster makes it certain that he
   could not have conversed with her before her
   execution.
   1970. This is an exact reproduction of the 1864
   edition.
39 Wright, William Aldis, The English Works of Roger
   Ascham, Cambridge, 1904.
   State University, 1974.
41. See Bibliography: Doctoral Theses.
42. See Note 1.
43. For example, Pomponius Mela, Cuspinianus, Gaguinus,
   the Suidas Lexicon, Nymphodorus, Edward Walshe's
   The Office and Duty in Fighting for our Country,
   1545, Ferdinand Basurto's Treatise on Fishing,
   1539.
44. Giles, 3, p. 163, also A Report of...Germany, ibid.
   pp. 50, 59, 61.
CHAPTER ONE

TOXOPHILUS IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY LITERARY DEBATE ON THE COMMONWEALTH

When Roger Ascham presented his "little book"\(^1\) to King Henry VIII at Greenwich Palace in the autumn of 1545,\(^2\) the longbow was gradually falling into disuse as a weapon of war, and archery was becoming more and more "a country contentment."\(^3\) The "yeomen-bowmen"\(^4\) who had dominated the wars of Europe were now part of England's glorious past, although it was not until the end of the century that the decline in the use of archery in war became evident.

The publication date of Toxophilus is significant since the response to the contemporary situation in mid-century differed markedly from that at the beginning, when the Tudor dynasty was establishing itself and military matters were central issues of debate, and also from that of Elizabethan England, when political and religious problems were finally solved, a standing army of militia had been formed, and the ghosts of mid-century disquiet had been finally laid to rest. Not only was concern for the commonwealth on account of its socio-economic problems the subject of intense polemical writing by intellectuals, pamphleteers and clerics in the mid-century, but also the question of national security and the military weakness of the nation was included in the analysis of the many "grievances"\(^5\) which afflicted the realm. This "literature of anxiety"\(^6\) was an expression of the human reaction to the experience of uncertainty and change resulting from the
transitional nature of society which was in the process of moving from an agricultural to a modern economic system, and had adopted a reformed national Church as opposed to a "Roman" one. The year 1545 was therefore an opportune time for the publication of Toxophilus, a treatise which not only promoted the national weapon, but which was also a "patriotic manifesto" and, as such, a useful piece of propaganda.

The "literature of anxiety" which was a feature of sixteenth century Tudor England centred around the ideal of the "Common Weal." This was a re-design of a medieval concept of state which was associated with Wat Tyler's rebellion of 1381, when discontent with Church and State urged the rebels not to only aim at redressing their own grievances, but also those of the Common Weal as a whole. The theme can also be found in the fifteenth century writings of Bishop Beaufort of Lincoln, Thomas Chaundler, Chancellor of Oxford, and in the Parliamentary Drafts of Bishop Russell in 1483. In The Tree of the Commonwealth (1509-10), Edmund Dudley described the Commonwealth as a "fair and mighty tree growing in an fair field or pasture, under the cover or shade whereof all beasts...are protected." and as the century progressed, the ideal of the Common Weal developed from a rhetorical ploy aimed at producing a consensus regarding political objectives to the concept of the State as a body, an analogy frequently used by writers of the period. This analogy was derived from the concept of "oneness" in the New Testament, and was connected with contemporary sermons and Bible reading. It involved the obligation of each individual to render
service to the Commonwealth as a whole; moreover, the well-being of every member should be the concern of all. However, the achievement of these ideals was impossible unless remedies were found for all the socio-economic problems which were prevalent in society, and it was these problems which formed the basis of the "Commonwealth debate," a feature of the literary output of Henrician and Edwardian England.

The group of humanist writers who highlighted the abuses in society are generally referred to as the "Commonwealth Men" or the "Commonwealth party". The term itself did not appear until September 1549 when Sir Anthony Auchar wrote to William Cecil complaining of those who tried to stir up the commons by making critical attacks on the practices of the upper classes. Auchar referred to "that commonwealth called Latimer" and "these men called commonwealths" and Elton cynically remarks that Auchar's comments "suffered a multiplicity of divisions" and became "a fully-fledged concept." Both Elton and Jordan refer to the "Commonwealth party" thereby implying that they were a united, coherent group in which each member had the same aims and objectives. This was not the case, a fact recognised by Michael Bush, who asserted that they did not constitute a "party" and had no agreed or formulated plan of action. Elton points out that the term "Commonwealth men" was not mentioned in the nineteenth century and that it was A.F. Pollard who "opened the whole concept." W.R.D. Jones, in his standard work on the English Commonwealth, divides the Commonwealth Men into three groups: the More group which included More himself, John
Rastell, John Heywood, Thomas Sharkey, Pole, Lupset and Elyot; the Cromwell group which, in addition to Starkey and Rastell, included John Bale, William Marshall, Clement Armstrong and Sir Richard Morison; and the later "Commonwealth Party" in which outstanding figures like John Hales, and divines such as Latimer, Lever, Bradford, Ridley, Becon and Hooper were the recipients of Somerset's patronage. Sir Thomas Smith, a Cambridge classical scholar, was also closely linked with Somerset, and Henry Brinklow and Robert Crowley were also prominent exponents of the Commonwealth ideal. J.W. Allen considers that Crowley was the most typical participant of the Commonwealth debate and he sees in his writing a continuity of that of the "medieval schoolmen and medieval economists such as St. Antonio of Florence."

The Commonwealth men responded to their environment by taking an ideological stand and proposing remedies for the problems which they saw around them. Poverty and vagrancy were the most immediate concern and these were the result of a combination of factors. Profits from wool led to enclosures which, in turn, led to evictions and unemployment and this abuse was one of the major concerns of writers. More believed that sheep were "devouring the human population," and John Hales discussed the enclosure of common land from the point of view of the dispossessed, and also the question of rack-renting. The confiscation of abbey lands was regarded by some writers as being the cause of hardship, since monastic hospitality and charity were no longer dispensed. There were also problems in the textile trade because of periods
of depression,\textsuperscript{29} and other factors, such as outbreaks of plague, inflation due to the debasement of the coinage,\textsuperscript{30} and redundant ex-soldiers and retainers all contributed to an increase in the number of itinerant beggars.\textsuperscript{31} The latter were already numerous due to the disruptions following the War of the Roses, but as time passed, their numbers increased considerably. Although historians do not agree with regard to the extent of the problem,\textsuperscript{32} there is no doubt whatsoever that "vagabondage was widespread" and that it imposed on "rural and village communities burdens and dangers with which they could not cope."\textsuperscript{33} The aim of the Commonwealth Men was to influence the nature of change by their propaganda and polemic, and thus to bring about a major transformation of society.

The mid-century reformers did not limit themselves to prose; poetry was also used as a vehicle to reflect on the commonwealth. The persona of the ploughman, from Langland's poem, \textit{The Vision of Pierce Plowman},\textsuperscript{34} was used in several works dealing with social topics. Robert Crowley published an edition of Piers Plowman in 1550,\textsuperscript{35} and also wrote a number of apocalyptic poems warning people to prepare for the Day of Judgement.\textsuperscript{36} Petrarch's love poems provoked interest not as love lyrics but as political poems, and Wyatt adapted Canzoniere N.269 to voice his regrets at the fall of Cromwell and his regime.\textsuperscript{37} If challenged, Wyatt could claim that he was engaged in the translation of originals, and thus he would be protected from the charge of treason. Surrey, Wyatt's friend, published a similar adaptation of Canzoniere N.138 in which he denounced contemporary conditions in London.\textsuperscript{38} Evidence
of interest in Petrarch as a political and moral poet can be found in the sonnets contained in the Hill MSS., which dates from about 1553-62, and poetry as a vehicle for reforming propaganda continued to be influential until the middle of the next century, particularly among the Puritans.

The type of society or Common Weal which writers envisaged was inherent in contemporary definitions of the term "Commonwealth," although the answers to the question, "What is a true commonweal?" did not produce a consensus of answers. Sir Thomas Elyot expressed a conservative fear of the word "common" and preferred to use the title "public weal" which he defined as "a body living, compact or made of sundry estates and degrees of men, which is predisposed by the order of equity and governed by rule of moderation of reason." Elyot felt that the word "common" implied that property should be held in common, or even that the common people should increase their prosperity at the expense of the gentry and the aristocracy. Morison declared that a commonwealth was nothing else but "a number of cities, towns, shires, that all agree upon one law and one head, united and knit together by the observation of the laws," and he believed that each member of this "body" should be content with "his degree, glad to do that which he seeth shall be for the quietness of the realm, all be it his private profit biddeth him do the contrary."

Elyot's assertion that "the base and vulgar inhabitants not advanced to any honour and dignity" were the commonalty, implied what might be called "a hierarchy of vocation," a realm composed of "sundry estates and
degrees of men,"⁴⁵ in which every individual had the duty of obedience to authority. Ascham also believed in "sundry estates" and stated that the "divers offices and charges" in the commonwealth required "divers bringing up of youth."⁴⁶ Although he interchanged the term "commonwealth" in the sense of nation, with "realm", "country", and "England", he used the analogy of the body,⁴⁷ and frequently referred to the noble commonwealths of ancient civilisations.⁴⁸ The prosperity of the whole commonwealth of England depended on the Book (learning) and the Bow (archery) because the proper education of youth and proficiency in archery would ensure that the Commonwealth flourished both in peace-time and in war. However, since the aim of Toxophilus was military rather than social, Ascham can be called a "Commonwealth Man" only in the sense that, on the fringes, defence is part of the social order.

A crucial ingredient of the operations of the commonwealth was obedience to authority, and it was therefore to be expected that this theme expounded by Elyot in The Book called Governor (1531)⁴⁹ should be the subject of many treatises. William Tyndale's The Obedience of a Christian Man (1528) raised kingship to a divine office,⁵⁰ and it has been suggested by Scarisbrick that this work influenced Henry VIII to the extent that he reconsidered his "concept of royal sovereignty."⁵¹ There is evidence for Scarisbrick's assertion in A Glasse of Truthe (1531?), attributed to Henry himself. The basic thesis of this work was that according to Scripture, God's law was on the side of the King, the Pope had no right to dispense with this law, and the word of God exacted the loyalty of all
subjects to their King because, unlike the Pope, he followed the Scriptures.\(^5\) Stephen Gardiner, Ascham's friend, wrote that even though the King might be an infidel, he represented the image of God upon earth, and the title of his work, De Vera Obedientia (1535), was indicative of the doctrine of non-resistance which characterised the government's fight against subversion.\(^6\) Morison\(^5\) and Cheke\(^3\) responded to the risings of 1536 and 1549 by invoking the commonwealth ideal, and Cranmer expressed similar sentiments in a Sermon on the 1549 Rebellion:

> Though the magistrates be evil and very tyrants against the Commonwealth, yet the subjects must obey in all worldly things.\(^5\)

Crowley, however, took an opposing view. He was repelled by the hysterical reaction of the gentry to the 1549 Rebellion, and he challenged their right to reprimand the poor for disobedience to authority when they themselves disobeyed the King by enforcing enclosures. He warned them that they would bring about their own destruction because if the peasants rebelled and a civil war broke out, both sides would be destroyed.\(^7\)

The concept of obedience to authority is stated explicitly in Toxophilus and is linked with the love of God:

> And thus I pray that...all manner of men...may live continually in health and merriness, obeying their Prince as they should and loving God as they ought.\(^8\)

In his discussion of the use of archery in war, Toxophilus
emphasises that the "chief praise and virtue of the soldier is obedience towards his captain," and he quotes examples from Greek and Roman history to prove the point that it is the soldier who "first serveth God and then obeyeth his captain" who will be successful in overthrowing his enemies." But this obedience is based on the rule of "righteousness" for when the soldier sees the wisdom of his captain, who metes out justice and equity, he will both love and fear him. From these sentiments "proceedeth true and unfeigned obedience." Likewise, the duty of subjects to obey their King springs from the King's "godly wisdom." Through him, "God hath wrought more wonderful things than ever by any Prince before," and among his accomplishments are the banishing of the Pope and heresy, bringing into light God's word and truth, and the establishment of "justice and equity throughout every part of this his realm." And since Henry VIII is the "Supreme Head in earth" of the Church of England, Ascham does not foresee any conflict between obedience to God and to the ruler.

The picture of England as a land of "justice and equity" which Ascham delineated in Toxophilus is an antithesis of the indignant account of contemporary conditions which he described in a letter of 21st Nov. 1547:

...we openly declare the greatest ruin of our nation. There is no clothes dealer, no butcher, no shoemaker so unskilled in things who has not learned to plunder the public advantage. In any simple craft, individuals are more skilled in increasing the normal price of things, that is, in robbing all human society and throwing the whole nation into deepest misery.
and he went on to say that those who were responsible for plundering the whole country were those who "most seldomly eat the fruit of their own labours." People who laboured strenuously, like farmers and stewards, were obliged to eke out a living in great hardship, and, as a result, many families were broken up and the name of the Yeomen of England was "battered and beaten." A similar description of the plight of the poor can be found in Sir William Forrest's *A Pleasant Poesye of Princelie Practise* (1548), a version of Aegidius Romanus' *De Regimine Principum*. Having outlined the causes of poverty, the author reminded the King that the yeomen were "the backbone and glory of England." Ascham's conclusion that the entire nation was "convulsed and confined in the most wretched want" was a summation of the descriptions given by his contemporaries. Thomas Harman, in his *Caveat for Commen Cursetors* (1567), listed twenty-three different types of vagrant, and although the veracity of his writing has been called in question by historians like A.L. Beier and P. Slack, there seems no doubt that the pressures of the sixteenth century produced "a large landless element with no roots and few prospects." Although there is a brief reference in *Toxophilus* to the evils of enclosures, and a strong denunciation of illicit gaming and "playing with the King's Acts," the stark denunciation of 1547 is entirely absent. The reason is obvious. Ascham wrote *Toxophilus* with the avowed intention of obtaining the King's patronage, and patronage was one of the means used by the Privy Council to establish a consensus of ideas. It was "an agreed framework within which political problems could be
addressed,"77 so it was imperative that Toxophilus should contain nothing which could be regarded as critical.

Having identified the evils in society and the root causes of these, the mid-sixteenth century writers set about proposing remedies, but, at the same time, they recognised the difficulties involved. "Much easier it is to spy a hundred faults in a commonweal than to amend one," wrote Starkey,78 and proposals for reform were many and varied. In this respect, the approach of mid-century writers to the establishment of "the best state of a public weal"79 differed considerably from that of More in Utopia, published in Louvain in 1516 and written in Latin. More did not search for remedies but rather visualised the ideal state, which, though it was unattainable, represented the goal towards which men must strive, because any striving towards and proximity to that goal would improve the human condition and therefore society as a whole. Ascham's concept of the image of perfection was similar to that of More, for he [Ascham] believed that men must seek perfection in order to acquire any art of skill, even though "perfect perfectness" could be found only in God.80

The ethical view of John Gower, who proposed avoidance of sin and a return to virtue as a remedy for the ills of society,81 was reiterated in the sermons of clerics like Latimer, Becon, William Baldwin and Cranmer, and in the works of men such as Cheke, Crowley, Starkey and Hales. Sir John Cheke wrote that love was "not only the knot" which joined the various parts of the commonwealth together, but was also its "strength and might," without which there would be disorder, confusion and debate.82
Starkey used the analogy of the body and its members "knit together in perfect love and unit...with perfect love and amity one to another," and Crowley advocated "metanoia," a change of heart which would bring about a realisation of the Divine purpose. The reformers looked to the advancement of education as a means of achieving this kind of reform, a theme which Ascham referred to many times in Toxophilus. Starkey called attention to the lack of education found among the nobility, the clergy and the people in general, to the need for reform in schools and Universities, and Sir William Forrest suggested compulsory education, free to those unable to pay the requisite fees, and the appointment of an overseer or controller corresponding to the modern Inspector of Schools. His statement that "youth brought up in idleness will never apply themselves to honest labor" was an echo of Ascham's belief that "youth is the best seed-time" so education should begin when children are young.

Referring to Sir John Cheke, who was responsible for helping many scholars to "abide" in Cambridge, and by his example and counsel showed them how they should "come to learning," Ascham quoted from Plato's Laws:

There is nothing better in any commonwealth than that there should be always one or other excellent men whose life and virtue should pluck forward the will, diligence, labour and hope of all other.

He would "greatly lament" Cheke's departure from Cambridge to become tutor to the young Prince Edward were it not for the fact that the education of the Prince was essential for the "commodity and wealth" of the whole realm. Through
his education, Prince Edward would become competent to continue his father's work in abolishing papistry and heresy and, being loved by all his subjects, he would bring "wealth, honour and felicity" to the country and "perpetual peace, concord and unity" to religion. Ignorance, Ascham believed, was the cause of great "deformity" in the commonwealth because it led men "to measure themselves amiss," and thus they were dissatisfied in their vocations. As a result of "the perverse judgement of fathers," children who were not suitable for academic learning were made to study, and consequently the good of the commonwealth was at stake because people who were unfit for public office were given responsibility for matters of state. Ascham concluded that the education of youth was of paramount importance because if youth were "grafted straight and not awry," the whole commonwealth would flourish. Toxophilus, therefore, highlighted the important contribution made by education to the prosperous state, but since Ascham was an "educator" himself (never a schoolmaster!) this is to be expected.

Despite all the remedies proposed in the literature of anxiety and protest, writers realised that socio-economic reform could only be brought about by the King-in-Parliament. Forrest stated that the King should see that the weak are not oppressed by the strong, for "where the people are rich, the King can never be poor," and he addressed the King in emotional terms:

O noble King, belongeth to your doale[share, portion] as to perceive the commonwealth royaunce and for the same to devise ordinance.
Starkey advocated a reform of the constitutional system, and Brinklow appealed to the King to remedy the social evils in the realm so that he could leave a prosperous state to his son, Prince Edward. Clement Armstrong, a freeman of the Grocers' Company, proposed a change in the economy as a means of counteracting social ills, but again he realised that this could only be accomplished by a change in the law. However, he had little confidence in the willingness of Parliament to bring about socio-economic reforms since the Commons was made up of the very people who were responsible for the wrongs in society—sheepfarmers who enclosed lands, merchants who monopolised trade and dishonest lawyers who profited from the "sin and mischief of the common people." Reforming clerics in their numerous sermons, identified social reformation with Christian ethics and religious reformation:

Truly, the indignation of God shall never be quenched until that you with tender hearts, humble, obedient and thankful minds, receive, embrace and conform yourselves unto the holy word of God set forth by the King's majesty, his gracious proceedings.

How far, then, was the literature of anxiety and protest successful in awakening in those who had the power to bring about reforms, an awareness of the need for and the means of change? According to Elton, Thomas Cromwell's "vision called for the renovation of the whole community of England," and he became a willing reformer by relying on Statute to evoke change. Elton shows that from 1533 to 1535 Cromwell was engaged in a programme of reform so that by 1540 he had achieved "a sizeable body of Statutes of
varying import and weight." Furthermore, he asserts that reform slowed down after the demise of Cromwell who had set the standards for the commonwealth which he had tried to renew by reform. At the same time, Elton includes a list of sixty-three Bills which were rejected by Parliament, and a list of others which were passed in a watered-down version. His thesis that Thomas Cromwell was a willing patron of reform and that he initiated a "Tudor revolution in government" has been the subject of fiery attacks by historians such as Dr. Brendan Bradshaw and Dr. David Starkey. The latter believes that the Tudor Revolution in government has become "a cave in which the author [Elton] is imprisoned," and the acrimonious debate in the pages of Past and Present XXV, 1963, conducted by Harris, Williams and Cooper, inevitably ended in stalemate. To date, there have been numerous responses for and against Elton's views and little agreement among historians, but despite the fact that Elton modified some of his earlier ideas contained in England under the Tudors (1954), in his later works, he still regarded Cromwell as the great reformer.

Viewed from the perspective of legislation and his accompanying efforts at "consciousness-raising", Cromwell can be said to have pursued a comprehensive policy of reform in his efforts to bring about constitutional change by Statute, although it cannot be ascertained whether the laws he initiated were actually enforced. In the areas in which he did achieve results, for example in the export of unfinished cloth to the Netherlands, condemned by Clement Armstrong, his economic policies of non-intervention
were in direct conflict with the theories propounded by the Commonwealth Men. The vested interests in the Commons, referred to by Armstrong, were responsible for the defeat of his proposed Statutes, and it appears that his vision of the commonwealth was far too ambitious and impractical. In the context of the whole century, however, Cromwell is part of the programme of reform initiated by Wolsey and continued through Somerset to the Cecils. Trevor-Roper has suggested that the commonwealth ideals were achieved "gradually, carefully and, within human limits, effectively under the long rule of William Cecil, the practical heir to the Commonwealth Men." Furthermore, Professor Scarisbrick has shown that Wolsey was a notable reformer who changed the enclosure system by "investigative methods which were efficient enough to result in the prosecution of many offenders." Wolsey was also responsible for the promotion of education, particularly in the Universities, whereas, according to Elton, Cromwell's plans in this regard "fell well short of the standard of Erasmian demands." This was the contemporary view. Starkey, in a discourse addressed to the King in 1547, emphasised the necessity of employing the wealth accrued from the dissolution of the smaller religious houses for the advancement of the commonweal, in which education had a special claim. Ascham's concern for education, already evident in Toxophilus, found expression in The Schoolmaster, published posthumously in 1570. In this treatise, he delineated an educational programme designed to make the study of the classics easy and pleasant for youth, thus enabling them to contribute in some way to the
While writers and pamphleteers concentrated for the most part on the abuses and evils which pervaded English society, concern for national security, normally the King's prerogative, was also the subject of many treatises from about 1539 onwards, and these became more prolific as the century advanced. In *The Discourse of the Commonweal* (1549), the author linked the unfavourable economic conditions with loss and danger to the realm because he feared that they might cause "the great dissolution and weakening of the King's strength of this realm." The many military treatises published between 1539 and 1600 were a response not only to a general concern about the inadequacy of the nation's military organisation, but also showed a realisation of the fact that due to the development of weapons, and therefore of military strategy, war was an art which had to be learned. Throughout the later Middle Ages, especially in the Italian-Burgundian tradition, training for war was the metier of the nobility, but now the ordinary soldier had to be trained for such an eventuality. Maurice Cockle, in his *Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642* (London, 1900) lists sixty-eight military works published between 1539 and 1600, and of these, twenty-three were translations of foreign works in Latin, French, Italian and Spanish. The decline in the quality of English soldiers, noted by Starkey, Hale and Morison was thought to be due to moral as well as physical factors, and towards the end of the century, books were written for the "moral guidance and religious encouragement" of the soldier, many of them written by
soldiers themselves.\textsuperscript{123} The most popular of all the ancient military treatises was Vegetius' \textit{De Re Militari}, quoted extensively by Ascham in \textit{Toxophilus}\textsuperscript{124} and exerting considerable influence on all writers of military treatises in the sixteenth century. Most of the military works used the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans as authorities, and also for examples of military strategy par excellence. Peter Whitehorne, in the Preface of his translation from Italian of \textit{Onosander Platonica}, attributed the "marvellous victories" of the Turks to the fact that they "much resembleth and imitateth the famous antiquity" in all their martial affairs, as he himself witnessed when he was in Constantinople and Turkey.\textsuperscript{125} The end of Morison's translation of Sextus Julius Frontinus' \textit{The Strategemes, Sleyghtes and Policies of Warre} contained five pages of the general rules of war taken from Vegetius.\textsuperscript{126} Also of historical importance was Jacopo di Porcia's \textit{The Preceptes of Warre}, translated by Peter Betham in 1544 and published by Edward Whitchurch.\textsuperscript{127} Only four military treatises in English were published before \textit{Toxophilus}, and of these, three were by anonymous authors.\textsuperscript{128} The fourth by Thomas Becon, \textit{The new policy of warre}, wherein is declared not only how the most cruel tyrant the great Turk may be overcome, but also all other enemies of the Christian public weal, was dedicated to "Sir Thomas Wyet Knight" and initially set forth the commonwealth ideal:

\begin{quote}
All men's endeavours must tend towards the commodity of the public weal and the health of the country. How glad is an Englishman abroad to know by the transmission of mutual letters what
\end{quote}
is done in England, in what case the public weal consisteth, how it prospereth.\textsuperscript{129}

Quoting extensively from the Old and New Testament, Becon asserted that wicked living was the cause of wars, and he delineated the duty of Princes to keep their realms "in safe estate," and of subjects to give their lives for their country which was to be more regarded than "our parents."\textsuperscript{130} "It is a sweet and seemly thing to die for the country," he said,\textsuperscript{131} a theme disputed in the succeeding centuries by many poets and writers.\textsuperscript{132}

An interesting but little-known work by an Irishman called Edward Walshe, published in 1545, the same year as Toxophilus, continued Becon's thesis that all men had The Office and Duty in fighting for our Country.\textsuperscript{133} Dedicated to Sir Anthony Sentelege, it was a sort of "pep talk" delivered by Walshe "at several times unto his fellows militing at the siege of Boulogne,"\textsuperscript{134} and it contained arguments and persuasions "touching our most bounden duty to our native and natural country."\textsuperscript{135} Referring to the war in France as "the most godly quarrels of our most dread Sovereign Lord, Henry VIII," who shall be "doubtless a mirror forever to all such as shall hereafter desire to govern in a commonweal,"\textsuperscript{136} Walshe provided numerous arguments in support of his thesis that "our birth is the possession of our native country."\textsuperscript{137} Like Becon, he quoted from the Old and New Testament, and gave the example of "Christ's respect for the commonweal when he paid the penny found in the fish's belly."\textsuperscript{138} Likewise, Peter, Barnabas and Paul had the good of the commonweal at heart when preaching the Gospel, and always "observed the
circumstances that made for the common weal." Walshe advocated the works of Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Tully, Cato, Senec, Plutarch and "all other famous authors" as opposed to "the contentious and inutile rules of Duns, Thomas and such others," and he concluded that if infidels were so inspired by the magnanimity of their Princes, "how much more should we be even inflamed beholding the princely clemency, fortitude and magnanimity of our liege and natural King Henry the eighth," and of his "noble progenitors which no volume could comprehend," so that all men should be determined to fight for life and death rather than to live "to see that princely dignity, that evangelical governance defaced."  

Compared with the works of Becon and Walshe, Toxophilus presented a much more practical approach to the contemporary problems of military insecurity. Ascham regarded the decline of archery as being responsible for many of the nation's social as well as military problems. The common people had turned to different pastimes, and "pestilent gaming" was drawing the King's subjects away from practice at the butts. In his numerous Statutes to promote archery, Henry prohibited the setting up of houses where these games were organised, and even listed the said games in detail, as did Ascham in Toxophilus. It was with the idea of restoring archery to its former prominence in the life of the English nation that Ascham wrote Toxophilus, and his purpose did not seem too ambitious at the time. Less than a year before, on Tuesday October 7th 1544, Henry's army had captured Boulogne and "certain of them entered the town and cried
'Bows' which is the nation's hope." However, Ascham was not so naive as to imagine that archery could be restored as the principal means of defence. He considered that there was a place for it alongside "other strong weapons" so that

both, not compared together whether should be better than the other, but so joined together that the one should always be an aid and help for the other, might so strengthen the realm on all sides that no kind of enemy, in any kind of weapon, might pass and go beyond us.

The use of the longbow as a weapon of war continued to be a subject of controversy until the end of the sixteenth century. As late as 1590, Sir John Smythe, a former soldier, was still defending the use of archery in war. In the same year, Sir Roger Williams published *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* in which he advocated the new system of warfare, and, in the opinion of Julian Corbett, it was this book which finally "put an end to the use of the longbow in the English service." Four years later, in 1594, Humfrey Barwick produced *A Breefe Discourse concerning the force and effect of all manuall weapons of fire and the disability of the Long Bow or Archery in respect of others of greater force now in use. With sundry probable reasons for the verrifying therof: the which I have done of dutye towards my Soveraigne and Country, and for the better satisfaction of all such as are doubtful of the same." Having stated that he had read the works of Sir Roger Williams and Sir John Smythe, Barwick, a "gentleman, soldier and captain," used his own experience to pronounce in favour of the musket and "weapons of fire"
and to refute Sir John Smythe's opinion regarding archery by showing that the longbow was "the worst shot." While admitting that archers were "rather an encouragement than hurtful unto a resolute soldier," he related that when he was in the service of the French King, he was told that the French had means more capable of inflicting wounds than the greatest and strongest archer, and he stated that "fire weapons shoot by rule, the bow by guess." Sir John Smythe returned undaunted to his support of archery in his work of 1595, *Instructions, Observations and Orders Mylitarie*, and in the following year, 1596, an author known simply as R.S. published *A Briefe Treatise to prove the necessitie and excellence of the use of archery*. Cockle believes that this was written by a friend and admirer of Sir John Smythe, as he quoted from the latter's book *On Weapons* with approval, and he considers that it was probably written at the instigation of the bowyers and fletchers whose livelihood suffered with the increasing use of firearms. This was the last book in favour of archery to appear in sixteenth century England, but the reprinting of *Toxophilus* in 1571 and 1589 testified to the fact that many people still had faith in the efficacy of the longbow as a weapon of war.

The use of archery in war was, however, doomed for many reasons, and Ascham laments its disuse among all classes of men, particularly among those who "when they be shooters, give it over and list not." He hoped that since *Toxophilus* was written in the vernacular it would be read by all Englishmen, and that the situation of gradual decline would be reversed. This was not to be.
The "Military Revolution" described by Roberts, brought to an end the period "in which the art of war could still be learned by mere experience or the efflux of time." New weapons of war were being introduced, and since the art of war had to be learned by every soldier, institutions for this purpose were established. The Militia Act of 1558 marked the beginning of the Tudor Militia and the end of a "quasi-feudal" system of recruiting soldiers; the changes in military strategy and technology were permanent and irreversible. England had accepted the fact that Agincourt, Crecy and Poitiers must be left behind, and that a new era of military science, propaganda and psychological warfare had begun.

Sixteenth century writers used the medieval concept of the commonwealth to give a comprehensive view of the society in which they lived. Their studies of antiquity and their humanistic belief that history had lessons for all mankind, enabled them to develop a vision of man in a dynamic society, to search for remedies for social ills, and for constructive policies which would promote prosperity for the commonwealth in general and for each individual in particular. Concern for national security was linked with concern about the unfavourable economic conditions and resulted in a plethora of literature on military topics which continued to be published right into the seventeenth century. Roger Ascham, in common with his contemporaries, was deeply troubled about prevailing conditions, particularly those which would result in the decline of archery in England, as he believed that shooting with the longbow had a moral value and produced physical
fitness thus contributing to the all-round development of the personality. At the same time, he recognised that archery must go hand-in-hand with learning if England was to flourish as a nation and to develop Renaissance values which would provide good "governors" for the Tudor Commonwealth.
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CHAPTER ONE

1. Toxophilus, p. 2. Dedication to the King.
2. Hatch, p. 137.
13. Calendar of State Papers, 1547-80, p. 22.

19. ibid. p. 25.
20. ibid. p. 29.
21. ibid. p. 32.
22. ibid. p. 36.
23. ibid. p. 39.
   Letter from Edward Hext, J.P. in Somerset, to Lord Burghley, 25th September 1596.
43. ibid. p. 12.
44. Elyot, op.cit. p. 2.
45. ibid. p. 1.
47. ibid. p. 125.
58. Toxophilus, p. 23.
59. ibid. p. 127.
60. Toxophilus, p. 127.
61. ibid. p. 129.
62. ibid. p. 183.
63. ibid. p. 183. 
64. ibid. p. 7.
68. ibid. p. xcvi/16.
69. Hatch, p. 256.
On p. 27 the author defined "Cursetors" as "runners or rangers about the country, derived of the Latin word 'curro'." This work was plagiarised by Thomas Dekker in The Belman of London, 1608, and by William Harrison in his Description of England, prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles, ed. 1586, Book II, Chap. 10, "Of Provision made for the Poor."
There is a description of each category of vagrant from pp. 29 to 76.
73. Beier, A.L. Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in
74. Toxophilus, p. 209.
75. ibid. p. 211.
77. Fox, Alistair, op.cit. p. 11.
78 Starkey, Thomas, Dialogue, p. 143.
80. Toxophilus, p. 343.
83. Starkey, Thomas, Dialogue, pp. 54, 55.
86. Herrtage, op.cit. pp. x, xlviii, lxiii.
87. ibid. (Forrest), Prologue to Edward VI, Leaf 28.
88. ibid. p. xci/5.
89. Toxophilus, p. 35.
92. Toxophilus, p. 163.
93. ibid. p. 351.
94. ibid. p. 353.
95. ibid. p. 355.
97. ibid. p. xcix/36.
101. ibid. p. 69.
103. Elton, G.R. Reform and Renewal, op.cit. p. 64.
104. ibid. p. 96.
105. ibid. p. 166.
106. ibid. p. 169.


116. Herriottage, op.cit. p. x. (See Note 86).


120. Herriottage, op.cit. p. 79.

121. Hale, John, op.cit. p. 84.


124. Toxophilus, p. 207. Caxton printed this work in 1489.


127. see Coickle, op.cit. p. 5.


129. Becon (under the assumed name of "Theodore Basille"). 1542. sig. AiiiR.

130. ibid. sig. AiiR.

131. ibid. Avr.

132. Horace, Odes, Book III, 2. line 13: Good 'tis and fine for fatherland to die.

Homer, Iliad, Book XV, line 583:
And for our country 'tis a bliss to die.

In the 20th Century, Wilfrid Owen disputes this theme in his poem, "Dulce et Decorum est" and calls it "the old lie." Faber Book of Twentieth Century Verse, ed. J.H. Stubbs and David Wright, London, 1965, p. 244.

133. Walshe, Edward, The Office and Duty in fighting for our Country, 1545. Walshe also wrote Conjectures concerning the State of Ireland. 1552. The only biographical details of this author are in David
B. Quinn's article on the aforementioned work in *Irish Historical Studies*, 1947, pp. 303-322. In a later article, "Renaissance Influences in English Colonization," in *Trans. of R. His. Soc.* Vol. 26, 1976, pp. 73-93, Professor Quinn corrects his statement in his previous article that "The Conjectures... supply the earliest evidence relating to him [Walshe]," and mentions the 1545 Treatise, stating that Walshe was "well acquainted with Livy and other classical histories."

134. ibid. sig. Aiiir.
135. ibid. sig. Aivr.
136. ibid. sig. Aivv.
137. ibid. sig. Biii v.
138. ibid. sig. Bvv.
139. ibid. sig. Bv v.
140. ibid. BviR.
141. ibid. sig. Ciii v.
142. *Toxophilus*, pp. 95, 103-105.
143. ibid. p. 117.
147. *Toxophilus*, p. 15.
148. ibid. p. 15.
149. Smythe, Sir John, *Certain Discourses... concerning the forms and effects of divers sorts of weapons... As also of the great sufficiencie, excellencie and wonderful effects of archers.*
152. S.T.C. 1542.
153. ibid. sig. A2.r.
154. ibid. sig. A3.r.
155. ibid. The Eighth Discourse, sig. F1.
156. ibid. sig. G1.r.
157. B.M. Microfilm U.M.I. Reel 469. (listed in Cockle p. 55.)
161. ibid. p. 15.
163. ibid. p. 32.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE STYLE AND STRUCTURE OF TOXOPHILUS

The literature of sixteenth century Tudor England aimed at bringing about a major transformation in society by awakening Englishmen to the social and military needs of the moment, and the effectiveness of its persuasion depended to a great extent on its style and structure. Writers used specific literary genres, sometimes in order to disguise protest, but always "to insinuate truth." Contemporay writings on style, such as Richard Sherry's A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes (1550)\(^2\) and Thomas Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique, (1560)\(^3\) were mainly concerned with the elaborate and embellished style, whereas Ascham considered that the style of a work should be appropriate to its content:

The style must be always plain and open: yet sometimes higher and lower as matters do rise and fall.\(^4\)

The style and structure of Toxophilus have been discussed and analysed at length by critics, students of English and linguists. Ryan sees in Book I the six-part oration structure of Cicero and the three-part structure of the classical Sport's Treatise, for example that of Xenophon's Cynegeticus.\(^5\) Morehead follows Ryan in her discussion of the rhetorical and linguistic aspects of the style of Toxophilus and also gives a synopsis of the contents.\(^6\) Vos believes that the precision of the oration structure cannot be found in Toxophilus, although its
influence is evident. He states that the work "ought not to be seen as an oration accommodated to the exigencies of a conversation, as Ryan sees it, but the other way round---stylised conversation refined by the classic orderliness of the oration structure." Fleischauer endeavours to define and isolate Ascham's literary intellect and follows the theory of stylistic analysis suggested by Joan Webber and Leo Spitzer. He concludes that it is in Ascham's search for practical truth that his style evolves, and that the "roots of his intellect" are in the "consistency of his honest and unpretentious colloquialism." It is therefore unnecessary to give further consideration to the topics covered by these scholars, but two aspects of Ascham's style merit attention, namely, his decision to use the dialogue form and his choice of the vernacular instead of Latin, the language of academics and of educated men.

Ascham does not justify his choice of the dialogue form as he does his use of the vernacular, but since it was a typical sixteenth century device to teach, to argue, to persuade, it was the ideal genre for presenting his dialectic on archery, and also for the inclusion of other subjects like education and games of chance. Hale's reasons for using the dialogue form in The Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England are equally applicable to Ascham's purpose in Toxophilus:

Now that kind of reasoning seemeth to me best for bolting out of the truth which is used by way of dialogue or colloquy, where reasons be made to and fro, as well for the matter intended as against it. I thought it best to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is in rehearsing the common and universal griefs that men complain on nowadays. Secondly, in bolting
out the very causes of the same. Thirdly and finally, in devising of remedies for all the same.\textsuperscript{16}

Wilson (1976) considers that Ascham's "intention to persuade is rather doubtful" since the King and many of the gentlemen to whom the book is addressed were convinced of the value of archery, and the treatise was therefore written for the convinced reader.\textsuperscript{17} This thesis is untenable, firstly because the numerous Statutes passed by Henry VIII and his Parliament in order to promote archery are evidence that it was in a state of decay and that people needed to be convinced of its efficacy both in peace and war. Secondly, the readership of Toxophilus was likely to extend far beyond the King and the Gentlemen and Yeomen to whom the book is addressed, since, according to Thrup, "all men in the merchant class read English and most of them had some training in Latin" as early as the mid-fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{18} A survey of a still bigger section of the population of London at that time suggests that forty per cent of males were literate.\textsuperscript{19} Later still, Sir Thomas More's statement that "far more than four parts of all the whole divided into ten could never read English yet," indicates that sixty per cent could do so.\textsuperscript{20} Toxophilus could therefore expect to reach a much wider readership than that suggested by Wilson.

Since the origins of dialogue as a literary form can be traced back to the ancient Greeks, in particular Plato and Lucian, and to the great Roman, Cicero, it would have a particular attraction for a dedicated classical scholar such as Ascham was. The Greek word "dialego" implies an
investigative discussion in contrast to a simple conversation,\textsuperscript{21} and for this reason it was an ideal form for religious and Christian teaching, particularly anti-
heretical instruction. From early times, this took the
form of putting imaginary speeches into the mouths of Biblical characters. St. Augustine, who was admired by Ascham,\textsuperscript{22} changed the search for truth in classical
dialogues into "an introspective search for God."\textsuperscript{23} Each character used persuasive rhetoric to make his views prevail. In medieval England, the form became popular for
catechisms, doctrinal expositions and didactic purposes, but the suggestion that these dialogues developed into Morality Plays has been refuted by Owst.\textsuperscript{24}

After Petrarch revived the dialogue in fourteenth century Italy, it was employed by Bruni, Bracciolini, Valla and Alberti to examine secular problems and questions of religion and Church authority,\textsuperscript{25} and since it was a genre which provided not only a valid method of education but also a powerful means of converting an opponent, it became the favourite literary form of Reformation writers in Germany. Dialogues by Hans Sach, Hutten and the Swiss, Niklaus Manuel provided lively and satirical material which had widespread popularity and influence. An evaluation of the special role of Reformation Dialogue as a means of persuasion has been done by German literary scholars and social historians. In the sixties, Werner Lenk argued that the structure of dialogue is ideally suited to the art of persuasion,\textsuperscript{26} and others who followed him confirmed his findings.\textsuperscript{27} The dialogue form involves a question posed by the interlocutor, and this is often repeated by a
participant, so that the original proposition is stated and restated. The important truth which is to be conveyed is contained in his proposition. As a result of the continual repetition the memory is activated and the learning process stimulates persuasion. Erasmus organised his Colloquies, which are, of course, dialogues, on the same principle.\textsuperscript{28}

The close ties between Germany and England\textsuperscript{29} resulted in English Reformers adopting a form which their Lutheran counterparts in Germany had popularised, and the popularity of the dialogue as a literary form in Tudor England is attested by the fact that Deakins lists fifty-six dialogues written between 1500 and 1558,\textsuperscript{30} and Day identifies two hundred and six which were published between 1558 and 1603.\textsuperscript{31} Deakins considers that the rise of the dialogue as a literary form was a direct consequence of the Reformation,\textsuperscript{32} and indeed there was an obvious interaction between literary, political and religious issues. An example of this is Luke Shepherd's \textit{John Bon and Mast Person}, published in London in 1548. In this dialogue, John Bon demonstrates that the arguments given by a priest in favour of the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi are based on power and authority rather than on reason, and its publication coincided with the abolition of this feast by Cranmer in 1548.\textsuperscript{33} However, the dialogue form was not confined to religious issues. Barnaby Rich's military treatise, \textit{A right excellent and pleasaunt Dialogue betwene Mercury and an English Souldier}, (1574) discussed the art of war and the necessity of enlisting experienced officers and honest private soldiers,\textsuperscript{34} and in this work the author expressed his opinion that experience on the battlefield
was more important than reading about the experience of others. Ascham would not have agreed with this. His examples "from the beginning of time had in memory of writing, throughout all commonwealths and empires of the world," were calculated to "persuade others" of the efficacy of shooting in war.

The dialogue in Toxophilus shows Ascham's indebtedness both to Plato and Cicero; he goes to Plato for philosophy and to Cicero for eloquence. As Wilson (1976) points out, the treatise opens and closes with a reference to Plato's discussion on the origin of souls. In Platonic dialogue, an important part is played by the setting and the characters, both of which are basic to the dialogue form. Ideas and opinions may change in the course of the discussion, but the setting remains static. In Toxophilus, Ascham modifies the Platonic setting of the Phaedrus to suit the circumstances of the two interlocutors. They meet by chance in a rural setting, near "the fair wheat" which is the equivalent of Socrates' plane trees. The environment lends peace and tranquillity to what might become an acrimonious discussion. Natural surroundings were favoured by Renaissance writers of dialogue; in Bruni's Dialogue II, the group meets in Roberto Rossi's garden. The military dialogue by Barnaby Rich, is set in the woods on a day in May. In Toxophilus, the comparative freedom of the situation, far from the clamour of the University lecture hall, influences the discussion by removing any feeling of urgency to arrive at a conclusion. As in Platonic dialogue, the characters, Toxophilus and Philologus, are not chosen at random but for specific
reasons. Socrates did not speak with the "common people," only with those who belonged "one way or the other to an elite." The same criterion applies to Ascham's choice of characters. It would be futile to engage in a discussion of classical sources with someone who was unlettered and unlearned. Philologus had to be competent enough to speak intelligently on the subject in hand, as this constitutes an essential element of the dialogue form.

Toxophilus and Philologus are revealed at the beginning of the treatise as two friends, as in Ciceronian dialogue. Despite the Greek names, they are real people with two different temperaments and characteristics. When Toxophilus compares shooting to a medicine which can purge "the whole realm of such pestilent gaming," Philologus challenges his statement by feigning sorrow at the fact that medicines may not be used very often, and therefore the same principle applies to shooting.

Toxophilus' reply shows a side of Philologus' character:

You play your old wonts [habits] Philologe, in dallying with other men's wits.

According to Miglior, Toxophilus is in his late youth (tarda giovenezza) and is "appasionata del tiro all'arco." Toxophilus is circumspect while Philologus is outspoken and goes immediately to the heart of the matter. It has been customary for critics to identify Toxophilus with Ascham himself, and Philologus with some of his Cambridge colleagues like Cheke, Grindal, Smith and Watson, but this is mere speculation. On some occasions, Toxophilus is Ascham, and through the mouth of his
protagonists he succeeds in putting over his own ideas on a wide range of subjects, and answering the objections of some of his colleagues in Cambridge who thought he spent too much time on his favourite pastime, thus neglecting his academic pursuits. Writers of dialogue often used the character's name as a protective device when they wished to propound a criticism of authority or subversive ideas. Elyot's biographers believe that in the dialogues Pasquil the Playne [the plain speaker] and Of the Knowledge that Maketh a Wise Man, he was rebuking Henry VIII, Cromwell and other members of the Council, and was enlisting support for Sir Thomas More.\textsuperscript{48} Like "Plato" at the court of King Dionysius, More was renowned for his wisdom and integrity.\textsuperscript{49} Christopher St. Germain tried to convey an attitude of complete impartiality in his dialogues The Divison...betwyxte the Spiritualitie and the Temporalitie, (1532)\textsuperscript{50} and Salem and Bizance (1534) by using the phrase "some say".\textsuperscript{51} Both works are a series of debates attacking the clergy and the Church. (More wrote The Apology of Syr Thomas More, Knight in an endeavour to destroy St. Germain's facade of impartiality.\textsuperscript{52}) There is no question of Ascham hiding behind the character of Toxophilus. His ideas on archery coincided perfectly with those of the King, and his patriotism and loyalty to the Protestant cause ruled out any proposition of subversive doctrines. Toxophilus does not set out to be impartial or detached. From the outset, he makes it clear that he is convinced of his thesis and that his purpose is to convince all Englishmen, in the person of Philologus, that he is right. Once all contrary opinions have been discarded and the
interlocutors have reached agreement, he embarks on an exposition of the techniques and equipment required for succesful archery, the end of which is "hitting the mark."\textsuperscript{53} This is also the purpose of "this our communication."\textsuperscript{54} Paradoxically, the end of the dialogue is, in reality, the beginning, because Philologus, having accepted the dialectic,\textsuperscript{55} must now begin to put it into practice. He has been given meaningful answers to his objections, and certainty, which has been established by "authority and reason," has replaced doubt.\textsuperscript{56}

Tasso defines dialogue as "the imitation of reasoning"\textsuperscript{57} and on occasions the dialogue of Toxophilus represents the two polarities of Ascham's mind, his reasoning within himself. This is particularly in evidence when he is delineating the history of archery using classical sources. Philologus challenges his examples from ancient literature by supplying contrary examples from the same sources such as Euripides, Homer and Xenophon:

Again Teucer, the best archer amongst all the Grecians, in Sophocles is called of Menelaus a Bowman and a shooter as in villainy and reproach, to be a thing of no price in war.\textsuperscript{58}

Toxophilus rebuts all these arguments by counter-statement:

As concerning your first example taken out of Euripides, I marvel you will bring it for the dispraise of shooting seeing Euripides doth make those verses, not because he thinketh them true, but because he thinketh them fit for the person that spake them.\textsuperscript{59}

Once all these "misunderstandings" are clarified, agreement can be reached. In this synthesis, which is a characteristic of Platonic dialogue, Ascham departs from
the Ciceronian model in which there is a representation of equally viable viewpoints, but the dialogue in *Toxophilus* is Ciceronian in the sense that it presents the author's own exposition of the subject matter. The search for the truth which is present in all Platonic dialogues can also be found in Ascham's treatise. His request to the King to accept his work as a sign of his "honesty and learning" is evidence that he is prepared to sacrifice his own opinions if he cannot prove that they are valid. In contrast to Plato, Cicero usually appears in the dialogue himself, thus expanding the function of the principal character, and also affecting the form of the dialogue, as all the characters have equal status. This is a characteristic of Book I of *Toxophilus*; in Book II, the role of Philologus undergoes a change. Here he is essentially a pupil who is learning from the specialised knowledge and experience of his teacher. One may conclude, therefore, that in Book I "reason and authority" are used in the confrontation of two different points of view in order to arrive at the truth, whereas in Book II the truth has been established, so the dialogue embodies a mode of education and has a didactic purpose.

The end of Platonic dialogue is, according to Pierre Grimal, "to surmount the individual characters of the interlocutors, and to guide them to discover that which is universal within themselves." Cicero's orator is universal because the attainment of all his virtues is humanly possible, whereas in *Toxophilus* the image of perfection which is presented by Ascham can be found only in God:
All things in this world be unperfect and unconstant; therefore let every man acknowledge his own weakness in all matters and glorify Him in whom only perfect perfectness is.\textsuperscript{64}

Nevertheless, man must constantly strive for this perfection even though it is unattainable, because once the game has been won, "no man will set forth his foot to run."\textsuperscript{65} This desire for perfection will "provoke all men to labour" because every man will be rewarded according to how near he comes to perfection, and

which is most marvel of all, the more men take of it, the more they leave behind for others, as Socrates did in wisdom and Cicero in eloquence...and thus perfectness itself, because it is never obtained, even therefore only doth it cause so many men to be so well seen and perfect in many matters as they be.\textsuperscript{66}

It is in this part of Toxophilus that Ascham's treatise ceases to be simply a book on archery; it now becomes an exposition on how to learn any skill or body of knowledge.\textsuperscript{67} The transition is made by the application to archery of the triad Aptness, Nature and Use, drawn from Plato's Phaedrus,\textsuperscript{68}, and from Isocrates,\textsuperscript{69} Plutarch\textsuperscript{70} and Cicero,\textsuperscript{71} and later used by Erasmus in De Pueris Instituendis.\textsuperscript{72} It is in this breaking away from the confines of archery as a pastime that Toxophilus achieves its universality.

Of all sixteenth century dialogues, the one which most resembles Toxophilus is a little-known work on angling by a Spanish author called Ferdinand Basurto.\textsuperscript{73} The similarities have not been noted by previous researchers. It was printed in 1539, but it is most unlikely that Ascham was acquainted with it, but it is comparable to Toxophilus.
insofar as it diverges from previous Sports' Treatises by extending its discussion beyond the simple techniques of angling and presenting an argument for its moral and social values. The opening of the dialogue is a dedication to Don Pedro Martinez de Luna, soon to be appointed Viceroy of Aragon by Charles V, and it ends with a lyric on the moon, a pun on his patron's name. A fisherman and a hunter dispute the merits of their respective sports, and having defeated his opponent in the argument, the fisherman goes on to teach him the techniques of sea and river fishing at the request of his opponent, thus resembling Toxophilus' exposition of archery at the request of Philologus. The old fisherman, using a supply of anecdotes from Spanish and Christian literature and history, expounds on the social and moral hazards of hunting, and stresses the deleterious and moral effects of the chase, just as Ascham delineates the history of archery, its merits both in war in in peacetime, and its wholesomeness as a pastime in contrast to the immoral effects of carding and dicing. In Basurto's dialogue, the hunt is the metaphorical hunt of the infidel, the enemy of justice and religion and hence of Spain. This patriotic tone resembles that of Ascham throughout Toxophilus which also contains a condemnation of the Turk. For Basurto and Ascham alike, their pastime is a sport, not an occupation, and both authors call it "recreation", "exercise", "delight" and "pleasure". The purpose of angling, like that of archery, is to give recreation to the body as well as delight to the soul. Workers, clerics, lawyers are all susceptible to the delights of angling, in the same way as eminent men in
England, including the king and bishops, engage in archery. There is a difference, however, in the two dialogues. Although the author does not present angling as an exotic pastime in sixteenth century Aragon, it is identified as belonging to the aristocracy, and Basurto's efforts to challenge this social identification only serve to confirm it. In contrast, there is no social boundary in England in the use of archery as a pastime in peace in preparation for war. It is the only sport of the sixteenth century which transcends all social barriers and is available to everyone. This is abundantly clear from Ascham's treatment of the subject.

One of the aims of Ascham's dialogue is to "move" his readers, in the person of Philologus, so that they can be predisposed to persuasion, and the means by which this can be accomplished is the use of digressions. Cicero believes that "they [digressions] have a great effect in persuading and in arousing emotion", and he views them as "allowing the employment of the topics which either stimulate or curb the emotions of the audience." In Book I, Ascham digresses in order to consider the state of music in schools, the spread of carding, dicing and other kinds of vice, the division of Christians in the face of the ever-increasing threat of the Turks, and the advantages of a union between England and Scotland. There are also reminiscences of incidents involving Ascham's friends, Sir John Cheke and Sir Humphrey Wingfield, and a diatribe against "a certain Frenchman called Textor. Ryan considers that in the strict sense "none of these passages is a digression, since each is ingeniously woven into the
main thread of the dialogue," while Vos states that Ascham goes beyond Cicero and Quintilian in his "understanding of the usefulness of digressions and their place in ordered discourse." He believes that the reminiscences are "patently calculated" even though they give the impression of informality and chance. If one takes the Ciceronian and Quintilian aim of digressions as "arousing emotion," then one must consider the main digressions in this light, while the "reminiscences" exemplify the appeal of the dialogue form to the Renaissance imagination, as it opened opportunities for introducing one's acquaintances and friends. In the case of Sir Humphrey Wingfield and Sir John Cheke, it is Ascham's emotions which are involved rather than those of his reader, and these references offer him the occasion to express publicly his gratitude to both men for their help and support. With regard to Textor, one could interpret the digression in the Ciceronian sense, in that its aim could be to arouse feelings of patriotism in the readers. However, the fierceness of outburst seems to indicate an emotional responsiveness on the part of the author rather than an emotional stimulus for the reader.

A wide readership for Toxophilus was ensured by Ascham's choice of the vernacular instead of Latin, and he justifies writing in English by saying that its use "was not beyond his power" and that it was "not pernicious to anyone." Added to this was the fact that in Renaissance Italy the use of the vernacular was encouraged by such poets as Bembo and Politian, in France by Ronsard and Du Bellay, and in Germany by Rudolf Agricola. However,
the task of the Italians was made easier by the fact that there was a close affinity between Latin and their own vernacular. Ascham's task was much more difficult. Unlike Italy, where Valla "erected into a philosophical principle" the investigations of historical usage in Latin, thus providing "the catalytic agent for the intensified defence of vernacular languages in the sixteenth century," there was no text in England which was devoted to a theoretical defence of the language. Richard Waswo attributes this to the fact that the English did not need to defend in theory a vernacular that was already in practice "as the language of worship, Scripture and the Established Church," and he continues:

Unlike both the Italians and the French, the English people in all stratas of society, could deal with the most important dimension of their personal experience in their mother-tongue. Unlike the German Protestants, who enjoyed the same privilege, the English also belonged to the same nation; their language was thus the language of collective, religious, political as well as individual experience.

It is significant that enough cottagers were reading the vernacular Bible in 1543 to concern Henry VIII, whose Parliament passed an Act forbidding them to do so; but "reading" did not necessarily imply personal reading ability. Groups were formed in order to enable those who were literate to read to others, and in this way literary works became more accessible to the general public, and opportunity was available for the exchange of ideas, and sometimes for political conspiracy. However, England, unlike Italy and France, never developed an official "Academy" which would dictate rules for language and
literature. Jones has shown how competition with Latin led English writers to a profound dissatisfaction with their own "uneloquent language," and this is borne out by Ascham's statement that if he had written in Latin he could have "embellished" his work "tolerably, but there are few who would read the book comfortably if it were in Latin," although he would have had more regard for his reputation. Toxophilus was not the first sixteenth century treatise written in the vernacular. Sir Thomas More and Ascham's friend, Sir Thomas Elyot, for example, had both produced works in English. The difference in Ascham's treatment of his native language lay in the fact that he deliberately set out to substitute "proper and plain words" for "foreign and outlandish" vocabulary. This was in accordance with Sturm's condemnation of "barbarous words" which were the vocabulary "of the corrupt art and sciences of the day." In contrast to Ascham, Elyot deliberately coined words, and this use of "inkhorn terms" prompted Cheke to express a desire to keep the English language "unmixed and unmangled." Ascham's aim, which he stated clearly at the beginning of Toxophilus, "to speak as the common people do" and to avoid all Latin, French and Italian words which "make all things dark and hard." was similar to the ideas of contemporary writers like Ralph Lever and Thomas Wilson, both of whom regarded the preservation of linguistic integrity or "decorum" as important. However, the deficiencies of the English language which Robert Record laments in his Castle of Knowledge (1556) resulted in the necessity to establish a criterion for the introduction of new words.
into English. Castiglione made usage his criterion when writing in Italian, but Cheke, despite his wish to keep English "clean and pure" advised writers to borrow with such bashfulness that it may appear that if either the mould of our own tongue could serve us to fashion a word of our own, or if the old denisoned words could content and ease this need, we would not boldly venture of unknown words.

Like Castiglione, Wilson applied the rule of usage to coined words, while Robert Record felt that it was better to make new English names than to lack an adequate vocabulary. Sir Thomas Smith was, according to Strype, a "great refiner of the English writing, which to these times [1542] was too rough and unpolished and little care taken thereof." In his work, De Recta et Emendata Scriptione Linguae Anglicanae, (c.1542) he demonstrates that if English were organised on the same basis as classical languages, it could be used satisfactorily for literary purposes. Ascham's commitment to classical ideas, combined with his patriotism which impelled him to use native resources, enabled him to achieve the "propriety in words" advocated by Cicero. His sentiments on the use of the vernacular are summed up in a letter to Stephen Gardiner, written in the summer of 1545:

In writing my book, I studied a course varying widely from that taken by almost every English author, not because I hold that anything written in English is vexatious, but because I understand that most men have escaped from this sort of study unlearned and casually, at the best. They employ, moreover, ridiculous matter or one unequal to their abilities, in which they flee from the exact and evident words, and are ignorant of translating or of accommodating their subjects to true splendour; and finally, they are
inexperienced and ignorant of all correct treatment.\textsuperscript{119}

He goes on to say that such writers are not acquainted with the art of rhetoric or the reasoning power of dialectic, and therefore when writing in the vernacular they do not strive to be mature and English, but rather to be foreign and bizarre. As a result, it is the most audacious writers, and not the most experienced, who have introduced "much confusion" in the language and have "filled up our kingdom with all manner of crazy books."\textsuperscript{120} Those who wrote in English were themselves convinced of the inadequacy of the language and of their own inability to handle it efficiently. Caxton exclaimed:

\begin{quote}
Between plain rude and curious [terms] I stand abashed,\textsuperscript{121}
\end{quote}

and Ashby acknowledged his defects in his use of the vernacular in \textit{The Active Policy of a Prince}, written for Edward, Prince of Wales (1453-71)

\begin{quote}
And though all things be not made perfect, Nor sweetly englishted to your pleasance, I beseech you heartily to excuse it, So that I keep intellectual substance.\textsuperscript{122}
\end{quote}

The fact that an analysis of forty pages of the Shorter Oxford Dictionary shows that of every hundred words in use in 1600, thirty-nine were introduced between 1500 and 1600, is evidence of the inadequacy of the vocabulary of the English language at the beginning of the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{123} Even for basic military vocabulary there was a shortage of native English words. As late as 1590, Sir John Smythe declined to believe that the English nation,
which had distinguished itself for "many hundred years" in military action, was unable "of itself, or by derivation to afford convenient words."\textsuperscript{124}

The contribution made by Ascham to the development of writing in the vernacular has been acknowledged by many critics. Jusserand refers to \textit{Toxophilus} as "the first English essay," and to Ascham as the "first real English essayist."\textsuperscript{125} The clarity of his writing as a result of his simple diction and his use of classical models, the exactitude of his descriptions, for example the famous passage on the wind,\textsuperscript{126} his closeness of observation which was a feature of Renaissance writing, all combine to create a work of art. This was Ascham's idea of "hitting the mark," and when he called \textit{Toxophilus} a book \textit{On the Art of Shooting},\textsuperscript{127} a title repeated by Edward Grant in his \textit{Obituary of Roger Ascham},\textsuperscript{128} he was making a statement of the aesthetic purpose of his \textit{Treatise on archery}, written in dialogue form.

Dialogue has been called "the artistic correlation of the experience that makes philosophy,"\textsuperscript{129} and as such was the ideal genre to enable Ascham to present his exposition of archery on three different levels: as a \textit{Treatise on archery}, as a \textit{Treatise on learning any skill or body of knowledge}, and as a \textit{Treatise on sound judgement and the image of perfection}.\textsuperscript{130} His amalgation of Ciceronian and Platonic dialogue, in which he allowed Plato to introduce his characters and Cicero to rule their discussion, and his use of the vernacular, established his reputation as a prose stylist, despite his very limited repertoire of only three works in English.
CHAPTER TWO

REFERENCE NOTES

10. Spitzer, Leo, A Method of Interpreting Literature, Massachussets, 1949.
13. Sixteenth century writers on dialogue, like Torquato Tasso and Sigonio, link dialogue with dialectic. Sigonio states: "...the ancients maintained that dialogues should be composed of questions and answers and thus come under the competence of dialectic." (De Dialogo Liber, Venice, 1562, ff. 12r-v). See Liddell and Scott, Greek, English Lexicon, s.v. dialego, also Petit Robert, 1973, s.v. dialectique, p. 534.
15. ibid. pp. 91-111.
   In our studies we willingly follow the counsels of the Fathers where they themselves do not wander from Holy Scripture. We set the most store by Augustine.
35. ibid. p. 50.
36. Toxophilus, p. 143.
37. ibid. pp. 53, 61.
38. Wilson, K.J. op.cit. p. 34.
39. Toxophilus, p. 35.
42. Deakins (op.cit. p. 168) states that Philologus is not characterised at all.
43. Toxophilus, p. 117.
44. ibid. p. 119.
45. Miglior, Giorgio, La dottrina umanistica inglese, Bari, 1975, pp. 52, 53.
46. Ryan, op.cit. p. 75.
47. Miglior, op.cit. p. 55.
50. St. Germain, Christopher, The Division...betwyxte the Spiritualitie and the Temporalitie, 1532,

51. Addicions of Salem and Bizance, 1534, ibid.
52. Taft. op.cit.
53. Toxophilus, p. 341.
54. ibid. p. 341.
55. ibid. p. 229.
56. ibid. p. 213.
58. Toxophilus, p. 133.
59. Toxophilus, p. 137.
60. ibid. p. 13.
62. Toxophilus, p. 49.
64. Toxophilus, p. 343.
65. ibid. p. 225.
75. ibid. pp. 91-111.
76. ibid. pp. 171-5.
77. ibid. pp. 55, 57, 61-63.
78. ibid. p. 61.
80. ibid. LXXVI. 311-12.
82. ibid. pp. 91-109.
83. ibid. pp. 171-175.
84. ibid. p. 181.
85. ibid. p. 315.
86. ibid. p. 161.
87. ibid. pp. 177-9.
88. Ryan, op.cit. p. 52.
89. Vos. op.cit. p. 192.
90. ibid. p. 199.
95. ibid. p. 199.
96. ibid. p. 199.
98. Waswo, op.cit., p. 199.
101. See Note 22 of Edition.
102. Toxophilus, p. 19.
105. This term was coined by Thomas Wilson, op.cit. p. 162.
112. Sweeting, Elizabeth, op.cit. p. 98.
114. Wilson, Thomas, op.cit. p. 163.
115. Record, Robert, op.cit. sig.H.iii'.
117. ibid. p. 183.
120. ibid. p. 134.
123. Bateson, F.W. op.cit. p. 28.
126. Toxophilus, pp. 359-61.
127. Hatch, p. 94. Letter to Sir William Paget, 1544? (Date uncertain.)

128. Grant, Edward, Orati de Vita et Obitu Rogeri Aschami...1576, reprinted in Giles, 3, p. 317. Grant called Toxophilus "De Arte Sagittaria."


130. Wilson, K.J. op.cit, p. 42.

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Ascham's "conscious and deliberate following of classical models" is, according to Ryan, the reason for the success of *Toxophilus*, and indeed if the treatise had, like previous sports' treatises simply defined the sport and its techniques it would require little consideration. In characteristically humanistic style, *Toxophilus* abounds with classical references and allusions, and these are given added importance by the inclusion of Marginalia indicating the sources. Some classical references are merely decorative but most are used to justify Ascham's thesis that the revival of archery was essential for the moral and physical well-being of each individual and therefore of the Commonwealth as a whole. They are also used to give literary quality to what might be thought an "unacademic" subject by the author's University colleagues. When writing *Toxophilus*, Ascham aimed at producing a work which would be informative, artistically satisfying and patriotic, and he did this by citing all the authors he was familiar with. The result was that he succeeded in producing a significant literary treatise which combined classical discipline of style and an eclectic knowledge of classical authors with the material that most interested him and his own experience in this field.

Ascham believed that the classics had a valuable contribution to make to the cause of Christian living, and
he shared this opinion with Erasmus, Colet, Sir Thomas More and Sir Thomas Elyot. In *The Godly Feast*, Erasmus canonises Socrates ("Saint Socrates") because he distrusts the power of his own ability and places all his confidence in God. Rice asserts that Erasmus initiated a new "secularism" by placing the Scriptures alongside the classics on an ethical level, thus breaking with Augustinian tradition. The comments regarding "Scotus and others of his sort," and the list of Cicero's works which he recommends in *The Godly Feast*, imply that Erasmus found in them more than in the works of the "scholastics" the Christian principles expounded in the Gospels. Nevertheless, he considered that the clothing of Christian ideas in pagan dress was inappropriate. Colet's ideas were similar to those of Erasmus. His copy of Marsilius Ficino's *Epistolae*, in which the author equated legitimate philosophy with true religion, contains comments in the margins condemning as outright blasphemy principles which are not compatible with Christian teaching. Likewise, More's *Utopians* always join philosophy with "certain principles taken out of religion" when they engage in arguments about "felicity or blessedness." Sir Thomas Elyot believed that Virgil's *Aeneid* would teach the reader to "abhor tyranny, fraud and avarice, when he doth see the pains of Duke Theseus...and such other tormented for their dissolute and vicious living." They would be impelled to follow the example of those who "live eternally in pleasure inexplicable." The French humanist, Gaguin, quoted by Ascham in his history of archery, wrote to Erasmus advising him that "no better service can be done for
Christian learning than to bless it with classical eloquence," and Erasmus, writing to Henry Bergen, sums up the sixteenth century opinion that "religious matters can be made to shine more brightly with the aid of the classics. 

Ascham's wide knowledge of the classics is first of all evident in his history of archery which is his first attempt at historiography and which is skilfully woven into the fabric of his sport's treatise. There is a fundamental difference between this approach and that of his Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany, in which he intentionally adopted the role of historiographer and prefixed a set of rules for the writing of history. The history of archery relies on what Aristotle calls "inartificial proofs," that is, those which are already in existence and only need to be made use of. Among his "inartificial proofs" Aristotle lists two kinds of witnesses, ancient and recent. Ancient witnesses are "poets and men of repute whose judgements are known to all," and recent witnesses are "well-known persons who have given a decision on any point, for their decisions are useful in arguing cases." Ascham is clearly following these Aristotelian principles in his delineation of the history of archery which can, in itself, be used as a source.

A statement by Philologus that "no man hath hitherto written anything of it," [archery] leads Toxophilus to assert that "all manner to tongues and writers, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, hath plentifully spoken of it," a cultural synopsis which Ascham had gleaned from his profuse
reading of the classics. In response to Philologus' request to examine the invention of archery and its superiority over other pastimes in peace and in war.

Toxophilus embarks on a complete history, which can be considered under the headings of mythology, historical persons, ancient civilizations and the Bible. In order to convince the reader, Ascham persuades by argument, and argues by opposing one statement to another in Dialogue form. His art of writing history is therefore completely different from that of Herodotus, whose work he was engaged in reading when he started writing Toxophilus. The art of Herodotus is purely narrative and his importance lies in the fact that he made history an art and laid the groundwork of a narrative style. It is evident that Ascham admired Herodotus, judging by the number of references he uses to illustrate his premise, but this use of information from the classics shows a departure from the medieval spirit, which is evident in the work of Chaucer and Gower. Chaucer is representative of what medieval writers found in the classics. He is satisfied with a synopsis of love stories, of the "tragedies" experienced by both legendary and historical persons, and even with listing names drawn from antiquity. Examples of this can be found in The Monks' Tale, and the Legende of Goode Women. His aim seems to be to use the knowledge supplied in ancient lore, and he ignores the feeling and beauty in the original. Ascham, on the other hand, appreciates the beauty and exactness of form which could be found in the great classical historians, and also the moral value of their works:
Xenophon purported to show not the true history but the example of a wise prince and commonwealth.27

The inclusion of mythical characters does not detract from the usefulness of Ascham's history of archery. Like Erasmus, who recommended the reading of ancient myths for the Christian prince,28 he believed that they had lessons for all mankind:

Philologus: Homer under a made fable doth always hide his judgement of things.29

and when Philologus is dissatisfied with Toxophilus' account of the invention of archery because it is derived from "no stronger defence of shooting than poets', Toxophilus replies by asserting that Poets

oftentimes under the covering of a fable do hide and wrap in goodly precepts of philosophy with the true judgement of things.30

This is similar to Sir Thomas Elyot's assertion that Homer's Odyssey delineates "many noble virtues...wonderful prudence and fortitude" by illustrating the means of escaping "the fraud and deceitful imaginations of sundry and subtle crafty wits," thus offering a valuable "lesson for a young gentleman."31

Toxophilus then proceeds to answer Philologus' challenge to prove by authority and reason that shooting has been used extensively both in peacetime and in war.32 This is an extremely difficult method of establishing proof, and, using examples from antiquity and from "modern" authors, he leads Philologus to reason the validity of his dialectic.
First, Toxophilus cites famous historical personages who were expert archers, and among these are Astyages and Cyrus, both of whom were taught archery when they were young, Darius, King of Persia, and the Roman Emperors, Domitian, Commodus, Theodosius. Moreover, ancient peoples such as the Persians and the Romans made laws concerning the use of shooting in peacetime, as did the "noble princes of England", especially King Henry VIII.

Philologus accepts that archery has been held in high esteem by princes and states, and agrees that it is advantageous in peacetime, but he questions its value in war, and this leads Toxophilus to the use of archery in war by ancient peoples. He starts with the story of the Jews because it is "for time most ancient and for the truth most credible." This support of classical examples with Biblical ones shows that Ascham considered the Bible comparable in value as a source of military information to the popular classical texts of, for example, Leo VI or Vegetius. It also illustrates that Ascham saw no irreconcilable difference between the history of ancient peoples, and the history of the Chosen People of God. The conflict between religious principles and classical scholarship which confronted scholars like Jerome and Alcuin, had no place in Ascham's thought, and he would have hardly understood God's rebuke to Jerome in his famous Ciceronian dream:

Thou art a Ciceronian not a Christian; for where thy treasure is there shall thy heart be also.

He was convinced that the Bible had precedence over the
classics and recommended the study of the works of Plato,
Aristotle and Tully only if it was joined with a knowledge
of the Bible. The importance of God's Word was also
proclaimed by Erasmus and Colet. Erasmus declared that "it
is only the Gospels and Epistles that efficaciously bring
back to us the whole Christ", and in his Oxford Lectures,
Colet emphasises the importance of studying not only the
ideas contained in the Bible, but also the language in
which it was written.

From the history of the Jews, Toxophilus proceeds to
that of the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Persians, and
finally the great Empires of Greece and Rome. A
variety of classical authors are quoted: Strabo, Plutarch,
Thucydides, Herodotus, Aeschylus, Arrian, Pliny, Appian,
Tacitus, Paul the deacon, Pomponius Mela, and Cuspinianus.
Finally, Toxophilus arrives at the most important part of
his history of archery, namely, its role as a decisive
factor in the history of England. Here he uses evidence
from "recent witnesses" such as John Major, Hector
Boece, Gaguin, a French Historiographer, and Sir Thomas
Elyot. Once again, Ascham shows his versatility in the
scale of his authorities. The history of archery in
England is noticeably short, but Ascham anticipates this
criticism by saying that he "will not be long in a matter
that no man doubteth in." As a summing up, Toxophilus
lists all the nations and peoples who have used the bow as
their main weapon. This would seem to be the conclusion
of the historical narrative; however, toward the end of
Book One, Toxophilus reiterates the theme of youth being
taught to shoot, and again refers to the Romans, Persians
and Parthians, quoting Vegetius, Leo VI, Strabo, Tacitus and Plato.58

In Book Two, there is a rapid account of the various bows59 and arrowheads60 used in antiquity, but the classical texts cited refer only to those used as weapons of war, and there is no allusion to peacetime archery.

Ascham's history of archery is unique since it is based mainly on the world of the classics. As Miglior points out, other classicists and humanist prose-writers showed an almost reverent timidity towards the classics, and wrote about them with a certain heaviness and "impaccio", whereas to Ascham the classical world was as real as the England in which he lived.61 His use of mythical characters, however, varies considerably from the histories in which he found them. To Herodotus, "history was a record of the punishment imposed by the Gods on human pride and insolence, and of their favour bestowed on the little well-governed state".62 In Homer, the Gods look and behave like human beings, even the monsters are humanised, and the story is always predominant.63 Nevertheless, the four qualities which Matthew Arnold finds in Homer's work can also be found at various stages of Ascham's history of archery, namely, plainness of style and of thought, nobleness and rapidity.64 It is these qualities which render it eminently suitable for the audience the writer is addressing.

As a classical scholar, Ascham aimed at achieving truth and beauty simultaneously in his writing, and was therefore committed to the classical goal of the pursuit of wisdom and eloquence. In the mix-sixteenth century wisdom
was considered to be a knowledge of ethics. There was no dichotomy between morality and wisdom. William Baldwin, Ascham's contemporary, defined philosophy as

nothing else but the observing and eschewing of such things as reason judgeth to be good and bad in the mutual conversation of life.

Erasmus, in Ciceronianus, defined eloquence as "wisdom speaking copiously." Ascham's commitment to these classical ideals has given rise to a two-fold controversy regarding his imitation of the classics. Firstly, his critics argue as to whether Cicero or Isocrates was his model, and secondly, the extent of his Ciceronianism has long been debated since Bacon first linked him with excessive Ciceronian imitation.

Professor Ryan believes that Ascham's main classical model was not Cicero but rather Isocrates, and this view is also held by Norden. Williamson believes that Ascham is Isocratic, Ciceronian and Euphuistic in turn. According to Vos, the arguments for Isocrates as Ascham's model are too weak, and he considers that the role of Isocrates in his writing is exaggerated and the role of Cicero underestimated. Vos concludes that the source of Ascham's writing ought not to exhaust the critics attention:

It is the malady of critics...to be specific about sources when it is better to be vague, to discern the influence of a specific classical stylist when it is better to speak of a general kind of style.

and he concludes that the cause of the problem is that Ascham's work is being viewed in retrospect because neither
Ascham nor Sturm made the sophisticated distinctions of modern critics.\textsuperscript{74}

It is evident from Ascham's letters that he admired Isocrates because the political and moral superiority of the Athenian civilisation resulted from his course of training in rhetoric.\textsuperscript{75} This admiration was shared with Elyot who found Isocrates "everywhere wonderful profitable having almost as many wise sentences as he hath words."\textsuperscript{76}

However, Ascham's use of classical sources in \textit{Toxophilus} leads one to the conclusion that he used ancient authors as the occasion demanded, and adapted them to suit the topic he was writing about, in order to avoid "cold, lean and weak" prose.\textsuperscript{77}

Ascham's admiration for Cicero has never been called in question, as there is an explicit statement of this in his letters.\textsuperscript{78} It is the extent of his imitation of Cicero that is controversial. To call him a Ciceronian can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly it implies that he belonged to the Italian School of writers who believed that Cicero's style was the only correct model for composition. Among these were the educators Vergerio, Vittorino de Feltre and Guarino. Following Quintilian, they regarded Cicero's letters and rhetorical writings as examples of perfect latinity, but none of these writers went to the extremes of making Cicero the exclusive model of imitation and sacrificing the content of their writing to mere form.\textsuperscript{79} In the fifteenth century, however, a more rigid sect of Ciceronians came into being, and these carried the imitation of Cicero to excess. They condemned the use of any words or phrases which were not found in Cicero, and
the style of writing was the only consideration in scholarship. As a result, a fierce controversy raged between the two groups. On the one hand, there were those like Politian and Cortesi, and on the other, Bembo and Pico. Politian in a famous letter to Cortesi, called the imitators of Cicero "apes" and advocated that every writer should have an individual style of his own:

To me indeed those who rely entirely upon imitation are like parrots or magpies; for what they write lacks force and vitality, action, sympathy and native genius; it lies, it sleeps, it snores. For there is nothing true, nothing genuine, nothing effective. 'You do not portray Cicero,' someone says. Why should I? I am not Cicero; I portray myself.

Replying to this challenge, Cortesi asserted that the result of the following several models is a faulty style which resembles "a field into which have been scattered many antagonistic seeds." Furthermore, he would prefer "to be a sycophant and an ape of Cicero rather than the son of another." Bembo carried his adherence to Cicero so far as to use pagan expressions in referring to Christian themes. He calls the municipal councillors "patres conscripti", the Virgin Mary "dea ipsa", the nuns "virgines vestales". Pico continued the argument against extreme Ciceronianism, and wrote to Bembo that Horace called imitators "the inglorious name of 'servile herd'", in reproducing the "most illustrious ancients who never desired to imitate others in such a way as to bind themselves to the mechanics of the work as children in leading strings." Pico's words are an apt description of
Ascham's use, not only of Cicero, but of all classical sources:

They took from any source whatever and as much as seemed to strengthen or adorn their phrase and was recognised as appropriate to the theme.86

His argument that the "wise painter" could not find all the properties of beauty87 in one form resembles Ascham's description of the painter Zeuxes who used many beautiful young girls as models when painting Helen, "because the comeliness of them all was brought into one most perfect comeliness."88

With the publication of Erasmus' Ciceronianus in 1528, the argument transcended the confines of Italy. Nosoponus, who represents the extreme Ciceronian in Erasmus' work, spent such a long time composing a letter to a friend asking for the return of a book, that he neglected the important issues of society:

I have not wished to undertake any public duty or ecclesiastical office, lest some anxiety should come to my mind.89

Erasmus saw "true Ciceronianism" to lie in the understanding and following the spirit of Cicero rather than the letter; he believed that the reconciliation of past and present, paganism and Christianity was not only possible but necessary and claimed that the "Ciceronians" did not understand Cicero's teachings and so could not properly use him as a model.90

In Germany, the development of Christian Humanism was parallel to that of England. Rudolf Agricola stated that wisdom was to be gained not only from professional
philosophers like Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca, but also from poets and rhetoricians who distinguished good and evil and presented examples of each as in a mirror. Above all, the Holy Scriptures were the most dependable guide in life. Although Cicero was Luther's favourite author, his work was never Luther's final authority:

Augustine or rather Christ is more to be praised than Cicero.

Likewise, Calvin did not repudiate Cicero, (he called him "the first pillar of Roman philosophy and literature,") but he tested the works of Cicero by the Word of God, and thus brought about a transformation of them. Philip Melanchton (1497-1560) took up Pico's debate seventy-three years later, and concluded that eloquence must be wise, that is, that beauty of form must be accomplished by wisdom of content. His thesis was that the entire controversy lay in the definition of eloquence which was not the specious art described by Pico but a faculty for clear expression and dissemination of truth. Melanchton's young contemporary and friend, John Sturm, a close friend of Ascham, stands out among the German Humanists as a more formal Ciceronian. Despite his ideal to ground his pupils in his school at Strasbourg in solid piety, eloquence often triumphed over piety in his educational programme. Schmidt describes Sturm's Ciceronianism as being "of the Italianate variety" because he believed that the aim of anyone who wished to write in Latin should be the exclusive and exact imitation of Cicero, in particular the formal characteristics of his style. A lecture given by Sturm
in the University of Paris resulted in Peter Ramus (1515-1572) joining the Ciceronian debate and opposing the slavish imitation of set forms.⁹⁸ In Spain, Vives asserted that

Grace of style is not required predominantly for adornment and the achievement of elaborate composition, but that the art should aptly serve for practical use in life...Let all eloquence stand in full battle array for goodness and piety against crime and wickedness.⁹⁹

This was a reiteration of Bruni's dictum that studies of past literature were not concerned with vulgar erudition, but with shaping the "perfected man."¹⁰⁰ Ascham echoed these sentiments in The Schoolmaster:

But he that will dwell in these few books only: first in God's Holy Bible, and then join with it Tully in Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Demosthenes in Greek, must needs prove an excellent man.¹⁰¹

(The underlining is my own.)

The Portuguese Bishop, Osorius, greatly admired by Ascham¹⁰² and criticised by Bacon, is generally considered an example of Bembo's extreme Ciceronianism,¹⁰³ although Ascham found other qualities in his work more in accordance with Christian principles.¹⁰⁴ In England, Ciceronianism never reached the extremes of the Italian School of Bembo and his followers. Nevertheless, imitation was considered a means of achieving literary distinction, and writers before Ascham, such as Lydgate¹⁰⁵ and Fisher,¹⁰⁶ were imitators of Cicero's style. Ralph Lever and Thomas Wilson expounded two opposing usages of the word "imitation" in contemporary society:
As for Ciceronians and sugar-tongued fellows, which labour more for fineness of speech than for knowledge of good matter, they oft speak much to small purpose, and shaking forth a number of choice words and picked sentences, they hinder good learning with their fond chat.\textsuperscript{107}

They that do acquaint themselves with the only reading of the best and most excellent writers are like in time to resemble in some sort their value and worthiness, yea, according to that saying of Tully, he that goeth much in the sun shall be sun burnt though he think not of it.\textsuperscript{108}

Bacon and Harvey regarded Ascham as a Ciceronian of the extreme type.\textsuperscript{109} Bacon linked him with Sturm and Osorius in a slavish imitation of Cicero, and modern critics like Ryan follow a similar line. Ryan declares that he inclined towards "a rather strict Ciceronianism."\textsuperscript{110}

To what extent, then, can Ascham be called a Ciceronian? There is no doubt whatsoever that in his view Cicero represented excellence in style and structure, but as a true imitator he would have been obliged to follow Cicero's dictum that true eloquence combines "wise thinking" and "elegant speaking."\textsuperscript{111} In \textit{De Oratore}, Cicero accuses Socrates of separating "the science of wise thinking from that of elegant speaking, though in reality they are closely linked together", and he declares that nothing "so effectually proclaims the madman as the hollow thundering of words" which have no thought or knowledge behind them.\textsuperscript{112} The goals which Ascham pursued were those attributed by Cassirer to Valla, namely "clarity, simplicity and purification of language" which would lead to "neatness and purity of thought."\textsuperscript{113}

There is also another aspect of Ascham's Ciceronianism. If he was, as Bacon and Harvey imply, more
interested in words than matter, somewhat "too precise and scrupulous for Tully in all points", so that he almost deified Cicero, then his theory of writing was completely antithetical to his devout Protestant conscience. At the very beginning of *Toxophilus*, he announced his dedication to his country, to Protestantism, to his King and to learning, in that order. He was aware of the controversy surrounding the imitation of Cicero, and commented in a letter to Sturm that he had heard from Mark Anthony Damula, Venetian Ambassaddor to the Emperor, Charles V, "many stories of Contareno, Bembo and Sadoleto." (dated by Hatch 20th Oct. 1552.) There is no explicit statement in *Toxophilus* as there is in *The Schoolmaster*, of Ascham's stand in the controversy, but his praise of "Plato and the Greek tongue" for their "high and godly description of the matter", [the nature of souls], his praise of Xenophon who "being a Gentile author most Christianly doth say...that the soldier which first serveth God and then obeyeth his captain" will overcome his enemy, his continual references to the place of God in man's life and the triumph of the Protestant religion due to the efforts of Henry VIII, are sufficient proof of the fact that he believed in the importance of communicating Christian principles in an artistic form, but would never sacrifice res to verba. For him, virtue and learning were inseparable:

By shooting also is the mind honestly exercised where a man always desireth to be best (which is a word of honesty) and that by the same way that virtue itself doth, coveting to come nighest a most perfect end...for the which causes Aristotle
himself saith that shooting and virtue be very like.\textsuperscript{122}

His criterion for a suitable pastime was that it must be wholesome for the body, pleasant for the mind...honest for all others to look on...worthy to be rebuked of no man.\textsuperscript{123}

and must have as its "companions" providence, good heed-giving, honest comparison, "which things agree with virtue very well." In Henrician England as in Reformation Germany, politics and religion were fused. To the writer and pamphleteer, God was always present and on His Will depended the well-being of the Commonweal. Ascham's whole-hearted commitment to the Protestant cause and to King Henry VIII who had been responsible for the reformation of the English Church, can be found in \textit{Toxophilus}.\textsuperscript{124} It would have been impossible, therefore, for Ascham to embrace a Ciceronianism of the extremest Italian type. His letters show that he admired the beauty of form attained by Osorius and Sturm, and in this sense he is a true Ciceronian:

But about Osorio...I plainly so think that noone after that wondrous happy time of M.T. Cicero has ever lived who has written anything with purer or more decorous diction or greater eloquence than this man...For he is so prudent in his choosing of words, and so skilled in his refining and fitting of sentences, so apt and modest in metaphor, so abundant and felicitous in antithesis, so chaste in quality...always dignified without affection, so fluent without redundancy, so surging without roaring...that my opinion cannot add nor pare anything from him. I do not see why now either Italy of Bembo or Sadoleto, France of Longolius and Perionius or Germany of Erasmus and John Sturm, can boast more than now Portugal of her one Osorio.\textsuperscript{125}
However, in another letter, he eulogises Osorio, not only because of his eloquence but also because of his principles and because he declares himself a grave philosopher by his discipline, a skilful orator by his treatment, a true Christian by his devotion to religion.

(The underlining is my own.)

To concentrate on art at the expense of morals and the communication of ideas would have been a betrayal of his Protestantism and of his function as an author, and would have been contrary to his aim in writing *Toxophilus*. This work was dedicated to the King as a token of my love and duty towards your Majesty and also a sign of my good mind and zeal towards my country.

and at the end of his Dedication, he prayed for the "continual setting forth of God's Word and His glory." Active love of God expressed in devoted service to his country sums up Ascham's ideal for the "Gentlemen and Yeomen of England", and this is the "wisdom" behind his Ciceronian "eloquence". This concept was not new. The Humanist Chancellors Salutati (1331-1406) and Leonardo Bruni, his pupil, regarded dedicated service to the Florentine Republic as the most noble calling and the road to happiness and freedom.

Sir Thomas Elyot's aim to describe in English the form of a "just public weal" by using "matters" he had gathered from his own experience as well as "the sayings of the most noble authors Greek and Latin," summarises what Ascham has accomplished in *Toxophilus*. One has the impression...
that nothing which belongs to his own time has true sense if it is not supported by a tradition "più lunga e più antica che possibile." But the influence of the classics on Ascham is not one which enslaves; rather it is a stimulation and an inspiration which gives him the freedom to develop his own genius by providing the horizon and sensibility for this development. **Toxophilus** is proof that the true wisdom found in the classics and eloquently expressed is never opposed to Christianity.

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1. For a detailed analysis and description of Ascham's classical citations see G. Noyes, "A Study of Roger Ascham's Literary Citations with particular reference to his knowledge of the Classics," Unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale, 1937. I have endeavoured to cover areas not discussed by Dr. Noyes.


12. More, Sir Thomas, op.cit. p. 84.


20. Tox. p. 43.


22. Toxophilus, p. 45.

23. See Chapter Two.

27. Toxophilus, p. 135.
29. Toxophilus, p. 133.
30. ibid. p. 79.
32. Toxophilus, p. 49.
33. ibid. p. 49.
34. ibid. p. 49.
35. ibid. p. 51.
36. ibid. p. 51.
37. ibid. p. 51.
38. ibid. p. 53.
39. ibid. p. 53.
40. ibid. p. 53.
41. ibid. p. 143.
42. Rand, E.K., Founders of the Middle Ages, pp. 13, 105.
43. ibid. pp. 13, 105.
44. Giles, 3, p. 228.
47. Tox. p. 149.
48. ibid. pp. 149-50.
49. ibid. p. 151.
51. ibid. pp. 157-161.
52. ibid. p. 181.
53. ibid. p. 181.
54. ibid. p. 185.
55. ibid. p. 185.
56. ibid. p. 185.
57. Tox. p. 189.
58. ibid. p. 207.
59. ibid. pp. 245-249.
60. ibid. p. 301-307.
63. op.cit. p. 35.
74. Vos, see Note 68 p. 345.
75. Giles, pp. 131, 227, 269.
76. Elyot, op.cit. p. 34.
77. Giles, p. 186.
81. ibid. p. 18.
82. ibid. p. 21. Cortesi's Answer to Politian.
83. ibid. p. 20. Cortesi's Answer to Politian.
86. ibid. p. 2.
87. ibid. p. 3.
88. Toxophilus p. 357.
89. Erasmus, Ciceronianus, p. 384.
90. ibid. p. 384.
95. ibid. p. 510.
98. Boyd and King, op.cit. p. 221.
102. Hatch, p. 619. Letter to Cardinal Pole, 9th April, 1555. See also Hatch, p. 559, to Cuthbert Tunstall, 12th March, 1554, and to Lord Paget, 14th Nov. 1553. The substance of the paragraph on Osorio is repeated in all these letters, which Hatch (p. 557) believes stem from a single first draft. Letter to Sir William Petrie, Nov. 1553.
112. *ibid. III.XIV.*
115. Toxophilus, p. 3.
117. Toxophilus, p. 33.
118. *ibid. p. 127.*
120. *ibid. p. 183.*
123. *ibid. pp. 61-3.*
129. Garin, E., op.cit. p. 64.
130. Elyot, Sir Thomas, op.cit. Proem, p. XIII.
132. Merrill, opposed this view: "In the second book of his dialogues, Ascham lays aside the shackles of his classicism". *The Dialogue in English Literature*, New Haven, 1911, p. 76.

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TOXOPHILUS AND THE SPECULUM PRINCIPIS.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASCHAM, ERASMUS AND MACHIAVELLI.

The classical background of Toxophilus would limit its appeal and understanding to the educated and informed reader, and Ascham, possibly realising this, indicated at the very beginning of the Treatise the specific groups for whom it was intended, namely, "all Gentlemen and Yeomen of England."¹

In Tudor England, the term "gentlemen" was used to describe not only those of "gentle" birth, the nobility, but also members of various social groups called "the gentry", and professional men such as lawyers.² During the course of the sixteenth century, the social recognition of the scholar resulted in the emergence of the "scholar-gentlemen", the type described by Castiglione.³ The Yeomen were originally servitors or retainers, persons giving honourable rather than menial service, but in the fourteenth century the primary meaning of the word was military in nature,⁴ since it was from this group that the armies of archers were drawn. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, the term was often used to describe rank or status in rural society, and was applied to those who were qualified to vote for the knight or squire and to serve on juries, because they possessed free land to the value of forty shillings.⁵ The acquisition of land provided the yeomen with the financial means to educate their sons, so at times there was no clear-cut division
between the so-called gentlemen and the yeomen. However, since the yeomen were the archers who formed the backbone of the victorious English armies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is clear that in his initial address, Ascham used the term in its military connotation, while the "gentlemen" he addressed would not necessarily have been restricted to a particular caste but would have included all those who conformed to the humanistic ideal programme of living.

The ideal gentlemen, according to the humanist concept, was one who combined the training of the mind with physical strength and skill, and this ideal was gradually expanded to include an active interest and participation in public affairs in order to render service to the nation. This was the "governor" portrayed in Elyot's The Book named the Governor, published in 1531, and it continued the tradition of the medieval Speculum Principis genre, but developed it by amalgamating two classes of medieval society, the Christian Prince (who could be an Emperor or the ruler of a tiny principality) and the hero of the medieval romance, the knight. Besides the early examples of the genre in classical literature, and works by renowned writers such as Augustine, Aquinas, Erasmus, and Machiavelli, there were also examples by English authors, such as Alcuin's Letters, not specifically called Speculum Principis, but addressed to the young kings of the small kingdoms into which England was divided at that time, and his Rhetoric, a "guide-book" for the great Charlemagne. John of Salisbury's Polycraticus (c. 1110-1180) was an influential work in the genre, and also
Thomas Hoccleve's poem, De Regimine Principum (?1370-?1450), George Ashby's The Active Policy of a Prince (date uncertain but probably c. 1453-1471), and John Skelton's Speculum Principis, addressed to the Princes Arthur and Henry in 1501. I have found no evidence that Ascham had read Ashby's Treatise; if he had, he would have rejoiced in the fact that the author advocated compulsory archery and deplored gaming, just as he himself did:

By law every man should be compelled  
To use the bow and shooting for disport,  
And all insolent plays repelled,  
And each town to have Butts for resort  
Of every creature for their comfort,  
Especially for all our defence  
Established before of great prudence.

(I have modernised the spelling.)

Ascham's Toxophilus forms no part of the Speculum Principis genre per se, since it is a Treatise on archery, yet it contains a portrait of the Prince, sometimes addressed directly to Henry VIII, at other times interspersed with the history of archery, or integrated into the dialogue of the two interlocutors, Toxophilus and Philologus. A comparative study of the Prince of Toxophilus in relation to Erasmus' Christian Prince and Machiavelli's Il Principe, two diametrically opposed examples of the Speculum Principis genre, will reveal aspects which the Archer-Prince has in common with the Prince delineated by both authors, in particular, Ascham's kinship with Machiavelli, despite his condemnation of him in his later works. However, Ascham differs from both Erasmus and Machiavelli in that he also addressed the nobility and those who held positions of responsibility in
the state:

Seeing that Lords be lanterns to lead the life of mean men by their example, either to goodness or badness, to whithersoever they list, and seeing also they have liberty to list what they will, I pray God they have will to list that which is good.21

Toxophilus is also different, and is outstanding among all other works of this kind because in his use of the term "yeomen" in its military connotation, Ascham was the only writer of his time who addressed the ordinary man. His Sport's Treatise may therefore be regarded as a fusion of parts of the Speculum Principis and Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, with the added dimension of the inclusion of the solid English Yeoman.

Erasmus' The Education of the Christian Prince is a typical example of the Speculum Principis genre, and follows the tradition of medieval writers like Aquinas and his pupil, Aegidius Colonna.22 However, the author offers a total challenge in his delineation of the ideal Prince with the emphasis on the word "Christian", a result of his encounter with the New Testament in his Paraphrase of the Four Gospels, published simultaneously with The Education of the Christian Prince.23 Whether or not the reflection of Machiavelli's Il Principe was a distortion in the Mirror of Princes has been the subject of much discussion and many divergent points of view. A.H. Gilbert sees Il Principe as typical of the genre in intention, content and style.24 Alberico Gentile believes that Machiavelli was unmasking the figure of a tyrant in order to warn suffering people,25 an interpretation as fantastic as it is incorrect, and
Bertrand Russell calls *Il Principe* a "handbook for gangsters". One of Machiavelli's most reputable biographers, Roberto Ridolfi, regards him as a genuine Christian with his own brand of Christianity. Certainly, Machiavelli's Treatise conforms to the usual pattern of the genre, with its division into chapters, each with its standard heading, but instead of the image of the ideal virtuous ruler, there emerges a War-lord, one who, although attempting to contain violence, is not afraid to use it if he can do so effectively. The new Prince is a creative, political ruler who is independent of any established or practised moral order, in whom the attributes of the lion and the fox are combined.

As one of the Cambridge group of humanists, Ascham was an ardent admirer of Erasmus, and was familiar with his writing, but it is not likely that he had read Machiavelli's *Il Principe* before publishing *Toxophilus* in 1545. Had he done so, he would surely have commented on it, as he did in *A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany*, written in 1553 but not published until 1570:

And therefore for any Religion earnest setters forth of present time: with consciences confirmed with Machiavelli's doctrine to think, say and do whatsoever may serve best for profit or pleasure.

Lo, such be these Machiavelli's heads, who think no man to have so much wit as he should, except he do more mischief than he need.

If Duke Maurice had had a Machiavelli's head or a coward's heart, he would have worn a bloodier sword than he did.

In *The Schoolmaster*, Ascham refers to Machiavelli and
Albert Pighius as "two indifferent Patriarchs" who portray "open contempt of God's work". Laurence Ryan, in his standard biography of Ascham, points out Ascham's debt to Machiavelli in his two later works, and the dilemma this presented to the Cambridge don who disapproved of amorality in politics but was realistic enough to believe that "at times, the bolder rather than the more honest venture may be necessary to secure victory for a worthy enterprise". Ryan does not, however, refer to any Machiavellian theories in Toxophilus, probably because Ascham makes no reference to the Florentine in this work. Nevertheless, the martial virtues which Ascham advocates in Toxophilus are more in alignment with Machiavelli's War-lord than with Erasmus' Prince of Peace, although, at the same time, many of Ascham's opinions and conceptions are a product of the particular brand of humanism peculiar to Tudor England. Referring to A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany, Emile Gasquet states that Ascham had a divided conscience, which many of those who succeeded him also had, because he could not reconcile moral traditional teaching with historical truth. There is no evidence of this in Toxophilus, although there is the dilemma of realising his objective to restore archery in England to its former status, and accepting the fact that there were

Other strong weapons, which both experience doth prove to be good and the wisdom of the King's Majesty and his Council provides to be had.

The common characteristic of all three authors is that their works were a response to a particular situation, and were directly connected with the political conditions under
which they were written. Just as the nature and genesis of Machiavelli's *Il Principe* cannot be divorced from the political events of Italy in general and of Florence in particular, so also *Toxophilus* involves a series of national interests, and could not be adapted to any country but England, or to any historical period but that of Henry VIII. Unlike Erasmus, who wrote in Latin, the language of educated men, both Ascham and Machiavelli wrote in the vernacular, and although, as Ercole says, "the patria was the limit and basis of Machiavelli's thought", the ideas of *Il Principe* have a universal appeal, either regarding their application or for purposes of controversy. Conversely, Ascham's Treatise, written "in the English tongue for Englishmen", is acclaimed more for its prose style than for its content, and achieved for its author the title of "the first English essayist". Erasmus was about to become tutor to the young Prince, the future Emperor Charles V, and he hoped that as a result of the teaching in *The Education of the Christian Prince*, the future Emperor would acquire the wisdom which would enable him to "rule beneficiently" and to keep his Empire "bloodless and peaceful". His *Speculum* was intended to reflect for his pupil

the likeness of a pure and Christian Prince, which the excellent Prince would happily recognise, or wisely imitate as a young man always eager to better himself.

When Ascham's *Toxophilus* was published in 1545, Henry VIII was already in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and the political environment of Tudor England bore no
resemblance whatsoever to that surrounding either Erasmus or Machiavelli. Tudor humanism had developed in the context of the Reformation of the English Church, yet it embraced the broader aims of Continental Humanism.45 As a result of the Act of Supremacy of 1534, the King became Head of the Church of England, and therefore acquired a more important role than ever before in the history of that country. But he was not, and never could be Machiavelli's Prince, who was above the law. As Elton points out, the potential absolutism of the Tudor Kingship, inherited from the Middle Ages,46 was limited by the belief that the King was subject to the laws of England and could not meddle with them.47 The King-in-Parliament had legislative supremacy, and he could not act outside of the common law. This principle is very clear in Toxophilus, as Ascham continually addresses "the King and his Council".48 He speaks of the Statutes regarding archery as

that thing which the King's wisdom and his Council so greatly laboreth to go forward, which thing surely they do because they know it to be in war the defence and wall of our country.49

(The underlining is my own.)

Ascham's approach to and acceptance of the Tudor idea of Monarchy would have been alien to Machiavelli, for whom man's political salvation depended on good laws, which, in their turn, depended on the military strength of the ruler.50 Having stated his thesis that "there cannot be good laws where there are not good arms",51 he then dismisses the question of laws as unimportant:
I will not now discuss the laws but will speak of the arms.\(^2\)

Erasmus had no such opinions, and devoted an entire chapter of his treatise to the "enacting and emending of laws", in which he said that the Prince himself must obey the laws.\(^3\)

He was in favour of limited monarchy in order to prevent the ruler from becoming a tyrant, and he thought that absolutism was possible only if the Prince was a charismatic figure with outstanding qualities.\(^4\)

Machiavelli preferred Republics,\(^5\) but conceded that there were situations in which a strong Prince like Duke Valentino (i.e. Cesare Borgia) or a Medici would be preferable to a weak Republic.\(^6\)

On matters of God and religion, there is a great divide between Ascham and Machiavelli. Since politics and religion were fused in the person of Henry VIII, Supreme Head of the Church of England, there was no other way to approach political writing in England except by the fusion of both, and Tudor writers and pamphleteers used principles and doctrines of religion as cornerstones for fundamental arguments.\(^7\)

God was always present to the Tudor author, and the universal well-being of the commonwealth depended on His Will. Nowhere is this more evident that in the opening words of Toxophilus, Ascham's Dedication of his Treatise to Henry VIII.\(^8\) In this, he uses the various titles of the King found in the Acts of Parliament, with a few minor alterations:

To the most gracious and dread Sovereign Lord, King Henry VIII, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England and also of
And the conclusion of the Dedication expresses a similar sentiment, joined with a denunciation of heresy and Papacy, perhaps meant as evidence of Ascham's wholehearted commitment to the cause of the English Reformation and to the Monarch who had accomplished it. Erasmus' Christianity is founded entirely on the teaching of the Gospels, and his model is the person of Christ who taught the great Commandment of Love. It is this model which he holds before the young Prince. God and religion are not entirely absent in *Il Principe*, but the logic of things replaces the Divine Will, and "unarmed prophets" are conquered while "armed prophets" succeed. For Ascham, God is always present, and His Divine Providence guarantees the right order of things and events.

One of the most distinctive features of early Tudor humanism was the attitude to war, and the efforts of its exponents to obtain reform by peaceful methods. John Colet was one of the first in England to express the humanist view of war as evil and unchristian, from which no good could possibly emanate. This was also Erasmus' attitude towards war in *The Education of the Christian Prince* but his pacifism posed the problem of trying to reconcile the image of the Christian Prince living in accordance with the ideals of the Gospel, and the fact that war may be unavoidable under certain circumstances, or even justifiable if the ruler has to defend his rights. (By "rights" he means the defence and well-being of the people.) While Erasmus attacks war from an ethical point...
of view, Machiavelli sees no mutual obligations between the Prince and his subjects except those imposed by fear.\(^6\)\(^7\) His attitude towards war springs from a keen insight into the political situation both in Italy and in Europe, and to him Erasmus' Christian Prince would have appeared as a figment of the imagination rather than a real politician entrusted with government. Both authors crystallised their ideas about war in later works,\(^6\)\(^8\) Machiavelli always perpetuating "the economy of violence",\(^6\)\(^9\) Erasmus still basing his ethics on the two great commandments, love God and love your neighbour.\(^7\)\(^0\) The difference in the motivation of the two Princes is very evident in the recommendation by Machiavelli that the Prince should know the geography of his country in order to prepare for war;\(^7\)\(^1\) Erasmus advocates the same knowledge so that the ruler can understand the problems of his people.\(^7\)\(^2\)

There is no dilemma for Ascham about the morality of war or the building up of arsenals. He reiterates the idea that the use of archery in peacetime is but a preparation for its efficient use in time of war.\(^7\)\(^3\) It is significant that he addresses his treatise to the Gentlemen and Yeomen of England since both groups played an important role in the military ventures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is a certain nostalgia in this address, a desire to relive the glorious victories of Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt. The wisdom of the Prince is, in Ascham's view, the first requisite for victory in battle, and since he extols the "godly wisdom" of Henry VIII,

by whom God hath wrought more wonderful things than ever by any Prince before,\(^7\)\(^4\)
it is implicit that he ascribes the King's recent victory to this wisdom. While admitting that there is nothing worse than war, and, like Erasmus, enumerating the consequent evils, he regards it as a "civil medicine", a remedy for the Prince to ward off danger to his realm and defend his rights. There is no need to define these rights; the King has just returned from the victorious campaign referred to in the Dedication. For Ascham, the Prince is the traditional War-lord similar to Machiavelli's *Il Principe*. Referring to the warfare of the Jews, he quotes Biblical authority for terming war to be just:

> God is pleased with wise and witty feats of war,

exactly what Erasmus had rejected as unchristian. There is an echo of Machiavelli's opening words of Chapter XIV in the advice of Isocrates, which Ascham quotes, namely that a Prince must be a warrior in two things: in cunning and knowledge of the strategy of war, and in having all the necessary equipment for warfare. Compare this with "What the Duties of a Prince are with regard to the Militia":

> A Prince should therefore have no other aim or thought, nor take up any other thing for his study, but war and its order and discipline, for that is the only art necessary to one who commands...He ought, therefore, never to let his thoughts stray from the exercise of war; and in peace he ought to practise it more than in war.

This is in line with Ascham's premise that peacetime archery is an exercise for efficient warfare. The experience of "haunting the wars" is proposed by Ascham as a means for "valiant captains" to learn strategy, just as
Machiavelli recommends that the Prince ought to go to war in person and "perform the duty of captain." Erasmus is diametrically opposed to this idea and states that the wisdom of Princes will be too costly for the world if they persist in learning from experience how dreadful war is.

It is a coincidence that Ascham recommends, among other authors, Vegetius, in whose treatise, De Re Militari, Machiavelli found inspiration for his later work, *The Art of War*. There is, however, a difference between Ascham's interpretation of the actions of Scipio Africanus and Machiavelli's presentation of him. The latter regards him as one who made the inexcusable mistake of showing too great forbearance, and thus losing his army in Spain, whereas Ascham portrays him as a hero of warfare, one who exacted and obtained blind obedience from his soldiers. This consideration leads Ascham to the qualities desirable in a Prince. The obedience of the soldiers depends on these; it is nourished by love which stems from his wisdom, righteousness and liberality, and by the fear of his justice and equity. Erasmus also provides a list of the virtues desirable in the Christian Prince, all of which can be summed up in the sentence:

No-one can be a Prince unless he is a good man.

There can be no question of Erasmus' Prince inspiring fear because, if he is a Christian, he believes only in the Love of the Gospel teaching, which, as St. John says, "casteth out all fear". "Is it better to be feared than loved?" asks Machiavelli, and he answers his own question by saying
that because it is difficult for the two to go together, "it is much safer to be feared than loved".\textsuperscript{90}

The question of the Turks receives no attention in \textit{Il Principe}, and they are mentioned only as an example of a certain type of government,\textsuperscript{91} but the war against the Turks is a matter of concern for both Ascham and Erasmus. Ascham's approach follows medieval thought,\textsuperscript{92} and his emotional outpourings resemble Erasmus' sentiments only in so far as he blames the sins of Christendom for the Turkish invasion, using a variation of St. Paul's maxim:\textsuperscript{93}

If God were with us, it booted not the Turk to be against us.\textsuperscript{94}

The Turks are "Christ's open enemy" and only Divine intervention can deliver the Christian world from their barbarity.\textsuperscript{95} But Ascham's diatribe against the Turk, like so many passages in \textit{Toxophilus}, cannot be taken at face value. He blames the fact that Englishmen have fallen into evil "Turkishness" on their "contemning of knowledge and learning",\textsuperscript{96} that is, on corruption of judgement and culpable ignorance, thereby showing how much he believed in the power of sound judgement and learning to change the world. Erasmus does not believe that "even against the Turks" should the Christian Prince rashly go to war; rather he should first demonstrate that he is a genuine Christian, and then, "if it seems best, attack the Turks".\textsuperscript{97} This is a compromise since he is convinced that "Christ is in both camps, as if He were fighting against Himself." Ascham's conscience is not divided between the teaching of the Gospel and the reality of the political conditions which
need a solution, so there is no vacillation in his attitude to the Turks.

Machiavelli is less learned than either Ascham or Erasmus in his use of classical and historical sources. He was not proficient in Greek and read Greek authors in their Latin translation, and although he affirms that he had studied and reflected upon antiquity (and wrote his chapter headings in Latin perhaps to prove this), he manipulates examples and figures from the classics and history to suit his own ends. Ascham and Erasmus were both classical scholars, and Ryan’s suggestion that the success of Toxophilus is due to Ascham’s “conscious and deliberate following of classical models” is valid. But his contention that Ascham was not “an original thinker” needs qualification. Since his history of archery, woven skilfully into the fabric of his Sport’s Treatise, is based mainly on the world of the classics, and since he tried to bring classical discipline to his vernacular style, for which he had no previous model, Toxophilus is unique. All the references to the classics are in the marginalia, and, with a few exceptions, are scrupulously exact. The inclusion of mythical characters does not detract from his history of the longbow. No doubt he included them because, like Erasmus, who recommended the reading of ancient myths for the young Prince, he believed they had lessons for all mankind. But Erasmus’ use of examples from the classics differs considerably from that of Ascham. Although he uses Plato as his main source, with Cicero, Seneca and Plutarch next, Erasmus rarely quotes directly from the classical authors, but rather paraphrases their material, and whereas
Ascham quotes at length from the Old Testament Erasmus is more concerned with New Testament teaching. He uses characters from antiquity, like Croesus, Carneades, Augustus and Tiberias for the sole purpose of enabling the Prince to learn a moral lesson from them by rescuing what is good from their example. Machiavelli is concerned only with those characters who, through their own virtù and not through fortune, became Princes, and of these he gives four examples, Moses, Cyrus, Romulus and Theseus. Classical works contribute less to Il Principe than more recent events.

Ascham believed in the power of history to teach, and although he did not deliberately adopt the role of historiographer in Toxophilus as he did in his later work, A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany, his delineation of the history of archery follows the rules for the writing of history which he affixed in a prefatory letter to John Astley. Among these rules is first, to write nothing false, then to mark the causes, to learn lessons for the future, and to keep "truly the order of time". At the same time, he follows Aristotelian principles in his use of "inartificial proofs", that is, those which are already in existence and only need to be made use of, such as ancient and recent witnesses. His narration of the history of the bow and arrow is in strict chronological order, and he traces its origins to Apollo and Jupiter, to authorities among poets and historians, and describes its use among the Jews, Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans, by eminent Princes, military leaders, poets and dramatists. From these he arrives at the role of archery
as a decisive factor in the history of England, and here he
uses "recent witnesses" like John Major, Hector Boece,
Gaguinus and Sir Thomas Elyot. His conclusion to the
history of archery in Book A is a succinct summary of what
has gone before, a cultural synopsis gleaned from his
prolific reading of the classics:

And thus you see, Philologe, in all countries, Asia, Africa and Europe, in Inde, Ethiopia, Egypt
and Jewry, Parthia, Persia, Greece and Italy, Scythia, Turkey and England, from the beginning
of the world even to this day, that shooting hath had the chief stroke in war.

The use of the dialogue form enables him to present both
sides of every argument and thus aim for historical truth:

PHI: These examples surely apt for the praise of
shooting, not feigned by poets, but proved by
true histories, distinct by time and order, hath
delighted me exceeding much.

(The underlining is my own.)

On the other hand, Machiavelli uses history only to
serve the purpose of his political theories, and he fits
the facts to these when occasion demands it. He does
not evaluate circumstances and events in history, and
deduces certain principles from the behaviour of historical
personages which, apart from being incorrect, are also
ludicrous. Unless one regards his treatment of Cesare
Borgia as deliberate satire, it is difficult to explain his
reasons for making a hero of him, given that all Italians
knew the truth, namely that his folly and his undisciplined
troops had been responsible for massacres in Tuscany, so
much so that the Tuscan peasants attacked them on one
occasion, and tore them to pieces. Machiavelli did not
understand, like Ascham, that "examples out of history do show a thing to be so, not prove why it should be so,"114 and Chabod's opinion that "his irony and disdain are the reactions of a man who is outside the immediate conflict"115 is unacceptable. The last emotional chapter of Il Principe contradicts this. Neither Ascham nor Machiavelli is remembered as a historian, nor indeed is Erasmus, the theologian and reformer, but in recording events Ascham is like Raleigh; he speaks of history as "the glorification of human endeavour, the preserver of fame, the conqueror of time."116 What is evident in the work of both Ascham and Machiavelli is that they both had a national aspiration, Machiavelli to revive the Republic of Ancient Rome, Ascham to reinstate the longbow as the national weapon, side by side with the new artillery, but both were doomed to disappointment. Yet Ascham achieved what the Florentine did not, a search for right standards of judgement.

On the question of education, Machiavelli's treatise stands in sharp contrast to those of Ascham and Erasmus. Humanists like them were often chosen as tutors for princes and nobles, so the matter of education was of considerable importance to them and often featured in their writings. The very title of Erasmus' Speculum shows that he placed his chief hope for the future Emperor in his education, and, like Ascham, he was convinced of the important role of the tutor because he believed that "the art of ruling has to be learned".117 Machiavelli made no mention of the education of Il Principe, except that he recommended him to
exercise his intellect by reading histories, in order to study in them

the actions of eminent men, see how they acted in warfare, examine the causes of their victories and losses in order to imitate the former and avoid the latter.\textsuperscript{118}

This omission seems to imply that the political creativity of the ruler depends on his own talents and personality rather than on a formal education. Although Ascham's main educational treatise is \textit{The Schoolmaster}, there are many references to "the bringing up of youth" in \textit{Toxophilus}. Archery is not separated from learning; "the Book and the Bow" go together,\textsuperscript{119}

by which two things the whole commonwealth is chiefly ruled and defended withal.\textsuperscript{120}

The goose is a symbol for both activities; her feathers are used for shafts, her quills for writing.\textsuperscript{121} Archery involves mental as well as physical exercise, the whole man, and Philologe's plea to Toxophilus teach me to shoot as fair and well-favouredly as you can imagine,\textsuperscript{122}

embraces not only sport but learning as well. It is significant that in his Dedication he requests the King to accept his "little book" as

some sign of my mind towards honesty and learning.\textsuperscript{123}

Just as Erasmus recommends that the tutor should discover the prince's "leanings",\textsuperscript{124} Ascham also requires the youth of England to develop the aptness for archery with which
Nature endowed them. An alert mind depends on good physical exercise, and

by shooting is the mind honestly exercised, wherein a man always desireth to be best.¹²⁵

Both Ascham and Erasmus emphasise the necessity of training children while they are young, since this is the best "seed time", when it is easier to eliminate bad habits.¹²⁶ Even princes should be trained in archery when they are children, since this trains

the body to hardness, the mind to courageousness.¹²⁷

Erasmus also believes in the value of early education:

There is no time better to shape and improve a Prince than when he does not realise himself a Prince.¹²⁸

The moral training, which is an essential part of Erasmus' educational theory,¹²⁹ is also acquired by learning archery, because the roots of vice inherent in undesirable pastimes like gaming, are plucked up and destroyed, and youth are saved from corruption.¹³⁰ But Ascham is more realistic than Erasmus and insists that practical experience should accompany book learning.¹³¹ At the same time, he emphasises that archery is for leisure and must not take precedence over studies.¹³² In the tradition of Vives,¹³³ both authors condemn "books of feigned chivalry" and are in agreement that in monasteries, where Ascham believes these books originate,¹³⁴ there is "a peculiar form of idleness", especially
Aptness, desire and fear are the three things, according to Ascham, by which a child is brought to excellency; aptness allows him to be moulded because it makes him pliable, desire inspires him with the ambition to be better than his companions, and fear of his tutor encourages diligence in learning. Erasmus would not have approved of this formula for education. The idea of the young child as a piece of wax to be fashioned according to the whim of a man, would have been anathema to him. Rather he advises the tutor to discover both the good and bad qualities of the Prince so as to develop the first and uproot the second.

Finally, there is the question of the education of the nobility. This idea was developed in Ascham's later work, The Schoolmaster, but there is the embryo of the idea in Toxophilus. Those in positions of responsibility have a duty to serve the state, and must be educated in order to carry out their duties efficiently:

Scholars and laymen have divers offices and charges which require divers bringing up in their youth, if they shall do them as they ought to do in their age.

Ill-judgement on the part of parents who force children to study when they are unfit for learning, results in unfit people having responsibilities, particularly in the area of ecclesiastical offices, and thus the welfare of the whole commonwealth is at stake. Both Ascham and Erasmus are in total agreement that the good life of a certain man would be...
should not be set before the pupil as a model, but rather "goodness itself"\textsuperscript{140} but there is a difference in their conceptions of what goodness is. For Erasmus, it involves living the Gospel teaching, as portrayed by Christ, to the full;\textsuperscript{141} for Ascham, it is one of the Absolutes argued a priori by Aristotle in the \textit{Nichomachean Ethics}\textsuperscript{142}.

Ascham, Erasmus and Machiavelli were divided in spirit and nationality, in their ideas about religion and politics. Of the three, Ascham had the most realistic and holistic vision of man. Machiavelli did not see the nature of things, only the effects, and his political theories were full of unresolved antinomies and intrinsic contradictions. Erasmus only saw the image of God in man's soul, and took no heed of the effects of Original Sin. But Ascham, although he did not give as succinct a picture of the Prince as both Erasmus and Machiavelli did, nevertheless established the ideal of the educated man in whom the Book and the Bow were joined together to produce "the Complete Gentleman".

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1. Toxophilus, pp. 15, 17.
8. The Speculum Principis is the name given to a genre in political literature which is a literary statement on the nature of princes and princeship. Efforts to trace the origins of this name for handbooks for princes have been unsuccessful although various conjectures have been made, among them that this title was first given to instruction books for princes written in India. The early Specula were mainly religious and conveyed the idea of the mirror as a faithful reflector of human life. Vincent de Beauvais, the author of Speculum Majorus, defines the Speculum as follows:

Speculum quidem eo quod equicquid fere speculatone, edest admiratione vel imitatione dignum est.

(Speculum Majorus, Venetiis, MDXCI, Prologus, Liber Primus, Cap. 3, p. 1 [v]. The Prologue is entitled "De Modo Agendi et Titilo Libri").

Thus, the reflections seen in the mirror must not only be observed but must also become part of one's life.

See also:
9. See, for example, Isocrates' Ad Nicocles; Xenophon's Cyropedia, the Memorabilia, the Agesilaus, the Hiero, and the Deconomicus; Seneca's De
Clementia; Plutarch's Discourse to an Unlearned Prince, etc.


15. Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne concludes with the Queen of Sheba's speech to Solomon:

Beati viri tui, et beati fervi tui, his qui itant coram te semper, et audiunt sapientiam tuam.

See also:

Wallach, Luitpold, Alcuin and Charlemagne, Cornell University Press, 1968. Wallach considers that the Rhetoric must be classed as the oldest Carolingian Speculum Principis. G.L. Morrill, (Editor of A Study of the Title of the Poem Gy de Warweyke, E.E.T.S., 75, p. XXIII) says that Alcuin's Liber was never formally termed Speculum, but Lorentz, (Life of Alcuin, trans Mary Jane Slee, London, 1837) maintains that Alcuin's work was devised as a Mirror, and that to the mind of Alcuin it existed as such.


19. Skelton, John. Speculum Principis, ed. F.M. Salter, in Speculum, IX, 1934, pp. 25-37. Dyce, Rev. A. (Skelton's Poetical Works, 2 Vols. London, 1843) stated that Skelton's Speculum Principis had perished, but the MS, was found in the British Museum. (MS. No. ADD. 26, 787, Catalogue of Additions.) Salter believes that this was a revised edition, possibly that presented to Henry VIII, after he became King. The belief that Skelton was tutor to the young Princes, Arthur and Henry, is based on a letter to Erasmus, in Opus Epistolarum Desiderius Erasmus Rotterdami, 7 Vols. Oxford, 1906, ed.

20. Ashby, op.cit. p. 31, Lines 569-575. Ashby's work has many features in common with Toxophilus. The author has a respect for history and believes that it teaches circumspection. (p. 19, Lines 204-10, p. 20, Lines 232-8). He urges moderation in Music, (p. 39. Lines 849-54) and names Chaucer, with Gower and Lydgate, as "premier poets of the nation". (p. 13, Lines 1-7). He discusses the good of the Commonwealth, (p. 37, Lines 772-8) emphasises the importance of reading the Bible, (p. 17, Lines 127-33) and discusses grounds for going to war. (p. 34, Lines 674-80).


23. E.C.P. pp. 152, 153. Whenever you think of yourself as a Prince, remember you are a Christian Prince...'Who is truly Christian?...the man who has embraced Christ in the innermost feelings of his heart, and who emulates him by his pious deeds.


30. Ascham called him "the ornament of learning in our time" (Giles, 3, p. 214) and again, "the honour of learning in all our time." (ibid. p. 137.)

31. Although the Cambridge History of Literature states that "no work had a profounder influence on the thought and policy of Tudor England than Machiavelli's Prince," (Vol. IV, Ch. 1 The Translators by Charles Whibley), there are very few references to him or his works in the State Papers. The first is in a letter from Cardinal Pole to the Emperor Charles V, dated 1st Feb. 1539, (L. and P. Foreign and Domestic, Vol. XIV,
Part I, p. 83) in which he said that Cromwell advised him to read a book "by an ingenious modern writer", if he wished to learn the practical art of government. The Cardinal stated that he understood what Cromwell meant when he had read the book which Cromwell had so commended. He did this afterwards as Cromwell did not send it. "The name inscribed on it was Machiavelli." 

A letter from Henry Lord Morley to Cromwell, dated Feb. 13th of the same year (ibid. p. 110) recommends De Principe as "surely a good thing for your Lordship and for our Sovereign Lord in Council." Writing to the Privy Council in 1540, John Leghe, a prisoner in the Tower, records Pole's advice to him not to read the story of Machiavelli "which had already poisoned all Christendom". (ibid. Vol. XV. pp. 336-7)

Gasquet credits Ascham with the first dissemination of Anti-Machiavellianism in England in 1553. (Litterature anglaises du XVIIe Siecle, p. 110). A work called A Machiavellian Treatise, written between November 1553 and November 1555, (according to its translator and editor, Peter Donaldson, Cambridge, 1975) is attributed to Stephen Gardiner, although both the authorship and the date have been called in question by Dermot Fenlon. (Historical Journal, 19, 4, 1976, pp. 1019-1037). This treatise was a private manual of advice for Philip of Spain and contained some three thousand words quoted directly (but without acknowledgement) from Machiavelli's Il Principe and Discourses. (See Peter Donaldson, "Bishop Gardiner, Machiavellian," Historical Journal, 23, 1, 1980, pp. 1-16. While Donaldson presents an argument for the authenticity of the authorship, he concedes that absolute proof of this is not likely to emerge. p. 2.) John Strype, in his biography of Sir Thomas Smith, gives an inventory of the works in Smith's Library, with the date of 1st Aug. 1566. Among them is Il Principe. (The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith, Oxford, 1820, Appendix VI, pp. 274-81).

32. Giles, 3, p. 50.
33. ibid. p. 59.
34. ibid. p. 61.
35. ibid. p. 163.
37. Gasquet, Emile. op.cit. p. 5.
38. Toxophilus, p. 15.
40. Toxophilus, p. 11.
42. E.C.P. p. 133.
43. ibid. p. 135.
44. ibid. p. 136.
47. John of Salisbury, Polycraticus, Chapter VI states that the Prince is established in his seat by God.
48. Toxophilus, pp. 9, 15, 61 etc.
49. ibid. p. 61.
50. Prince, p. 47.
51. ibid. p. 47.
52. ibid. p. 47.
53. E.C.P. pp. 221-234.
54. ibid. p. 221.
56. ibid. p. 19.
57. Describing the duties, education and virtues of "Governors", Sir Thomas Elyot wrote:

   From God only proceedeth all honour.

   (The Book named the Governor, ed. S.E. Lemberg, London, 1962, p. 95)

and Sir John Cheke expresses the same sentiment in more emotional terms:

   Whosoever the causes be that have moved your wild affections herein...the thing itself, the rising I mean, must needs be wicked and horrible before God, and the usurping of authority, and taking in hand of rule, which is the sitting in God's seat of justice, and a proud climbing up into God's throne, must needs be not only cursed newly by Him, but also hath been punished afore of him. And that which is done to God's officer God accounteth done to Him.


Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is...governed by one Supreme Head and King...unto whome a body politic compact of all sorts and degrees of people...be bounden and owen to bear next to God, a natural and humble obedience.

31 Henry VIII c8. 1539, p. 726.

good and politic order and governance of this his Realm of England, Wales and other his Dominions from time to time.

34 Henry VIII cl 1542, p. 894.
An Act of the Advancement of the True Religion and for the Abolishment of the Contrary.
Where the King's most Royal Majesty, our gracious and natural Sovereign liege Lord, Supreme Head of the Church of England and also of Ireland, according to God's word and Christ's Gospel.

31 Henry VIII c14 1539, p. 739.

An Act abolishing diversity in Opinions...to be effectual in Wales and other the King's Dominions.

(The underlining is my own.)

60. Tox. p. 13.
63. ibid. passim.
64. ibid. p. 22.
67. Prince p. 66.
68. Erasmus, Against War, 1533-34, ed. J.W. Mackail, Boston, 1907.
70. E.C.P. pp. 205-207.
71. Prince p. 58.
73. Toxophilus, p. 15.
74. ibid. p. 183.
75. E.C.P. p. 250.
76. Toxophilus, p. 125.
77. ibid. p. 7.
78. ibid. p. 145.
81. Prince, p. 57.
82. Toxophilus, p. 125.
84. E.C.P. p. 250.
85. Prince p. 67.
86. Toxophilus, pp. 127-129.
87. ibid. p. 129.
88. E.C.P. p. 189.
89. 1. John, 4:18.
90. Prince p. 66.
91. ibid. pp. 15-16.
92. This idea that the cause of war was man's sin and therefore a punishment from God was formulated by St. Augustine. Medieval schoolmen "took over from Augustine their basic doctrine of war and peace." (Adams, Robert. The Better Part of Valour, Washington, 1962, p. 9.) St. Augustine The City of God, Bk 1, Ch. XXI, Bk. 3, Ch. XXIV. Bk. XIX, Ch. VII.
93. Romans 8:31. If God is for us, who can be against us?
Letter to Francesco Vettori, Dec. 10th, 1513:
I enter the antique courts of the ancients and am welcomed by them...I have written down what I have gained from their conversation and composed a small work De Principatis...discussing the nature of princely rule, what form it takes, how these are acquired, how they are maintained, why they are lost. (cited in "Why did Machiavelli write the Prince?" The Listener, 20th April 1961, pp. 698-99).

It could be argued that Mallory provided a model of style in the Vernacular, but a classicist, intent on achieving form and order in his work by concise and purposeful writing, would find no precedent in the medieval romance which was, of its very nature, without proportion and order.

The problem with this interpretation has been pointed out by Mazzeo, Joseph Anthony, Renaissance and Revolution, N.Y. 1967, p. 92.

Mazzeo states that one man's virtu is another man's fortune. Ercole (op.cit.) believes that "fortune" in Machiavelli means the consequence of human interaction, and Mazzeo agrees with this theory. But as Machiavelli speaks of omens and portents in the last chapter of Il Principe, it seems that he is more convinced that it means "chance" rather than the actions which are the result of free will. His conclusions that it is half of each (p. 99) is a compromise.
112. See for example, pp. 29-31. Garrett Mattingly points out that the facts regarding the election of Pope Julius II and Duke Valentino are at odds with the facts of history and with Machiavelli's previous judgement of the Duke in his despatches:

The Duke who never kept faith with anyone is now obliged to rely on the faith of others...The Duke who never showed mercy now finds mercy his only hope.

("Machiavelli's Prince---Political Science or Political Satire?" American Scholar, Vol. 27, 1957-58, p. 489.)

113. ibid. p. 489.
120. ibid. p. 317.
121. ibid. p. 291.
122. ibid. p. 323.
123. ibid. p. 13.
126. ibid. p. 57.
129. ibid. p. 141.
131. ibid. pp. 337-341.
132. ibid. p. 77.
137. E.C.P. p. 145.

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CHAPTER FIVE

ASCHAM'S CONCEPT OF WORK AND LEISURE

The numerous courtesy books which were written in the sixteenth century were an expression of the humanist concept of the ideal gentleman, and they provided a statement of Renaissance values by listing all the accomplishments he required in order to fulfil his duties in the service of his country. In addition to academic training, physical strength and skill in suitable sporting activities were considered essential for the all-round development of the individual, and English exponents of the courtly ideal of physical perfection accommodated it to activities current in their own country.¹ Shooting with the longbow, which was the national weapon, was therefore considered a desirable exercise, even though it was an activity which had no social boundaries. In the context of our modern industrialised society, archery, the subject matter of Toxophilus, would be classified under the heading of leisure,² but in sixteenth century Tudor England the terms "work" and "leisure" took forms and meanings appropriate to their social setting; definitions of both terms are therefore "culture bound."³ For this reason, a consideration of the themes of work and leisure in Ascham's treatise involves, firstly, a review of the historical developments which shaped work and leisure in the first half of the sixteenth century, and secondly, an analysis of work and leisure philosophy in Toxophilus and the relationship of this philosophy to its cultural and

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historical setting.

The ambivalent idea of work as a consequence of sin but, at the same time, as part of God's purpose for man, and therefore as something good, was inherent in religious thought from earliest times. The story of the creation in the third chapter of Genesis portrays mankind as having been created for communion with God, and work as a retribution for breaking that communion. This concept can be found in the Talmud, and in the works of Homer and Xenophon, and it continued in the Judeo-Christian dialectic of the early Church. There was, however, another dimension of work in Christian teaching. Work was good because God had worked in creating the world, and it was necessary so that man could share his worldly goods with those who were less fortunate than himself, thus fulfilling Christ's command to love one's neighbour. The obligation of society to look after the poor was the subject of many literary works from Langland's *Piers Plowman* onwards. With the Reformation came the concept of work as a vocation, a life-task ordained by God. It was no longer a necessity but a positive activity, and it should be done well for the glory of God and the preservation of the individual's soul. The writings of Luther and Calvin were permeated with the concept that God calls people to their work in agriculture and commerce just as much as to prayer and Holy Orders. Haukyn in *Piers Plowman*, with his garments torn and soiled, was no longer a symbol of the active life. If work was dignified, so also was the worker, and admiration for him was accompanied by a contempt for and even a fear of idleness; Richard Morison
recommended hard work as a remedy for sedition.\textsuperscript{11} The theory that a waste of time represented a waste of an opportunity to win immortal life can be found in Piers Plowman,\textsuperscript{12} but the sixteenth century witnessed the theory in practice, so that by the seventeenth century Richard Baxter, the Presbyterian author of The Christian Directory, could thunder against

\textit{loss of time through sociabity, idle talk, luxury, or more sleep than is strictly necessary.}\textsuperscript{13}

When Ascham was writing Toxophilus, English society was in a period of transition between two economic and two religious systems, both of which influenced political developments. Moreover, society was dominated either by the threat of war or by actual warfare, and the sense of national consciousness was xenophobic. There is a record of the Scottish impression of Englishmen in 1521:

\textit{If in a foreign land they happen upon a man of parts and spirit, 'Tis pity,' they say, 'he's not an Englishman,'}\textsuperscript{14}

a patriotic sentiment which pervades the whole of Toxophilus. Agriculture was still the basis of the English economy, but a market economy was rapidly developing as a result of the growth of the cloth trade, the increasing demands for wool and the expansion of trade because of new explorations, discoveries and commercial ventures. Edmund Dudley's The Tree of the Commonwealth, written in 1509 while the author was in the Tower awaiting execution for treason, envisaged the social order in three states: the chivalry, the Church and the commonalty,\textsuperscript{15} but this was a
very simplistic analysis since it was a record of the status quo rather than of the development which was taking place. The transformation in the economy gave rise to a society of merchants and traders, small master-craftsmen, artisans, petty traders and dependent servants. The author of *A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England* stated that agriculture was not represented by the yeomen but by the peasant farmer or husbandman, and he reminded the interlocutors in the dialogue that society was in a state of flux and that there was a large class of landless peasants almost entirely dependent on wages for their livelihood. The lives of the rural population were made up of intense periods of labour on the land, or else times when the weather or seasons precluded any work whatsoever and Walter of Henley suggests a working year of forty-two weeks, which, allowing for the Sunday holiday, implies that one third of the year was spent in leisure in the sense of free time.

The By-Laws of English villages from the thirteenth century onwards indicate that work was meant to be a collective social responsibility, as these made it incumbent on all villagers to participate in the work of the harvest. However, evidence seems to indicate that labour services to overlords were extremely unpopular with those who had to discharge them. Walter of Henley states that labourers required supervision at all times because "customary servants neglect their work," and according to Coulton, the overseer in the Manor carried a stick. Bishop Pilkington of Durham (1520-1575), in his exposition of a phrase from Nehemiah, "And we will labour at the
work," (Nehemiah, IV. 21.) described the working habits of the typical sixteenth century English workman:

The labouring man will take his rest in the morning; a good part of the day is spent afore he come at his work; then must he have his breakfast, though he have not earned it, at his accustomed hour, or else there is grudging and murmuring: when the clock smiteth he will cast down his burden in the midway, and whatsoever he is in hand with, he will leave it as it is, though many times it is marred afore he come again; he may not lose his meat, what danger soever the work is in. At noon he must have his sleeping time, then his bever in the afternoon, which spendeth a great part of the day; and when his hour cometh at night, at the first stroke of the clock he casteth down his tools, leaveth his work, in what need or case soever the work standeth.22

De Grazia, writing in 1962, described the life of a shoemaker "who spent long periods without toil," and he concluded that "among non-industrial societies this way of working" was more common than is generally supposed.23

However, despite these accounts, a radical change was taking place in attitudes to work as a result of changes in the economy. The market economy which England was rapidly developing needed consistent and regular labour, and there was no place in such an economy for the celebration of innumerable religious festivals and Saints' Days. An order of 1536 abrogating them justified this action on the grounds that they provoked riot, idleness, sloth and superfluity, and thus led to the decay of industrial crafts.24 The Bible was used as an argument against holy days; there was no mention of them in Scripture, so their abolition was justified.25 There were opposing views among contemporary writers about this abolition.26 Strangely enough, Erasmus was in favour as he believed that labourers
were robbed of their regular earnings because of Church Festivals. In 1539, the Bishop of Exeter observed that artificers and labourers needed "spiritual instruction backed up by punishment to persuade them to work on Saints' Days."

If there was no Biblical authority for the observance of holy days, numerous Biblical texts could be found to justify the cessation of work on Sundays. The elevation of the Sabbath, known as Sabbatarianism, had its justification in Judaism several centuries before Christ, and observing a day of rest was motivated by a spirit of thanksgiving and gratitude. The Christian church had a long-established tradition, more or less religiously followed, concerning Sunday observance. Sabbatarianism in England was part of the creed of certain Lollard groups in what Hudson describes as "the premature Reformation." This author quotes from a famous Lollard called Pykas who proclaimed that "God never made holy days but [except] the Sunday, and no man else can make other." (Pykas adjured in 1527.)

It must not be thought, however, that the spread of Sabbatarianism rested solely on the diffusion of the Bible, which became available in the vernacular to a widespread readership as a result of the invention of the printing press. Although Biblical texts could be found to justify the observance of Sunday as a day of rest on which people abstained from manual work, it was actually the gradual change from the agricultural to the market economy which was responsible for the emphasis on Sabbatarianism. If the worker was to give maximum satisfaction, it was essential that he should have one day free on which he could
recuperate his strength for the coming week, and since God rested on the seventh day, this was a justification for the Sunday observance.

The free time on the day of rest was not to be viewed as an excuse to do nothing, but rather as an opportunity to devote the day completely to God's service. The Injunctions of 1547 declared that Sunday should be a day on which people should be made aware of their religious and social duties, a day of catechising and preaching:

Like as people be commonly occupied the workday with bodily labour for their bodily sustenance, so was the holyday at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained that the people should that day give themselves wholly to God. Sunday should be the day of spiritual labour for spiritual sustenance...People think they have sufficiently honoured God if they go to Church...Therefore all the King's faithful subjects shall from henceforth celebrate and keep their holyday according to God's Holy Will and pleasure, that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught, in private and public prayers...and godly conversation,33

and Bullinger declared that people should not engage in "outward or bodily works on the Sabbath in order to have the leisure to attend unto our spiritual business. For that cause is the outward rest commanded, that the spiritual work should not be hindered by bodily business."34 The propaganda necessary to implement Sunday observance was delivered by preachers in the numerous sermons which became extremely popular in the sixteenth century so much so that Richard Whytford exclaimed in 1530(?) that men should "keep the preachings rather than the Mass, if by case they may not hear both," and he advised employers to let their workers attend sermons "at
any time of the day" provided that they "be not occupied in needful and lawful business." Eventually, it became a recognised doctrine that every individual had a duty to work in order to make a contribution to the Commonwealth in particular, and to mankind in general.

In addition to ensuring that idleness was avoided, it was also necessary to allow for the mental and physical "re-creation" of the worker, and recreation was part of the cycle of work-recreation-work formulated in 1958 by the anthropologist Margaret Meade. Delves (1975) describes popular recreation in England before the Industrial Revolution as "public, improvised and inconclusive," but he has not distinguished between culture intended for the people and culture which came from the people, what Burke (1977) calls "mass culture" and "folk culture". Public ceremonies, spectacles and displays were mainly provided by public authority, and the Gilds organised leisure for their members by producing religious plays and spectacles which had both an entertainment and a moral value. Spectacles were also used as a "propaganda machine" by the authorities. Sir Richard Morison, a leading propagandist, proposed that the government should sponsor a series of pageants and plays which would dramatise "the good fortune of the English people in their deliverance from the bondage of the Papacy." According to Morison,

into the common people things sooner enter by the eyes than by the ears, remembering more better that they see than that they hear.

There is little evidence of Court participation in propagandist performances, although Morison's book came to
the attention of the King.\textsuperscript{42} With the execution of Cromwell in 1540, the propaganda campaign was relaxed and an Act of Parliament in 1543, two years before the publication of \textit{Toxophilus}, condemned

untrue opinions concerning religion in printed books, printed ballads, plays, rhymes, songs and other fantasies.\textsuperscript{43}

After the establishment of Henry VIII's supremacy, the extent and content of propaganda material fluctuated, according to the political situation on the Continent.\textsuperscript{44}

Whenever Royalty visited a town, plays and pageants were performed. In 1510, when Henry VIII and Catherine visited Coventry, "were three pageants set forth, one at Jordan Well with nine orders of angels, another at Broadgate with divers beautiful damsels, another at the Cross Cheeping with a goodly stage-play."\textsuperscript{45} The Princess Mary visited Coventry in 1526 and there saw "the mercers' pageant play being finely dressed in the Cross Cheeping."\textsuperscript{46} Edward Hall gives a description of Anne Boleyn's triumphant procession into London, the last spectacle of its kind.\textsuperscript{47} This involved a pageant of Mount Parnassus on which Apollo sat with Caliope at his feet.

Seasonal festivals such as Sheep-shearing in the Spring\textsuperscript{48} and the Harvest festival in the Autumn were all occasions of ritual and festivity, and sometimes it was difficult to draw a line between the end of work and the beginning of "pleasure" pursuits. Before 1536, the innumerable Saints' Days were marked by traditional celebrations, both in town and country. Christmas and Easter, Mayday and Midsummer's Day were often celebrated
with traditional games, and were usually under Church patronage in some way or another. The Ploughmen who danced on Plough Monday after the blessing of their implements, maintained a Plough Light in the Church with some of the money collected. In the same way, actors in the Summer Games paid for a Summer Light. Customary events like King's Ale at Whitsun, organised by Churchwardens, helped to defray Parish costs. The decline in these events was not simply due to the fact that they were deliberately suppressed. The reason was sometimes an economic one, as sales of food and drink were becoming less profitable due to inflation. Surviving Churchwardens' accounts testify to this.

Many recreational activities took place both in town and country. On Mayday, people went amaying, a custom which Stow approved of, but which Stubbs disapproved of. Stow regarded it as an opportunity to express gratitude to God for the beauties of nature, and to enjoy the flowers. Stubbs saw it as an opportunity for licentiousness and ill-doing. The planting of the Maypole was the chief ceremony. It was drawn by a team of oxen and set up on the village green to the accompaniment of music, but this was gradually abolished since it appeared to some reformers as a symbol of idolatry. (Stow recounts that a Maypole stored beneath the eves of the houses in Shaft Alley in Aldgate ward was destroyed as a result of a sermon against idolatry preached at St. Paul's Cross.) On New Year's Eve the country folk visited farmers to ask God's blessing on their crops, and sang wassail as they went, while in the cities and towns people visited friends at midnight and exchanged
gifts. A letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to his son Gilbert shows that the impetus and setting for many recreational activities was the home, but examples which are extant come from the aristocracy rather than the common people.

The roots of local culture were in tradition. On one occasion, Bishop Latimer was unable to preach in a village because Robin Hood's Day was being celebrated by the villagers. Although popular culture suffered as a result of the Reformation, new "leisure" pursuits were being followed, so much so that Huizinga considers that England was "the cradle and focus of modern sporting life." Many free-time activities were what Ascham would call "pestilent gaming", and they are mentioned in the Statute of 1542. Some sports such as fencing, horse-riding and jousting tournaments, which formerly were for military training, belonged to the aristocracy, and the extravagant military displays which marked the years before Henry VIII's war with France, were directly connected to his war policy, and were intended to display his military aptitude, strength and valour. Bear-baiting, cock-fighting and suchlike belonged to the "peasantry" and football matches played between villages provided an outlet for local rivalries.

According to Stubbs, these were more of a fight than a recreation, but he disliked football because it was played on Sundays. Archery was a pursuit common to all classes, and as well as being compulsory it was competitive. At archery competitions, the competitors dressed as Robin Hood and Little John led the procession to the Village Butts. However, the fact that it was a duty for all and was
rapidly losing its military usefulness, gave it no social exclusiveness. Despite Henry VIII's efforts and those of contemporary writers to perpetuate its use in England, the archery grounds in the houses of the nobility, and the Village Butts were being used less and less.\textsuperscript{64} It was this decline that prompted Ascham to present a defence of the national weapon in \textit{Toxophilus}.

Ascham's concept of work and leisure is informed by his awareness of three traditions: the classics, the view of man and his place in the universe expounded by Renaissance philosophers and by the Humanists, and lastly, by his ideas on the role of the Prince\textsuperscript{65} and of the nobility in the commonwealth, ideas which he culled from his observations of contemporary society and which were expressed in the writings of many of his contemporaries both in England and on the Continent.

A sentiment that is expressed many times in \textit{Toxophilus} is that archery involved labour, and in his use of the word Ascham translates from the Greek "ponos" which has many meanings, one of which is bodily exercise or physical exertion. The "labour" which accompanies the practice of archery is best because

\begin{quote}

it increaseth strength and preserveth health most, being not vehement, but moderate, not overlaying any one part with weariness, but softly exercising every part with equalness...which exercise by the judgement of the best physicians is most allowable.\textsuperscript{66}
\end{quote}

In support of his claim that labour is "fit for youth", Ascham gives innumerable examples from Ancient History and literature. The laws of the Persians and the Romans
obliged children to learn archery\textsuperscript{67} and

Jupiter or else Minos amongst them of Greece, and Lycurgus amongst the Lacedemonians, do show by their laws, which never ordained anything for bringing up of youth that was not joined with labour.\textsuperscript{68}

This labour must be "honest" and "profitable":

Then, Toxophilus, if it be so as you do say, let us go forward and examine...what honesty and profit is in the use of it [archery] both for war and peace.\textsuperscript{69}

I do not doubt but what...the honesty of shooting, the profit that may come thereby to many others, shall get the second part out of you at the last.\textsuperscript{70}

Opposed to "honest" shooting are unthrifty, idle pastimes, games of chance, as these corrupt the participants and result in a man "winning at length either hanging or hell.\textsuperscript{71} Ascham's statement that "well-favouredness is always a sign of profitableness,"\textsuperscript{72} shows that although he believed that beauty is to be sought for, he does not seek it for its own sake, but rather because what is "comely to the eye" is "profitable to his use."\textsuperscript{73} In this he differs from Castiglione who insisted that comeliness must be the aim of all the courtier's "doings, gestures and demeanours."\textsuperscript{74}

There is no explicit statement in \textit{Toxophilus} regarding Ascham's attitude to pleasure, but it is clear that he was Epicurean in the sense that he emphasised the importance of pleasure, but at the same time insisted that the only pleasures worth having were those which were good and honest:
A man's wit sore occupied in earnest study must so well be recreated with some honest pastime, as the body sore-laboured must be refreshed with sleep and quietness.\textsuperscript{75}

Shooting is

\begin{quote}
\textit{an exercise most wholesome and also a pastime most honest.}\textsuperscript{76}
\end{quote}

This attitude was in contrast to that of Philip Malanchthon (1497-1560) who saw Epicureanism as "a perversion of the true nature of man."\textsuperscript{77} Luther used the term "Epicureanism" to label moral ills which affected society\textsuperscript{78} while Erasmus' response, The Epicurean, was meant to be a promotion of the Christian way of life rather than a defence of the theory.\textsuperscript{79} Ascham condemned both Stoicism and Epicureanism in The Schoolmaster and obviously sought a balance between the two:

\begin{quote}
For it is well-known that I both like and love and have always and do yet still use all exercises and pastimes that be fit for my nature and ability, and beside natural disposition, in judgement also I was never either stoic in doctrine or anabaptist in religion, to mislike a merry pleasant and playful nature, if no outrage be committed against law, measure and good order.\textsuperscript{80}
\end{quote}

The mark they shoot at, the end they look for is only their own present pleasure and private profit; whereby they plainly declare of whose school, of what religion they be; that is Epicures in living and aeol in doctrine.\textsuperscript{81}

In his anti-Stoicism, Ascham followed both More and Erasmus, both of whom condemned the indiscriminate pursuit of pleasure, but also believed that enjoyment was essential for everyone. In Utopia, the ideal society was one in which it was considered
extreme madness to follow sharp and painful virtue, and not only to banish the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer grief, without any hope of profit thereof ensuing.\textsuperscript{82}

and Erasmus in \textit{The Praise of Folly} condemned those who devoted themselves entirely to the pursuit of pleasure, as well as those who sought no pleasure whatsoever. Having mocked the latter group, Folly said that those who followed her enjoyed every kind of pleasure so much that they were plump and sleek as the hogs of Acarnania.\textsuperscript{83}

In Classical Greece, two words were used to describe what we regard as leisure. "Scole" was not the opposite of activity but was a time of employment in work desirable for its own sake---the hearing of noble music and no doubt of noble poetry; intercourse with friends chosen for their worth; and above all, the exercise, in company or otherwise, of the speculative faculty.\textsuperscript{84}

Leisure was therefore not only freedom from but also freedom for, and involved physical and cultural activities which were considered important for growth and development. In contrast to "scole" was "anapausis", which meant not only rest from the labours of work but also a preparation for new or similar work. As such, it was inseparable from work. Plato regarded leisure as employment aimed at self-development and preparation for political responsibility.\textsuperscript{85}

Activities such as gymnastics and music put the participant in contact with grace, form and beauty, thus enhancing qualities for leadership, whereas recreation was simply passing time. Aristotle agreed with Plato on equating freedom with nobility. Leisure and leisure-time activities
were the highest good:

For men must be able to engage in business and go to war, but leisure and peace are better.86

Play and recreation were not to be confused with leisure. Aristotle regarded these as curatives for the stress and pain which were implicit in the lack of leisure. What distinguished leisure was that it built virtue in the character of the person:

Leisure is necessary for the development of virtue and the performance of political duties...The first principle of all action is leisure...leisure is better than occupation and is its end.87

Aristotle's approach is summed up by De Grazia, the modern spokesman for the classical Aristotelian School:

Leisure is a state of being in which activity is performed for its own sake or as its own end...And we call final without reservation that which is always desirable in itself and never for the sake of something else. Leisure stands in that class by itself.88

In Ancient Rome there was a sharp contrast between leisure for the rich and leisure for the poor. The latter were provided with spectacles in the arena, while for the rulers "otium", or what H.O. Taylor calls "academic leisure"89 was considered necessary for the "work" (negotium) of ruling the Empire.

In the Christian Church, the contemplative ideal of meditation on the Divine, the sacred leisure of contemplation and prayer, was considered the highest good. Aquinas' belief that
beatitudo ultima consistit in visione divinae
essentiae quae est ipsa essentiae bonitatis.\textsuperscript{90}

was reiterated by Erasmus:

Place Christ before you as the only goal of your
life, and direct to Him alone all your pursuits,
all your endeavours, all your leisure time and
hours of occupation.\textsuperscript{91}

The soul, remembering its heavenly
origin...despises those things that are seen, for
it knows that they are transitory; it seeks those
that are true and eternal.\textsuperscript{92}

However, a great change was taking place in popular
opinion, and this was evident in humanistic writings abroad
and at home in England. In Pettie's translation of
Guazzo's Civile Conversation, Aniball's love of a solitary
life came under attack,\textsuperscript{93} and Vives declared that

We must not always be studying...nor must the
mind bound by no law and with no useful aim,
delight itself in any inane sort of contemplation
and knowledge of things...Having acquired our
knowledge, we must turn it to usefulness and
employ it for the common good.\textsuperscript{94}

More's decision to opt for a life committed to public
service instead of becoming a monk,\textsuperscript{95} typified the gradual
process of change. Even at the end of the century,
however, Bacon was convinced of Aquinas' argument that

the human mind's final perfection is by coming to
union with God through contemplation such as the
angels enjoy.\textsuperscript{96}

In Toxophilus, Ascham uses the words "leisure",
"pastime", "play" and "sport" synonymously. Leisure for
him is both "scole" and "anapausis", and he restates
Aristotelian concepts in the context of contemporary social change:

And Aristotle himself saith that although it were a fond and a childish thing to be too earnest in pastime and play, yet doth he affirm by the authority of the old poet Epicharmus that a man may use play for earnest matter sake.\textsuperscript{97}

...if tomorrow or some other day when you have leisure, you will spend as much time with me here in this same place, in the question of De Origine Anime, and the joining of it with the body, that I may know how far Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics have waded in it.\textsuperscript{98}

Shooting is a pastime of "honest pleasure"; it is a recreation since

the best wits in learning must needs have much recreation and ceasing from their book, or else they mar themselves.\textsuperscript{99}

And he quotes Cicero and Ovid in support of his claim that "wholesome honest and mannerly pastimes" are essential because

That which lacks its alternations of repose will not endure.\textsuperscript{100}

However, archery as a pastime must be "a waiter upon learning; not a mistress over learning".\textsuperscript{101} The Book and the Bow go together; one complements the other. This concept can also be found in a poem contained in Tottel's Miscellany, first published in 1557, which extols one

Whose shape his countrymen
Set up with sword in right hand clasped
In left, a writing pen.\textsuperscript{102}

Having delineated archery as a pastime, Ascham proceeds to consider it as a skill in Book II of
Toxophilus. Here he explains all the techniques necessary to acquire this skill, and the essential equipment for this. Finally, he considers shooting as an art, and relates the ultimate end of shooting, that is, hitting the mark, to the image of perfection:

Every craft and science standeth in two things: in knowing of his craft and working of his craft: for perfect knowledge bringeth a man to perfect working.\textsuperscript{103}

and in his description of the wind, Ascham reveals the artistry of the archer, for whom the observation of nature is of paramount importance. Through the art of shooting, man can attain the balance advocated by Aristotle:

By shooting also is the mind honestly exercised where a man honestly desireth to be best, and that by the same way that virtue itself doth, coveting to come nightest a most perfect end or mean, standing betwixt two extremes, eschewing short or gone on either side wide, for which cause Aristotle himself saith that shooting and virtue be very like.\textsuperscript{104}

Both virtue and shooting can strive towards an ideal end, although this end is unattainable since "perfect perfectness" can only be found in God.\textsuperscript{105} Nevertheless, good shooters will labour to come as near as they can to hitting the mark, and since "virtue is nothing else but comeliness," the good must necessarily be beautiful.\textsuperscript{106}

Plato's harmony of spirit and grace of body and mind enable a man to perceive "any defect or ugliness in art or in nature" so "the art of shooting"\textsuperscript{107} has a spiritual and moral value for those who engage in it. For this reason, Philologus asks Toxophilus to teach him to shoot "as fair and well-favouredly as you can imagine".\textsuperscript{108} Toxophilus
does not offer his own skill for imitation, but giving the example of Zeuxis' painting of Helen, illustrates that Philologus must combine all the particular skills of the best archers and set these before himself as the goal of perfection which he must strive for. This is the "scole" which Aristotle refers to in Politics and in the Nichomachean Ethics, for these "leisure pursuits" are like a medicine.

The emotion they create in the soul is a relaxation, and from the pleasure we obtain rest.

The classical idea of human "wholeness" involving the principle of the inter-dependence of mind and body was revived by the Renaissance philosophers, and it replaced the mind-body dualism which persisted in medieval Christian doctrine. Montaigne wrote:

It is not a mind, it is not a body we are training, it is a man and he ought not to be divided into two parts.

Renaissance philosophers rejected the idea that the body was subordinated to the mind and was equated with sin and evil-doing. This doctrine was embodied in the teaching of St. Paul who condemned "the flesh" and presented the body simply as a "tomb" for the soul-mind. The body, in Pauline doctrine, along with all its pleasures, was evil and to be scorned.

The new views on body/mind relationship were a justification for physical activities which contributed to the all-round development of the individual. Rabelais (1490-1553) listed games, physical exercises, singing and
dancing among the skills to be included in the education of children. Elyot argued that exercise was essential because without it, the body would become weak and susceptible to disease, and it was also necessary because it developed character. But he still propagated the idea that

the soul in pre-eminence excelleth the body as much as the master or owner excelleth the house, thus showing that he was not wholly convinced. Ascham had no doubts about the unity of mind and body, and like Elyot he regarded shooting as a pastime which promoted desirable qualities and character building:

Companions of shooting be providence, good heed-giving, true meeting, honest comparison, which things agree with virtue very well. Therefore to look on all pastimes and exercises wholesome for the body, pleasant for the mind, comely for every man to do, honest for all others to look on, profitable to be set by of every man, worthy to be rebuked of no man, fit for all ages, persons and places, only shooting shall appear wherein all these commodities may be found.

In his condemnation of gaming, Ascham demonstrates the goodness which is in shooting, and states that he will prove that it "standeth by the same things that virtue itself standeth by, as brought in by God or god-like men." Since it involves labour and is performed in light and openness, it is an antithesis to carding and dicing, which are "nourished in idleness." Pastimes which engage the mind only are not suitable for students because the body does not profit from them, and this is most hurt by study. Unlike Elyot, Ascham does not
justify exercise solely in physiological terms. In The Book named the Governor, Elyot recommends exercise which is "moderate and mean between every extremity" and refers his readers to Galen's De Sanitate Tuenda.\textsuperscript{121} Ascham also suggests the moderation suggested by Galen,\textsuperscript{122} but he does not consider that the numerous exercises which Galen recommends are suitable for scholars, since they are "childish" albeit wholesome for the body.\textsuperscript{123} In his opinion, shooting is the only pastime which is

the most wholesome exercise for the body, the most honest pastime for the mind.\textsuperscript{124}

Ascham's final statement on the interdependence of the mind and body is contained in Toxophilus' advice to Philologus to avoid all negative emotions because

if a man's mind fail him, the body which is ruled by the mind can never do his duty...all affections [emotions] and specially anger, hurteth both mind and body. The mind is blind thereby and if the mind be blind, it cannot rule the body aright.\textsuperscript{123}

Coming as it does at the end of Toxophilus, this is Ascham's explicit statement of his holistic view of man in the tradition of humanistic doctrine.

The English humanists evolved the social doctrine that the nobility had a duty to take an active interest in public affairs in order to render service to the Commonweal\textsuperscript{126} and could not, therefore, be considered as "a leisure class". Thus, the education of the aristocracy was of paramount importance, and in addition to the numerous "Courtesy Books" published both in England and abroad, works of educational theory were written for the guidance
of those responsible for the upbringing of future statesmen.\textsuperscript{127} There was a marked progression from Lydgate’s assertion in 1511, that

\[\text{it longeth to a kynge ones in the yere to shewe hym in his astate royall and beste array and his lorde in the same wyse to shewe them selfe in his presence.}\textsuperscript{128}\]

Castiglione envisaged the final end of a courtier as

an Instructor and Teacher of his Prince and Lord, inclining him to virtuous practices.\textsuperscript{129}

Lawrence Humphrey wrote that because the nobility are both “the eyes and ears of the Prince,” all countries “staye on the counsaile wit and authority of the nobility.”\textsuperscript{130} The author of The Institution of a Gentleman considered that the nobles were mainly suitable for the office of ambassadors because they

\[\text{doe know how to beare countenance and comly gesture before the Majestye of a King better than other sorts of men.}\textsuperscript{131}\]

and even the country aristocracy were expected to act as a

\[\text{stay for symple men and helper of theyr causes by way of arbitriment...it is a goodly ministracion and office for a gentleman wherein a man may doo much benefite to the commonwelth...}\textsuperscript{132}\]

By the middle of the sixteenth century, a new dimension was added to the duty of the noblemen. In addition to his civic duties, he also had an obligation

\[\text{to set forth and defend the true religion of Almighty God.}\textsuperscript{133}\]
Humfrey saw the nobility as "pastors of the people" entrusted with the duty of calling, leading and alluring by all means "their Princes to Christian doctrine."\textsuperscript{134}

This is peculyer to noble men...to strengthen with theyr ayde empoeryshed religyon, to shield it forsaken with theyr patronage.\textsuperscript{135}

Another emphasis of Ascham's contemporaries was the duty of the nobility to their country in time of war. As early as 1475, The Book of the Noblesse called on all knights to put themselves at the disposal of Edward IV when he invaded France.\textsuperscript{136} The anonymous author of The Institution of a Gentleman considered that there was nothing more praiseworthy than

To be a perfect soldier or Captaine in the warres or to have knowledge in the feates of armes...neither is there any thing which hath raised nobilitie to higher honour then valiency in armes hath done.\textsuperscript{137}

The proliferation of books setting forth the duty of the aristocracy was matched with works on educational theory. Erasmus' The Education of a Christian Prince,\textsuperscript{138} sent to Henry VIII in 1517, and his Declamatio de Pueris Statim ac Liberaliter Instituendis were widely read in England,\textsuperscript{139} and Vives' Introduction to Wisdom and De Ratione Studii Puerilis were both translated into English by Charles Blount and Richard Morison respectively.\textsuperscript{140} A work by Thomas Lupset, Exhortation to Young Men persuading them to walk in the pathway that leadeth to honesty and goodness,\textsuperscript{141} and Starkey's Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset both make clear that the education of the nobility "in the very and true commonweal" is necessary for
good civility. Elyot's *The Book named the Governor* set out a programme for the all-round education of those who would participate in the ruling of the state, and since he was a close friend of Ascham, his work had a certain influence on Ascham's writing.

The concept of work which pervades *Toxophilus*, particularly with regard to the "gentlemen and yeomen" to whom the treatise is addressed, is a concept of duty, the duty of the "whole body of the realm", that is, all Englishmen, to practise archery in times of peace so as to use it efficiently in time of war. In this context, therefore, there is no dichotomy between leisure and "work" i.e. duty, since archery was obligatory by Statute and was not only a sport but also a form of national service:

Youth should use it [the bow] for the most honest pastime in peace, that men might handle it as a most sure weapon in war.

Ascham believes that the use of shooting offers more honesty and profit both for war and peace than any other pastime, and at the request of Philologus, he illustrates his claim by citing numerous examples from ancient history, mythology, and from the history of England. He quotes from John Major, Hector Boece, Robert Gaguin and Sir Thomas Elyot, and the inspiring descriptions of the English victories in which the archers played a decisive role, leads him to a realisation of the decay of archery in contemporary England:

First, young children use not; young men, for fear of them whom they be under too much, dare not; sage men, for other greater business, will not...rich men, for covetousness sake care
not...masters, for their household keeping, heed not; servants, kept in by their masters very oft, shall not; craftsmen, for getting of their living, very much leisure have not;...so that generally men everywhere, for one or other consideration, much shooting use not.144

He was not alone in his anxiety about the "danger to the realm".145 The numerous works on "the strategems, sleights and policies of war"146 published during the course of the sixteenth century reveal a widespread concern that England might not have the requisite military resources to resist her enemies both at home and abroad.147

Ascham also recognises the duty of the nobility to participate in public affairs and to be the leaders of the Commonweal. In no way does he contribute to the premise that the sole purpose of man on earth is to prepare for eternity, or to aspire to the contemplation of the visione divinae. On the contrary, an active life is essential for all, particularly for the nobility:

seeing that Lords be lanterns to lead the life of mean men by their example, either to goodness or badness, to whither soever they list, and seeing also they have liberty to list what they will, I pray God they have will to list that which is good.148

Education is necessary if they are to carry out their duties efficiently:

Scholars and laymen have divers offices and charges which require divers bringing up in their youth, if they shall do them as they ought to do in their age.149

Parents who force their children to study when they are unfit for an academic career are responsible for the fact that unfit people have responsibilities, particularly in
the area of ecclesiastical offices, and thus they endanger the welfare of the whole commonwealth.\textsuperscript{150}

Work in the sense of earning one's living does not figure in \textit{Toxophilus}, except for one oblique reference to the industrious farmers which rise earliest and come latest home, and are content to have their dinner and other drinkings brought into the field to them for fear of losing time.\textsuperscript{151}

As a result of their industry

they have fatter barns in harvest than they which will either sleep at noontime of the day, or else make merry with their neighbours at the ale.\textsuperscript{152}

This is a condemnation of idleness not only on the part of the farmer but also of the scholar:

And so the scholar that purposeth to be a good husband [farmer] and desireth to reap and enjoy much fruit of learning, must till and sow thereafter.\textsuperscript{153}

Having said this, however, he reiterates that the best wits in learning must needs have much recreation and ceasing from their book or else they mar themselves.\textsuperscript{154}

Ascham's concept of work was a concept of duty to King and country, a duty which was obligatory for every individual in the social hierarchy, from the aristocracy down to the common man. He believed that the practice of archery as a leisure pursuit in peacetime was a part of that duty, since its neglect would have wide ramifications; it would result in the decline of the quality and quantity of those who fought for their country. Richard Morison's
conviction that in the past Englishmen

have been of good hearts, courageous, bold, valiant in martial feats...but those Englishmen are dead,¹⁵⁵

was a sentiment which was expressed in much of the literature of the period.¹⁵⁶ Although the longbow as a weapon of war was rapidly becoming obsolete, and Ascham's aspirations to restore it to its former prestige were doomed to failure, Toxophilus survived, not just because of its literary value, but as a complete manual for those who engage in archery as a popular recreation. That is all it is, if measured by contemporary standards, but in the context of the mid sixteenth century in Tudor England, its connotations extend far beyond these limits; it represents an assessment of contemporary attitudes to work and leisure.

***************
CHAPTER FIVE

REFERENCE NOTES


2. For various definitions of leisure see:


7. ibid. pp. 158, 159.


12. Langland, W., op.cit. No. 8, Passus IX, lines 98-106.


20. Coulton, C.G. The Medieval Village, Cambridge, 1925, p. 27.
21. Statutes of the Realm, 2 Henry VII Cap. 22, Sec. IV.
26. See for example, Buckle, H.T., Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works, London, 1872, I. p. 539. Buckle believed that the abolition of Saints' Days was responsible for lowering wages and thus instrumental in creating the Poor Laws.
30. The first laws of the early Christian Church concerning Sunday observance were promulgated by Constantine the Great on 3rd March 321, although there is controversy as to whether or not he was actually a Christian at the time and merely wanted to unite the Empire under a monotheistic sun religion. See:
32. ibid. p. 495, N. 7.
36. Mead, Margaret, "The Pattern of Leisure in Contemporary American Culture," in Mass Leisure, ed. Larabee et al, Illinois, 1958, pp. 11-12. Neither one [work or play] may every be considered by itself; but man must work then weary, and take some recreation so he may work again.
40. Morison, Sir Richard, A persuasian to the Kyng that the Laws of the Realme shulde be in Latin, B.M. Royal MSS. 18, A, L; B.M. Cotton M.S. Faustina C, ii, fols. 5-22.
41. ibid. B.M. Royal MS 18, A I.
42. There is a copy in the Royal Collection of MSS. See above.
54. ibid. p. 530.
57. Toxophilus, p. 117.
64. Brailsford, Denis, op.cit. p. 30.
65. See Chapter Four.
67. ibid. p. 53.
68. ibid. p. 55.
69. ibid. p. 45.
70. ibid. p. 47.
71. ibid. p. 103.
72. ibid. p. 321.
73. ibid. p. 335.
75. Toxophilus, p. 39.
76. ibid. p. 55.
78. ibid. p. 163.
79. ibid. p. 166.
81. ibid. p. 162.
86. Aristotle, op.cit. VII.14.2-4, p. 1333b.
87. ibid., VII,9.41. p. 13286.
92. ibid. p. 41.
96. Aquinas, op.cit. p. 82.
97. Toxophilus, p. 35.
98. ibid. p. 381.
101. ibid. p. 77.
103. Toxophilus, p. 223.
104. ibid. pp. 55-57.
105. ibid. p. 343.
106. ibid. 323.
108. ibid. p. 323.
109. ibid. p. 325.
111. (Cited in McIntosh, Peter) Sport in Society, London 1963, p. 47.
113. 2. Corinthians, 5.1-6.
117. Ibid. p. 85.
119. ibid. p. 81.
120. ibid. p. 83.
121. Elyot, Sir Thomas, op.cit. p. 60.
122. Toxophilus, p. 84.
123. ibid. p. 83.
124. ibid. p. 85.
125. ibid. p. 379.
126. See Chapter Three.
129. Castiglione, B. op.cit. p. 69.
132. ibid. sig. D iii-iii.
135. ibid. sig. Miir'; Viir.
136. The Books of the Noblesse Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on his Invasion of France in 1475, Roxburghe Club, 1860, p. 22.
137. Institucion of a Gentleman, op.cit.
139. Erasmus, Declamation de Pueris statim ac Liberaliter Instituendis, in Collected Works, op.cit.
141. Lupset Thomas, Exhortation to Young men in J.A. Gee, ed. Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, Yale Univ. Press. 1928.
143. Toxophilus, p. 15.
144. ibid. p. 87.
145. Hale, John, op.cit. p. 36.
146. This was the title of a work by Sextus Julius Frontinus, translated into English by Richard Morison in 1539.
147. See Chapter One.
148. Toxophilus, p. 115.
149. ibid. p. 59.
150. ibid. pp. 349-55.
151. ibid. p. 35.
152. ibid. p. 35.
153. ibid. p. 35.
154. ibid. p. 37.
156. See Chapter One.
CONCLUSION

In the sixteenth century, Ascham's reputation was less secure than that of contemporary writers like Elyot, Cheke or Morison, but his name has survived not simply as an educator, the author of *The Schoolmaster*, but also as a writer of the refined and elegant prose which is the hallmark of *Toxophilus*. Although he published only three works in English, he left his "personality in print" in his vast correspondence of more than two hundred letters which throw light on his personal life because of the numerous biographical details which they contain.

In common with the literature of the period, *Toxophilus* was a response to the change and uncertainty which were part of the religious and social upheaval of the sixteenth century, a change which was irreversible. Ascham did not hope to restore archery as England's principal weapon of defence, but rather hoped that it could take its place alongside the new artillery which was already being used extensively by continental armies. He wished to reintroduce archery because it was a sport which coordinated all the faculties, produced physical fitness, involved moral training, and therefore contributed to the all-round development of the individual.

*Toxophilus* represents a fusion of humanist and Christian culture, as there could be no separation of religion and politics in Henrician England. The humanist view of life was coloured by ethical considerations, and in England, the ethics of politics were bound up with
religion. Unlike Machiavelli, Ascham did not make "the patria" the limit of his thought, but it provided the basis for Toxophilus, a Treatise prompted by the author's concern about the evident decline of the use of archery in England, and the consequent evils which would follow this decline.

The classical allusions in Toxophilus were an important sixteenth century contribution to the dissemination of Greek and Roman thought, and the history of archery which is an account of its use from earliest times, can, in itself, be used as a source. Although Ascham followed classical models, he never subordinated content to style, as this would have been in direct conflict with his commitment to the English Reformation and his devout Protestant conscience. Alongside examples from classical sources, he gives Biblical examples, thus showing his belief in the fact that the Bible was as valuable a source of military information as, for example, the text of Leo, the Emperor, or Vegetius. Ascham's choice of dialogue and of the vernacular as a medium of expression enabled him to use the Socratic "art of persuasion", and to reach the readers for whom the Treatise was intended, the Gentlemen and Yeomen of England. The dialogue form also allowed him to aim for historical truth since it facilitated the presentation of both sides of the argument.

In his portrait of the Prince, Ascham emphasised the duty of obedience on the part of subjects, and the obligation of the Prince to acquire wisdom, the first requisite for victory in war. His attitude to war, which he described as a "civil medicine", had more in common with Machiavelli than Erasmus, despite his condemnation of
Machiavelli in *The Schoolmaster*, and *A Report*... (in *Toxophilus* he refers to the seriousness of war, but not to its unchristian nature) but by placing his hope for good government and the well-being of his country in the education of the aristocracy, he resembled Erasmus, who was convinced that the improvement of society could be achieved through the better education of its rulers. But Ascham is more concrete and realistic in his aims and ideas than either Erasmus, the idealist, or Machiavelli, the pragmatist, and he stands as a bridge between the two.

Ascham's concept of work was a concept of duty, the duty of every individual to contribute to the prosperity of his country by the observance of "the King's Acts" particularly those relating to archery. While religion was important to him, it was not divorced from public service, but was rather a framework within which the life of the individual developed. This was in contrast to the medieval idea that a life of contemplation and prayer was the highest good to which man could aspire. There is no explicit statement in *Toxophilus* regarding Ascham's attitude to pleasure, but it appears from a statement in *The Schoolmaster* that he sought for a balance between Stoicism and Epicureanism. His concept of archery as a leisure occupation was in the Greek tradition of "schole" and "anapausis". It was an occupation desirable for its own sake and for growth and all-round development, but it was also essential in order to "recreate" the individual after periods of intense mental activity. Throughout *Toxophilus*, Ascham reiterates the interdependence of mind and body, the holistic view of man which was a
characteristic of Renaissance philosophy.

Most of the criticism of Ascham in this century has been from the viewpoint of the style and structure of his writing, and has been mainly the work of students of English in the U.S.A. A complete assessment of his place in the history of English literature is impossible because there is no complete edition of his letters, and his accomplishment in this field is essential to such an assessment. Until this edition materialises, no satisfactory picture of Ascham's importance can emerge.

Toxophilus has been described as a "self-portrait of a scholar and a sportsman" and indeed, the personal element is a primary necessity and contributes to its success as a literary work. The last two lines of the initial verse summarise his ideals and his belief that if Englishmen "stick to the Truth", they will be enabled to overthrow their enemies.

Through Christ, King Henry, the Book and the Bow.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE PRINCIPLES ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT

The exact date of the publication of THEOBALDA is unknown, and research in Ashkenazi letters do not enable one to settle at any definite conclusion. In a letter to R. J. Pachter dated 20th June 1846, Ashkenazi wrote: ‘I have also written a book on the art of printing, now in press.’ There is no evidence that any copies were produced at this time.

In the book of B. J. with the 1871 and 1879 editions, it is stated that they are reprints of THEOBALDA ‘written in 1844 and now newly reprinted’ in order to explore the possibility of some copies having been lost or reprinted in 1844 which were, either correct or recanted so that the reprints could be changed. Lack of evidence prevents one arriving at a satisfactory conclusion since no copies dated 1844 are extant, but it is difficult to explain the demand, without printed only twenty-one years after the book would contain an error of this kind.

In a letter to Briel, written on 19th Feb. 1844, Ashkenazi stated that he was wholly satisfied with THEOBALDA and that ‘absolved him from the time of copy.’ He was therefore, that he withdraw the book from the printers, and not about revising it. According to Gershom Zunz, the Principal Shalom Wilenski, succeeded Poineen Fried on 25th Feb. 1844. Hence June 1844 to be the light of the evidence available. It seems that the complaints which were made in 1844. The people speaking about an answer to the second have been included in the book."
APPENDIX I

THE PRINTING HISTORY OF TOXOPHILUS

The exact date of the publication of Toxophilus is unknown, and comments in Ascham's letters do not enable one to arrive at any definite conclusion. In a letter to Paget, dated May or June 1544, Ascham wrote: "I have also written a book on the Art of Shooting, now in press."¹ There is no evidence that any copies were produced at this stage, but the fact that both the 1571 and 1589 Editions state that they are reprints of Toxophilus "written in 1544 and now newly perused"² leads one to explore the possibility of some copies having come off the press in 1544 which were either lost or recalled so that the colophon could be changed. Lack of evidence prevents one arriving at a satisfactory conclusion since no copies dated 1544 are extant, but it is difficult to explain how a second edition printed only twenty-six years after the first, could contain an error of this kind.

In a letter to Grindal, written on 13th Feb. 1545, Ascham stated that he was wholly occupied with Toxophilus and had "shelved Herodotus for the time being."³ It appears, therefore, that he withdrew the MS. from the printers and set about revising it. According to Gordon Duff, the Printer Edward Whitchurch, succeeded Printer Bydell in Fleet St. before June 1545,⁴ so in the light of the evidence available, it seems that the completed work was ready in the summer of 1545. The patent granting Ascham an annuity of ten pounds is no longer extant, so the

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exact date of the presentation to the King is uncertain. Given that Henry VIII was absent from London until the end of August 1545, it must have taken place sometime in the autumn of that year. The grant was renewed by Edward VI on 20th May, 1547.¹

A list of reprints of Toxophilus can be found in Lake and Wright's Bibliography of Archery (1974), but there are errors here regarding the location of the 1545 Editions.⁶ There is no copy at the University of Michigan,⁷ and the copy located at Peterborough Cathedral has been given to Cambridge University on permanent loan. Also D.G.O. should read D.F.O. (Folger Library, Washington.)

It is significant that two further editions of Toxophilus appeared in the sixteenth century, as only two other military works of the period had three editions: Peter Whitehorne's translation of Machiavelli's Dell'arte della guerra (The Arte of Warre, 1560, 1573, 1588) and Thomas Styward's The Pathwaie to Martialis Disciplin, 1581, 1582, 1585.⁸ The 1571 edition of Toxophilus was printed by Thomas Marsh and was updated. The initial woodcut of the Royal Coat of Arms was replaced by a Title Page, the Dedication to King Henry VIII was omitted, also the passage concerning the union of England and Scotland. (To such a Prince...peace and atonement, p. 182.) Other references to Henry VIII were adjusted, for example, "Henry VIII of noble memory" was inserted after "to the King's Majesty", p. 161. Some additions were made to the Marginalia: the names of Chaucer and Sir John Cheke were included. Ryan draws attention to the fact that this edition was in two printings, and that fols. D₁, D₂, D₇ and D₈ are set in a
different type from that used on the corresponding sheets of other editions. The 1589 Edition was printed by Abel Jeffes and has the device of the Printer on the last page. The bell is a pun on the printer's first name. This edition also has a Title Page, and there are some minor variations in spelling. The passage referring to Sir John Cheke and Prince Edward (p. 162) has been retained, although it was historically out-of-date.

After these two editions, there was no further reprint of Toxophilus until James Bennet's edition in 1761 which has Johnson's brief biography of Ascham. This accounts for Johnson's comment that Ascham's work has been "undeservedly neglected."
APPENDIX I

1. Hatch, p. 94.
2. See the Title Pages of these Editions, pp.
3. Hatch, p. 129.
5. Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, 1547, i.251.
9. Ryan, p. 49.

For a complete list of editions of Ascham's Letters and Works (up to 1864) see Giles I.i. Preface pp. iii-viii.
APPENDIX II

DESCRIPTION AND TREATMENT OF THE COPY-TEXT

This edition is a reproduction of the British Museum Copy of Toxophilus, No.C.31.b.39, S.T.C.837, in modern spelling with the original text facing each page. This has been included in order to allow the work to retain the quality of belonging to its own historical period, thus allowing the reader to enjoy the beauty of the sixteenth century production. At the same time, the modern edition facilitates the understanding and reading of the contents, and therefore procures a wider readership. Non-specialist readers are liable to be put off by difficult spelling and vocabulary to the extent that they will not read in the original old spelling text what they would be prepared to read in a modernised version.

Using the British Museum Copy No.31.b.39 as a control text, I examined the copies of the 1545 Edition of Toxophilus in the following Libraries:

1. The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
6. Peterborough Collection, Cambridge University Library.
9. Huntington Library, California. (Microfilm)
10. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington. (Xerox Copy)
11. Pforzheimer Collection, Yale University Library, Washington. (Xerox Copy)
12. University of Texas at Austin. (Microfilm)

British Museum Copies:
13. C.31.e.29.
15. C.31.e.27.

The copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, is in the Bindings Collection and can only be studied by scholars of Bindings. Neither a Microfilm nor a Xerox Copy has been made in order to preserve the rare binding. The variations in this copy were checked through postal communication with the Librarian. It was not possible to examine the copy in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and again, the variations were checked and sent by the Librarian.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM COPY OF TOXOPHILUS.

No. C.31.b.29.

Ascham Roger.

[Heading, recto (a3)] TOXOPHILUS, The schole of shootinge/ conteyned in two/ booke./

Colophon: LONDINI. In aedibus Edouardi Whytchurch./ Cum privilegio ad impri/ mendum folum. [1545]


Collation: A$^4$; a$^4$; A–Y$^4$; 96 leaves. (Sig.A2 is signed A).

Contents: woodcut, recto [A]; Latin verses by Walter Haddon, in Italic, verso; dedication to Henry VIII in Roman. signed 'Roger Ascham', At the head of [A4] recto (in the first gathering signed in roman) TO ALL GENTLE MEN AND YOMEN OF/ENGLANDE./ recto [A4]–recto [a2]; blank, verso [a2]; Table, headed 'TOXOPHILUS,/ The schole of shootinge/ conteyned in two/ booke./
The initial woodcut in all the 1545 Texts is identical, and consists of the King’s Arms on a crowned shield. On either side there is a riband; the left riband has the distich: Hac fusa est nostris Babylonica pestis ab oris,/ Hac prava ad Stygias dogmata trusa plagas, and the right: Hoc Scotus & Gallus fracti domitiq; iacebunt,/ Subiecti Domino colla superba suo. Beneath the shield, on the left hand side, there is a book with two clasps, on the cover of which is the word VERITAS, and on the right there is a bow and arrow, behind which is the word VINCIT. At the bottom, a tablet with a seven-line verse supports the whole, and in the lower corners of this tablet are the initials I.D. (John Day), an engraver on wood who was frequently involved in printing with Edward Whitchurch.³ On the back of the woodcut, there are some Latin verses by Walter Haddon, an eminent scholar of King’s College, Cambridge.

An analysis of these copies reveals the following variations:

1. Errors in foliation.
2. Substantives misspelt.
3. Faulty punctuation.
4. Incorrect "running" word at the foot of some pages.
5. Line at the foot of the Title and Contents page repeated on the next page. (B.M. Copy G.2366 only)
6. Change of substantives:
   Fol.34. Some copies read "commodities and welth"; others "commoditie and health".
   Fol.36. Some copies read "ill wyll, stryfe, open battayle"; others "evel wyll, stryfe, contention".
7. Substantives omitted. Some copies read "to brynge up youth whiles they were xx. yeare olde in shooting"; others "to brynge up youthe whiles they were xx. yeare olde only in shooting".

Wright appends a list of errata in the early copies, but states that he has recorded only those which are misleading. This list is as follows:
(The page numbers are those in my own edition, and the asterisks denote errata which have not been listed by Wright.)

p.26 1.10 up: HERHEN for HETHEN.

p.52 1.3.: THINGS, ONLY for THINGS ONLY,

p.98. 1.12 up: Some copies read DEALYNG CRAFTY for DEALING, CRAFTY.

p.108. 1.13 up: STODE, BY for STODE BY,
               1.13-12 up: DO DOYNGE for DOYNGE

p.116. 1.11 up: 1.11 up: TYMES: IT for TYMES IT
p.124. 1.2 up: Some copies read AND IF (I WERE...) for (AND IF I WERE)

p.162. 1.7: Some copies read WELTH for HEALTH

*1.13-14: Some copies omit the comma after KNOWLEDGE

p.166. 1.9: Some copies read PERTIANS for PARTHIANS.

p.170. 1.12-13: Some copies read EVEL WYLL, STRYFE, CONTENTION for ILL WYLL, STRYFE, OPEN BATTAYLE.

*1.16: Some copies read HAND for HANDE

p.194. 1.14: DOCH for DOTH

p.196. 1.3 up: YE for YET (as in the 1571 Edition)

*p.206. 1.4 up: Some copies omit ONELIE in the phrase XX.YEARE OLDE ONELIE IN SHOOTING.

p.208. 1.14 up: Some copies read SHOUTHFULNESSE for SLOUTHFULNESSE

p.240. 1.6 up: LESSE for LESTE

p.256. last line: THAT I for THAN I

p.264. 1.4-3 up: PEECES TO FARRE DRAWYNGE, BRAKE IT for PEECES, TO FARRE DRAWYNGE BRAKE IT.

p.268. 1.1: A BOW for BOW. (The catchword on the previous page is AND)

p.272. 1.13 up: YARDE. for YARDE,

p.274. 1.4: WOODES. for WOODES,

p.278. 1.11 up: STUDDING for SCUDDING last line: CONCLUDE THAT for CONCLUDE, THAT

p.282. 1.14-15: WYDE SOME for WYDE, SOME

p.292. 1.5: GOUSE, for GOUSE.

1.9: BELONGING FOR BELONGING

p.298. 1.6: SHAFT, IS for SHAFT IS
Morehead believes that some of the variations in the 1545 Text are "authoritative", that is, made by Ascham himself, and she indicates three separate states of correction in her collation of seven copies. These are as follows:

John Rylands Library: no corrections, therefore by implication one of the first copies off the press. There is no evidence for this.

First Corrected State: p. 162 1.7. WELTH for HEALTH. Folger, Bodleian, Huntington, British Museum, Jesus College and Pforzheimer.

Second Corrected State: WELTH for HEALTH and the addition of a comma after KNOWLEDGE (p. 162, lines 13-14.) Huntington, British Museum, Jesus and Pforzheimer.
Third Corrected State: first two sets of corrections plus EVEL WYLL, STRYFE, CONTENTION for ILL WYLL, STRYFE, OPEN BATTAYLE, (p. 170, lines 12-13) and HANDE for HAND.

British Museum, Jesus College, Pforzheimer.

If this analysis is correct, then the copy presented to Prince Edward in the Pierpoint Morgan Library, and that in the Folger Library, presented to Sir William Parr, brother of Katherine Parr, which has Ascham's autographed dedication, are both unrevised copies. This is hardly likely. While it is certain that Ascham made some revisions in the original MS.⁶ it is more likely that the variations listed above are compositors' errors rather than corrections. Ryan suggests that some parts of the work may have been typeset at different times during the course of the publication, and that certain parts in some copies were left as they stood before Ascham recalled the MS. from the printers.⁷ Another explanation is that several printers were involved in the publication of Toxophilus. Names used in colophons are unreliable⁸ as is shown in the case of Richard Banks. He appeared before the Privy Council in 1540, charged with printing Ballads for and against Cromwell. He denied the charge, although his name was on the colophon, and accused Robert Redman (deceased) and Richard Grafton of the offence. Grafton subsequently confessed.⁹ It is also noteworthy that several books with Whitchurch's name on the colophon were either printed by other printers such as Nicholas Hill, or printed abroad
It also appears that Whitchurch had a working agreement with Grafton, although he left Grafton's office in 1542. Grafton was printer to Edward, Prince of Wales, and became the King's Printer when Edward became King, so he was extremely busy, and it seems that Whitchurch did some of his work for him. An important point is that most of their type-faces were similar since there is no evidence of different type-faces in any of the 1545 editions of Toxophilus. However, Ames considers that although Grafton and Whitchurch were friends and partners for many years, it does not appear that they printed in partnership after 1541, the year in which they were in trouble on account of the Act of the Six Articles, for not having been confessed, and neither was included in Queen Mary's proclamation at her coronation in 1554. Ames may have based his conclusions on the evidence of colophons, which, as has been said already, are unreliable.

It is possible, therefore, that more than one printer was involved in the publication of Toxophilus, although Ryan's idea is also feasible. Both explanations are more likely than Morehead's thesis that Ascham revised the syntax of the text. The variations are too insignificant to warrant a conclusion of this kind.

The present edition adheres to the original text as far as possible. I have emended compositors' errors and inserted punctuation in order to facilitate reading, or in places where the end of a phrase or sentence is obvious, or where the relevant punctuation has been omitted. Words have been divided in accordance with the rules of modern
English,\textsuperscript{14} following the original division as far as possible. An effort has been made to reproduce Display Capitals and ornamental initials, adhering to the copy-text as far as possible. The paragraphs of the original text have been retained, but some have been indented where this was not done. The marginalia have not been reproduced since these are evident in the original. A glossary of unusual words has been inserted at the end of each page of the edition,\textsuperscript{15} and the historical and classical references are appended at the end. The possessive case of nouns has been altered, for example, "the King, his Majesty"\textsuperscript{16} becomes "the King's Majesty". Roman numerals have been written as words, and the abbreviation "d" has been replaced by the word "pence". Capital letters have been inserted or omitted, according to the rules of modern English grammar or as indicated in the Oxford English Dictionary. The word "beside" has been altered to "besides", "other" to "others". In some cases, "forward" becomes "forwards" and "backward" becomes "backwards", depending on the sense of the phrase in question. I have substituted "lose" for "lease" in order to avoid ambiguity in the modern English text. On page 196, line 3 up, "yet" replaces "ye" in accordance with the 1571 Edition. Proper names have not been divided, either throughout the text or at the bottom of the page, as in the original. Finally, all catchwords, "running" letters, signature numbers signed and unsigned, and Book Section A or B at the top of the pages have all been omitted, since these are evident in the 1545 text. Although Wright's edition is considered the authoritative one, I have used Giles' Edition when
referring to The Schoolmaster and A Report..., as these are in modern spelling, but I have corrected any errata which Wright has indicated.

I have also examined the following copies of the 1571 and 1589 Editions:

3. Harvard University. Both Editions. (Xerox copies)

The Title Pages and Colophons of these editions can be found on the following pages.
APPENDIX II

1. The term "copy-text" was first used by McKerrow in 1904, and he defines it as "the early text of a work which the author selects as a basis for his own." (cited in Tanselle, G.T. "Greg's Theory of Copy-Text and the editing of American Literature," in Studies in Bibliography, Vol. 28, 1975, pp. 167-229.)

See also: Greg, Sir Walter, "The Rationale of Copytext", in Studies in Bibliography, II. 1950, pp. 19-36.

2. Letter from the Head of Reader Services, Inge Dupont, 5th June, 1989:
Unfortunately, this book is in our Bindings Collection and can only be studied by scholars of bindings. It is not supposed to be opened for studies of the text. Therefore, a microfilm has never been made and photocopies cannot be done in order for us to preserve its rare binding. There is a copy of this edition in the Huntington Library California and another copy at Temple University, Philadelphia. [incorrect. The Head of Special Collections and Programs Department, Temple University, in a letter of June 28th, 1989 states:

With regret I must report in response to yours of the 12th, that I find no record of a copy of the Ascham Toxophilus (1545) in the Temple University Libraries.

Signed: Thomas M. Whitehead.]

7. Ryan, p. 49.
10. ibid. p. 20.
11. ibid. p. 20.
12. ibid. p. 20.
16. In addition to the above the following dictionary was used:

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16. Toxophilus, p. 15.

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Colophons.

1571

Imprinted at London in Flete streete
near to S. Dunstones Churche by Tho-
mas Warthe.

Anno Domini, (1571.)

1589

At London,
Printed by Abell lefes, dwelling in Philip Leat,
at the Signe of the Bell.

Anno Domini, 1589.
TOXOPHILYS

The schole, or partition of
shooting contained in 4 bookes,
writte by Roger Alchem, 1544.
And now newly revised.

Pleasaunt for all Gentle-
men, and Women of England
for theyr paitune to reade, and
profisible for their victuo folowe.
both in warre and peace.

Elizabeth Regne
Li.b A. Anno. 1571.

Done by J. C. Jet.

In printed at London in
Fleesstraete neare to Saint
Dunstanes Church by Tho.
mas Marle.
Toxophilus:
The Schoole, or partitioins of shooting contained in two books,
Written by Roger Ascham
And now newly perused.

Pleasante for all Gentlemen, and Yomen of England for their pastime to reade,
and profitable for their use to follow both in warre
and peace.

At London,
Printed by Abel Ieffe,
by the consent of H. Marsh.

Anno, 1589.
Abel Jeffe's Device.
A Letter from Roger Ascham to Cecil.
After complementing Cecil on his public character and reputation, he laments that he should have himself suffered wrong at the hands of Cecil, and states that he will explain things fully at a more suitable time.

Quoted from Giles I.i pp. 176-178.
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