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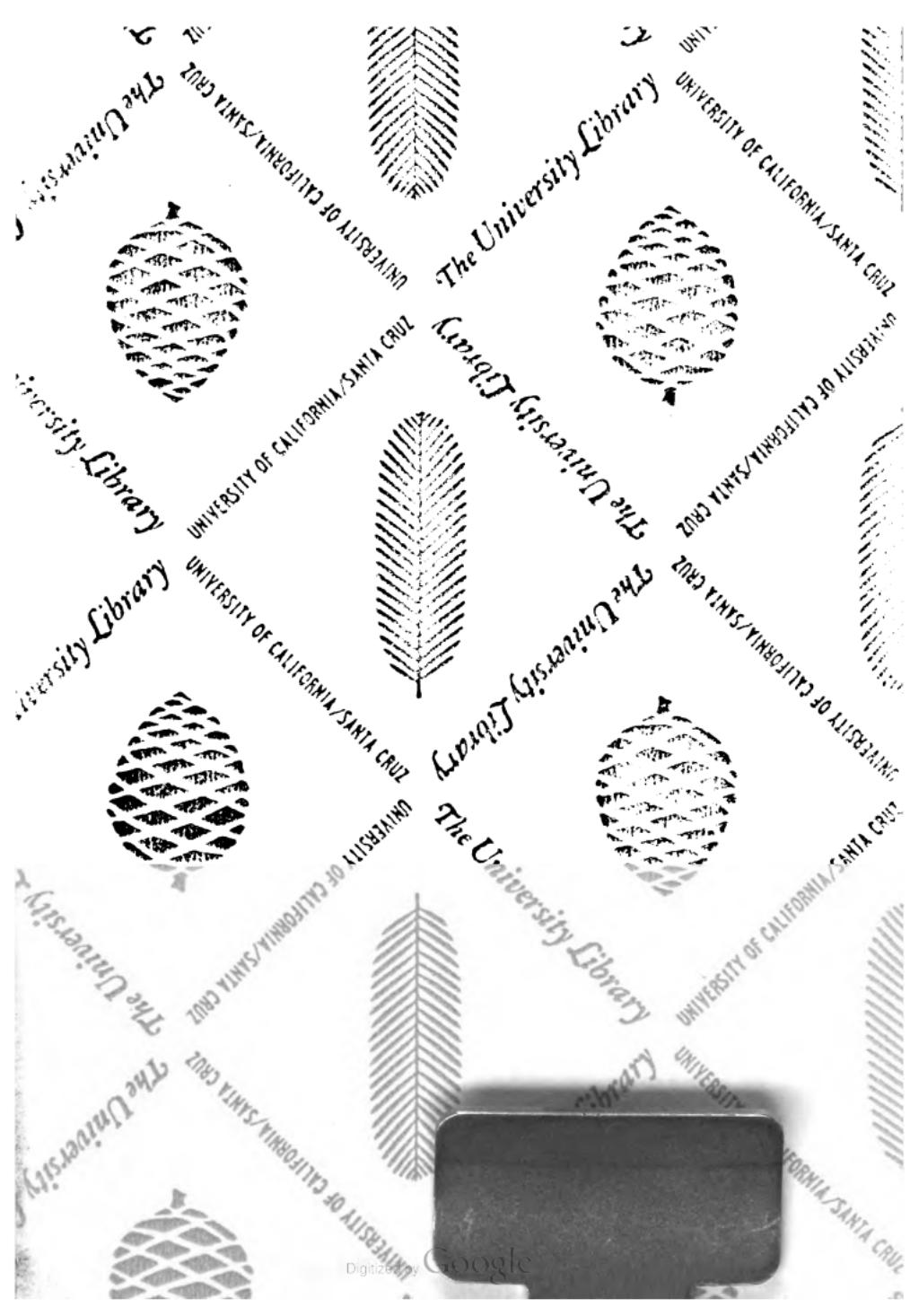
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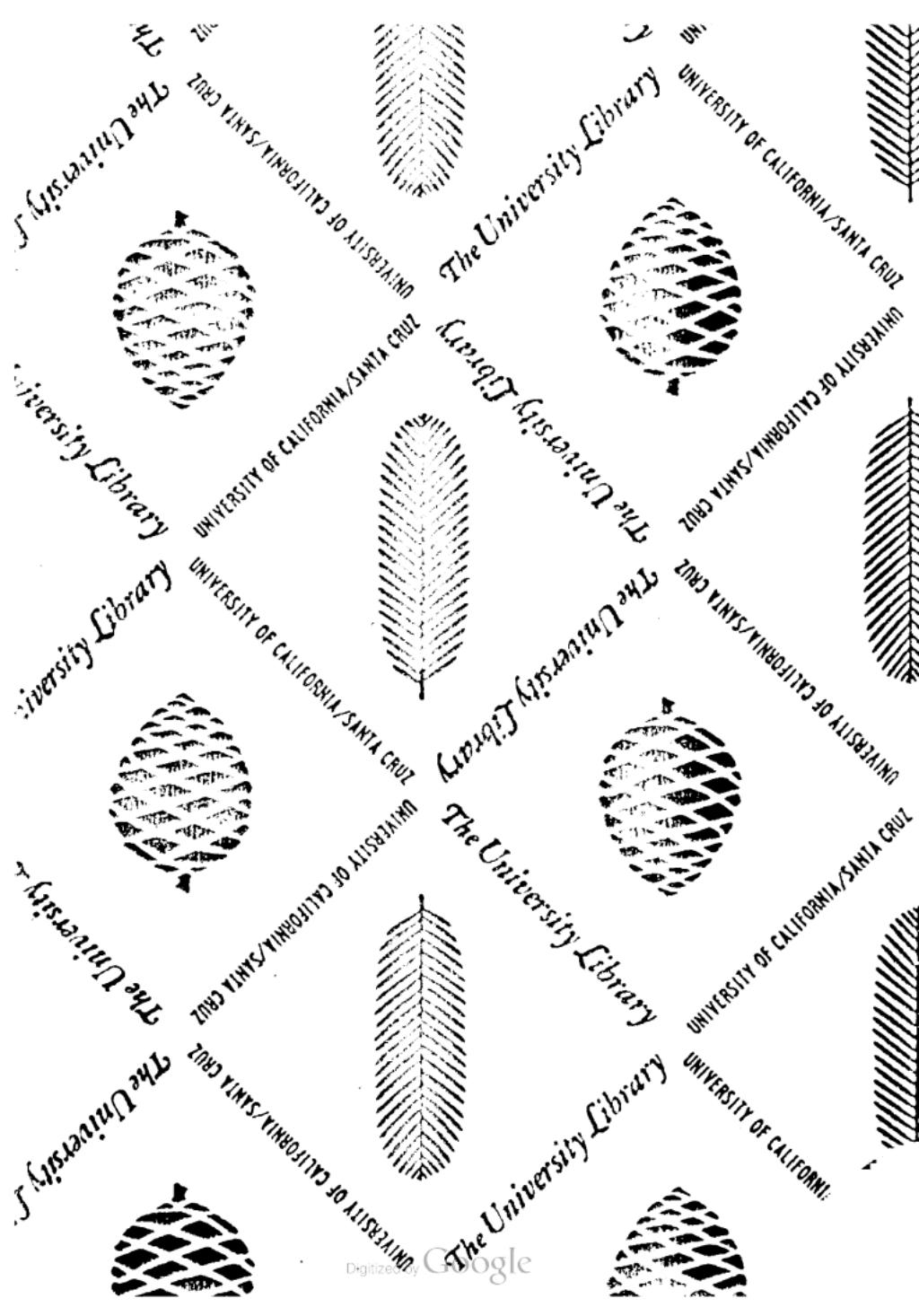
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# THE UTOPIA



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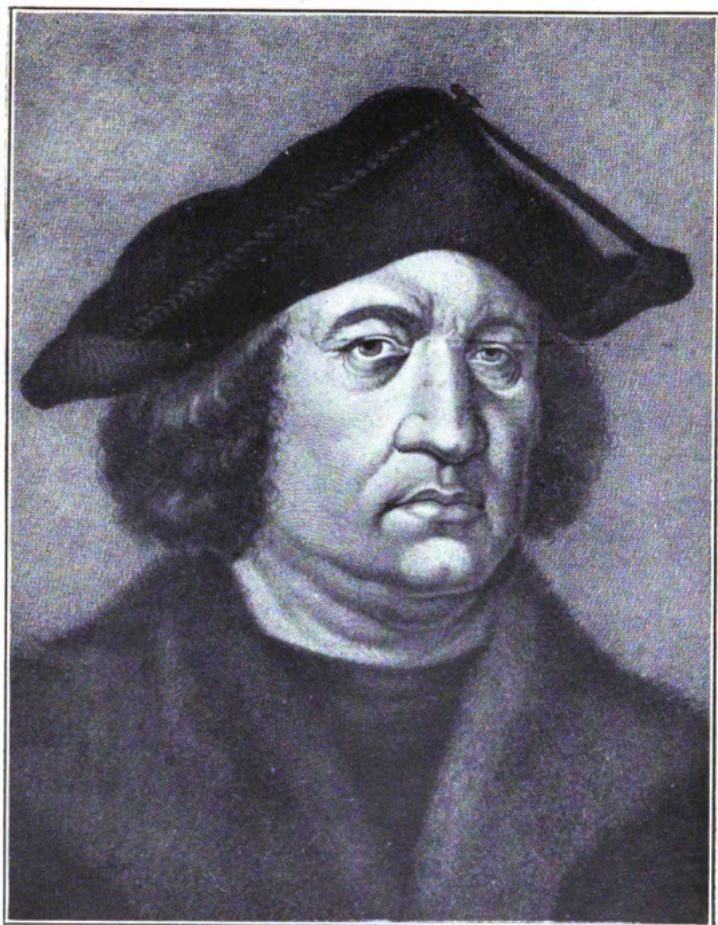
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**SIR THOMAS MORE**

THE UTOPIA  
OF  
SIR THOMAS MORE

EDITED  
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY  
BY

WILLIAM DALLAM ARMES, M.L.  
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## PREFACE

As it represents more nearly than any other what the *Utopia* would have been had More written it in English instead of Latin, the first edition of the first English translation, as reprinted by Dr. Lupton, has been taken as the basis of the text of this edition. The spelling and, so far as possible, the paragraphing have, however, been modernized; palpable misprints have been corrected, and single words omitted by Robynson from his first edition but given in his second have been inserted within brackets. Clauses and sentences that were omitted from both editions of Robynson's translation have, moreover, been supplied from Burnet's; but in every case such insertion is indicated in the notes. In one case, where Robynson was too plain-spoken for modern taste, the corresponding sentence from Burnet has been substituted without indication; and one sentence has been omitted without any substitution.

These changes have been made that college students in classes in English literature, for whom this edition

is intended, might get More's thought with the maximum of pleasure and the minimum of difficulty. "No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en."

The notes show the obligations of the present editor to his predecessors. In particular is he indebted to Dr. Lupton, whose monumental edition of More's Latin and Robynson's translation superseded all previous editions of the *Utopia* and made it practically necessary for all subsequent ones to depend largely upon it. In the Introduction free use has been made of an article on "A First Fruit of the Renaissance in England, More's 'Utopia'" that the writer contributed to the July, 1911, number of *The University of California Chronicle*.

W. D. A.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA,  
September, 1911.

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## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE

THOMAS MORE was born in London, February 7, 1478, the son of a lawyer in but moderate circumstances, who in 1517 became a judge in the Court of Common Pleas and three years later was transferred to the King's Bench. After he had attended a free school in London, the boy, when about twelve, was placed in the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, as a page; and at once made a great impression on his patron. William Roper, who became More's son-in-law, says in his *Life of More*: "Though he was young of years, yet would he at Christmas-tide suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and, never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers-on more sport than all the players beside. In whose wit and towardness the Cardinal much delighting, would often say of him unto the nobles that divers times dined with him, 'This child here waiting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it,

will prove a marvellous man.’’ The feeling of More towards his patron is shown in the eulogy that he goes somewhat out of his way to introduce into the *Utopia* (31 and 32).

That the boy’s natural abilities might be developed by education, the cardinal sent him, about 1492, to one of the colleges of Oxford. Here he remained two years, devoting himself to Latin, the newly introduced Greek, history, mathematics, and music. Young as he was, he became known as one of the foremost champions of “the New Learning.”

As More’s father wished him to follow his own profession, he withdrew him from the university when he was about sixteen and entered him as a student in one of the legal associations of London. After studying equity for two years at New Inn, an “inn of chancery,” he entered Lincoln’s Inn, an “inn of court,” for the study of the common law. So able and diligent was he that ere long he was appointed reader on law at one of the inns of chancery, and as such gave so great satisfaction that the appointment was renewed “three years or more.”

Notwithstanding his success, More was not, however, whole-heartedly devoted to his profession; but had a great longing for the “religious,” even the

monastic life. At one of the London churches he delivered a series of lectures on St. Augustine's *City of God*, to which "all the chief learned of the city of London" resorted; and for about four years he "gave himself to devotion and prayer" among the Carthusian monks in the Charterhouse, subjecting himself, though without a vow, to their austerities, fasting, wearing a hair shirt next his skin (a practice he never entirely gave up), and even scourging himself. Finding, however, that his longing for a family life was too great to be overcome, he gave up all thought of becoming a monk, a Franciscan friar, or a priest; and devoted himself unreservedly to his profession.

Meanwhile, about 1498, he met the great Dutch scholar Erasmus, and a warm and enduring friendship grew up between them. "They were united," writes Guthkelch, "not only by their love of classical literature, but also by the likeness of their characters—their love of truth, their hatred of all shams and hypocrisies, their kindness; above all, perhaps, by the possession of that kind of humor which pierces to the reality lying beneath the pomps and shows of the world." This friendship with Erasmus, who was thirteen years his senior and already had a European reputation as a scholar and writer, was of the greatest

possible benefit to More in developing his genius and determining the character of his work.

In 1504 More became a member of Parliament, and at once made his influence felt. Henry VII. had asked for certain grants in connection with the marriage of his daughter to the King of Scotland that to More seemed excessive; he therefore led the opposition and succeeded in having the amount granted cut down to but a little over a quarter of that asked for. "He is the first person in our history," writes Sir James Mackintosh, "distinguished by the faculty of public speaking." Great was the king's amazement on hearing that his ministers had been outwitted and his expectations disappointed by a beardless boy, and so sore was his displeasure that More found it prudent to retire to private life.

In the spring of 1505 More married Jane, or Joan, Colt, the daughter of a gentleman of Essex. Erasmus, who later in the year was again in England and was for some time a guest in More's home, writes that, as she was a country-bred girl, "he took care to have her instructed in learning, and especially in all musical accomplishments, and had made her such that he could have willingly passed his whole life with her, but a premature death separated them." During their

five years of happy married life she gave More three daughters and a son.

While Erasmus was More's guest, the two friends utilized their leisure by translating from Greek into Latin some of the dialogues of Lucian, the second-century satirist (cf. note on 152:7), More selecting as his share the *Cynicus*, *Menippus*, and *Philopseudes*; a work which was published in 1506. On a third visit to England, in 1508, Erasmus, while again More's guest, composed in his home what became his most famous work, *The Praise of Folly*, the Latin title of which, *Encomium Moriae*, has an intentional joke on the name of his host. In the same year, 1508, More made his first visit to the Continent. Nothing is known concerning it save his statement that he visited the universities of Paris and Louvain and took pains to ascertain what was taught in them and by what methods.

The year 1510 was a noteworthy one in More's life: his first wife died and he married again, his second wife being Alice Middleton, a widow some years older than himself; he published a translation of a *Life of John Picus, Earl of Mirandola*, with letters and other writings by that famous scholar of the Italian Renaissance; and he was made under-sheriff of London, an office that required him once a week to act as judge

in civil cases. He had won great fame as an able, upright lawyer, who would plead no cause that he considered unjust and took no fees from widows, orphans, or the poor; he soon gave no less satisfaction and won no less renown as a judge than he had attained as a barrister. Roper states that there was no important case in which he was not engaged, and that by his private practice and his official position he made not less than £400 a year, which at the present time would equal an income of nearly \$25,000.

In 1513 More composed his *History of Richard III.*, which he did not complete and which was not published until long after his death. He wrote it not only in Latin but also in English, and thus became "the first Englishman who wrote the history of his country in its present language."

Naturally Henry VIII., who succeeded his father in 1509, wished to have such an able and popular lawyer in his service. Loath to give up his freedom, More refused to be tempted; but later circumstances forced him to yield. Trouble that had arisen between the London merchants and the association of foreign merchants there resident made necessary a meeting between representatives of the King of England and those of the Archduke of Flanders, and the Londoners asked

that More be appointed one of the English embassy of five. The king consented, and on May 12, 1515, More left his native country for the second time.

Owing to hitches in the negotiations, they lasted much longer than was expected. More was abroad over six months; and during his enforced leisure he wrote, at Antwerp, a great part, if not the whole, of the second part of the *Utopia*.

The English ambassadors returned home crowned with success, and for his part therein More was rewarded with a pension of £100 a year for life. The ability in diplomacy that he had shown led to his appointment on another embassy in 1517, when, with two others, he was sent to Calais to settle some disputes with the French that had arisen. Shortly after this occurred the incident that led to his definitely giving up his private practice and entering the king's service. A ship that belonged to the Pope was obliged to put into Southampton, and was claimed by the king as forfeited. The papal legate demanded, however, that the case be tried, and asked the services of a skilled English lawyer. More was appointed to represent him, and so ably did he present his case and so convincingly did he argue that it was decided in his favor. Henry was thereupon more determined

than ever to have him in his service, and would not be denied. Though he made a considerable pecuniary sacrifice by so doing, More was obliged to yield; and early in 1518 became the king's Master of Requests, and in the summer of the same year a privy councillor.

As a courtier More was no less honorable than he had been as a lawyer and as a judge, refusing all gifts for his influence and decisions. "Happy the commonwealth," wrote Erasmus, "where kings appoint such officials! \* \* \* You would say that he had been appointed the public guardian of all those in need."

Henry, though in 1518 a man of twenty-seven, as yet gave little indication of what he was later to become; but was, More writes, a prince "so affable and courteous to all men that each one thinks himself his favorite." For the forty-year-old More he had a liking that proved embarrassing to his councillor. So charmed was he by his character and conversation that he could hardly bear him from his sight. At their supper the king and queen commonly had him present to make them mirth; and at night and on holidays Henry discoursed with him on geometry, astronomy, divinity, and such weighty subjects. Hardly once in a month could More get leave to absent himself from the court to visit his family, nor could he be away two consecutive days

without being sent for. In self-defence, therefore, he was obliged to dissemble somewhat; he became less mirthful and therefore less entertaining, and “was of them,” says Roper, “from thenceforth no more so ordinarily sent for.”

In 1523 More bought a large tract of ground on the river bank at Chelsea, then a small detached village a few miles up the Thames from Westminster, and built there a large, commodious house in which to spend with his family all the time that he could escape from court. In course of time his family included not only his wife, his daughters and their husbands, and his son and his wife, but also eleven grandchildren and a considerable number of servants and retainers. For his private use, therefore, he erected “the New Building,” in which were his library, his study, and his domestic oratory. In this home the king sometimes visited More in an easy, informal manner, “to be merry with him,” as it is expressed by Roper, who draws a pretty picture of the familiarity of their relations. “On a time unlooked for,” he writes, “he came to dinner, and after dinner, in a fair garden of his, walked with him by the space of an hour, holding his arm about his neck. As soon as his Grace was gone, I, rejoicing, told Sir Thomas More how happy he was whom the

king had so familiarly entertained, as I had never seen him do to any before except Cardinal Wolsey, whom I saw his Grace once walk with arm in arm. ‘I thank our Lord, son,’ quoth he, ‘I find his Grace my very good lord indeed; and I do believe he doth as singularly favor me as any subject within this realm.’” But that More was not blinded by this show of familiar affection as to Henry’s selfishness is shown by the remainder of his speech: “‘Howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee that I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to go.’”

More was in the king’s service some fourteen years, from 1518 to 1532, and rose by degrees to be, next the king, to quote his own words, “the highest officer in this whole realm.” In 1521 he was made under-treasurer, “an office which corresponds in some respects with that of Chancellor of the Exchequer at the present day”; and in the same year he was made “a gilded knight,” as the phrase then was. In 1523, through the influence of Wolsey, he was made Speaker of the House of Commons, and thus, as was then the custom, the manager of the king’s business in the House. But if the Lord Chancellor expected to find the new speaker merely a tool in his hands, he was grievously disappointed.

The same independence and regard for his conscience that brought about his martyrdom led him to oppose what seemed to him unreasonable demands for subsidies, though Wolsey in person urged the House to grant them. "Would to God you had been at Rome, Mr. More," exclaimed the exasperated cardinal, "when I made you speaker!" "Your Grace not offended," cheerfully answered More, "so would I too"; and adroitly changed the subject. Wolsey's resentment must have been short-lived, however, for an extant letter from him to the king speaks in the highest terms of More's services in this parliament, and suggests that an extra allowance of £100 be made him.

In 1525 the position of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was added to More's other offices, and in the same year he was appointed with the Bishop of Ely to confer with the envoys of France as to the conditions of a truce between that country and England. In the following year and again in the next he was a member of similar commissions, and in 1527 he accompanied Wolsey to France as councillor on the embassy that concluded the negotiations. In 1529 he was again sent to the Continent on an embassy, one of his colleagues being the Cuthbert Tunstall, at this date Bishop of London, who had been with him on his

first embassy and of whom he speaks so highly in the opening of the *Utopia*.

Long before 1527 Henry had wearied of his queen, who was six years older than himself and had failed to give him the son for whom he hoped; and had cast longing eyes on one of her ladies-in-waiting, Anne Boleyn. He therefore sought a divorce or an annulment of his marriage, on the ground that the Pope had no right to grant the dispensation that permitted him to marry Catherine of Aragon, who had been his brother's wife. By his failure to obtain this, Wolsey lost Henry's favor, and in 1529 was deprived of his position as chancellor. Though More had already indicated to the king that he considered his contention untenable, he was appointed Wolsey's successor. "Every one is delighted at his promotion," wrote the imperial envoy, "because he is an upright and learned man, and a good servant of the Queen." His old friend Erasmus was naturally delighted to hear of his elevation, though, he wrote, "I do not at all congratulate More, nor literature; but I do indeed congratulate England, for a better or holier judge could not have been appointed."

If, as Roper asserts, Henry appointed More chancellor "to move him to incline to his side," he little knew his man. When, shortly after More's elevation, Henry

again broached the subject of the divorce to him, More fell on his knees and expressed his regret that his conscience would not permit him in this matter to serve his Grace's pleasure, and reminded the king of what he had said to him when he first entered his service, that he was "first to look unto God, and after God unto him."

More was chancellor until May 16, 1532, when he resigned and retired to private life. Only indirectly did the divorce question bring about his resignation. Henry came to feel that a breach with the Pope was inevitable, and began to prepare for it by strengthening his hold on the church in England. In 1531 the clergy was forced into recognizing him as "Protector and Supreme Head of the Church in England, so far as the law of Christ allows"; and in the following year into agreeing to hold no convocation without his license nor to pass any ordinance without his assent. More was much mortified by the first act, and counselled the king against the second. As Henry paid no attention to his advice, he asked to be relieved of his office, alleging, as his reason for desiring to give it up, the state of his health, which was indeed bad. According to Roper, the king still had great affection for More; and when he received from him the great

seal praised him for having worthily discharged the duties of his high office and promised that “for the good service he before had done him, in any suit which he should after have unto him, that either should concern his honor, . . . or that should appertain unto his profit, he would find his Highness a good and gracious lord unto him.”

Though his income after he had entered the king’s service, even when he was chancellor, was no greater than it had been before, his expenses had been decidedly increased ; and More left office a comparatively poor man. His cheerfulness did not desert him, however. It was his great desire to keep his large family together, and this he proposed to do ; for he humorously said to them, “ May we yet, with bags and wallets, go a-begging together, and, hoping that for pity some good folks will give their charity, at every man’s door to sing ‘*Salve Regina*,’ and so still keep company merrily together.”

During the remainder of 1532 and the whole of the following year he busied himself in writing books, chiefly in opposition to those of the Protestants that had arisen in Germany and England. This was entirely a work to which he felt called by his conscience, for from these works he derived no pecuniary profit

whatever. To express their appreciation, the clergy, knowing his straitened circumstances, collected a fund of £5000 and tendered it to him ; but, though this would have yielded him an income ten times as great as the modest one that was then his, he steadfastly refused to accept the fund, saying that he looked to God alone for his reward ; and the money had to be returned to the contributors.

Meanwhile Henry, having prepared all his plans, proceeded to act. In January, 1533, he secretly married Anne Boleyn ; and ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to try in his archiepiscopal court the question of the validity of his former marriage. As Cranmer, the archbishop, was his tool, the verdict was what the king desired. Anne was proclaimed queen, and on June 1 was publicly crowned. Though More had become a private citizen, so great was the influence of his example that an especial endeavor was made to have him present at the coronation : he was invited to attend with his old friend Tunstall, at that time Bishop of Durham, and two other bishops ; but he declined. The new queen and her relatives, among whom were some of the most powerful nobles in England, resented this slight, and exerted themselves to disgrace the former chancellor. He was tried on various

charges, but so uprightly had he acted and so circumspectly had he spoken that he came from the examinations with increased honor.

On March 23, 1534, six months after the birth of Anne's daughter, who became Queen Elizabeth, the Pope gave his decision that Henry's marriage with Catherine was legal, and commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to take her again as wife and queen. The answer to this was the passage by Parliament of a bill limiting the succession to the issue of Anne, and making it treason to oppose the bill and misprision of treason to speak against it or to refuse to take an oath to observe and maintain its whole contents. No form of oath was prescribed by Parliament, and that formulated by the commissioners included a preamble that went beyond the act by containing a declaration that Henry's first marriage was invalid and his second valid and a repudiation of any oath taken "to any foreign authority, prince, or potentate." When More was asked to take the oath, he stated that he was willing to give his assent to the act limiting the succession, but that he could not, for his conscience' sake, swear to the preamble. He was, therefore, detained in custody until it could be learned whether this would be acceptable to the king. Henry proved obdurate; and on April 17, 1534,

More was committed to the Tower as guilty of misprision of treason, the penalties for which were perpetual imprisonment and confiscation of all property.

Even under these circumstances his wit and cheerfulness did not fail him. The Lieutenant of the Tower, an old friend, expressed his regret that he could not provide him with better fare without risking the displeasure of the king; More thanked him for his courtesy, asserted that he did not dislike the fare, and invited the lieutenant, when he heard of his complaining, to thrust him out from his doors! At first he was not harshly treated in prison; he was allowed to have a servant to attend him, to receive delicacies from friends, and to be visited by his wife and his favorite daughter Margaret, both of whom vainly endeavored to have him comply with the king's wishes. He spent most of his time in writing; composing prayers, meditations, a treatise on Christ's passion, and a *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*. His illness, however, increased; and the confinement brought on new disorders that more than once came near causing his death. Towards the end of 1534, therefore, his wife and children petitioned for his pardon and release, but neither this nor a second application, made in May, 1535, was favorably received.

While More was in prison, Parliament passed the law of supremacy, which expressly stated that the king should be “accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the church of England”; and followed this by another law that made it high treason for any person “maliciously to wish, will, or desire by words or writing to deprive him of his dignity, title, or name of his royal estate.” On April 30, 1535, commissioners that met at the Tower asked More his opinion of the act of supremacy. He replied that he had often expressed his opinion on its subject both to the king and his questioner, the king’s secretary; and refused to answer more definitely, saying that, having discharged his mind of all such matters, he would not dispute of king’s titles or of Pope’s, but would give his whole time to the study of Christ’s passion and meditation on his own passage out of this world. Two further attempts were made to induce him “to make a plain and terminate answer whether he thought the statute lawful or not”; but they were no more successful than the first had been. On the 1st of July he was, therefore, brought to trial on a charge of treason. He asserted before his judges that he had “never discovered what was in his conscience to any person living” and that “the statute could not condemn him to death for keeping

silent, for neither it nor any laws in the world punish people except for words and deeds — surely not for keeping silence.” In reply the king’s proctor said that “such silence was a certain proof of malice intended against the statute”; and the case was given to the jury. In fifteen minutes it brought in a verdict of guilty; and the sentence of death was then pronounced by More’s successor in the chancellorship.

As he had now nothing more to lose, More spoke freely, closing with the thoroughly characteristic speech, “I know well that the reason why you have condemned me is because I have never been willing to consent to the king’s second marriage; but I hope, in the Divine goodness and mercy, that, as St. Paul and St. Stephen, whom he persecuted, are now friends in Paradise, so we, though differing in this world, shall be united in perfect charity in the other. I pray God to protect the king, and give him good counsel.” “It will scarcely be doubted,” writes Sir James Mackintosh, “that no such culprit stood at any European bar for a thousand years. . . . It does not seem that in any moral respect Socrates himself could claim a superiority.”

When More on his return from his trial at Westminster landed at Tower wharf, his daughter Margaret,

with her husband, was awaiting him to receive his final blessing. "As soon as she saw him," in Roper's own words, "after his blessings on her knees reverently received, she, hasting towards, without consideration of care of herself, pressing in amongst the midst of the throng and the company of the guard that with halberds and bills were round about him, hastily ran to him and there openly in the sight of all them embraced and took him about the neck and kissed him, who well liking her most daughterly love and affection towards him gave her his fatherly blessing and many godly words of comfort besides; from whom after she was departed, she not satisfied with the former sight of her dear father, having respect neither to herself nor to the press of the people and multitude that were about him, suddenly turned back again and ran to him as before, took him about the neck, and divers times together most lovingly kissed him, and at last with a full heavy heart was fain to depart from him: the beholding whereof was to many of them that were present thereat so lamentable that it made them for very sorrow to mourn and weep."

Early on the morning of July 6 he was informed that the king had decided that he was to be executed before nine o'clock of that same morning. He received

the tidings with calm equanimity, and proceeded to array himself in a rich silken gown that had been sent him by a friend. As this would be the perquisite of the executioner, the Lieutenant of the Tower prevailed on him to change it for one less valuable; but More insisted on giving the headsman a piece of gold in addition to his ordinary garments for doing him "so singular a benefit" (cf. note on 57:9). Even at the scaffold his calmness and wit did not desert him; as the flimsily constructed steps swayed, he jestingly called out to his friend, "I pray you, I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up; and for my coming down let me shift for myself." As was customary, the executioner asked pardon for what he was about to do: More kissed him, and said cheerfully, "Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short; take heed, therefore, thou strike not awry for saving of thine honesty." Having asked all present to pray for him and to bear witness that he died in and for the faith of the holy Catholic Church, he knelt and recited the psalm *Miserere*, which had been his favorite prayer. According to his great-grandson Cresacre More, when he had laid his head on the block he bade the executioner stay a moment, and, moving out of the way of the axe

the long white beard that had grown during his confinement, murmured, "That at least has not committed treason." A moment later the axe fell, and what Lord Campbell, one of More's successors in the chancellorship, termed "the blackest crime that has ever been perpetrated in England under the form of law" was consummated.

Commenting on the jesting good humor with which More met death, which "would be frenzy in one who does not resemble him as well in the cheerfulness of his temper, as in the sanctity of his life and manners," Addison writes: "His death was of a piece with his life. There was nothing in it new, forced, or affected. He did not look upon the severing of his head from his body as a circumstance that ought to produce any change in the disposition of his mind; and as he died under a fixed and settled hope of immortality, he thought any unusual degree of sorrow and concern improper on such an occasion as had nothing in it which could deject or terrify him."

The news of More's execution filled Europe with horror. When the Emperor Charles V., of whose diplomats his simple directness and sturdy honesty had so often got the better, heard of it, he sent for the English ambassador and asked him concerning it.

But the ambassador had heard nothing. "Well," said the emperor, "it is very true; and this will we say, that if we had been master of such a servant, of whose doings ourselves have had these many years no small experience, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions than have lost such a worthy counsellor."

Faithful even unto death, More has been beatified by the church for whose faith he suffered, an honor that would have meant more to him than any that could have been bestowed by any temporal prince. But, however much they may differ from them in doctrine, Protestants have vied with Catholics in paying tribute to the equable temper, calm fortitude, and lofty character of this great and good man. In its essentials the *Utopia* is a mirror of his mind. "He thus simply performed great acts, and uttered great thoughts, because they were familiar to his great soul."

## II. THE EARLY EDITIONS OF THE "UTOPIA"

As has been said, More wrote the greater part, if not the whole, of the second part of the *Utopia* in Antwerp during the leisure forced on him by the break in the negotiations that had led to his being sent to Flanders

as an ambassador in 1515. Apparently he showed what he had written to Giles, and was urged by him to finish it. After his return to England he did so, but so busy was he that nearly a year passed before he sent the completed manuscript to his Antwerp friend. With it was a letter in which More said that he was undecided whether to publish his work or not, but was willing to be guided by the counsels of his friends, and especially by that of Giles.

The manuscript was therefore submitted by Giles to several of More's friends living in Antwerp and the vicinity; and their advice was in favor of giving the book to the world. But, though it was written in Latin and was therefore inaccessible to those who might have been led by it to attempt "reform by revolution rather than evolution," it contained such an unflattering picture of England's condition and such drastic criticism of the policies of Henry VIII. and his father that its publication in England would have been attended by grave danger to both author and publisher. It was therefore, late in 1516, issued at Louvain, a university town of Belgium; and no edition of it, either in the original or in translation, was published in England until long after the death of More and four years after that of Henry.

Giles and Erasmus furnished the first edition with marginal notes that not only gave the topics of the paragraphs, but pointed out the likeness between Amaurote and London, stated that the communism in Utopia is similar to that in Plato's ideal state, and occasionally call attention to how much better things are managed in Utopia than in Europe. Several times their admiration of the author's cleverness leads them to insert such remarks as "Wonderful wittily spoken!" and "O witty head!" Giles also inserted the Utopian alphabet, which is made of circles, semi-circles, squares, triangles, and right angles slightly differentiated for the different letters, and four lines of verse in the Utopian language, of which nothing could have been made had he not obligingly furnished a Latin translation. These he asserted were given him by Hythloday after More's departure from Antwerp and before his own. More's letter to Giles was also printed with the work, and one by Giles to Jérôme Busleyden that may to a certain extent be considered an answer to it; and there were also published with the *Utopia* two other letters and four other poems encomiastic of the work and its author. The book was, moreover, embellished by a woodcut that gave a bird's-eye view of the island and its principal city.

The popularity of the work was immediate. Late in 1517 or early in 1518, it was reprinted at Paris with a second letter from More to Giles and one by the learned French scholar William Budé to Thomas Lupset, the young Englishman who had brought the book to his attention; and in 1518 it was twice issued at Basle, in Switzerland, with a letter concerning it from Erasmus to the printer, Froben. In 1519 it was published at Venice; and after that date its republication was frequent. It was not, however, till 1663 that the Latin text was published in England. As early as 1524 a German translation appeared; and before the first English translation (1551) translations into Italian (1548) and French (1550) had been published. A Dutch translation was issued in 1553 and a Spanish in 1790.

### III. THE "UTOPIA" AS A FIRST-FRUIT OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND

As the *Utopia* is to a great extent the outgrowth of the classical studies that More began at Oxford, it may be considered as a first-fruit of the Renaissance in England. The interest in, and the intelligent study of, the literary masterpieces of classical antiquity was

one of the effects of the changed attitude towards man, this world, the life here and the life hereafter, that during the fifteenth century brought "the Middle Ages" to a close and revolutionized European civilization. To date the beginning of the Renaissance, or even of the study of Greek literature in western Europe, from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, as is too frequently done, is a great error. Over half a century earlier a professorship of Greek was established in the University of Florence, and by the middle of the fifteenth century not only were all the more important Greek writers known and studied in Italy, but throughout the peninsula the intellectual life was informed by the spirit of antiquity. The fall of Constantinople did, however, do much to increase the already awakened interest in Greek life, literature, and thought. Many Byzantine scholars were practically forced into exile by it, and with their precious manuscripts made their way to Italy, where they found an eager welcome.

The most famous of these was probably the learned Chalcondylas, who settled at Florence, already renowned as a centre of "the New Learning." His lectures were attended by scholars from all parts of Europe, who on their return to their homes taught what

they had learned and thus in turn became apostles of culture. Though the study of Greek was introduced into the University of Oxford by Cornelio Vitelli, an Italian exile, it was William Grocyn, an Englishman, who after studying under Vitelli enlarged his knowledge of Greek by listening to the lectures of Chalcondylas, that first made it a subject of importance. "The Greek lectures which he delivered in Oxford," writes Green, "mark the opening of a new period in our history." Associated with him were Thomas Linacre, who had received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Padua after studying at Bologna, Florence, and Rome ; and John Colet, who utilized in lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul the Greek scholarship that he had acquired in Florence. Thanks to these able teachers, Oxford soon rivalled Florence itself as a centre for humanistic study and attracted many Continental scholars who lacked the means to make the trip to Italy. It was to study Greek that Erasmus first came to England, and so well satisfied was he that he wrote: "I have found in Oxford so much polish and learning that now I hardly care about going to Italy at all, save for the sake of having been there. When I listen to my friend Colet it seems like listening to Plato himself. Who does not wonder at

the wide range of Grocyn's knowledge? What can be more searching, deep, and refined than the judgment of Linacre? When did Nature mould a temper more gentle, endearing, and happy than the temper of Thomas More?"

Much younger than those with whom he is thus associated, More differed from them in that he neither studied in Italy nor taught at Oxford. The pupil of Grocyn and Linacre, he was essentially a home product. He differed from this group of scholars also in the nature of much of his literary work. His lectures on St. Augustine's *City of God* may have been comparable to those of Colet on St. Paul's epistles and his translations of Lucian with those of Galen by Linacre; but his most famous work, the *Utopia*, was without a parallel among those of the older men. Though inspired by a masterpiece of Greek thought and thoroughly impregnated by the spirit of the classics, it is an original work that shows decided independence of even the greatest teachers.

In making Hythloday say that the Utopians practise in their commonwealth the principles that Plato set forth as those of an ideal state (75:9), More indicates the chief source of his inspiration, the *Republic*, in which Plato makes Socrates, in an endeavor to ascertain the

meaning of "justice," sketch what it seemed to him should be the principal features of an ideal commonwealth. It should be, in his judgment, an aristocracy, in which there should be two classes, the guardians and the producers. Of the latter class, the husbandmen and handicraftsmen, Plato has but little to say: his interest is almost entirely in the guardians; and to the natural endowments to be possessed by them and the education, training, and discipline that will most fully develop those endowments, full consideration is given. They should be philosophical, high-spirited, swift-footed, and strong; and every means possible should be taken to intensify these characteristics. They should live in a camp in simple dwellings into which any one should be at liberty to enter; should eat in common messes; and, being supported by the producers, should possess no private property if it can possibly be avoided. In particular, they should handle no gold nor silver, "because the world's coinage has been the cause of countless impieties." The women who are to be the mates of this class should be similarly endowed; should be given the same education, discipline, and training; and should have the same duties and be eligible to the same offices. Their alliances should be strictly regulated by law, and the

resulting offspring should be taken charge of by the state and reared for its service. Should any child born of guardians show little or no aptitude for their work, he or she should be degraded to the class of producers, even as a child born of producers that has the characteristics of the guardian class should be trained and educated for it. This higher class should again be divided into two, the auxiliaries, or protectors, and the guardians proper, or rulers. The latter should be selected from the oldest and best of the auxiliaries; that is, from those who are "remarkable above others for the zeal with which, through their whole life, they have done what they thought advantageous to the state, and inflexibly refused to do what they thought the reverse."

It is evident that, while More embodied most of this in his *Utopia*, he by no means slavishly followed Plato. In several particulars he made changes that are noteworthy. Utopia is a democracy rather than an aristocracy, and class distinctions are practically unknown. The higher officials, to be sure, are elected from a small class of scholars, but this class is closed to no one; any ambitious handcraftsman who devotes his abundant leisure to study may enter it. Communism is a fundamental principle of the whole polity

instead of being characteristic only of a higher, supported class; and the state relies for its protection on the strength, ability, and patriotism of the whole people. In a word, such was More's faith in "the common people" that in the ideal state of which he gives an account *all* are guardians and are given practically the education and training that Plato prescribed for the upper class in his republic.

In one respect, More is less thoroughgoing than Plato. There are indications (109: 9-16) that in *Utopia* the children belong primarily to the state and that parental affection must give way to the exigencies of the commonwealth; but so far as possible family life is conserved, and it is made the basis of the state. Plato, on the other hand, evidently thought communism incompatible with domestic affection and family life, and therefore in his republic every possible means were to be taken to destroy them; among his guardian class "the parent shall not know his child, nor the child his parent."

But while the *Republic* is the main source of the *Utopia*, it is by no means the only classical work from which More derived hints and details. As the notes point out, Plutarch's account of the life of the Lacedemonians in his *Life of Lycurgus* contributed much;

the disquisition on the notions that the Utopians have concerning pleasure is almost a cento from Cicero's *De Finibus*; and Lucian, Thucydides, and Tacitus were laid under contribution. Even such a triviality as the account of the artificial incubation practised in Utopia has its origin in Pliny's statement that this was a practice among the Egyptians.

The student should be on his guard, however, against thinking that in all the cases of similarity of thought pointed out in the notes More consciously quoted or paraphrased. On the contrary, what he had read had in many cases become so thoroughly a part of his own thought that he would probably have been surprised to learn that he had derived it from another:—

“ For, indeed, is 't so easy to know  
Just how much we from others have taken,  
And how much our own natural flow ? ”

He was the heir of the past; and the *Utopia* is a fruit that resulted from his cultivation of that heritage. “ It tells us more of the curiosity the New Learning had awakened in Englishmen concerning all the problems of life, society, government, and religion than any other book of the time. It is the representative

book of that short but well-defined period which we may call English Renaissance before the Reformation."

#### IV. THE LITERARY ART SHOWN IN THE "UTOPIA"

That the second part of the *Utopia* was the earlier written, has already been said. There are several indications, among them the division into sections and the occasional use of the editorial plural (142:2) that it was originally intended as an independent whole. But having constructed his castle in the air, More decided to put a foundation under it; having shown how certain fundamental principles (which Budé in his letter to Lupset (xxxvi:4) gave as the absolute equality of all things good and bad among fellow-citizens, a settled and unwavering love of peace and quietness, and a contempt for gold and silver) would work out in practice in an actually existing state, he wrote what may be considered an introduction to explain how he came to learn of the existence of that state and to obtain such detailed information concerning its polity and the customs, manners, and beliefs of its inhabitants.

In 1507, eight years before More's visit to Flanders,

Vespucci's account of the four voyages that he asserted he had made across the ocean was published. To many it must have proved a very disappointing book. Apparently the New World had nothing to teach the Old. The peoples that Vespucci had found there were but savages, living in a state of degradation unknown in Europe. Even had they been otherwise, however, his book clearly showed that Vespucci was not the man to be interested in, or to give an accurate account of, their governments, social systems, and religious beliefs. He was far from being either "the expert and prudent prince Ulysses" or "the ancient and sage philosopher Plato." To give him then as a companion one who was truly a philosophical traveller, and to make this one after he had been left in Brazil by Vespucci (21 : 20) explore on his own account and discover a people from whom the Old World might learn much, was a really brilliant idea.

But had More not been gifted with great literary art, the mere idea would have availed him little. He well knew, however, how to give the appearance of truth to his work by mingling fact and fiction and introducing minute, otherwise insignificant, details. That he went with Cuthbert Tunstall on an embassy to Bruges, that during a break in the negotiations he visited Antwerp,

and that while there he became intimate with the town-clerk, Peter Giles, were facts, as any reader could have ascertained for himself. Did he while in Giles's company meet a sailor whose "yarns" gave him the suggestion for the introduction to a work that he was even then writing? No one can say. We are on the border line between fact and fiction. But even if something of the sort happened, it is highly improbable that the sailor asserted that he was one of those that Vespucci left in Brazil; and of the fictitious nature of much that More says he was told by him there is, of course, no doubt whatever.

But More's cleverness went further than merely putting his fiction into the mouth of a returned traveller, whether real or imaginary. In all that concerns Europe, and especially England, there is neither fiction, misstatement, nor even exaggeration in the remarks attributed to Hythloday. Wherever More's readers had opportunity to test him, Hythloday showed himself a keen, accurate observer, an intelligent critic, and a shrewd political philosopher. Unconsciously to themselves, the earliest readers of the *Utopia* were led to respect his abilities, admire his judgment, and credit his veracity. And then, when he had prepared them to accept practically any statement made by

Hythloday, More put forward his own dream as a sober, matter-of-fact account by this traveller of the conditions that he had found in one of the many countries that he had visited.

More's cleverness is likewise shown in his explanation as to how the discourse was led from the consideration of conditions actually existing in Europe to the detailed account of the political and social systems, the manners and customs, and the religious beliefs of the Utopians. Hythloday, who had evidently travelled extensively before his voyages with Vespucci, illustrates his criticisms of conditions in Europe with comparisons with those in several little known or unknown countries that he had visited, and it is in connection with one of these that Utopia is first mentioned; the Achoriens are said to live to the southeast of it (63 : 13). This added nothing to the information of his hearers, and could have had little appeal to their interest. A little later the Macarians are said to live not far from Utopia (71 : 11). This, too, could be of little interest or practical value to Hythloday's auditors or More's readers. But the repetition of the name among others equally unknown, and in such a casual manner, increased the chance of its being accepted as that of an actual place. The third mention of Utopia

a few moments later (75:9) would certainly pique the curiosity of every student of the New Learning—the Utopians are said to carry out in actual practice the very principles that Plato had set forth as those of his hypothetical ideal state! More forbears breaking in on Hythloday's speech, and before its end still another reference to the Utopians is introduced,—they are said to be not only the best governed and happiest people that Hythloday has seen, but also, notwithstanding their practice of communism, the most industrious. By this, More is led to ask for a full account of this extraordinary people; and this, after they have dined, Hythloday gives him. It would be hard to overpraise the simplicity and naturalness of this introduction or the homely realism that More gives to his narrative.

Possibly it was from Lucian's *True History*, a collection of the most preposterous stories (cf. note on 25:23), that More learned how much more easy it is to give credence to "the lie circumstantial" than to a simple, unadorned untruth. Note the effect of the introduction into the *Utopia* of the homely, unimportant detail of their practising artificial incubation (90:5), of the account of the reception of the ambassadors of the Anemolians (126 ff.), and of the statement as to the

cause of the war that the Utopians made against the Alaopolitanes (171 : 18). This particularity in regard to insignificant details is pushed to the extreme in the letter to Giles that accompanied the manuscript of the *Utopia* and was printed with it: More professes great anxiety to know precisely what Hythloday said was the width of the Anyder where it flowed by Ainaurote (11 : 18). Surely, the reader is unconsciously led to think, a writer who is so scrupulously particular in regard to such a trivial detail may safely be trusted in his more important statements.

In his pretence that he was merely the accurate reporter of another's observations, and in the endeavor to give realism to his work by homely, commonplace touches, More was ably seconded by Giles in his letter to Busleyden. Giles is not content to say in general terms that, while Hythloday stated the location of Utopia, both he and More failed to catch it; he must explain just why they failed to catch it: Hythloday mentioned it only incidentally, and in a very few words; More's attention was distracted by a servant who inopportunely whispered in his ear; he himself lost some of the words by the loud coughing of one of the company. But even this is not detailed enough—he must explain that the cough was caused by a cold

and that the cold was caught, he thinks, a-shipboard ! Incredulous indeed must he be who would not credit such a particular statement.

And yet the complimentary letters and verses that were printed with the first edition show that More's earliest readers were not deceived by his fiction. He is given credit for the whole work ; his ideal commonwealth is said to surpass all those of antiquity ; and he is hailed as the brightest ornament of London, of England, nay, of the world ! Did he then fail in an endeavor to palm off his fiction as truth ? The very publication with the book itself of these commendations of his ability as a thinker and writer forbids the supposition ; and that actual deception was no part of his purpose is shown by the names that he gave to persons, places, peoples, and officials. Anemolius's verses end with the somewhat obvious pun that the name of the country described should be Eutopia (good place) rather than Utopia (no place) (230) ; and this alone was enough to put More's readers on the track of the derivation of most of the other names that he invented. These are explained in the notes ; but it may be well here to group a number of them together to show how thoroughly they indicate the fictitious nature of the work. Hythloday (distributor of idle talk) gives an

account of the institutions in *Utopia* (nowhere), the capital of which, *Amaurote* (the dim city), is situated on the river *Anyder* (waterless) and has as its chief magistrate an *ademas* (one without a people); and he brings these dwellers in nowhere into relations with the *Alaopolitanes* (those living in the blind city), the *Achoriens* (the people without a place), the *Nephelogetes* (the cloud folk), and the *Anemolians* (the inhabitants of the winds) !

More, evidently, neither expected nor desired to deceive his readers ; but he did wish to give his fiction the *appearance* of truth, because he knew that this would lead to its being more widely read and more thoroughly enjoyed. The *Utopia* is a precursor, the earliest in English literature, of *Gulliver's Travels*, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and a whole host of more modern works.

The second part of the *Utopia* can hardly be praised so highly for its literary art. The eight sections that follow the general account of the island are not arranged in a logical order, nor do the headings given them really indicate the nature of their contents. In truth, notwithstanding its appearance of orderliness, the second part is both repetitious and rambling. Anything may come in almost anywhere : the account of the care of

the sick among the Utopians and that of their marriage customs are found, for instance, in the section headed "Of Bondmen," and the greater part of that "Of Travelling" is a philosophical disquisition on the nature of true pleasure. And too often More is prolix and tedious. Had he reduced this section by one-third, the part would have been greater than the whole. Apparently he himself appreciated the monotony of his exposition, and to relieve it somewhat introduced such lightening touches as the account of the reception of the Anemolian ambassadors, that of the war of the Utopians against the Alaopolitan, and that of the pernicious zeal of the Utopian convert to Christianity. The modern reader is likely to wish that he had greatly increased the number of these.

## V. THE PURPOSE OF THE "UTOPIA"

"All great literature," says Matthew Arnold, "is at bottom a criticism of life"; but in the greatest this criticism is indirect rather than direct. The writer puts before his readers a fairer and nobler ideal, and thus virtually criticises the life actually around him.

In the *Utopia* we have both kinds of criticism of life; the direct in the preliminary portion, the indirect

in the account of the Utopians and their life. It must be borne in mind, however, that the *Utopia* does not set forth More's ideal of a commonwealth as the *Republic* sets forth Plato's. The latter is entirely theoretical. "Were we not professing to construct in theory the pattern of a perfect state?" Socrates is made to say; "Can a theoretical sketch be perfectly realized in practice? Do not impose upon me the duty of exhibiting all our theory realized with precise accuracy in fact." More, on the other hand, gives what purports to be an accurate account of the actual government and life in a country really existing. It is but one of those visited by Hythlodaeus that had "decrees and ordinances" "well and wittily provided and enacted," and More suggests that at some future time he may give accounts of some of the others (25:11). Naturally, then, to give verisimilitude to his sketch, with much of which it is evident he highly approves, he introduces features to which he does not give his sanction and some that are hardly more than exercises of fancy. To think that he was putting forward an ideal that he would have been glad to have seen adopted at once in all its details in his native land would be a great error. In the words of Professor Brewer, "More hovers so perpetually on the confines

of jest and earnest, passes so naturally from one to the other, that the reader is in constant suspense whether his jest be serious, or his seriousness a jest" (cf. note on 217: 18).

But, on the other hand, to think that the *Utopia* is a mere exercise of fancy without any practical purpose, as is sometimes done, is to make a mistake almost as great. The earliest readers clearly appreciated that back of the fun and the extravagance there is a serious purpose. Erasmus in 1517 advised a correspondent to read the *Utopia*, if he wished to see the true source of all political evils; and Budé, in the letter to Lupset printed in the second edition of the work, wrote, "In his history our age and those which succeed it will have a nursery, so to speak, of polite and useful institutions; from which men may borrow customs, and introduce and adapt them each to his own state." Again to quote Brewer, "Though the *Utopia* was not to be literally followed,—was no more than an abstraction at which no one would have laughed more heartily than More himself, if interpreted too strictly,—Utopia might serve to show to a corrupt Christendom what good could be effected by the natural instincts of men when following the dictates of natural prudence and justice."

That More intended some such practical application of his book is indicated by the detailed picture of the misery in England in the first part, and the many points of similarity between Utopia and England, Amaurote and London, in the second. The first part shows what the English had made of their island, the second what the Utopians had made of a similar one similarly situated. No sixteenth century Londoner could have read the book without noticing how much the physical environment of the Amaurotians resembled his own nor without appreciating how much more they took advantage of their insular position and the location of their capital, how much better they were governed, and how much more truly Utopia was a commonwealth. The *Utopia* shows what More thought might be made of his native country and native city if a desire for peace and internal improvement took the place of that for war and national aggrandizement, and private greed were supplanted by unselfish labor for the public weal. But that he was not sanguine that any great changes would ensue on the publication of his work is shown by his closing statement, "Many things be in the Utopian weal public which in our cities I may rather wish for than hope after."

## VI. RALPH ROBYNSON AND HIS TRANSLATION

Of the first English translator of the *Utopia*, Ralph Robynson, but little is known ; and that little is concerned mainly with his education. Born in Lincolnshire in 1521 of humble parentage, he became a school-fellow of Cecil (cf. note on 1 : 2) in the Grantham and Stamford grammar schools, a fact to which he refers in the epistle dedicating the translation of the *Utopia* to that statesman (6 : 25). At the age of fifteen he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford ; and four years later received the degree of A.B. That he was a student of more than ordinary ability is shown by the fact that he became a Fellow of his college at the age of twenty-one. In 1544 he supplicated for the degree of A.M., but whether or not his petition was granted is not known.

Nor is it known when he left the university. On the title-page of the first edition of his translation of the *Utopia*, published in 1551, he is described as "citizen and goldsmith of London," but this probably means no more than that he had obtained the livery of that powerful city company. Among the Lansdowne MSS. is a Latin letter from him to Cecil that sets forth his needy circumstances, the necessity of helping his par-

ents and maintaining two of his brothers having forced him to run into debt. This is undated, but is indorsed "May, 1551"; and as in the dedication to Cecil of the translation of the *Utopia*, which appeared in the same year, Robynson speaks of his having lately begun to renew and revive the old acquaintance that was between them when they were school-fellows and of Cecil's great gentleness to him "now lately again bountifully showed," Cecil seems to have relieved his necessities, probably by giving him a clerkship. In the second edition of the translation, which appeared five years after the first, an epistle "to the gentle reader" is substituted for that dedicating the work to Cecil; but if this change was to indicate Robynson's belief that he was now independent of a patron, he found that belief ill-founded. In both a Latin poem, written some time before 1571, and a Latin letter, written after July, 1572, he is again a suitor for Cecil's bounty. As the latter is indorsed "Rodolphus Robynsonus. For some place to relieve his poverty," he seems to have lost his clerkship. No further facts of his life have come to light, and the date of his death has not been ascertained.

So far as is known, the translation of the *Utopia* is Robynson's only literary work. It was made, he states in the epistle to Cecil, at the request of a friend,

who knew no Latin, for his private use; and hence was done somewhat more hastily and carelessly than would have been the case had it originally been intended for publication. Robynson realized that his translation is sometimes inexact and that his English lacks the grace and eloquence of More's Latin; but yielded, he says, to the importunities of his friends and consented to its publication.

The most marked peculiarity of his style is the use of two or more nearly synonymous expressions to translate a single Latin word, as if he were unable to find one that would precisely give its meaning. Thus "*diadema*" is translated "by a crown or diadem or cap of maintenance." That this comes from a habit of mind, however, is shown by the tendency to ~~right~~ the words in pairs in the two English epistles. In that to Cecil we find, for example, "I took up ~~the~~ to *turn and translate* out of Latin into our English tongue the *fruitful and profitable* book which Sir Thomas More, knight, *compiled and made* of the new isle Utopia, *containing and setting forth* the best *state and form* of a public weal."

In the epistle "to the gentle reader," Robynson asserts that in preparing the work for a second edition he has gone over it so carefully that he trusts that few great

faults and notable errors are now to be found in it. As a matter of fact, however, were it not for the insertion of translations of some of the marginal notes that accompanied More's Latin but did not appear in the first edition of the translation and of certain letters and poems (here given in an appendix), it might fairly be doubted whether in preparing his second edition Robynson had looked at his original. Not only are most of the errors in translation uncorrected, but omissions, even of clauses and sentences (cf. 40:9), have not been noticed. Most of his labor was evidently devoted to attempts, not always successful, at improving his English style. Too frequently in this process the picturesqueness and racy idiomatic quality of his original expression disappear. Compare, for instance, 34:9 with what was substituted for it in the second edition, given in the notes. Naturally, in striving for greater precision Robynson is even more redundant in his second edition than in his first: "*speciosam*," which in the first edition is translated "beautiful," becomes in the second "beautiful in appearance and more flourishing to the show"; "in four equal parts" becomes "in four equal parts or quarters."

But with all its sins of omission and of commission, Robynson's translation more nearly than any other gives

the *Utopia* as it would have been, had More written it in English instead of Latin (as is partially illustrated by the citation in the notes of passages from his *Life of Richard III.* containing words used by Robynson that have become obsolete); and as English prose compares favorably with any written up to the latter part of the sixteenth century. It is hardly too much to say that no previous writer of English prose had so great a feeling for balance, parallelism of sentence structure, and the resulting rhythm.

A frutefull  
and pleasaunt worke of the  
beste state of a publyque weale, and  
of the newe yle called Atopia : written  
in Latine by Syr Thomas More  
knyght, and translated into Englyshe  
by Raphé Robynson Citizen and  
Goldsmythe of London, at the  
procurement, and earnest re-  
quest of George Tadlowe  
Citezain & Haberdassher  
of the same Citiie.

(. . .)

¶ Imprinted at London  
by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Pauls  
Churcheyard at the sygne of  
the Lambe. Anno,  
1551



# UTOPIA

## ROBYNSON'S DEDICATORY LETTER TO CECIL

To the right honorable, and his very singular good master, MASTER WILLIAM CECIL,<sup>o</sup> ESQUIRE, one of the two principal secretaries to the King<sup>o</sup> his most excellent majesty, RALPH ROBYNSON<sup>o</sup> wisheth continuance of health, with daily increase of virtue and honor:— 5

Upon a time, when tidings came to the city of Corinth<sup>o</sup> that King Philip,<sup>o</sup> father to Alexander surnamed the Great, was coming thitherward with an army royal to lay siege to the city, the Corinthians, being forthwith stricken with great fear, began building and 10 earnestly to look about them and to fall to work of all hands; some to scour and trim up harness,<sup>o</sup> some to carry stones, some to amend and build higher the walls, some to rampire<sup>o</sup> and fortify the bulwarks and fortresses, some one thing and some another, for the 15 defending and strengthening of the city: the which busy labor and toil of theirs when Diogenes<sup>o</sup> the philosopher saw, having no profitable business whereupon to set himself on work (neither any man required

his labor and help as expedient for the commonwealth in that necessity), immediately girded about him his philosophical cloak° and began to roll and tumble up and down hither and thither upon the hillside that lieth 5 adjoining to the city his great barrel or tun wherein he dwelt: for other dwelling-place would he have none.

This seeing, one of his friends, and not a little musing thereat, came to him and, "I pray thee, Diogenes," quoth he, "why dost thou thus, or what mean- 10 est thou hereby ?" "Forsooth I am tumbling my tub too," quoth he, "because it were no reason that I only should be idle where so many be working."<sup>o</sup>

In semblable manner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am indeed, of much less ability than Diogenes 15 was to do anything that shall or may be for the advancement and commodity of the public wealth of my native country; yet I, seeing every sort and kind of people in their vocation and degree busily occupied about the commonwealth's affairs and especially 20 learned men daily putting forth in writing new inventions and devises to the furtherance of the same, thought it my bounden duty to God and to my country so to tumble my tub; I mean so to occupy and exercise myself in bestowing such spare hours as I, being at 25 the beck and commandment of others, could conven-

iently win to myself; that, though no commodity of that my labor and travail to the public weal should arise, yet it might by this appear that mine endeavor and good-will hereunto was not lacking.

To the accomplishment therefore and fulfilling of this my mind and purpose, I took upon me to turn and translate out of Latin into our English tongue the fruitful and profitable book which Sir Thomas More, knight, compiled and made of the new isle Utopia,<sup>o</sup> containing and setting forth the best state and form of a public weal: a work, as it appeareth, written almost forty years ago<sup>o</sup> by the said Sir Thomas More, the author thereof: the which man, forasmuch as he was a man of late time, yea almost of these our days, and for the excellent qualities wherewith the great goodness of God had plentifully endowed him, and for the high place and room<sup>o</sup> whereunto his prince had most graciously called him notably well-known, not only among us his countrymen but also in foreign countries and nations, therefore I have not much to speak of him.<sup>20</sup> This only I say: that it is much to be lamented of all, not only of us Englishmen, that a man of so incomparable wit, of so profound knowledge, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet nevertheless so much blinded, rather with obstinacy than with igno-<sup>25</sup>

rance, that he could not, or rather would not, see the shining light of God's holy truth in certain principal points of Christian religion; but did rather choose to persevere and continue in his wilful and stubborn obstinacy even to the very death: this I say is a thing much to be lamented.

But letting this matter pass, I return again to *Utopia*, which, as I said before, is a work not only for the matter that it containeth fruitful and profitable but also for the writer's eloquent Latin style pleasant and delectable; which he that readeth in Latin, as the author himself wrote it, perfectly understanding the same, doubtless he shall take great pleasure and delight both in the sweet eloquence of the writer and also in the witty invention and fine conveyance or disposition of the matter; but most of all in the good and wholesome lessons which be there in great plenty and abundance.

But now I fear greatly that in this my simple translation, through my rudeness and ignorance in our English tongue, all the grace and pleasure of the eloquence, wherewith the matter in Latin is finely set forth, may seem to be utterly excluded and lost; and therefore the fruitfulness of the matter itself much peradventure diminished and appaired. For who

knoweth not, which knoweth anything, that an eloquent style setteth forth and highly commendeth a mean matter ; whereas, on the other side, rude and unlearned speech defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter ? According as I heard once a wise man say : 5  
“A good tale evil told were better untold, and an evil tale well told needeth none other solicitor.”

This thing I well pondering and weighing with myself and also knowing and knowledging the barbarous rudeness of my translation, was fully determined never 10 to have put it forth in print, had it not been for certain friends of mine, and especially one whom above all other I regarded, a man of sage and discreet wit and in worldly matters by long use well experienced, whose name is George Tadlowe,° an honest citizen of 15 London and in the same city well accepted and of good reputation ; at whose request and instance I first took upon my weak and feeble shoulders the heavy and weighty burden of this great enterprise.

This man with divers others, but this man chiefly 20 (for he was able to do more with me than many other), after that I had once rudely brought the work to an end ceased not by all means possible continually to assault me until he had at the last, what by the force of his pithy arguments and strong reasons and what 25

by his authority, so persuaded me that he caused me to agree and consent to the imprinting hereof. He therefore, as the chief persuader, must take upon him the danger<sup>o</sup> which upon this bold and rash enterprise shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herein clearly acquitted and discharged of all blame.

Yet, honorable sir, for the better avoiding of envious and malicious tongues, I (knowing you to be a man not only profoundly learned and well-affected towards all such as either can or will take pains in the well bestowing of that poor talent which God hath endued them with, but also for your godly disposition and virtuous qualities not unworthily now placed in authority and called to honor) am the bolder humbly to offer and dedicate unto your good mastership this my simple work: partly that under the safe conduct of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquy of them which can say well by<sup>o</sup> nothing that pleaseth not their fond and corrupt judgments, though it be else both fruitful and godly; and partly that, by the means of this homely present, I may the better renew and revive (which of late, as you know, I have already begun to do) the old acquaintance that was between you and me in the time of our childhood, being then schoolfellows together; not doubting that

you, for your native goodness and gentleness, will accept in good part this poor gift as an argument or token that mine old good-will and hearty affection towards you is not by reason of long tract of time<sup>o</sup> and separation of our bodies anything at all quailed<sup>o</sup> and diminished, but rather, I assure you, much augmented and increased.

This verily is the chief cause that hath encouraged me to be so bold with your mastership; else truly this my poor present is of such simple and mean sort that 10 it is neither able to recompense the least portion of your great gentleness to me, of my part undeserved, both in the time of our old acquaintance and also now lately again bountifully showed<sup>o</sup>; neither yet fit and meet, for the very baseness of it, to be offered to one 15 so worthy as you be. But Almighty God, who therefore ever be thanked, hath advanced you to such fortune and dignity that you be of ability to accept thankfully as well a man's good-will as his gift. The same God grant you and all yours long and joy- 20 fully to continue in all godliness and prosperity.

## MORE'S LETTER TO GILES

THOMAS MORE to PETER GILES° sendeth greeting:—

I am almost ashamed, right well-beloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this book of the Utopian commonwealth, well-nigh after a year's space, which I am sure you looked for within a month and a half.  
5 And no marvel; for you knew well enough that I was already disburdened of all the labor and study belonging to the invention in this work and that I had no need at all to trouble my brains about the disposition or conveyance of the matter; and therefore had herein  
10 nothing else to do but only to rehearse those things which you and I together heard Master Raphael tell and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I should study to set forth the matter with eloquence, forasmuch as his talk could not be fine and eloquent,  
15 being first not studied for but sudden and unpremeditate and then, as you know, of a man better seen° in the Greek language than in the Latin tongue; and my writing, the nigher it should approach to his homely,° plain, and simple speech, so much the nigher should it  
20 go to the truth, which is the only mark whereunto I

do and ought to direct all my travail and study herein.

I grant and confess, friend Peter, myself discharged of so much labor, having all these things ready done to my hand, that almost there was nothing left for me to 5 do ; else either the invention or the disposition of this matter might have required of a wit neither base neither at all unlearned, both some time and leisure and also some study. But if it were requisite and necessary that the matter should also have been written eloquently 10 and not alone truly, of a surety that thing could I have performed by no time nor study. But now, seeing all these cares, stays, and lets were taken away, wherein else so much labor and study should have been employed, and that there remained no other thing for 15 me to do but only to write plainly the matter as I heard it spoken, that indeed was a thing light and easy to be done. Howbeit, to the dispatching of this so little business my other cares and troubles did leave almost less than no leisure. Whiles I do daily bestow my 20 time about law-matters, some to plead, some to hear, some as an arbitrator with mine award to determine, some as an umpire or a judge with my sentence finally to discuss ; whiles I go one way to see and visit my friend, another way about mine own private affairs ; 25

whiles I spend almost all the day abroad among other and the residue at home among mine own ; I leave to myself, I mean to my book, no time.

For when I am come home I must commune with my wife, chat with my children, and talk with my servants ; all the which things I reckon and account among business, forasmuch as they must of necessity be done : and done must they needs be, unless a man will be a stranger in his own house. And in any wise a man must so fashion and order his conditions and so appoint and dispose himself that he be merry, jocund, and pleasant among them whom either nature hath provided or chance hath made or he himself hath chosen to be the fellows and companions of his life ; so that<sup>o</sup> with too much gentle behavior and familiarity he do not mar them and, by too much sufferance, of his servants make them his masters. Among these things now rehearsed stealeth away the day, the month, the year. When do I write then ? And all this while have I spoken no word of sleep, neither yet of meat, which among a great number doth waste no less time than doth sleep, wherein almost half the life-time of man creepeth away. I therefore do win and get only that time which I steal from sleep<sup>o</sup> and meat ; which time because it is very little, and yet somewhat it is,



therefore have I once at the last, though it be long first, finished *Utopia*, and have sent it to you, friend Peter, to read and peruse; to the intent that if anything have escaped me, you might put me in remembrance of it. For though in this behalf I do not greatly 5 mistrust myself (which would God I were somewhat in wit and learning as I am not all of the worst and dullest memory), yet have I not so great trust and confidence in it that I think nothing could fall out of my mind. 10

For John Clement,<sup>o</sup> my boy, who, as you know, was there present with us, whom I suffer to be away from no talk wherein may be any profit or goodness (for out of this young bladed and new-shot-up corn, which hath already begun to spring up both in Latin and Greek 15 learning, I look for plentiful increase at length of goodly ripe grain), he, I say, hath brought me into a great doubt. For whereas Hythloday,<sup>o</sup> unless my memory fail me, said that the bridge of Amaurote,<sup>o</sup> which goeth over the river of Anyder,<sup>o</sup> is five hundred 20 paces, that is to say, half a mile, in length; my John sayeth that two hundred of those paces must be plucked away, for that the river containeth there not above three hundred paces in breadth. I pray you heartily call the matter to your remembrance; for if you agree with 25

him, I also will say as you say and confess myself deceived. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surely I will write as I have done<sup>o</sup> and as mine own remembrance serveth me: for as I will take good heed  
5 that there be in my book nothing false, so, if there be anything in doubt, I will rather tell a lie than make a lie; because I had rather be good than wily.

Howbeit, this matter may easily be remedied, if you  
10 will take the pains to ask the question of Raphael himself, by word of mouth, if he be now with you, or else by your letters; which you must needs do for another doubt also, which hath chanced through whose fault I cannot tell,<sup>o</sup> whether through mine or yours  
15 or Raphael's; for neither we remembered to enquire of him, nor he to tell us, in what part of that new world Utopia is situate. The which thing I had rather have spent no small sum of money than that it should thus have escaped us; as well for that I am ashamed to be  
20 ignorant in what sea that island standeth whereof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with us certain men, and especially one devout and godly man, and a professor of divinity,<sup>o</sup> who is exceeding desirous to go unto Utopia; not for a vain and curi-  
25 ous desire to see news<sup>o</sup> but to the intent he may

further and increase our religion, which is there already luckily begun.<sup>o</sup> And that he may the better accomplish and perform this his good intent, he is minded to procure that he may be sent thither of the bishop,<sup>o</sup> yea and that he himself may be made bishop <sup>s</sup> of Utopia; being nothing scrupulous herein that he must obtain this bishopric with suit, for he counteth that a godly suit which proceedeth not of the desire of honor or lucre but only of a godly zeal.

Wherefore I most earnestly desire you, friend Peter, <sup>10</sup> to talk with Hythloday, if you can, face to face, or else to write your letters to him; and so to work in this matter that in this my book there may neither anything be found which is untrue neither anything be lacking which is true. And I think verily it shall <sup>15</sup> be well done that you show unto him the book itself, for if I have missed or failed in any point, or if any fault have escaped me, no man can so well correct and amend it as he can; and yet that can he not do unless he peruse and read over my book written. Moreover, <sup>20</sup> by this means shall you perceive whether he be well-willing and content that I should undertake to put this work in writing. For if he be minded to publish and put forth his own labors and travails himself, perchance he would be loath, and so would I also, that in <sup>25</sup>

publishing the Utopian weal public I should prevent° him and take from him the flower and grace of the novelty of this his history.

Howbeit, to say the very truth, I am not yet fully  
5 determined with myself whether I will put forth my  
book or no. For the natures of men be so divers, the  
fantasies of some so wayward, their minds so unkind,  
their judgments so corrupt, that they which lead a  
merry and a jocund life, following their own sensual  
10 pleasures and carnal lusts, may seem to be in a much  
better state or ease than they that vex and unquiet  
themselves with cares and study for the putting forth  
and publishing of some thing that may be either profit  
or pleasure to others; which nevertheless will disdain-  
15 fully, scornfully, and unkindly accept the same. The  
most part of all be unlearned, and a great number hath  
learning in contempt. The rude and barbarous allow-  
eth nothing° but that which is very barbarous indeed.  
If it be one that hath a little smack° of learning, he  
20 rejecteth as homely and common ware whatsoever is  
not stuffed full of old moth-eaten words, and that be  
worn out of use. Some there be that have pleasure  
only in old rusty antiquities, and some only in their  
own doings. One is so sour, so crabbed, and so un-  
25 pleasant that he can away with no mirth° nor sport.

Another is so narrow in the shoulders° that he can bear no jests nor taunts. Some silly poor souls be so afeared that at every snappish word their nose shall be bitten off that they stand in no less dread of every quick and sharp word than he that is bitten of a mad 5 dog feareth water.° Some be so mutable and wavering that every hour they be in a new mind, saying one thing sitting and another thing standing. Another sort sitteth upon their ale-benches and there among their cups they give judgment of the wits of writers 10 and with great authority they condemn even as pleaseth them every writer according to his writing, in most spiteful manner mocking, louting, and flouting° them ; being themselves in the mean season safe and, as sayeth the proverb, out of all danger of gunshot ; for why, 15 they be so smug and smooth that they have not so much as one hair of an honest man whereby one may take hold of them. There be moreover some so unkind and so ungentle that though they take great pleasure and delectation in the work, yet for all that they cannot 20 find in their hearts to love the author thereof nor to afford him a good word ; being much like uncourteous, unthankful, and churlish guests, which, when they have with good and dainty meats well filled their bellies, depart home, giving no thanks to the feast- 25

maker. Go your ways now and make a costly feast at your own charges for guests so dainty-mouthed,<sup>o</sup> so divers in taste, and besides that of so unkind and unthankful natures.

5 But nevertheless, friend Peter, do, I pray you, with Hythloday as I willed you before. And as for this matter, I shall be at my liberty afterwards to take new advisement. Howbeit, seeing I have taken great pains and labor in writing the matter, if it may 10 stand with his mind<sup>o</sup> and pleasure, I will, as touching the edition or publishing of the book, follow the counsel and advice of my friends, and specially yours. Thus fare you well, right heartily beloved friend Peter, with your gentle wife; and love me as you 15 have ever done; for I love you better than ever I did.

THE FIRST BOOK  
OF THE COMMUNICATION OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY  
CONCERNING THE BEST STATE OF A COMMONWEALTH

THE most victorious and triumphant King of England, Henry, the eighth<sup>o</sup> of that name, in all royal virtues a prince most peerless, had of late in controversy with [Charles,] the right high and mighty King of Castile,<sup>o</sup> weighty matters and of great importance; 5 for the debatement and final determination whereof the King's Majesty sent me ambassador into Flanders,<sup>o</sup> joined in commission with Cuthbert Tunstall,<sup>o</sup> a man doubtless out of comparison, and whom the King's Majesty of late, to the great rejoicing of all men, did 10 prefer to the office of Master of the Rolls. But of this man's praises I will say nothing; not because I do fear that small credence shall be given to the testimony that cometh out of a friend's mouth, but because his virtue and learning be greater and of more excel- 15 lency than that I am able to praise them; and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well known that they need not nor ought not of me to be praised, unless

I would seem to show and set forth the brightness of the sun with a candle, as the proverb sayeth.

There met us at Bruges° (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their prince had for that matter appointed commissioners, excellent men all. The chief and the head of them was the Margrave,° as they call him, of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best-spoken of them was George Temsice,° provost of Cassel,° a man not only by learning but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the laws profoundly learned; but in reasoning and debating of matters, what by his natural wit and what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellows. After that we had once or twice met and upon certain points or articles could not fully and thoroughly agree, they for a certain space took their leave of us and departed to Brussels,° there to know their prince's pleasure. I in the mean time, for so my business lay, went straight thence to Antwerp.°

Whiles I was there abiding, often times among other, but which to me was more welcome than any other, did visit me one Peter Giles,° a citizen of Antwerp, a man there in his country of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the highest. For it is hard to say whether

the young man be in learning or in honesty more excellent. For he is both of wonderful virtuous conditions and also singularly well-learned: and towards all sorts of people exceeding gentle; but towards his friends so kind-hearted, so loving, so faithful, so trusty, and of so earnest affection, that it were very hard in any place to find a man that with him in all points of friendship may be compared. No man can be more lowly or courteous; no man useth less simulation or dissimulation; in no man is more prudent simplicity. Besides this, he is in his talk and communication so merry and pleasant, yea, and that without harm, that, through his gentle entertainment and his sweet and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervent desire that I had to see my native country, my wife, and my children; whom then I did much long and covet to see, because that at that time I had been more than four months from them.

Upon a certain day, as I was hearing the divine service in Our Lady's church, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous and curious church of building in all the city, and also most frequented of people, and when the divine service was done, was ready to go home to my lodging, I chanced to espy this foresaid Peter talk-

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ing with a certain stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a black, sun-burned face, a long beard, and a cloak cast homely about his shoulders, whom by his favor and apparel forthwith I judged to be a mariner.

5 But when this Peter saw me, he cometh to me and saluteth me. And as I was about to answer him, "See you this man?" saith he, and therewith he pointed to the man that I saw him talking with before; "I was minded," quoth he, "to bring him straight home to <sup>10</sup> you."

"He should have been very welcome to me," said I, "for your sake."

"Nay," quoth he, "for his own sake, if you knew him; for there is no man this day living that can tell <sup>15</sup> you of so many strange and unknown peoples and countries as this man can. And I know well that you be very desirous to hear of such news."

"Then I conjectured not far amiss," quoth I; "for even at the first sight I judged him to be a <sup>20</sup> mariner."

"Nay," quoth he; "there ye were greatly deceived. He hath sailed indeed, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the expert and prudent prince Ulysses; yea, rather as the ancient and sage philosopher Plato. For <sup>25</sup> this same Raphael Hythloday (for this is his name)

is very well learned in the Latin tongue; but profound and excellent in the Greek tongue, wherein he ever bestowed more study than in the Latin, because he had given himself wholly to the study of philosophy; whereof he knew that there is nothing extant in the 5 Latin tongue that is to any purpose, saving a few of Seneca's° and Cicero's° doings. His patrimony that he was born unto he left to his brethren (for he is a Portugal born°); and for the desire that he had to see and know the far countries of the world, he joined 10 himself in company with Amerigo Vespucci,° and in the three last voyages of those four that be now in print° and abroad in every man's hands, he continued still in his company; saving that in the last voyage he came not home again with him. For he made such means 15 and shifts, what by entreatance and what by importune suit, that he got license of Master Amerigo (though it were sore against his will) to be one of the twenty-four which in the end of the last voyage were left in the country of Gulike.° He was therefore left behind 20 for his mind's sake,° as one that took more thought and care for travelling than dying; having customably in his mouth these sayings: He that hath no grave is covered with the sky,° and, The way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distance°; which fan- 25

tasy of his, if God had not been his better friend, he had surely bought full dear.

“ But after the departing of Master Vespucci, when he had travelled through and about many countries with five of his companions, Gulikians, at the last by marvellous chance he arrived in Taprobane,<sup>o</sup> from whence he went to Calicut,<sup>o</sup> where he chanced to find certain of his country ships, wherein he returned again into his country, nothing less than looked for.”

10 All this when Peter had told me, I thanked him for his gentle kindness, that he had vouchsafed to bring me to the speech of that man, whose communication he thought should be to me pleasant and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to Raphael, 15 and when we had hailsed the one the other and had spoken these common words that be customably spoken at the first meeting and acquaintance of strangers, we went thence to my house, and there in my garden, upon a bench covered with green turfs, we 20 sat down talking together.

There he told us how that, after the departing of Vespucci, he and his fellows that tarried behind in Gulike began by little and little through fair and gentle speech to win the love and favor of the people 25 of that country, in so much that within short space

they did dwell among them not only harmless but also occupied with them very familiarly. He told us also that they were in high reputation and favor with a certain great man, whose name and country is now quite out of my remembrance,<sup>9</sup> which of his 5 mere liberality did bear the costs and charges of him and his five companions, and besides that gave them a trusty guide to conduct them in their journey, which by water was in boats and by land in wagons, and to bring them to other princes with very friendly 10 commendations. Thus after many days' journeys, he said, they found towns and cities and weal publics, full of people, governed by good and wholesome laws.

“For under the line equinoctial<sup>10</sup> and of both sides 15 of the same, as far as the sun doth extend his course, lieth,” quoth he, “great and wide deserts and wildernesses, parched, burned, and dried up with continual and intolerable heat. All things be hideous, terrible, loathesome, and unpleasant to behold; all things 20 out of fashion<sup>10</sup> and comeliness, inhabited with wild beasts and serpents, or at the leastwise with people that be no less savage, wild, and noisome than the very beasts themselves be. But a little farther beyond that all things begin by little and little to wax 25

pleasant; the air soft, temperate, and gentle; the ground covered with green grass; less wildness in the beasts. At the last shall ye come again to people, cities, and towns, wherein is continual interscourse and occupying of merchandise and chaffer, not only among themselves and with their borderers but also with merchants of far countries, both by land and water.

“There I had occasion,” said he, “to go to many countries of every side. For there was no ship ready to any voyage or journey but I and my fellows were into it very gladly received.”

The ships that they found first were made plain, flat and broad in the bottom, troughwise. The sails were made of great rushes, or of wickers, and in some places of leather. Afterward they found ships with ridged keels, and sails of canvas; yea, and shortly after, having all things like ours; the shipmen also very expert and cunning both in the sea and in the weather. But he said that he found great favor and friendship among them for teaching them the feat and use<sup>o</sup> of the loadstone,<sup>o</sup> which to them before that time was unknown; and therefore they were wont to be very timorous and fearful upon the sea, nor to venture upon it but only in the summer time.

But now they have such a confidence in that stone, that they fear not stormy winter; in so doing, farther from care than jeopardy<sup>o</sup>; insomuch that it is greatly to be doubted lest that thing, through their own foolish hardiness, shall turn them<sup>o</sup> to evil and harm, 5 which at the first was supposed should be to them good and commodious.

But what he told us that he saw in every country where he came, it were very long to declare. Neither is it my purpose at this time to make rehearsal thereof; 10 but peradventure in another place<sup>o</sup> I will speak of it, chiefly such things as shall be profitable to be known; as in special be those decrees and ordinances that he marked to be well and wisely provided and enacted among such peoples as do live together in a civil policy 15 and good order. For of such things did we busily enquire and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told us of the same. But as for monsters, because they be no news,<sup>o</sup> of them we were nothing inquisitive. For nothing is more easy to be found than be barking 20 Scyllas,<sup>o</sup> ravening Celenos,<sup>o</sup> and Læstrygons,<sup>o</sup> devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters.<sup>o</sup> But to find citizens ruled by good and wholesome laws, that is an exceeding rare and hard thing.

But as he marked many fond and foolish laws in those new-found lands, so he rehearsed many acts and constitutions whereby these our cities, nations, countries, and kingdoms may take ensample to amend their 5 faults, enormities, and errors ; whereof in another place, as I said, I will entreat. Now at this time I am determined to rehearse only that he told us of the manners, customs, laws, and ordinances of the Utopians.

10 But first I will repeat our former communication° ; by the occasion and, as I might say, the drift whereof he was brought into the mention of that weal public.

For when Raphael had very prudently touched divers things that be amiss, some here and some there ; yea, 15 very many of both parts ; and again had spoken of such wise and prudent laws and decrees as be established and used both here among us and also there among them, as a man so cunning and expert in the laws and customs of every several country, as though 20 into what place soever he came guest-wise, there he had led all his life : then Peter, much marvelling at the man, “ Surely, Master Raphael,” quoth he, “ I wonder greatly why you get you not into some king’s court ! For I am sure there is no prince living that would not 25 be very glad of you, as a man not only able highly to

delight him with your profound learning and this your knowledge of countries and peoples, but also meet to instruct him with examples and help him with counsel. And thus doing you shall bring yourself in a very good case, and also be in ability to help all your friends and 5 kinsfolk."

"As concerning my friends and kinsfolk," quoth he, "I pass not<sup>o</sup> greatly for them; for I think I have sufficiently done my part towards them already. For these things that other men do not depart<sup>o</sup> from until 10 they be old and sick, yea, which they be then very loath to leave when they can no longer keep, those very same things did I, being not only lusty and in good health but also in the flower of my youth, divide among my friends and kinsfolks; which I think with 15 this my liberality ought to hold them contented, and not to require nor to look that besides this I should for their sakes give myself in bondage to kings."

"Nay, God forbid," quoth Peter; "it is not my mind that you should be in bondage to kings, but as 20 a retainer to them at your pleasure<sup>o</sup>; which surely I think is the nighest way that you can devise how to bestow your time fruitfully, not only for the private commodity of your friends and for the general profit of all sorts of people, but also for the advancement of 25

yourself to a much wealthier state and condition than you be now in."

"To a wealthier condition," quoth Raphael, "by that means that my mind standeth clean against? Now I  
5 live at liberty, after mine own mind and pleasure; which I think very few of these great states<sup>o</sup> and peers of realms can say. Yea, and there be enough of them that seek for great men's friendships; and therefore think it<sup>o</sup> no great hurt, if they have not me,  
10 nor two or three such other as I am."

"Well, I perceive plainly, friend Raphael," quoth  
• I, "that you be desirous neither of riches nor of power. And truly I have in no less reverence and estimation a man that is of your mind than any of them all that  
15 be so high in power and authority. But you shall do as it becometh you, yea, and according to this wisdom and this high and free courage of yours, if you can find in your heart so to appoint and dispose yourself, that you may apply your wit and diligence to the  
20 profit of the weal public, though it be somewhat to your own pain and hindrance. And this shall you never so well do, nor with so great profit perform, as if you be of some great prince's council, and put in his head, as I doubt not but you will, honest opinions  
25 and virtuous persuasions. For from the prince, as

from a perpetual well-spring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil. But in you is so perfect learning, that without any experience, and again so great experience, that without any learning, you may well be any king's counsellor." 5

"You be twice deceived, Master More," quoth he, "first in me and again in the thing itself. For neither is in me that ability that you force upon me; and if it were never so much, yet in disquieting mine own quietness I should nothing further the weal public. 10 For, first of all, the most part of all princes have more delight in warlike matters and feats of chivalry° (the knowledge whereof I neither have nor desire), than in the good feats of peace; and employ much more study how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions 15 than how well and peaceably to rule and govern that they have already. Moreover, they that be counsellors to kings, every one of them either is of himself so wise indeed that he need not, or else he thinketh himself so wise that he will not, allow another man's 20 counsel; saving that they do shamefully and flattering-  
ingly give assent to the fond and foolish sayings of certain great men, whose favors, because they be in high authority with their prince, by assentation and flattering they labor to obtain. And verily it is 25

naturally given to all men to esteem their own inventions best. So both the raven and the ape think their own young ones fairest.

“Then if a man in such a company, where some  
5 disdain and have despite at other men’s inventions  
and some count their own best, if among such men, I  
say, a man should bring forth anything that he hath  
read done in times past, or that he hath seen done in  
other places, there the hearers fare as though the  
10 whole estimation of their wisdom were in jeopardy  
to be overthrown, and that ever after they should be  
counted for very diserdes, unless they could in other  
men’s inventions pick out matter to reprehend and  
find fault at. If all other poor helps fail, then this is  
15 their extreme refuge: ‘These things,’ say they, ‘pleased  
our forefathers and ancestors: would God we could  
be so wise as they were!’ And as though they had  
wittily concluded the matter and with this answer  
stopped every man’s mouth, they sit down again; as  
20 who should say, it were a very dangerous matter, if a  
man in any point should be found wiser than his fore-  
fathers were. And yet be we content to suffer the  
best and wittiest of their decrees to lie unexecuted;  
but if in anything a better order might have been  
25 taken than by them was, there we take fast hold and

find many faults. Many times have I chanced upon such proud, lewd, overthwart, and wayward judgments; yea, and once in England.<sup>o</sup>"

"I pray you, sir," quoth I; "have you been in our country?"<sup>5</sup>

"Yea, forsooth," quoth he; "and there I tarried for the space of four or five months together, not long after the insurrection<sup>o</sup> that the western Englishmen made against their king; which by their own miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In <sup>10</sup> the mean season I was much bound and beholden to the right reverend father, John Morton,<sup>o</sup> Archbishop, and Cardinal, of Canterbury, and at that time also Lord Chancellor of England; a man, Master Peter (for Master More knoweth already that I will say),<sup>15</sup> not more honorable for his authority than for his prudence and virtue. He was of a mean stature<sup>o</sup>; and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence as was pleasant to behold. Gentle in communication yet earnest and sage, he had great delight many times with rough speech to his suitors to prove, but without harm, what prompt wit and what bold spirit were in every man: in the which, as in a virtue <sup>20</sup> much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were <sup>25</sup>

not joined impudency, he took great delectation ; and the same person, as apt and meet to have an administration in the weal public, he did lovingly embrace. In his speech, he was fine, eloquent, and pithy ; in the 5 law, he had profound knowledge ; in wit, he was incomparable ; and in memory, wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singular, he by learning and use had made perfect.

“ The king put much trust in his counsel : the weal 10 public also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there. For even in the chief of his youth° he was taken from school into the court and there passed all his time in much trouble and business, and was continually troubled and tossed with divers misfortunes 15 and adversities. And so by many and great dangers he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned cannot easily be forgotten.

“ It chanced on a certain day, when I sat at his table, there was also a certain layman, cunning in the laws 20 of your realm, who, I cannot tell whereof taking occasion, began diligently and busily to praise that strait and rigorous justice which at that time was there executed upon felons, who, as he said, were for the most part twenty hanged together upon one gallows.° And, 25 seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not

choose but greatly wonder and marvel how and by what evil luck it should so come to pass, that thieves nevertheless were in every place so rife and rank. 'Nay, sir,' quoth I (for I durst boldly speak my mind before the cardinal); 'marvel nothing hereat; for this punishment of thieves passeth the limits of justice, and is also very hurtful to the weal public. For it is too extreme and cruel a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to refrain men from theft. For simple theft is not so great an offence that it ought to be punished with death. Neither there is any punishment so horrible that it can keep them from stealing which have no other craft whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the world be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for thieves, whereas much rather provision should have been made that there were some means whereby they might get their living, so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity, first to steal and then to die.' 'Yes,' quoth he, 'this matter is well enough provided for already. There be handicrafts, there is husbandry to get their living by, if they would not willingly be naught.' 'Nay,' quoth I, 'you shall not scape so; for, first of 25

all, I will speak nothing of them that come home out of war maimed and lame, as not long ago out of Black-heath field,<sup>o</sup> and a little before that out of the wars in France<sup>o</sup>: such, I say, as put their lives in jeopardy for 5 the weal public's or the king's sake, and by the reason of weakness and lameness be not able to occupy their old crafts, and be too aged to learn new: of them I will speak nothing, because war, like the tide, ebbeth and floweth.<sup>o</sup> But let us consider those things that 10 chance daily before our eyes.

“First, there is a great number of gentlemen, which cannot be content to live idle themselves, like dors, of that which other have labored for: their tenants, I mean, whom they poll and shave to the quick by rais- 15 ing their rents; for this only point of frugality do they use, men else through their lavish and prodigal spend- ing able to bring<sup>o</sup> themselves to very beggary: these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness them- selves but also carry about with them at their tails<sup>o</sup> a 20 great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men,<sup>o</sup> which never learned any craft whereby to get their livings. These men, as soon as their master is dead, or they be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. For gentlemen had rather keep idle per- 25 sons than sick men; and many times the dead man's

heir is not able to maintain so great a house and keep so many serving-men as his father did. Then in the mean season they that be thus destitute of service either starve for hunger<sup>o</sup> or manfully play the thieves. For what would you have them to do? When they <sup>5</sup> have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn threadbare their apparel, and also appaired their health, then gentlemen, because of their pale and sick faces and patched coats, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a-work, knowing <sup>10</sup> well enough that he is nothing meet to do true and faithful service to a poor man with a spade and a mattock, for small wages and hard fare, which, being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure, was wont with a sword and a buckler by his <sup>15</sup> side to jet<sup>o</sup> through the streets with a bragging look and to think himself too good to be any man's mate.'

“ ‘ Nay, by Saint Mary, sir,’<sup>o</sup> quoth the lawyer, ‘ not so; for this kind of men must we make most of. For in them, as men of stouter stomachs,<sup>o</sup> bolder spirits, <sup>20</sup> and manlier courages than handicraft men and plowmen be, doth consist the whole power, strength, and puissance of our host when we must fight in battle.’

“ ‘ Forsooth, sir, as well you might say,’ quoth I, ‘ that for war's sake you must cherish thieves. For <sup>25</sup>

surely you shall never lack thieves whiles you have them. No, nor thieves be not the most false and faint-hearted soldiers, nor soldiers be not the cowardliest thieves; so well these two crafts agree together. But this fault,  
5 though it be much used among you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but common also almost to all nations. Yet France, besides this, is troubled and infected with a much sorer plague: the whole realm is filled and besieged with hired soldiers in peace° time, if that be  
10 peace; which be brought in under the same color and pretence that hath persuaded you to keep these idle serving-men. For these wise-fools and very archdolts thought the wealth of the whole country herein to consist, if there were ever in a readiness a strong and  
15 a sure garrison, specially of old practised soldiers; for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therefore they must be fain to seek for war, to the end they may ever have practised soldiers and cunning manslayers; lest that, as it is prettily said of Sallust,°  
20 their hands and their minds through idleness or lack of exercise should wax dull.

“ ‘ But how pernicious and pestilent a thing it is to maintain such beasts, the Frenchmen by their own harms have learned; and the examples of the Romans,  
25 Carthaginians, Syrians,° and of many other countries’

do manifestly declare. For not only the empire but also the fields and cities of all these by divers occasions have been overrun and destroyed of their own armies beforehand had in a readiness. Now how unnecessary a thing this is, hereby it may appear: that the 5 French soldiers, which from their youth have been practised and ured in feats of arms, do not crack<sup>o</sup> nor advance themselves to have very often got the upper hand and mastery of your new-made and unpractised soldiers. But in this point I will not use many words, lest per- 10 chance I may seem to flatter you. No, nor those same handicraft men of yours in cities, nor yet the rude and uplandish<sup>o</sup> plowmen of the country, are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your gentlemen's idle serving-men, unless it be such as be not of body or stature 15 correspondent to their strength and courage, or else whose bold stomachs be discouraged through poverty. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they should be effeminated if they were brought up in good crafts and laborsome works whereby to get their liv- 20 ing; whose stout and sturdy bodies (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idleness be brought to weakness or else by too easy and wom-anly exercises be made feeble and unable to endure 25

hardness. Truly, howsoever the case standeth, this methinketh is nothing available to the weal public, for war sake,° which you never have but when you will yourselves, to keep and maintain an innumerable flock 5 of that sort of men that be so troublous and noyous in peace; whereof you ought to have a thousand times more regard than of war.

“‘But yet this is not only the° necessary cause of stealing. There is another which, as I suppose, is 10 proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone.’° ‘What is that?’ quoth the cardinal. ‘Forsooth,’ quoth I, ‘your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild that they eat up and 15 swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities. For look in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots,° 20 holy men, God wot, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting, yea, much noying the weal 25 public, leave no ground for tillage; they enclose all in

pastures ; they throw down houses ; they pluck down towns ; and leave nothing standing but only the church, to make of it a sheep-house.<sup>o</sup> And, as though you lost no small quantity<sup>o</sup> of ground by forests, chases, lawns, and parks, those good holy men turn all <sup>5</sup> dwelling-places and all glebe land into desolation and wilderness.

“ ‘Therefore, that one covetous and insatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of <sup>10</sup> ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own ; or else either by covin or fraud or by violent oppression they be put besides it,<sup>o</sup> or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all. By one means, therefore, <sup>15</sup> or by other, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away, poor, silly,<sup>o</sup> wretched souls ; men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers with young babes, and their whole household, small in substance and much in number, as husbandry <sup>20</sup> requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no places to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale,<sup>o</sup> yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to <sup>25</sup>

sell it for a thing of naught. And when they have, wandering about, soon spent that, what can they else do but steal, and then justly, God wot, be hanged, or else go about a-begging? And yet then also they be  
5 cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not; whom no man will set a-work, though they never so willingly offer themselves thereto. For there is no more occasion for country labor, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left.<sup>o</sup>  
10 For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry<sup>o</sup> many hands were requisite.

“ And this is also the cause that victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of  
15 wool is so risen that poor folks, which were wont to work it and make cloth of it, be now able to buy none at all. And by this means very many be fain to forsake work and to give themselves to idleness. For after that so much ground was enclosed for pasture, an  
20 infinite multitude of sheep died of the rot, such vengeance God took of their<sup>o</sup> inordinate and insatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain, which much more justly should have fallen on the sheep-masters' own heads. And though the  
25 number of sheep increase never so fast, yet the price

falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers. For they be almost all come into a few rich men's hands, whom no need driveth to sell before they lust; and they lust not before they may sell as dear as they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the 5 other kinds of cattle; yea, and that so much the more, because that after farms plucked down and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young store.<sup>o</sup> For these rich men bring not up the young ones of great cattle as they do lambs. But 10 first they buy them abroad very cheap, and afterward, when they be fattened in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear. And therefore, as I suppose, the whole incommodity hereof is not yet felt. For yet they make dearth only in those places where they 15 sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster than they can be brought up, then shall there also be felt great dearth, when store beginneth to fail there where the ware is bought. 20

“‘Thus the unreasonable covetousness of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your island, in the which thing the chief felicity of your realm did consist.<sup>o</sup> For this great dearth of victuals causeth every man to keep as little houses and as 25

small hospitality as he possible may, and to put away their servants: whither, I pray you, but a-begging? or else, which these gentle bloods and stout stomachs will sooner set their minds unto, a-stealing?

5     “Now, to amend the matters, to this wretched beggary and miserable poverty is joined great wantonness, importunate superfluity, and excessive riot. For not only gentlemen’s servants but also handicraft men, yea, and almost all the plowmen of the country, with 10 all other sorts of people, use much strange and proud newfangledness<sup>o</sup> in their apparel and too prodigal riot and sumptuous fare at their table. Now bawds, queans, whores, harlots, strumpets, brothel-houses, stews, and yet another stews, wine-taverns, ale-houses, 15 and tippling houses, with so many naughty, lewd, and unlawful games<sup>o</sup> as dice, cards, tables, tennis, bowls, quoits,—do not all these send the haunters of them straight a-stealing when their money is gone?

20     “Cast out these pernicious abominations. Make a law that they which plucked down farms and towns of husbandry<sup>o</sup> shall build them up again or else yield and uprender the possession of them to such as will go to the cost of building them anew. Suffer not these 25 rich men to buy up all, to engross and forestall,<sup>o</sup> and

with their monopoly to keep the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idleness; let husbandry and tillage be restored again; let cloth-working be renewed; that there may be honest labors for this idle sort to pass their time in profitably, which 5 hitherto either poverty hath caused to be thieves, or else now be either vagabonds or idle serving-men, and shortly will be thieves. Doubtless, unless you find a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vain advance yourselves of executing justice upon felons.<sup>10</sup> For this justice is more beautiful than just or profitable.<sup>°</sup> For by suffering your youth wantonly and viciously to be brought up and to be infected even from their tender age by little and little with vice, then, a God's name, to be punished when they commit 15 the same faults after they be come to man's state, which from their youth they were ever like to do — in this point, I pray you, what other thing do you than make thieves and then punish them?'

"Now, as I was thus speaking, the lawyer began to 20 make himself ready to answer, and was determined with himself to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, which be more diligent in rehearsing than answering, as thinking the memory worthy of the chief praise. 'Indeed, sir,' quoth he, 'you have said well,<sup>25</sup>

being but a stranger and one that might rather hear something of these matters than have any exact or perfect knowledge of the same, as I will incontinent by open proof make manifest and plain. For first I  
5 will rehearse in order all that you have said; then I will declare in what thing you be deceived, through lack of knowledge, in all our fashions, manners, and customs; and last of all I will answer to your arguments and confute them every one. First, therefore,  
10 I will begin where I promised. Four things you seemed to me — 'Hold your peace,' quoth the cardinal, 'for belike you will make no short answer, which make such a beginning; wherefore at this time you shall not take the pains to make your answer, but  
15 keep it to your next meeting, which I would be right glad that it might be even tomorrow next, unless either you or Master Raphael have any earnest let.'

“‘But now, Master Raphael, I would very gladly hear of you, why you think theft not worthy to be  
20 punished with death, or what other punishment you can devise more expedient to the weal public. For I am sure you are not of that mind that you would have theft escape unpunished. For if now the extreme punishment of death cannot cause them to leave stealing,  
25 then if ruffians and robbers should be sure of

their lives, what violence, what fear were able to hold their hands from robbing, which would take the mitigation of the punishment as a very provocation to the mischief ?'

"‘Surely, my lord,’ quoth I, ‘I think it no right <sup>5</sup> nor justice that the loss of money should cause the loss of man’s life. For mine opinion is that all the goods in the world are not able to countervail man’s life. But if they would thus say: that the breaking of justice and the transgression of the laws is recom- <sup>10</sup> pensed° with this punishment and not the loss of the money, then why may not this extreme justice well be called extreme injury ? For neither so cruel governance, so strait rules and unmerciful laws be allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by and by° <sup>15</sup> the sword should be drawn; nor so stoical ordinances° are to be borne withal, as to count all offences of such equality that the killing of a man or the taking of his money from him were both a matter,° and the one no more heinous offence than the other: between the <sup>20</sup> which two, if we have any respect to equity, no similitude or equality consisteth. God commandeth us that we shall not kill. And be we then so hasty to kill a man for taking a little money ? And if any man would understand killing by this commandment <sup>25</sup>

of God to be forbidden after no larger wise than man's constitutions defineth killing to be lawful, then why may it not likewise by man's constitutions be determined after what sort whoredom, fornication, and perjury may be lawful? For whereas by the permission of God no man hath power to kill neither himself nor yet any other man; then if a law made by the consent of men concerning slaughter of men ought to be of such strength, force, and virtue, that  
10 they which contrary to the commandment of God have killed those whom this constitution of man commanded to be killed, be clean quit and exempt out of the bonds and danger<sup>o</sup> of God's commandment; shall it not then by this reason follow that the power of  
15 God's commandment shall extend no further than man's law doth define and permit? And so shall it come to pass that in like manner man's constitutions in all things shall determine how far the observation of all God's commandments shall extend. To be short, Moses' law,  
20 though it were ungentle and sharp, as a law that was given to bondmen,—yea, and them very obstinate, stubborn, and stiff-necked,—yet it punished theft by the purse and not with death. And let us not think that God in the new law<sup>o</sup> of clemency and mercy,  
25 under the which he ruleth us with fatherly gentleness

as his dear children, hath given us greater scope and license to execute cruelty one upon another.<sup>o</sup>

“Now ye have heard the reasons whereby I am persuaded that this punishment is unlawful. Furthermore, I think there is no body that knoweth not how unreasonable, yea, how pernicious a thing it is to the weal public that a thief and a homicide or murderer should suffer equal and like punishment. For the thief, seeing that man that is condemned for theft in no less jeopardy, nor judged to no less punishment, <sup>10</sup> than him that is convict of manslaughter; through this cogitation only he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a manner constrained, to kill him, whom else he would have but robbed. For the murder once done, he is in less care and in more hope that the <sup>15</sup> deed shall not be betrayed or known, seeing the party is now dead and rid out of<sup>o</sup> the way, which only might have uttered and disclosed it. But if he chance to be taken and discribed, yet he is in no more danger and jeopardy than if he had committed but single <sup>20</sup> felony. Therefore whiles we go about with such cruelty to make thieves afeared, we provoke them to kill good men.

“Now, as touching this question, what punishment were more commodious and better; that truly in my <sup>25</sup>

judgment is easier to be found than what punishment were worse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profitable way for the punishment of offenders, which we know did in times past so long  
5 please the Romans, men in the administration of a weal public most expert, politic, and cunning? Such as among them were convict of great and heinous trespasses, them they condemned into stone-quarries, and into mines to dig metal, there to be kept in chains  
10 all the days of their life.

“But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordinance of no nation so well as that which I saw, whiles I travelled abroad about the world, used in Persia, among the people that commonly be called the Poly-  
15 lerites°; whose land is both large and ample and also well and wittily governed, and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their own laws, saving that they pay a yearly tribute to the great king of Persia. But because they be far from the sea, com-  
20 passed and closed in almost round about with high mountains and do content themselves with the fruits of their own land, which is of itself very fertile and fruitful: for this cause neither they go to other countries nor other come to them. And according to the old  
25 custom of the land, they desire not to enlarge the bounds

of their dominions; and those that they have, by reason of the high hills be easily defended; and the tribute which they pay to the mighty king<sup>o</sup> setteth them quit and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather than gallant,<sup>o</sup> and may better be called happy <sup>5</sup> or lucky than notable or famous. For they be not known as much as by name, I suppose, saving only to their next neighbors and borderers.

“They that in this land be attainted and convict of felony make restitution of that which they stole to <sup>10</sup> the right owner, and not (as they do in other lands) to the king, whom they think to have no more right to the thief-stolen thing than the thief himself hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paid of the goods of such offenders, which else <sup>15</sup> remaineth all whole to their wives and children. And they themselves be condemned to be common laborers; and unless the theft be very heinous, they be neither locked in prison nor fettered in gyves,<sup>o</sup> but be untied and go at large, laboring in the common works. They <sup>20</sup> that refuse labor or go slowly and slackly to their work be not only tied in chains but also pricked forward with stripes.<sup>o</sup> They that be diligent about their work live without check or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in their chambers. <sup>25</sup>

Beside their daily labor, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent<sup>o</sup> good, borne at the charges of the weal public, because they be common servants to the commonwealth. But their charges in all places of the land is not borne alike; for in some parts that which is bestowed upon them is gathered of alms. And though that way be uncertain, yet the people be so full of mercy and pity, that none is found<sup>o</sup> more profitable or plentiful. In some places 10 certain lands be appointed hereunto, of the revenues whereof they be found. And in some places every man giveth a certain tribute for the same use and purpose. Again, in some parts of the land these serving-men, for so be these damned<sup>o</sup> persons called, do no 15 common work, but as every private man needeth laborers so he cometh into the market-place, and there hireth some of them for meat and drink and a certain limited wages by the day, somewhat cheaper than he should hire a free man. It is also lawful for 20 them to chastise the sloth of these serving-men with stripes.

“‘ By this means they never lack work, and besides their meat and drink every one of them bringeth daily something into the common treasury. All and every 25 one of them be apparelled in one color. Their heads

be not polled or shaven, but rounded a little above the ears ; and the tip of the one ear is cut off. Every one of them may take meat and drink of their friends, and also a coat of their own color ; but to receive money is death, as well to the giver as to the receiver. And no 5 less jeopardy it is for a free man to receive money of a serving-man for any manner of cause ; and likewise for serving-men to touch weapons. The serving-men of every several shire be distinct and known from other by their several and distinct badges, which to cast away 10 is death ; as it is also to be seen out of the precinct of their own shire, or to talk with a serving-man of another shire. And it is no less danger to them for to intend to run away than to do it indeed. Yea, and to conceal such an enterprise, in a serving-man, it is 15 death ; in a free man, servitude. Of the contrary part, to him that openeth and uttereth such counsels be decreed large gifts : to a free man, a great sum of money ; to a serving-man, freedom ; and to them both, forgiveness and pardon of that they were of counsel in 20 that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to go forward in their evil purpose as by repentance to turn back.

“ ‘ This is the law and order in this behalf, as I have showed you ; wherein what humanity is used, how far 25

it is from cruelty, and how commodious it is, you do plainly perceive; forasmuch as the end of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else but the destruction of vices and saving of men, with so using and ordering them that they cannot choose but be good; and what harm soever they did before, in the residue of their life to make amends for the same.

“ ‘ Moreover, it is so little feared that they should turn again to their vicious conditions that wayfaring men will for their safeguard choose them to their guides° before any other, in every shire changing and taking new. For if they would commit robbery, they have nothing about them meet for that purpose. They may touch no weapons; money found about them should betray the robbery. They should be no sooner taken with the manner,° but forthwith they should be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to scape away by flying. For how should a man, that in no part of his apparel is like other men, fly privily and unknown, unless he would run away naked? Howbeit, so also flying, he should be discribed by his rounding and his ear-mark. But it is a thing to be doubted,° that they will lay their heads together and conspire against the weal public. No, no; I warrant you! For the serving-men of one shire alone could

never hope to bring to pass such an enterprise without soliciting, enticing, and alluring the serving-men of many other shires to take their parts ; which thing is to them so impossible that they may not as much as speak or talk together, or salute one another. No ; it is not 5 to be thought that they would make their own country-men and companions of their counsel in such a matter,° which they know well should be jeopardy to the con-  
cealer thereof and great commodity and goodness to the opener of the same : whereas, on the other part, there 10 is none of them all hopeless or in despair to recover again his freedom, by humble obedience, by patient suffering, and by giving good tokens and likelihood of himself that he will ever after that live like a true and an honest man. For every year divers be restored 15 again to their freedom, through the commendation of their patience.'

“ When I had thus spoken, saying moreover that I could see no cause why this order might not be had in England with much more profit than the justice which 20 the lawyer so highly praised, ‘ Nay,’ quoth the lawyer, ‘ this could never be so stablished in England but that it must needs bring the weal public into great jeopardy and hazard.’ And as he was thus saying he shaked his head and made a wry mouth, and so held his peace. 25

And all that were there present with one assent agreed to his saying.

“Well,’ quoth the cardinal, ‘yet it were hard to judge without a proof whether this order would do well here or no. But when the sentence of death is given, if then the king should command execution to be deferred and spared, and would prove this order and fashion, taking away the privileges of all sanctuaries; if then the proof should declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were established. Else the condemned and reprieved persons may as well and as justly be put to death after this proof as when they were first cast. Neither any jeopardy can in the mean space grow hereof. Yea, and methinketh that these vagabonds may very well be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many laws and so little prevailed.’

When the cardinal had thus said, then every man gave great praise to my sayings, which a little before they had disallowed. But most of all was esteemed that which was spoken of vagabonds, because it was the cardinal’s own addition.

“I cannot tell whether it were best to rehearse the communication that followed, for it was not

very sad.<sup>o</sup> But yet you shall hear it, for there was no evil in it and partly it pertained to the matter beforesaid.

“There chanced to stand by a certain jesting parasite or scoffer, which would seem to resemble and 5 counterfeit the fool. But he did in such wise counterfeit that he was almost the very same indeed that he labored to represent. He so studied with words and sayings, brought forth so out of time and place, to make sport and move laughter, that he himself was oftener 10 laughed at than his jests were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuff that he made the proverb true, which saith, He that shooteth oft, at the last shall hit the mark. So that when one of the company said that through my 15 communication a good order was found for thieves, and that the cardinal also had well provided for vagabonds ; so that only remained some good provision to be made for them that through sickness and age were fallen into poverty, and were become so impotent and un- 20 wieldy<sup>o</sup> that they were not able to work for their living : ‘Tush,’ quoth he, ‘let me alone with them ; you shall see me do well enough with them. For I had rather than any good that this kind of people were driven somewhither out of my sight: they have so sore 25

troubled me many times and oft, when they have with their lamentable tears begged money of me, and yet they could never to my mind so tune their song that thereby they ever got of me one farthing. For ever-  
s more the one of these two chanced: either that I would not; or else that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise. When they see me go by, because they will not lose their labor, they let me go and say not one word to me. So they look  
10 for nothing of me; no, in good sooth, no more than if I were a priest. But I will make a law that all these beggars shall be distributed and bestowed into houses of religion.<sup>o</sup> The men shall be made lay brethren,<sup>o</sup> as they call them, and the women nuns.<sup>o</sup> Hereat the  
15 cardinal smiled and allowed it in jest; yea, and all the residue in good earnest.

“But a certain friar, <sup>o</sup>graduate in divinity, took such pleasure and delight in this jest of priests and monks that he also, being else a man of grisly and stern gravity, began merrily and wantonly to jest and taunt. ‘Nay,’ quoth he, ‘you shall not so be rid and despatched of beggars, unless you make some provision also for us friars.’ ‘Why,’ quoth the jester, ‘that is done already. For my lord himself set a very good  
25 order for you, when he decreed that vagabonds should

be kept strait and set to work, for you be the greatest and veriest vagabonds° that be.'

" This jest also, when they saw the cardinal not disprove it, every man took it gladly, saving only the friar. For he, and that no marvel, when he was thus touched 5 on the quick and hit on the gall,° so fret, so fumed and chafed at it, and was in such a rage that he could not refrain himself from chiding, scolding, railing, and reviling. He called the fellow ribald, villain, javel,° backbiter, slanderer, and the son of perdition; citing 10 therewith terrible threatening out of holy scripture. Then the jesting scoffer began to play the scoffer indeed, and verily he was good at it, for he could play a part in that play, no man better. ' Patient yourself, good master friar,' quoth he, ' and be not angry; for 15 scripture saith: "In your patience you shall save your souls." ' Then the friar, for I will rehearse his own very words, 'No, gallows-wretch, I am not angry,' quoth he, ' or at the leastwise I do not sin; for the Psalmist saith, "Be you angry and sin not." ' 20

" Then the cardinal spake gently to the friar, and desired him to quiet himself. ' No, my lord,' quoth he, ' I speak not but of a good zeal, as I ought; for holy men had a good zeal. Wherefore it is said, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me." ' And it is sung in the church: 25

“The scorners of Helizeus,<sup>o</sup> whiles he went up into the house of God, felt the zeal of the bald”; as peradventure this scorning villain ribald shall feel.’ ‘You do it,’ quoth the cardinal, ‘perchance of a good mind and <sup>5</sup> affection. But methinketh you should do, I cannot tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you would not set your wit to a fool’s wit, and with a fool take in hand a foolish contention.’ ‘No, forsooth, my lord,’ quoth he, ‘I should not do more wisely. For Solomon <sup>10</sup> the wise saith: “Answer a fool according to his foolishness<sup>o</sup>”; like as I do now, and do show him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed. For if many scorners of Helizeus, which was but one bald man, felt the zeal of the bald, how much more shall <sup>15</sup> one scorner of many friars feel, among whom be many bald men<sup>o</sup>? And we have also the Pope’s bulls, whereby all that mock and scorn us be excommunicate, suspended, and accursed.’ The cardinal, seeing that none end would be made, sent away the jester by a <sup>20</sup> privy beck,<sup>o</sup> and turned the communication to another matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to hear his suitors, and so dismissed us.

“Look, Master More, with how long and tedious a tale I have kept you, which surely I would have been <sup>25</sup> ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly de-

sired me, and did after such a sort give ear unto it, as though you would not that any parcel<sup>o</sup> of that communication should be left out; which, though I have done somewhat briefly, yet could I not choose but rehearse it, for the judgment of them,<sup>o</sup> which, when they <sup>5</sup> had improved and disallowed my sayings, yet incontinent hearing the cardinal allow them, did themselves also approve the same; so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea, almost in good earnest, his jester's foolish inventions; be-<sup>10</sup> cause that he himself, by smiling at them, did seem not to disprove them. So that hereby you may right well perceive how little the courtiers would regard and esteem me and my sayings."

"I ensure you, Master Raphael," quoth I, "I took <sup>15</sup> great delectation in hearing you, all things that you said were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And methought myself to be in the mean time not only at home in my country but also, through the pleasant remembrance of the cardinal, in whose house I was <sup>20</sup> brought up of a child,<sup>o</sup> to wax a child again. And, friend Raphael, though I did bear very great love towards you before, yet seeing you do so earnestly favor this man, you will not believe how much my love towards you is now increased. But yet, all this <sup>25</sup>

notwithstanding, I can by no means change my mind, but that I must needs believe that you, if you be disposed and can find in your heart to follow some prince's court, shall with your good counsels greatly help and further the commonwealth. Wherefore there is nothing more appertaining to your duty ; that is to say, to the duty of a good man. For whereas your Plato judgeth° that weal publics shall by this means attain perfect felicity, either if philosophers be kings, or else 10 if kings give themselves to the study of philosophy ; how far, I pray you, shall commonwealths then be from this felicity, if philosophers will vouchsafe° to instruct kings with their good counsel ? ”

“ They be not so unkind,” quoth he, “ but they would 15 gladly do it ; yea, many have done it already in books that they have put forth, if kings and princes would be willing and ready to follow good counsel. But Plato doubtless did well foresee, unless kings themselves would apply their minds to the study of philosophy, that else they would never thoroughly allow 20 the counsel of philosophers ; being themselves before even from their tender age infected and corrupt with perverse and evil opinions ; which thing Plato himself proved true in King Dionysius.° If I should propose 25 to any king wholesome decrees, doing my endeavor to

pluck out of his mind the pernicious original causes of vice and naughtiness, think you not that I should forthwith either be driven away, or else made a laughing-stock ?

“ Go to ; suppose that I were with the French king,° 5 and there sitting in his council whiles that in that most secret consultation, the king himself there being present in his own person, they beat their brains and search the very bottoms of their wits to discuss by what craft and means the king may still keep Milan° 10 and draw to him again fugitive Naples,° and then how to conquer the Venetians,° and how to bring under his jurisdiction all Italy° ; then how to win the dominion of Flanders,° Brabant,° and of all Burgundy,° with divers other lands, whose kingdoms he hath long ago 15 in mind and purpose invaded. Here, whiles one counselleth to conclude a league of peace with the Venetians, which shall so long endure as shall be thought meet and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsel, yea, and besides that to 20 give them part of the prey, which afterward, when they have brought their purpose about after their own minds they may require and claim again ; another thinketh best to hire the Germans° ; another would have the favor of the Swychers° won with money ; an- 25

other's advice is to appease the puissant power of the Emperor's majesty with gold,<sup>o</sup> as with a most pleasant and acceptable sacrifice ; whiles another giveth counsel to make peace with the King of Aragon,<sup>o</sup> and to  
5 restore unto him his own kingdom of Navarre<sup>o</sup> as a full assurance of peace ; another cometh in with his five eggs,<sup>o</sup> and adviseth to hook in the King of Castile<sup>o</sup> with some hope of affinity or alliance, and to bring to their part certain peers of his court for great pensions :  
10 whiles they all stay at the chiefest doubt of all, what to do in the mean time with England, and yet agree all in this, to make peace with the Englishmen<sup>o</sup> and with most sure and strong bonds to bind that weak and feeble friendship, so that they must be called  
15 friends and had in suspicion as enemies, and that therefore the Scots<sup>o</sup> must be had in a readiness, as it were in a standing ready at all occasions, in aounters<sup>o</sup> the Englishmen should stir never so little, incontinent to set upon them and, moreover, privily and secretly,  
20 for openly it may not be done by the truce that is taken ; privily therefore, I say, to make much of some peer of England that is banished his country, which must claim title to the crown of the realm, and affirm himself just inheritor<sup>o</sup> thereof, that by this subtle  
25 means they may hold to them the king, in whom else

they have but small trust and affiance — here, I say, where so great and high matters be in consultation, where so many noble and wise men counsel their king only to war; here, if I, silly man, should rise up and will them to turn over the leaf<sup>o</sup> and learn a new lesson; 5 saying that my counsel is not to meddle with Italy, but to tarry still at home, and that the kingdom of France alone is almost greater than that it may well be governed of one man; so that the king should not need to study how to get more: and then should pro-<sup>10</sup> pose unto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens,<sup>o</sup> which be situate over against the island of Utopia<sup>o</sup> on the south-east side — These Achoriens once made war in their king's quarrel for to get him another kingdom, which he laid claim unto and ad-<sup>15</sup> vanced himself right inheritor to the crown thereof by the title of an old alliance.<sup>o</sup> At the last, when they had gotten it and saw that they had even as much vexation and trouble in keeping it as they had in getting it, and that either their new conquered sub-<sup>20</sup> jects by sundry occasions were making daily insurrections to rebel against them, or else that other countries were continually with divers inroads and foragings invading them, so that they were ever fighting, either for them or against them, and never could break up<sup>25</sup>

their camps; seeing themselves in the mean season pilled° and impoverished, their money carried out of the realm, their own men killed to maintain the glory of another nation, when they had no war, peace nothing better than war, by reason that their people in war had inured themselves to corrupt and wicked manners, that they had taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing, that through manslaughter they had gathered boldness to mischief, that their laws were  
10 had in contempt and nothing set by° or regarded, that their king, being troubled with the charge and government of two kingdoms, could not nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office towards them both; seeing again that all these evils and troubles were  
15 endless: at the last laid their heads together and, like faithful and loving subjects, gave to their king free choice and liberty to keep still the one of these two kingdoms, whether he would; alleging that he was not able to keep both and that they were more than  
20 might well be governed of half a king; forasmuch as no man would be content to take him for his muleteer that keepeth another man's mules besides his. So this good prince was constrained to be content with his old kingdom, and to give over the new to one of his friends;  
25 which shortly after was violently driven out.—further-

more, if I should declare unto them that all this busy preaparance to war, whereby so many nations for his° sake should be brought into a troublesome hurly-burly, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroyed, should at the length through 5 some mischance be in vain and to none effect; and that therefore it were best for him to content himself with his own kingdom of France, as his forefathers and predecessors did before him,° to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could; to endeavor himself to love his subjects and again to be beloved of them; willingly to live with them, peaceably to govern them, and with other kingdoms not to meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him, yea, and more than he can well turn 15 him to—this, mine advice, Master More, how think you it would be heard and taken?"

" So God help me, not very thankfully!" quoth I.

" Well, let us proceed then," quoth he. " Suppose that some king and his council were together, whetting 20 their wits and devising what subtle craft they might invent to enrich the king with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to raise and enhance the valuation of money when the king must pay any, and again to call down the value of coin° to less than 25

it is worth when he must receive or gather any ; for thus great sums shall be paid with a little money, and where little is due much shall be received. Another counselleth to feign war,<sup>o</sup> that when under this color  
5 and pretence the king hath gathered great abundance of money, he may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnity and holy ceremonies, to blind the eyes of the poor commonalty, as taking pity and compassion, God wot, upon man's blood, like a  
10 loving and a merciful prince. Another putteth the king in remembrance of certain old and moth-eaten laws<sup>o</sup> that of long time have not been put in execution ; which, because no man can remember that they were made, every man hath transgressed. The fines of  
15 these laws he counselleth the king to require ; for there is no way so profitable nor more honorable, as the which hath a show and color of justice. Another adviseth him to forbid many things under great penalties and fines, specially such things as is for the people's  
20 profit not [to] be used ; and afterward to dispense for money with them, which by this prohibition sustain loss and damage. For by this means the favor of the people is won and profit riseth two ways : first by taking forfeits of them whom covetousness of gains hath  
25 brought in danger of this statute ; and also by selling

privileges and licenses, which the better that the prince is, forsooth, the dearer he selleth them, as one that is loath to grant to any private person anything that is against the profit of his people, and therefore may sell none but at an exceeding dear price. Another giveth 5 the king counsel to endanger<sup>o</sup> unto his Grace the judges of the realm, that he may have them ever on his side; which must in every matter dispute and reason for the king's right. And they must be called into the king's palace, and be desired to argue and discuss his matters 10 in his own presence. So there shall be no matter of his so openly wrong and unjust<sup>o</sup> wherein one or other of them, either because he will have something to allege and object, or that he is ashamed to say that which is said already, or else to pick a thank<sup>o</sup> with 15 his prince, will not find some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrary part in a trip.<sup>o</sup> Thus while the judges cannot agree among themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plain enough and bringing the manifest truth in doubt, in the mean 20 season the king may take a fit occasion to understand the law as shall most make for his advantage; whereunto all either for shame or for fear will agree. Then the judges may be bold to pronounce of the king's side. For he that giveth sentence for the king cannot 25

be without a good excuse. For it shall be sufficient for him to have equity of his part, or the bare words of the law, or a writhen<sup>o</sup> and wrested understanding of the same, or else, which with good and just judges is of greater force than all laws be, the king's indisputable prerogative. To conclude, all the counsellors agree and consent together with the rich Crassus,<sup>o</sup> that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which must keep and maintain an army: furthermore, that a king, though he would, can do nothing unjustly; for all that men have, yea, also the men themselves, be all his; and that every man hath so much of his own as the king's gentleness hath not taken from him; and that it shall be most for the king's advantage that his subjects have very little or nothing in their possession, as whose safeguard doth herein consist, that his people do not wax wanton and wealthy through riches and liberty; because where these things be, there men be not wont patiently to obey hard, unjust, and unlawful commandments; whereas, on the other part, need and poverty doth hold down and keep under stout courages, taking from them bold and rebelling stomachs.

“Here again, if I should rise up and boldly affirm that all these counsels be to the king dishonor and

reproach, whose honor and safety is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and riches of his people than by his own treasures; and if I should declare that the commonalty chooseth their king for their own sake and not for his sake; for this intent that through his labor and study they might all live wealthily, safe from wrongs and injuries; and that therefore the king ought to take more care for the wealth<sup>o</sup> of his people than for his own wealth, even as the office and duty of a shepherd <sup>10</sup> is, in that he is a shepherd, to feed his sheep<sup>o</sup> rather than himself. For as touching this, that they think the defence and maintenance of peace to consist in the poverty of the people, the thing itself sheweth that they be far out of the way. For where shall <sup>15</sup> a man find more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding than among beggars? Who be more desirous of new mutations and alterations than they that be not content with the present state of their life? Or, finally, who be bolder stomached to bring <sup>20</sup> all in hurly-burly, thereby trusting to get some windfall, than they that have now nothing to lose? And if so be that there were any king that were so smallly regarded or so behated of his subjects that other ways he could not keep them in awe but only <sup>25</sup>

by open wrongs, by polling and shaving, and by bringing them to beggary; surely it were better for him to forsake his kingdom than to hold it by this means, whereby, though the name of a king  
5 be kept, yet the majesty is lost. For it is against the dignity of a king to have rule over beggars, but rather over rich and wealthy men. Of this mind was the hardy and courageous Fabrice,<sup>o</sup> when he said that he had rather be a ruler of rich men  
10 than be rich himself. And verily one man to live in pleasure and wealth, whiles all other weep and smart for it, that is the part not of a king but of a jailor.

“To be short, as he is a foolish physician that  
15 cannot cure his patient’s disease unless he cast him in another sickness; so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjects but by taking from them the wealth and commodity of life, he must needs grant that he knoweth not thefeat how to govern free  
20 men. But let him rather amend his own life, renounce dishonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these  
1 the chief vices that cause him to run in the contempt or hatred of his people. Let him do cost not above his power.<sup>o</sup> Let him restrain wickedness. Let  
25 him prevent vices and take away the occasion of

offences by well ordering his subjects, and not by suffering wickedness to increase, afterward to be punished. Let him not be too hasty in calling again laws which a custom hath abrogated°; specially such as have been long forgotten and never lacked nor s needed. And let him never under the cloak and pretence of transgression take such fines and forfeits° as no judge will suffer a private person to take, as unjust and full of guile.

“Here, if I should bring forth before them the law 10 of the Macarians° which be not far distant from Utopia, whose king the day of his coronation is bound by a solemn oath that he shall never at any time have in his treasure above a thousand pound of gold or silver — They say a very good king, which took more 15 care for the wealth and commodity of his country than for the enriching of himself, made this law to be a stop and a bar to kings for heaping and hoarding up so much money° as might impoverish their people. For he foresaw that this sum of treasure would suffice to 20 support the king in battle against his own people, if they should chance to rebel; and also to maintain his wars against the invasions of his foreign enemies. Again he perceived the same stock of money to be too little and unsufficient to encourage and enable him 25

wrongfully to take away other men's goods, which was the chief cause why the law was made. Another cause was this: he thought that by this provision his people should not lack money wherewith to maintain their 5 daily occupying and chaffer; and, seeing the king could not choose but lay out and bestow all that came in above the prescript sum of his stock, he thought he would seek no occasions to do his subjects injury. Such a king shall be feared of evil men and loved of 10 good men.—these and such other informations if I should use among men wholly inclined and given to the contrary part, how deaf hearers, think you, should I have?"

"Deaf hearers doubtless," quoth I; "and in good 15 faith no marvel. And to speak as I think, truly I cannot allow that such communication shall be used or such counsel given as you be sure shall never be regarded nor received. For how can so strange informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten 20 into their heads whose minds be already prevented with clean contrary persuasions? This school philosophy<sup>o</sup> is not unpleasant among friends in familiar communication, but in the councils of kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authority, 25 these things have no place."

“That is it which I meant,” quoth he, “when I said philosophy had no place among kings.”

“Indeed,” quoth I, “this school philosophy hath not; which thinketh all things meet for every place. But there is another philosophy more civil,° which knoweth, as ye would say, her own stage, and thereafter ordering and behaving herself in the play that she hath in hand, playeth her part accordingly with comeliness, uttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the philosophy that you must use. Or else, whiles a comedy of Plautus° is playing and the vile bondmen scoffing and trifling among themselves, if you should suddenly come upon the stage in a philosopher’s apparel° and rehearse out of *Octavia*° the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero,° had it not been better for you to have played the dumb person° than by rehearsing that which served neither for the time nor place to have made such a tragical comedy or gallimaufry°? For by bringing in other stuff that nothing appertaineth to the present matter you must needs mar and pervert the play that is in hand, though the stuff that you bring be much better. What part soever you have taken upon you, play that as well as you can° and make the best of it; and do not therefore disturb and

bring out of order the whole matter, because that another which is merrier and better cometh to your remembrance.

“So the case standeth in a commonwealth, and so  
5 it is in the consultations of kings and princes. If evil  
opinions and naughty persuasions cannot be utterly  
and quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot  
even as you would remedy vices which use and cus-  
tom hath confirmed; yet for this cause you must not  
10 leave and forsake the commonwealth; you must not  
forsake the ship in a tempest because you cannot rule  
and keep down the winds. No; nor you must not  
labor to drive into their heads new and strange in-  
formations, which you know well shall be nothing  
15 regarded with them that be of clean contrary minds.

But you must with a crafty wile and a subtle train°  
study and endeavor yourself, as much as in you lieth,  
to handle the matter wittily and handsomely for the  
purpose; and that which you cannot turn to good, so  
20 to order it that it be not very bad.° For it is not pos-  
sible for all things to be well unless all men were  
good; which I think will not be yet this good many  
years.”

“By this means,” quoth he, “nothing else will be  
25 brought to pass but, whiles that I go about to remedy

the madness of others, I should be even as mad as they. For if I would speak things that be true, I must needs speak such things. But as for to speak false things, whether that be a philosopher's part or no, I cannot tell; truly it is not my part. Howbeit,<sup>5</sup> this communication of mine, though peradventure it may seem unpleasant to them, yet can I not see why it should seem strange or foolishly newfangled. If so be that I should speak those things that Plato feigneth in his weal public, or that the Utopians do in <sup>10</sup> theirs,<sup>6</sup> these things, though they were, as they be indeed, better, yet they might seem spoken out of place; forasmuch as here among us every man hath his possessions several to himself, and there all things be common.

15

“ But what was in my communication contained that might not and ought not in any place to be spoken? saving that to them which have thoroughly decreed and determined with themselves to run headlong the contrary way, it cannot be acceptable and pleasant; <sup>20</sup> because it calleth them back and sheweth them the jeopardies. Verily if all things that evil and vicious manners have caused to seem inconvenient and naught should be refused as things unmeet and reproachful, then we must among Christian people wink at<sup>7</sup> the <sup>25</sup>

most part of all those things which Christ taught us, and so straitly forbade them to be winked at that those things also which he whispered in the ears of his disciples he commanded to be proclaimed in open houses.<sup>o</sup> And yet the most part of them is more dissident from the manners of the world nowadays than my communication was. But preachers, sly and wily men, following your counsel, as I suppose, because they saw men evil-willing to frame their manners to Christ's rule, they have wrested and wried his doctrine, and like a rule of lead<sup>o</sup> have applied it to men's manners, that by some means at the least way they might agree together. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done but that men may more sickly be evil. And I truly should prevail even as much<sup>o</sup> in kings' councils: for either I must say otherways than they say, and then I were as good to say nothing; or else I must say the same that they say, and, as Mitio saith<sup>o</sup> in Terence,<sup>o</sup> help to further their mad-ness. For that crafty wile and subtle train of yours, I cannot perceive to what purpose it serveth; where-with you would have me to study and endeavor myself, if all things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose, that is, as far forth as is possible that they may not be very

evil. For there is no place to dissemble in nor to wink in: naughty counsels must be openly allowed and very pestilent decrees must be approved. He shall be counted worse than a spy, yea, almost as evil as a traitor, that with a faint heart doth praise evil and noisome decrees.

“ Moreover, a man can have no occasion to do good, chancing into the company of them which will sooner make naught a good man than be made good themselves; through whose evil company he shall be marred,<sup>10</sup> or else if he remain good and innocent, yet the wickedness and foolishness of others shall be imputed to him and laid in his neck.<sup>10</sup> So that it is impossible with that crafty wile and subtle train to turn anything to better.

“ Wherefore Plato by a goodly similitude declarereth<sup>15</sup> why wise men refrain to meddle in the commonwealth. For when they see the people swarm into the streets, and daily wet to the skin with rain, and yet cannot persuade them to go out of the rain and take to their houses, knowing well that if they should go out to them, they<sup>20</sup> should nothing prevail, nor win aught by it but be wet also in the rain; they do keep themselves within their houses, being content that they be safe themselves, seeing they cannot remedy the folly of the people.

“ Howbeit, doubtless, Master More, to speak truly as my mind giveth me,° wheresoever possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroke,° it is hard and almost impossible that there the weal public  
5 may justly be governed and prosperously flourish; unless you think thus; that justice is there executed where all things come into the hands of evil men, or that prosperity there flourisheth where all is divided among a few, which few nevertheless do not lead their lives  
10 very wealthily, and the residue live miserably, wretchedly, and beggarly.

“ Wherefore when I consider with myself and weigh in my mind the wise and godly ordinances of the Utopians, among whom with very few laws all things be so  
15 well and wealthily ordered that virtue is had in price° and estimation, and yet all things being there common, every man hath abundance of everything: again, on the other part, when I compare with them so many nations ever making new laws, yet none of them all well and  
20 sufficiently furnished with laws; where every man calleth that he hath gotten his own proper and private goods; where so many new laws daily made be not sufficient for every man to enjoy, defend, and know from another man’s that which he calleth his own;  
25 which thing the infinite controversies in the law, that

daily rise never to be ended, plainly declare to be true: these things, I say, when I consider with myself, I hold well with Plato,<sup>o</sup> and do nothing marvel that he would make no laws for them that refused those laws whereby all men should have and enjoy equal portions <sup>5</sup> of wealths and commodities. For the wise man did easily foresee that this is the one and only way to the wealth of a commonalty, if equality of all things should be brought in and stablished; which I think is not possible to be observed, where every man's goods be <sup>10</sup> proper and peculiar to himself. For where every man under certain titles and pretences draweth and pluck-  
eth to himself as much as he can, and so a few divide among themselves all the riches that there is, be there never so much abundance and store, there to the resi- <sup>15</sup> due is left lack and poverty. And for the most part it chanceth that this latter sort is more worthy to enjoy that state of wealth than the other be, because the rich men be coveteous, crafty, and unprofitable; on the other part, the poor be lowly, simple, and by their daily <sup>20</sup> labor more profitable to the commonwealth than to themselves.

“Thus I do fully persuade myself that no equal and just distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shall ever be among men unless this pro- <sup>25</sup>

priety be exiled and banished. But so long as it shall continue, so long shall remain among the most and best part of men the heavy and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchedness; which, as I grant that it may be somewhat eased, so I utterly deny that it can wholly be taken away. For if there were a statute made that no man should possess above a certain measure of ground and that no man should have in his stock above a prescript and appointed sum of money; if it were by certain laws decreed that neither the king should be of too great power, neither the people too proud and wealthy, and that offices should not be obtained by inordinate suit or by bribes and gifts,° that they should neither be bought nor sold, nor that it should be needful for the officers to be at any cost or charge° in their offices — for so occasion° is given to the officers by fraud and ravin to gather up their money again, and by reason of gifts and bribes the offices be given to rich men, which should rather have been executed of wise men — by such laws, I say, like as sick bodies that be desperate and past cure be wont with continual good cherishing to be kept up, so these evils also might be lightened and mitigated. But that they may be perfectly cured and brought to a good and upright state, it is not to be hoped for whiles every man is

master of his own to himself. Yea, and whiles you go about to do your cure of one part, you shall make bigger the sore of another part; so the help of one causeth another's harm, forasmuch as nothing can be given to any man unless that be taken from another." 5

"But I am of a contrary opinion," quoth I; "for methinketh that men shall never there live wealthily where all things be common. For how can there be abundance of goods, or of anything, where every man withdraweth his hand from labor? whom the regard 10 of his own gains driveth not to work, and the hope that he hath in other men's travails maketh him slothful. Then when they be pricked with poverty and yet no man can by any law or right defend that for his own which he hath gotten with the labor of his own 15 hands, shall not there of necessity be continual sedition and bloodshed? Specially the authority and reverend of magistrates being taken away, which, what place it may have<sup>o</sup> with such men, among whom is no difference, I cannot devise." 20

"I marvel not," quoth he, "that you be of this opinion. For you conceive in your mind either none at al or else a very false image and similitude of this thing. But if you had been with me in Utopia and had <sup>resently</sup> seen their fashions and laws, as I did, 25

which lived there five years and more and would never have come thence but only to make that new land known here; then doubtless you would grant that you never saw people well ordered but only there."

5 "Surely," quoth Master Peter, "it shall be hard for you to make me believe that there is better order in that new land than is here in these countries that we know. For good wits be as well here as there; and I think our commonwealths be ancienter than theirs, 10 wherein long use and experience hath found out many things commodious for man's life, besides that many things here among us have been found by chance, which no wit could ever have devised."

"As touching the ancienctness," quoth he, "of commonwealths, then you might better judge, if you had read the histories and chronicles<sup>o</sup> of that land; which if we may believe, cities were there before there were men here. Now what thing soever hitherto by wit hath been devised, or found by chance, that might be 20 as well there as here. But I think verily, though it were so that we did pass them in wit, yet in study and laborsome endeavor they far pass us. For, as their chronicles testify, before our arrival there they never heard anything of us, whom they call the Ultraequi- 25 noctials, saving that once about twelve hundred years

ago<sup>o</sup> a certain ship was lost by the isle of Utopia, which was driven thither by tempest. Certain Romans and Egyptians<sup>o</sup> were cast on land, which after that never went thence.

“Mark now what profit they took of this one occasion through diligence and earnest travail. There was no craft nor science within the empery of Rome whereof any profit could rise, but they either learned it of these strangers or else, of them taking occasion to search for it, found it out.<sup>o</sup> So great profit was it <sup>10</sup> to them that ever any went thither from hence. But if any like chance before this hath brought any man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembrance as this also perchance in time to come shall be forgotten that ever I was there. And like as they <sup>15</sup> quickly, almost at the first meeting, made their own whatsoever is among us wealthily devised; so I suppose it would be long before we would receive anything that among them is better instituted than among us. And this I suppose is the chief cause why their <sup>20</sup> commonwealths be wiselier governed and do flourish in more wealth than ours, though we neither in wit nor in riches be their inferiors.”

“Therefore, gentle Master Raphael,” quoth I, “I pray you and beseech you, describe unto us the island. <sup>25</sup>

And study not to be short ; but declare largely in order their grounds, their rivers, their cities, their people, their manners, their ordinances, their laws, and, to be short, all things that you shall think us desirous 5 to know. And you shall think us desirous to know whatsoever we know not yet."

"There is nothing," quoth he, "that I will do gladder ; for all these things I have fresh in mind. But the matter requireth leisure."

10 "Let us go in, therefore," quoth I, "to dinner : afterward we will bestow the time at our pleasure."

"Content," quoth he ; "be it."

So we went in and dined.

When dinner was done, we came into the same place 15 again and sat us down upon the same bench, commanding our servants that no man should trouble us. Then I and Master Peter Giles desired Master Raphael to perform his promise. He therefore, seeing us desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sit still 20 and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himself, thus he began to speak :—

*The end of the first book.*

## THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE COMMUNICATION OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,  
CONCERNING THE BEST STATE OF A COMMONWEALTH;  
CONTAINING THE DESCRIPTION OF UTOPIA, WITH A  
LARGE DECLARATION OF THE GODLY GOVERNMENT  
AND OF ALL THE GOOD LAWS AND ORDERS OF THE  
SAME ISLAND

“The island of Utopia containeth in breadth in the middle part of it, for there it is broadest, two hundred miles; which breadth continueth through the most part of the land, saving that by little and little it cometh in and waxeth narrower towards both the ends; <sup>5</sup> which, fetching about a circuit or compass <sup>°</sup> of five hundred miles, do fashion the whole island like to the new moon. Between those two corners the sea runneth in, dividing them asunder by the distance of eleven miles or thereabouts, and there surmounteth <sup>10</sup> into a large and wide sea, which, by reason that the land of every side compasseth it about and sheltereth it from the winds, is not rough nor mounteth not <sup>°</sup> with great waves but almost floweth quietly, not much

unlike a great standing pool; and maketh almost all the space within the belly of the land in manner of a haven, and to the great commodity of the inhabitants receiveth in ships towards every part of the land. The 5 forefronts or frontiers of the two corners, what with fords and shelves and what with rocks, be very jeopardous and dangerous. In the middle distance between them both standeth up above the water a great rock, which therefore is nothing perilous because it is in 10 sight. Upon the top of this rock is a fair and a strong tower builded, which they hold with a garrison of men. Other rocks there be that lie hid under the water, and therefore be dangerous. The channels be known only to themselves; and therefore it seldom chanceth that 15 any stranger, unless he be guided by a Utopian, can come into this haven, insomuch that they themselves could scarcely enter without jeopardy, but that their way is directed and ruled by certain landmarks standing on the shore. By turning, translating, and 20 removing these marks into other places, they may destroy their enemies' navies, be they never so many. The out side of the land is also full of havens; but the landing is so surely defenced, what by nature and what by workmanship of man's hand, that a few 25 defenders may drive back many armies.

“Howbeit, as they say and as the fashion of the place itself doth partly show, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But King ° Utopus, whose name as conqueror the island beareth (for before that time it was called Abraxas °), which also brought the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in all good fashions, humanity, and civil gentleness wherein they now go beyond all the people of the world, even at his first arriving and entering upon the land, forthwith obtaining the victory caused fifteen miles space of 10 uplandish ground, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and digged up, and so brought the sea round about the land. He set to this work not only the inhabitants of the island, because ° they should not think it done in contumely and despite, but also all 15 his own soldiers. Thus the work, being divided into ° so great a number of workmen, was with exceeding marvellous speed despatched; insomuch that the borderers, which at the first began to mock and to jest at this vain enterprise, then turned their laughter to 20 marvel at the success, and to fear.

“There be in the island fifty-four large and fair cities or shire-towns,° agreeing all together in one tongue, in like manners, institutions, and laws. They be all set and situate alike, and in all points fashioned alike, 25

as far forth as the place or plot suffereth. Of these cities they that be highest together be twenty-four miles asunder. Again there is none of them distant from the next above one day's journey afoot.

5 "There come yearly to Amaurote° out of every city three old men, wise and well-experienced, there to entreat and debate of the common matters of the land. For this city, because it standeth just in the midst of the island and is therefore most meet for the ambassadors of all parts of the realm,° is taken for the chief and head city. The precincts and bounds of the shires be so commodiously appointed out and set forth for the cities that never a one of them all hath of any side less than twenty miles of ground, and of some 15 side also much more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distance asunder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the bounds and limits of their shires; for they count themselves rather the good husbands than the owners of their lands.

20 "They have in the country, in all parts of the shire, houses or farms builded, well appointed and furnished with all sorts of instruments and tools belonging to husbandry. These houses be inhabited of the citizens, which come thither to dwell by course.° No 25 household or farm in the country hath fewer than

forty persons, men and women, besides two bondmen,<sup>o</sup> which be all under the rule and order of the good man and the good wife of the house, being both very sage and discreet persons. And every thirty farms or families have one head ruler, which is called a phylarch,<sup>o</sup> being as it were a head bailiff. Out of every one of these families or farms cometh every year into the city twenty persons which have continued two years before in the country. In their place so many fresh be sent thither out of the city, which of them that <sup>10</sup> have been there a year already, and be therefore expert and cunning in husbandry, shall be instructed and taught; and they the next year shall teach other. This order is used, for fear that either scarceness of victuals or some other like incommodity should <sup>15</sup> chance through lack of knowledge, if they should be all together new and fresh and unexpert in husbandry. This manner and fashion of yearly changing and renewing the occupiers of husbandry,<sup>o</sup> though it be solemn and customably<sup>o</sup> used, to the intent that <sup>20</sup> no man shall be constrained against his will to continue long in that hard and sharp kind of life, yet many of them have such a pleasure and delight in husbandry that they obtain a longer space of years. These husbandmen plow and till the ground, and breed <sup>25</sup>

up cattle, and make ready wood, which they carry to the city either by land or by water, as they may most conveniently. They bring up a great multitude of pullen, and that by a marvellous policy. For these hens do not sit upon the eggs: but by keeping them in a certain equal heat, they bring life into them and hatch them. The chickens, as soon as they be come out of the shell, follow men and women instead of the hens.

10 “They bring up very few horses, nor none but very fierce ones; and for none other use or purpose but only to exercise their youth in riding and feats of arms. For oxen be put to all the labor of plowing and drawing; which they grant to be not so good 15 as horses [at a] sudden brunt and, as we say, at a dead lift,° but yet they hold opinion that oxen will abide and suffer much more labor and pain than horses will. And they think that they be not in danger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kept and 20 maintained with much less cost and charge, and finally that they be good for meat when they be past labor.

“They sow corn only for bread; for their drink is either wine made of grapes, or else of apples or 25 pears, or else it is clean water; and many times

meath made of honey or licorice sodden in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they know certainly (for they know it perfectly indeed), how much victuals the city with the whole country or shire round about it doth spend, yet they sow <sup>10</sup> much more corn and breed up much more cattle than serveth for their own use; and the overplus they part among their borderers. Whatsoever necessary things be lacking in the country, all such stuff they fetch out of the city; where, without any exchange, they easily obtain it of the magistrates of the city. For every month many of them go into the city on the holy day.<sup>°</sup> When their harvest day draweth near and is at hand, then the phylarchs, which be the head officers and bailiffs of husbandry, send word <sup>15</sup> to the magistrates of the city what number of harvest-men is needful to be sent to them out of the city; the which company of harvest-men, being there ready at the day appointed, almost in one fair day despatcheth all the harvest work. <sup>20</sup>

#### OF THE CITIES, AND NAMELY OF AMAUROTE

“As for their cities, he that knoweth one of them knoweth them all; they be all so like one to another, as far forth as the nature of the place permitteth.

I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not° greatly which; but which rather than Amaurote? Of them all this is the werthiest and of most dignity; for the residue knowledge it for the head city, because there is the council-house.° Nor to me any of them all is better beloved, as wherein I lived five whole years together.

“The city of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a low hill, in fashion almost foursquare°: for the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the top of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles until it come to the river of Anyder°; the length of it which lieth by the river’s side is somewhat more.

15 “The river of Anyder riseth twenty-four miles° above Amaurote out of a little spring; but being increased by other small floods and brooks that run into it, and among other two somewhat big ones, before the city it is half a mile broad,° and farther broader. And sixty miles beyond the city it falleth into the ocean sea.° By all that space° that lieth between the sea and the city, and a good sort of° miles also above the city, the water ebbeth and floweth six hours together with a swift tide.° When the sea floweth in, for the length 25 of thirty miles it filleth all the Anyder with salt water

and driveth back the fresh water of the river; and somewhat further it changeth the sweetness of the fresh water with saltiness: but a little beyond that the river waxeth sweet, and runneth forby the city fresh and pleasant; and when the sea ebbeth and goeth <sup>5</sup> back again, the fresh water followeth it almost even to the very fall into the sea.

“There goeth a bridge over the river, made not of piles or of timber but of stonework with gorgeous and substantial arches, at that part of the city that is <sup>10</sup> farthest from the sea; to the intent that ships may go along forby all the side of the city without let. They have also another river, which indeed is not very great; but it runneth gently and pleasantly. For it riseth even out of the same hill that the city standeth <sup>15</sup> upon and runneth down a slope through the midst of the city into Anyder. And because it riseth a little without the city, the Amaurotians have enclosed the head-spring of it with strong fences and bulwarks, and so have joined it to the city. This is done to the in- <sup>20</sup> tent that the water should not be stopped, nor turned away or poisoned, if their enemies should chance to come upon them. From thence the water is derived and brought down in canals of brick divers ways into the lower parts of the city. Where that cannot be <sup>25</sup>

done, by reason that the place will not suffer it, there they gather the rain-water in great cisterns, which doth them as good service.

“The city is compassed about with a high and thick  
5 wall, full of turrets and bulwarks. A dry ditch, but  
deep and broad and overgrown with bushes, briars,  
and thorns, goeth about three sides or quarters of the  
city; to the fourth side the river itself serveth for a  
ditch. The streets be appointed and set forth very  
10 commodious and handsome, both for carriage<sup>o</sup> and also  
against the winds. The houses be of fair and gorgeous  
building, and on the street-side they stand joined to-  
gether in a long row through the whole street without  
any partition or separation. The streets be twenty foot  
15 broad. On the back side of the houses, through the  
whole length of the street, lie large gardens, which be  
closed in round about with the back part of the streets.  
Every house hath two doors, one into the street and a  
postern-door on the back side into the garden. These  
20 doors be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted,  
so easy to be opened that they will follow the least  
drawing of a finger and shut again by themselves.  
Every man that will may go in, for there is nothing  
within the houses that is private or any man’s own.<sup>o</sup>  
25 And every ten year they change their houses by lot.

“They set great store by their gardens. In them they have vineyards, all manner of fruit, herbs, and flowers, so pleasant, so well furnished, and so finely kept, that I never saw thing more fruitful nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence 5 herein cometh not only of pleasure, but also of a certain strife and contention that is between street and street, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens, every man for his own part. And verily you shall not lightly find in all the city 10 anything that is more commodious, either for the profit of the citizens or for pleasure. And therefore it may seem that the first founder of the city minded nothing so much as he did these gardens.

“For they say that King° Utopus himself, even at 15 the first beginning, appointed and drew forth the platform of the city into this fashion and figure that it hath now; but the gallant garnishing and the beautiful setting forth of it, whereunto he saw that one man’s age would not suffice, that he left to posterity. 20 For their chronicles, which they keep written with all diligent circumspection, containing the history of seventeen hundred and sixty years, even from the first conquest of the island, record and witness that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely 25

cottages or poor shepherd-houses, made at all adventures<sup>o</sup> of every rude piece of wood that came first to hands, with mud walls and ridged roofs thatched over with straw.<sup>o</sup> But now the houses be curiously builded, 5 after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with three stories one over another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint or of plaster or else of brick; and the inner sides be well strengthened with timber-work. The roofs be plain and flat, covered with a certain kind 10 of plaster that is of no cost and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstandeth the violence of the weather better than any lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass,<sup>o</sup> for it is there much used; and somewhere also with fine linen 15 cloth dipped in oil or amber,<sup>o</sup> and that for two commodities; for by this means more light cometh in, and the wind is better kept out.

#### OF THE MAGISTRATES

“Every thirty families or farms choose them yearly an officer, which in their old language is called the 20 syphogrant,<sup>o</sup> and by a newer name the phylarch. Every ten syphogrants, with all their three hundred families, be under an officer which was once called the trani-bore, now the chief phylarch.

“Moreover, as concerning the election of the prince,<sup>o</sup> all the syphogrants, which be in number two hundred, first be sworn to choose him whom they think most meet and expedient. Then by a secret election they name prince one of those four whom the people be-<sup>s</sup> fore named unto them; for out of the four quarters of the city there be four chosen, out of every quarter one, to stand for the election, which be put up to<sup>o</sup> the council. The prince’s office continueth all his life-time, unless he be deposed or put down for suspicion <sup>10</sup> of tyranny. They choose the tranibores yearly, but lightly they change them not. All the other offices be but for one year. The tranibores every third day, and sometimes, if need be, oftener, come into the coun-cil-house with the prince. Their council is concern-<sup>15</sup> ing the commonwealth. If there be any controversies among the commoners, which be very few, they dispatch and end them by and by. They take ever two sypho-grants to them in counsel, and every day a new couple. And that is provided that nothing touching the com-<sup>20</sup> monwealth shall be confirmed and ratified, unless it have been reasoned of and debated three days in the council before it be decreed. It is death<sup>o</sup> to have any consultation for the commonwealth out of the council or the place of the common election.<sup>o</sup> This statute, <sup>25</sup>

they say, was made to the intent that the prince and  
tranibores might not easily conspire together to op-  
press the people by tyranny and to change the state  
of the weal public. Therefore matters of great weight  
5 and importance be brought to the election-house of  
the syphogrants, which open the matter to their fami-  
lies; and afterward, when they have consulted among  
themselves, they show their device to the council.  
Sometime the matter is brought before the council of  
10 the whole island.

“ Furthermore, this custom also the council useth, to  
dispute or reason of no matter the same day<sup>o</sup> that it is  
first proposed or put forth but to defer it to the next  
sitting of the council; because that no man when he  
15 hath rashly there spoken that cometh first to his  
tongue’s end, shall then afterward rather study for  
reasons wherewith to defend and confirm his first  
foolish sentence than for the commodity of the com-  
monwealth; as one rather willing the harm or hin-  
20 drance of the weal public than any loss or diminution  
of his own existimation,<sup>o</sup> and as one that would not  
for shame—which is a very foolish shame—be  
counted anything overseen in the matter at the first,  
who at the first ought to have spoken rather wisely  
25 than hastily or rashly.

## OF SCIENCES, CRAFTS, AND OCCUPATIONS

“ Husbandry is a science common to them all in general, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instruct even from their youth; partly in schools with traditions and precepts, and partly in the country nigh the city, 5 brought up° as it were in playing, not only beholding the use of it but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also.

“ Besides husbandry, which, as I said, is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other 10 several and particular science as his own proper craft. That is most commonly either clothworking° in wool or flax, or masonry,° or the smith’s craft, or the carpenter’s science; for there is none other occupation that any number to speak of doth use there. For 15 their garments, which throughout all the island be of one fashion° (saving that there is a difference between the man’s garment and the woman’s, between the married and the unmarried), and this one continueth forevermore unchanged, seemly and comely to the eye, 20 no let to the moving and wielding of the body, also fit both for winter and summer—as for these garments, I say, every family maketh their own.° But of

the other foresaid crafts every man learneth one; and not only the men but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts: they work wool and flax. The other more laborsome sciences be committed to the men. For the most part every man is brought up in his father's craft, for most commonly they be naturally thereto bent and inclined; but if a man's mind stand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation which he doth most fantasy; whom not only his father but also the magistrates do diligently look to, that he be put to a discreet and an honest householder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learn also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will; unless the city have more need of the one than of the other.

“The chief and almost the only office of the sypoh-  
grants is to see and take heed that no man sit idle, but  
that every one apply his own craft with earnest dili-  
gence; and yet for all that not to be wearied from early  
in the morning to late in the evening with continual  
work, like laboring and toiling beasts. For this is  
worse than the miserable and wretched condition of  
bondmen; which, nevertheless, is almost everywhere

the life of workmen and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they, dividing the day and the night into twenty-four just hours, appoint and assign only six of those hours to work<sup>o</sup>; three before noon, upon the which they go straight to dinner; and after dinner, when they have rested two hours, then they work three; and upon that they go to supper. About eight of the clock in the evening, counting one of the clock at the first hour after noon, they go to bed. Eight hours they give to sleep.<sup>o</sup> All the void time, that is between the hours of work, sleep, and meat, that they be suffered to bestow, every man as he liketh best himself: not to the intent that they should misspend this time in riot or slothfulness; but, being then licensed from the labor of their own occupations, to bestow the time well<sup>15</sup> and thriftily upon some other good science, as shall please them. For it is a solemn custom there to have lectures daily early in the morning, where to be present they only be constrained that be namely chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of<sup>20</sup> every sort of people, both men and women, go to hear lectures; some one and some another, as every man's nature is inclined. Yet this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time upon his own occupation, as it chanceth in many, whose minds rise not in<sup>o</sup><sup>25</sup>

the contemplation of any science liberal, he is not letted nor prohibited; but is also praised and commended as profitable to the commonwealth.

“After supper they bestow one hour in play; in summer in their gardens, in winter in their common halls, where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in music, or else in honest and wholesome communication. Dice-play and such other foolish and pernicious games,<sup>o</sup> they know not; but they use two games not much unlike the chess. The one is the battle of numbers,<sup>o</sup> wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is wherein vices fight with virtues,<sup>o</sup> as it were in battle array or a set field; in the which game is very properly showed both the strife and discord that vices have among themselves, and again their unity and concord against virtues; and also what vices be repugnant to what virtues; with what power and strength they assail them openly; by what wiles and subtlety they assault them secretly; with what help and aid the virtues resist and overcome the puissance of the vices; by what craft they frustrate their purposes; and finally by what sleight<sup>o</sup> or means the one getteth the victory.

“But here, lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow

but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so; for that small time is not only enough but also too much for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite either for the necessity <sup>5</sup> or commodity of life; the which thing you also shall perceive if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First, almost all women, which be the half of the whole number; or else, if the women be <sup>10</sup> anywhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle.<sup>o</sup> Besides this, how great and how idle a company is there of priests and religious men, as they call them<sup>o</sup>? Put thereto all rich men, specially all landed men, which commonly be called <sup>15</sup> gentlemen and noblemen. Take into this number also their servants; I mean all that flock of stout, bragging rush-bucklers. Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the color of some disease or sickness. And truly you shall find <sup>20</sup> them much fewer than you thought by whose labor all these things be gotten that men use and live by. Now, consider with yourself, of these few that do work, how few be occupied in necessary works. For where money beareth all the swing,<sup>o</sup> there many vain <sup>25</sup>

and superfluous occupations must needs be used to serve only for riotous superfluity and dishonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in work, if they were divided into so few°  
5 occupations as the necessary use of nature requireth, in so great plenty of things as then of necessity would ensue, doubtless the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintain their livings. But if all these that be now busied about unprofitable occupa-  
10 tions, with all the whole flock of them that live idly and slothfully, which consume and waste every one of them more of these things that come by other men's labor than two of the workmen themselves do; if all these, I say, were set to profitable occupations, you  
15 easily perceive how little time would be enough, yea and too much, to store us with all things that may be requisite either for necessity or for commodity; yea, or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be true and natural.

20 "And this in Utopia the thing itself maketh manifest and plain; for there in all the city, with the whole country or shire adjoining to it, scarcely five hundred persons of all the whole number of men and women that be neither too old nor too weak to work  
25 be licensed from labor. Among them be the sypho-

grants, which, though they be by the laws exempt and privileged from labor, yet they exempt not themselves; to the intent that they may the rather by their example provoke other to work. The same vacation from labor do they also enjoy to whom the 5 people, persuaded by the commendation of the priests and secret election of the siphogrants, have given a perpetual license from labor to learning. But if any one of them prove not according to the expectation and hope of him conceived, he is forthwith plucked 10 back to the company of artificers. And contrariwise, often it chanceth that a handicraftsman doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare hours in learning, and through diligence so profit therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation<sup>o</sup> and promoted to the 15 company of the learned.

“Out of this order of the learned be chosen ambassadors, priests, tranibores, and finally the prince himself; whom they in their old tongue call barzanes,<sup>o</sup> and by a newer name adamus.<sup>o</sup> The residue of the 20 people being neither idle nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few hours how much good work by them may be done towards those things that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that in the 25

most part of necessary occupations they need not so much work as other nations do. For first of all the building or repairing of houses asketh<sup>o</sup> everywhere so many men's continual labor, because that the unthrifty <sup>5</sup> heir suffereth the houses that his father builded in continuance of time to fall in decay ; so that which he might have upholden with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it again anew, to his great charge. Yea, many times also the house that stood one man in <sup>10</sup> much money, another is of so nice and so delicate a mind that he setteth nothing by it ; and it being neglected, and therefore shortly falling into ruin, he buildeth up another in another place with no less cost and charge. But among the Utopians, where all things <sup>15</sup> be set in a good order and the commonwealth in a good stay,<sup>o</sup> it very seldom chanceth that they choose a new plot to build an house upon. And they do not only find speedy and quick remedies for present faults, but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by <sup>20</sup> this means their houses continue and last very long with little labor and small reparations ; insomuch that that kind of workmen sometimes have almost nothing to do ; but that they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to square and trim up stones, to the intent <sup>25</sup> that if any work chance, it may the speedier rise.

“Now, sir,<sup>o</sup> in their apparel, mark, I pray you, how few workmen they need. First of all, whiles they be at work, they be covered homely with leather or skins that will last seven years. When they go forth abroad, they cast upon them a cloak, which hideth the other <sup>5</sup> homely apparel. These cloaks throughout the whole island be all of one color, and that is the natural color of the wool. They therefore do not only spend much less woolen cloth than is spent in other countries, but also the same standeth them in much less cost. But <sup>10</sup> linen cloth is made with less labor, and is therefore had more in use. But in linen cloth only whiteness, in woolen only cleanliness, is regarded; as for the smallness or fineness of the thread, that is nothing passed for.<sup>o</sup> And this is the cause wherefore in other <sup>15</sup> places four or five cloth gowns of divers colors and as many silk coats be not enough for one man. Yea, and if he be of the delicate and nice sort, ten be too few; whereas there one garment will serve a man most commonly two years. For why should he desire more? <sup>20</sup> seeing if he had them, he should not be the better happed<sup>o</sup> or covered from cold, neither in his apparel any whit the comelier.

“Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few artificers in the same <sup>25</sup>

crafts be sufficient, this is because that, plenty of all things being among them, they do sometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the highways, if any be broken. Many times also, when <sup>5</sup> they have no such work to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made that they shall bestow fewer hours in work. For the magistrates do not exercise their citizens against their wills in unneedful labors. For why? In the institution of that weal public this <sup>10</sup> end is only and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and garnishing of the <sup>15</sup> same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

OF THEIR LIVING AND MUTUAL CONVERSATION  
TOGETHER

“But now will I declare how the citizens use themselves one towards another, what familiar occupying and entertainment<sup>o</sup> there is among the people, and <sup>20</sup> what fashion they use in distributing everything. First, the city consisteth of families<sup>o</sup>: the families most commonly be made of kindreds. For the women,

when they be married at a lawful age, they go into their husbands' houses; but the male children, with all the whole male offspring, continue still in their own family, and be governed of the eldest and ancientest father,<sup>o</sup> unless he dote for age; for then the next to <sup>5</sup> him in age is put in his room.

“But to the intent the prescript number of the citizens should neither decrease nor above measure increase, it is ordained that no family, which in every city be six thousand in the whole, besides them of the <sup>10</sup> country, shall at once have fewer children of the age of fourteen years or thereabout<sup>o</sup> than ten or more than sixteen; for of children under this age no number can be appointed. This measure or number is easily observed and kept by putting them that in fuller families <sup>15</sup> be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole city the store increase above the just number, therewith they fill up the lack of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole island pass and exceed the <sup>20</sup> due number, then they choose out of every city certain citizens and build up a town under their own laws in the next land<sup>o</sup> where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also of the inhabitants to them, if they will join and dwell with them. <sup>25</sup>

They, thus joining and dwelling together, do easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bring the matter about by their laws that the ground which  
5 before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of that land will not dwell with them, to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out of those bounds which they have  
10 limited and appointed out for themselves. And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them; for they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other  
15 from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance do so much diminish the number of any of their cities that it cannot be filled up again without the diminishing of the just number  
20 of the other cities, which they say chanced but twice since the beginning of the land, through a great pestilential plague,<sup>o</sup> then they make up the number with citizens fetched out of their own foreign towns<sup>o</sup>; for they had rather suffer their foreign towns to decay and per-  
25 ish than any city of their own island to be diminished.

“ But now again to the conversation of the citizens among themselves: the eldest, as I said, ruleth the family; the wives be ministers to their husbands, the children to their parents, and, to be short, the younger to their elders. Every city is divided into four equal 5 parts. In the midst of every quarter there is a market-place of all manner of things; thither the works of every family be brought into certain houses, and every kind of thing is laid up several in barns or store-houses. From hence the father of every family 10 or every householder fetcheth whatsoever he and his have need of and carrieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without any gage or pledge. For why should anything be denied unto him, seeing there is abundance of all things and that it is not to be 15 feared lest any man will ask more than he needeth? For why should it be thought that man would ask more than enough which is sure never to lack? Certainly, in all kinds of living creatures, either fear of lack doth cause covetousness and ravin, or, in man only, 20 pride; which counteth it a glorious thing to pass and excel other in the superfluous and vain ostentation of things; the which kind of vice among the Utopians can have no place.

“ Next to the market-places that I spake of stand 25

meat-markets,<sup>o</sup> whither be brought not only all sorts of herbs, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but also fish, and all manner of four-footed beasts and wild-fowl that be man's meat. But first the filthiness and <sup>15</sup> ordure thereof is clean washed away in the running river, without the city, in places appointed, meet for the same purpose. From thence the beasts be brought in killed, and clean washed by the hands of their bondmen; for they permit not their free <sup>10</sup> citizens to accustom their selves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof they think that clemency, the gentlest affection of our nature, doth by little and little decay and perish. Neither they suffer anything that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly to be brought <sup>5</sup> into the city; lest the air, by the stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause pestilent diseases.

"Moreover every street hath certain great large halls set in equal distance one from another, every one known by a several name. In these halls dwell <sup>20</sup> the syphogrants; and to every one of the same halls be appointed thirty families, of either side fifteen. The stewards of every hall at a certain hour come into the meat-markets, where they receive meat according to the number of their halls.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>25</sup> "But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sick

that be cured in the hospitals.<sup>o</sup> For in the circuit of the city, a little without the walls, they have four hospitals,<sup>o</sup> so big, so wide, so ample, and so large that they may seem four little towns; which were devised of that bigness partly to the intent the sick, be they <sup>5</sup> never so many in number, should not lie too throng or strait,<sup>o</sup> and therefore uneasily and incommodiously; and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creep from one to another, might be laid apart, <sup>10</sup> far from the company of the residue. These hospitals be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continual presence of cunning physicians is given that, though no man be <sup>15</sup> sent thither against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sick person in all the city that had not rather lie there than at home in his own house. When the steward of the sick hath received such meats as the physicians have prescribed, then the best <sup>20</sup> is equally divided among the halls, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the bishop,<sup>o</sup> the tranibores, and to ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldom. But they also, when they <sup>25</sup>

be there, have certain houses appointed and prepared for them.

“To these halls at the set hours of dinner and supper° cometh all the whole syphograncy or ward,° 5 warned by the noise of a brazen trumpet; except such as be sick in the hospitals or else in their own houses. Howbeit, no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halls be served, to fetch home meat out of the market to his own house°; for they know that no man will do 10 it without a cause reasonable. For, though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly, because it is counted a point of small honesty°; and also it were a folly to take the pain to dress a 15 bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall. In this hall all vile service, all slavery and drudgery, with all laborsome toil and business, is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by course° have the 20 office and charge of cookery, for seething and dressing the meat, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the number of their company. The men sit upon the bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, that, if any sudden evil 25 should chance to them, as many times happeneth to

women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of anybody, and go thence into the nursery.

“The nurses sit several alone with their young sucklings in a certain parlor appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and clean water, nor yet without cradles; that when they will they may lay down the young infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing-clothes and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless either death or sickness be the let. When that chanceth, the wives of the syphogrants quickly provide a nurse. And that is not hard to be done, for they that can do it do proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that; because that there this kind of pity is much praised, and the child that is nourished ever after taketh his nurse for his own natural mother. Also among the nurses sit all the children that be under the age of five years. All the other children of both kinds, as well boys as girls, that be under the age of marriage, do either serve at the tables, or else, if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvellous silence. That which is given to them from the table they eat, and other several dinner-time they have none. The syphigrant and

his wife sitteth in the midst of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all the whole company is in their sight; for that table standeth overthwart the over end<sup>o</sup>s of the hall. To them be joined two of the ancientest and eldest, for at every table they sit four at a mess.<sup>o</sup> But if there be a church standing in that syphograncy<sup>o</sup> or ward, then the priest and his wife<sup>o</sup> sitteth with the syphogrant as chief in the company. On both sides<sup>10</sup> of them sit young men, and next unto them again old men; and thus throughout all the house, equal of age be set together and yet be mixed with unequal ages. This they say was ordained to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keep the<sup>15</sup> youngers from wanton license of words and behavior; forasmuch as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the table but either they that sit on the one side or on the other must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place,<sup>20</sup> but all the old men, whose places be marked with some special token to be known, be first served of their meat, and then the residue equally. The old men divide their dainties, if there be not such an abundance of them that the whole company may be served alike,<sup>o</sup>  
<sup>25</sup> as they think best to the younger that sit of both sides

them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honor, and nevertheless equal commodity cometh to every one.

“They begin every dinner and supper of reading° something that pertaineth to good manners and virtue; but it is short, because no man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor unpleasant. Howbeit, they do not spend all the whole dinner-time themselves with long and tedious talks, but they gladly hear also the young men; yea and do purposely provoke them to talk, to the intent that they may have a proof of every man’s wit and towardness or disposition to virtue, which commonly in the liberty of feasting doth show and utter itself. Their 15 dinners be very short, but their suppers be somewhat longer°; because that after dinner followeth labor, after supper sleep and natural rest, which they think to be of more strength and efficacy to wholesome and healthful digestion. No supper is passed without 20 music,° nor their banquets° lack no conceits nor junks°: they burn sweet gums and spices for perfumes and pleasant smells, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters; yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for° the cheering of the company. For 25

they be much inclined to this opinion: to think no kind of pleasure forbidden, whereof cometh no harm.

“ Thus therefore and after this sort they live together in the city; but in the country they that dwell alone, far from any neighbors, do dine and sup at home in their own houses. For no family there lacketh any kind of victuals, as from whom° cometh all that the citizens eat and live by.

OF THEIR JOURNEYING OR TRAVELLING ABROAD, WITH  
DIVERS OTHER MATTERS CUNNINGLY REASONED AND  
WITTILY DISCUSSED°

“ But if any be desirous to visit either their friends  
10 that dwell in another city or to see the place itself, they easily obtain license of their syphogrants and  
tranibores, unless there be some profitable let.° No man goeth out alone; but a company is sent forth together with their prince’s letters,° which do testify  
15 that they have license to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their return.° They have a wagon given them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen and taketh charge of them. But unless they have women in their company, they send  
20 home the wagon again, as an impediment and a let. And though they carry nothing forth with them, yet

in all their journey they lack nothing; for wheresoever they come they be at home. If they tarry in a place longer than one day, then there every one of them falleth to his own occupation, and be very gently entertained of<sup>o</sup> the workmen and companies of the same crafts. If any man of his own head and without leave walk out of his precinct and bounds, taken without the prince's letters, he is brought again for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault again, he is punished with bondage.

“If any be desirous to walk abroad into the fields, or into the country that belongeth to the same city that he dwelleth in, obtaining the good-will of his father and the consent of his wife, he is not prohibited.<sup>15</sup> But into what part of the country soever he cometh, he hath no meat given him until he have wrought out his forenoon's task, or else dispatched so much work as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whither he will <sup>20</sup> within the bounds of his own city<sup>o</sup>; for he shall be no less profitable to the city than if he were within it.

“Now you see how little liberty they have to loiter, how they can have no cloak or pretence to idleness. There be neither wine-taverns nor ale-houses nor stews <sup>25</sup>

nor any occasion of vice or wickedness, no lurking corners, no places of wicked counsels or unlawful assemblies; but they be in the present sight and under the eyes of every man; so that of necessity <sup>5</sup> they must either apply their accustomed labors or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

“This fashion being used among the people, they must of necessity have store and plenty of all things; and seeing they be all thereof partners equally, therefore <sup>10</sup> can no man there be poor or needy. In the council of Amaurote (whither, as I said,<sup>o</sup> every city sendeth three men apiece yearly), as soon as it is perfectly known of what things there is in every place plenty, and again what things be scant in any place, <sup>15</sup> incontinent the lack of the one is performed<sup>o</sup> and filled up with the abundance of the other. And this they do freely without any benefit, taking nothing again of them to whom the things is given; but those cities that have given of their store to any other city <sup>20</sup> that lacketh, requiring nothing again of the same city, do take such things as they lack of another city to the which they gave nothing. So the whole island is, as it were, one family or household.

“But when they have made sufficient provision of <sup>25</sup> store for themselves (which they think not done until

they have provided for two years following, because of the uncertainty of the next year's proof°), then of those things whereof they have abundance they carry forth into other countries great plenty; as grain, honey, wool, flax, wood, madder, purple dye, fells, 5 wax, tallow, leather, and living beasts. And the seventh part of all these things they give frankly and freely to the poor of that country; the residue they sell at a reasonable and mean price. By this trade of traffic or merchandise, they bring into their own coun- 10 try not only great plenty of gold and silver, but also all such things as they lack at home, which is almost nothing but iron.° And by reason they have long used this trade, now they have more abundance of these things than any man will believe. Now, there- 15 fore, they care not whether they sell for ready money or else upon trust to be paid at a day° and to have the most part in debts. But in so doing they never follow the credence of private men, but the assurance or warrantise of the whole city,° by instruments and 20 writings made in that behalf accordingly. When the day of payment is come and expired, the city gathereth up the debt of the private debtors° and putteth it into the common box, and so long hath the use and profit of it until the Utopians, their creditors, demand it. The 25

most part of it they never ask; for that thing which is to them no profit, to take it from other to whom it is profitable, they think it no right nor conscience.<sup>o</sup> But if the case so stand that they must lend part of <sup>s</sup> that money to another people, then they require their debt; or when they have war; for the which purpose only they keep at home all the treasure which they have, to be holpen and succored by it either in extreme jeopardies or in sudden dangers, but especially and <sup>10</sup> chiefly to hire therewith, and that for unreasonable great wages, strange soldiers.<sup>o</sup> For they had rather put strangers in jeopardy than their own countrymen; knowing that for money enough their enemies themselves many times may be bought and sold, or else <sup>15</sup> through treason be set together by the ears among themselves. For this cause they keep an inestimable treasure; but yet not as a treasure, but so they have it and use it as in good faith I am ashamed to show, fearing that my words shall not be believed.<sup>o</sup> And <sup>20</sup> this I have more cause to fear, for that I know how difficultly and hardly I myself would have believed another man telling the same, if I had not presently seen it with mine own eyes. For it must needs be that how far a thing is dissonant and disagreeing from the <sup>25</sup> guise and trade<sup>o</sup> of the hearers, so far shall it be out

of their belief. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent esteemer<sup>o</sup> of things will not greatly marvel perchance, seeing all their other laws and customs do so much differ from ours, if the use also of gold and silver among them be applied rather to their own fashions<sup>5</sup> than to ours. I mean, in that they occupy not money themselves, but keep it for that chance; which as it may happen, so it may be that it shall never come to pass.

“In the meantime gold and silver, whereof money<sup>10</sup> is made, they do so use as none of them doth more esteem it than the very nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doth not plainly see how far it is under iron<sup>o</sup>? as without the which men can no better live than without fire and water; whereas to gold and<sup>15</sup> silver nature hath given no use that we may not well lack, if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rareness’ sake. But, of the contrary part, nature, as a most tender and loving mother, hath placed the best and most necessary things open<sup>20</sup> abroad, as the air, the water, and the earth itself; and hath removed and hid farthest from us vain and unprofitable things. Therefore if these metals among them should be fast locked up in some tower, it might be suspected that the prince and the council, as the<sup>25</sup>

people is ever foolishly imagining,<sup>o</sup> intended by some subtlety to deceive the commons and to take some profit of it to themselves. Furthermore, if they should make thereof plate and such other finely and 5 cunningly wrought stuff, if at any time they should have occasion to break it and melt it again and therewith to pay their soldiers wages, they see and perceive very well that men would be loath to part from those things that they once begun to have pleasure 10 and delight in.

“To remedy all this, they have found out a means, which, as it is agreeable to all their other laws and customs, so it is from ours, where gold is so much set by and so diligently kept, very far discrepant<sup>o</sup> and 15 repugnant; and therefore incredible, but only to them that be wise.<sup>o</sup> For whereas they eat and drink in earthen and glass vessels, which indeed be curiously and properly made, and yet be of very small value; of gold and silver they make commonly chamber-pots, 20 and other like vessels that serve for most vile uses, not only in their common halls but in every man’s private house. Furthermore of the same metals they make great chains with fetters, and gyves, wherein they tie their bondmen. Finally, whosoever for any 25 offence be infamed, by their ears hang rings of gold,

upon their fingers they wear rings of gold, and about their necks chains of gold,<sup>o</sup> and in conclusion their heads be tied about with gold. Thus, by all means that may be, they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamy. And therefore these metals, which other nations do as grievously and sorrowfully forego, as in a manner from their own lives; if they should altogether at once<sup>o</sup> be taken from the Utopians, no man there would think that he had lost the worth of one farthing. <sup>10</sup>

“They gather also pearls by the sea-side and diamonds and carbuncles upon certain rocks, and yet they seek not for them; but by chance finding them they cut and polish them, and therewith they deck their young infants; which, like as in the first years <sup>15</sup> of their childhood they make much and be fond and proud of such ornaments, so when they be a little more grown in years and discretion, perceiving that none but children do wear such toys and trifles, they lay them away even of their own shamefastness with- <sup>20</sup> out any bidding of their parents; even as our children, when they wax big, do cast away nuts,<sup>o</sup> brooches, and puppets. Therefore these laws and customs, which be so far different from all other nations, how divers fancies also and minds they do cause did I never so <sup>25</sup>

plainly perceive as in the ambassadors of the Anemolians.<sup>o</sup>

“These ambassadors came to Amaurote whiles I was there; and because they came to entreat of great and weighty matters, those three citizens<sup>o</sup> apiece out of every city were come thither before them. But all the ambassadors of the next countries, which had been there before and knew the fashions and manners of the Utopians, among whom they perceived no honor given to sumptuous and costly apparel, silks to be contemned, gold also to be infamed and reproachful, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple apparel; but the Anemolians, because they dwell far thence and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike, and that very rudely and homely, thinking them not to have the things which they did not wear, being therefore more proud than wise, determined in the gorgeousness of their apparel to represent very gods, and with the bright shining and glistering of their gay clothing to dazzle the eyes of the silly poor Utopians. So there came in three ambassadors with a hundred servants all apparelled in changeable colors, the most of them in silks; the ambassadors themselves (for at home in their own country they were noblemen) in

cloth of gold, with great chains of gold, with gold hanging at their ears, with gold rings upon their fingers, with brooches and aiglets<sup>o</sup> of gold upon their caps, which glistered full of pearls and precious stones; to be short, trimmed and adorned with all those things<sup>5</sup> which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproach of infamed persons, or else trifles for young children to play withal. Therefore it would have done a man good at his heart to have seen how proudly they displayed their pea-<sup>10</sup>cock feathers, how much they made of their painted sheaths, and how loftily they set forth and advanced themselves,<sup>o</sup> when they compared their gallant apparel with the poor raiment of the Utopians; for all the people were swarmed forth into the streets. And on<sup>15</sup> the other side it was no less pleasure to consider how much they were deceived, and how far they missed of their purpose; being contrary ways taken than they thought they should have been; for to the eyes of all the Utopians, except very few which had been in<sup>20</sup> other countries for some reasonable cause, all that gorgeousness of apparel seemed shameful and reproachful, insomuch that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lords, "passing over the ambassadors themselves without any honor, judg-<sup>25</sup>

ing them by their wearing of golden chains to be bondmen. Yea, you should have seen children also that had cast away their pearls and precious stones, when they saw the like sticking upon the ambassadors' caps, dig and push their mothers under the sides, saying thus to them: 'Look, mother, how great a lubber<sup>o</sup> doth yet wear pearls and precious stones, as though he were a little child still!' But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest: 'Peace, son,' saith <sup>10</sup> she; 'I think he be some of the ambassadors' fools.' Some found fault at their gold chains as to no use nor purpose, being so small and weak that a bondman might easily break them; and again so wide and large that when it pleased him he might cast them <sup>15</sup> off and run away at liberty whither he would.

"But when the ambassadors had been there a day or two and saw so great abundance of gold so lightly esteemed, yea, in no less reproach than it was with them in honor; and, besides that, more gold in the <sup>20</sup> chains and gyves of one fugitive bondman than all the costly ornaments of them three was worth, they began to abate their courage and for very shame laid away all that gorgeous array whereof they were so proud; and specially when they had talked familiarly <sup>25</sup> with the Utopians and had learned all their fashions

and opinions. For they marvel that any men be so foolish as to have delight and pleasure in the doubtful glistening of a little trifling stone which may behold any of the stars or else the sun itself; or that any man is so mad as to count himself the nobler for the 5 smaller or finer thread of wool, which self-same wool, be it now in never so fine a spun thread, did once a sheep wear, and yet was she all that time no other thing than a sheep.

“They marvel also that gold, which of the own na-<sup>10</sup>ture° is a thing so unprofitable, is now among all people in so high estimation that man himself, by whom, yea and for the use of whom, it is so much set by, is in much less estimation than the gold itself: insomuch that a lumpish, blockheaded churl, and <sup>15</sup> which hath no more wit than an ass, yea, and as full of naughtiness and foolishness, shall have nevertheless many wise and good men in subjection and bondage, only for this, because he hath a great heap of gold; which if it should be taken from him by any fortune, <sup>20</sup> or by some subtle wile of the law ( which no less than fortune doth raise up the low and pluck down the high ) and be given to the most vile slave and abject dreuell of all his household, then shortly after he shall go into the service of his servant as an augmen-<sup>25</sup>

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tation or an overplus beside his money. But they much more marvel at and detest the madness of them which to those rich men, in whose debt and danger they be not, do give almost divine honors for none other consideration but because they be rich ; and yet knowing them to be such niggish penny-fathers° that they be sure as long as they live not the worth of one farthing of that heap of gold shall come to them.

“These and such like opinions have they conceived, 10 partly by education, being brought up in that commonwealth, whose laws and customs be far different from these kinds of folly, and partly by good literature and learning. For though there be not many in every city which be exempt and discharged of all other 15 labors and appointed only to learning ; that is to say, such in whom even from their very childhood they have perceived a singular towardness, a fine wit, and a mind apt to good learning ; yet all in their childhood be instruct in learning : and the better part of the people, 20 both men and women,° throughout all their whole life do bestow in learning those spare hours, which we said they have vacant from bodily labors. They be taught learning in their own native tongue ; for it is both copious in words and also pleasant to the ear, and for 25 the utterance of a man’s mind very perfect and sure.°

The most part of all that side of the world useth the same language, saving that among the Utopians it is finest and purest ; and according to the diversity of the countries it is diversely altered.

“ Of all these philosophers, whose names be here 5 famous in this part of the world to us known, before our coming thither, not as much as the fame of any of them was common among them ; and yet in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry° they have found out in a manner all that our ancient philosophers have 10 taught. But as they in all things be almost equal to our old ancient clerks,° so our new logicians in subtle inventions have far passed and gone beyond them.° For they have not devised one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications, and suppositions, very 15 wittily invented in the *Small Logicals*,° which here our children in every place do learn. Furthermore they were never yet able to find out the second intentions° ; insomuch that none of them all could ever see man himself in common,° as they call him ; though he be, 20 as you know, bigger than ever was any giant, yea, and pointed to of us even with our finger. But they be in the course of the stars and the movings of the heavenly spheres° very expert and cunning. They have also wittily excogitated and devised instruments of divers 25

fashions, wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the movings and situations of the sun, the moon, and of all the other stars<sup>o</sup> which appear in their horizon. But as for the amities and dissensions of the planets<sup>o</sup> and all that deceitful divination by the stars, they never as much as dreamed thereof. Rains, winds, and other courses of tempests they know before by certain tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of all these things, of the ebbing, flowing, and saltiness of the sea, and finally of the original beginning and nature of heaven and of the world, they hold partly the same opinions that our old philosophers hold, and partly, as our philosophers vary among themselves, so they also, whiles they bring new reasons of things, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all points they do not accord.

“In that part of philosophy which entreateth of manners and virtue,<sup>o</sup> their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the soul, of the body, and of fortune; and whether the name of goodness may be applied to all these or only to the endowments and gifts of the soul. They reason of virtue and pleasure.<sup>o</sup> But the chief and principal question is in what thing, be it one or more, the

felicity of man consisteth. But in this point they seem almost too much given and inclined to the opinion of them which defend pleasure °; wherein they determine either all or the chiefest part of man's felicity to rest. And, which is more to be marvelled at, the defence of 5 this so dainty and delicate an opinion they fetch even from their grave, sharp, bitter, and rigorous religion.° For they never dispute of felicity or blessedness but they join to the reasons of philosophy certain principles taken out of religion; without the which, to the in- 10 vestigation of true felicity, they think reason of itself weak and unperfect. Those principles be these and such like: that the soul is immortal, and by the bountiful goodness of God ordained to felicity; that to our virtues and good deeds rewards be appointed 15 after this life, and to our evil deeds punishments.° Though these be pertaining to religion, yet they think it meet that they should be believed and granted by proofs of reason. But if these principles were condemned and disannulled, then without any delay they 20 pronounce no man to be so foolish, which would not do all his diligence and endeavor to obtain pleasure by right or wrong, only avoiding this inconvenience, that the less pleasure should not be a let or hindrance to the bigger°; or that he labored not for that pleasure 25

which would bring after it displeasure, grief, and sorrow.<sup>o</sup> For they judge it 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. For what profit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his life unpleasantly, that is to say, wretchedly, shall have no reward after his death ?

“ But now, sir,<sup>o</sup> they think not felicity to rest in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honest<sup>o</sup>; and that hereto, as to perfect blessedness, our nature is allured and drawn even of virtue; whereunto only they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicity.<sup>o</sup> For they define virtue to be a life ordered according to nature<sup>o</sup>; and that we be here unto ordained of God; and that he doth follow the course of nature, which in desiring and refusing things is ruled by reason. Furthermore, that reason doth chiefly and principally kindle in men the love and veneration of the Divine Majesty, of whose goodness it is that we be, and that we be in possibility to attain felicity.<sup>o</sup> And that, secondarily, it moveth and provoketh us to lead our life out of care in joy and mirth,<sup>o</sup> and to help all other, in respect of the society of nature, to obtain the same. For there was never

man so earnest and painful a follower of virtue and hater of pleasure, that would so enjoin you labors, watchings, and fastings,<sup>o</sup> but he would also exhort you to ease and lighten to your power the lack and misery of others; praising the same as a deed of humanity <sup>s</sup> and pity. Then if it be a point of humanity for man to bring health and comfort to man, and specially (which is a virtue most peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the grief of others, and by taking from them the sorrow and heaviness of life, to restore <sup>10</sup> them to joy, that is to say to pleasure; why may it not then be said that nature doth provoke every man to do the same to himself?

“For a joyful life, that is to say, a pleasant life, is either evil; and if it be so, then thou shouldst not <sup>15</sup> only help no man thereto, but rather as much as in thee lieth help all men from it, as noisome and hurtful; or else, if thou not only mayst but also of duty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to thyself, to whom thou art bound to show as much favor as to <sup>20</sup> other? For when nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other, she commandeth thee not to be cruel and ungentle to thyself. Therefore even very nature, say they, prescribeth to us a joyful life, that is to say, pleasure as the end of all our operations. And they <sup>25</sup>

define virtue to be life ordered according to the pre-  
script of nature.<sup>o</sup> But in that that nature doth allure  
and provoke men one to help another to live merrily  
(which surely she doth, not without a good cause; for  
5 no man is so far above the lot of man's state or condi-  
tion, that nature doth care and care for him only,  
which equally favoreth all that be comprehended under  
the communion of one shape, form, and fashion), verily  
she commandeth thee to use diligent circumspection,  
10 that thou do not so seek for thine own commodities,  
that thou procure others incommodities.

“ Wherefore their opinion is, that not only cove-  
nants and bargains made among private men ought to  
be well and faithfully fulfilled, observed, and kept,  
15 but also common laws; which either a good prince  
hath justly published, or else the people, neither  
oppressed with tyranny, neither deceived by fraud  
and guile, hath by their common consent constitute  
and ratified, concerning the partition of the commodi-  
ties of life,— that is to say, the matter of pleasure.  
These laws not offended, it is wisdom that thou look  
to thine own wealth.<sup>o</sup> And to do the same for the  
commonwealth is no less than thy duty, if thou  
bearest any reverent love or any natural zeal and affec-  
25 tion to thy native country. But to go about to let

another man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine own, that is open wrong. Contrariwise, to withdraw something from thyself to give to other, that is a point of humanity and gentleness; which never taketh away so much commodity as it bringeth again. 5 For it is recompensed with the return of benefits; and the conscience of the good deed, with the remembrance of the thankful love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bring more pleasure to thy mind than that which thou hast withholden from thyself could have brought to thy body. Finally (which to a godly-disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded), God recompenseth the gift of a short and small pleasure with great and everlasting joy. Therefore, the matter diligently weighed and considered, 15 thus they think: that all our actions, and in them the virtues themselves, be referred at the last to pleasure as their end and felicity.

“Pleasure they call every motion and state of the body or mind wherein man hath naturally delectation. 20 Appetite they join to nature,° and that not without a good cause. For like as not only the senses, but also right reason, coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasant; so that it may be gotten without wrong or injury, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor 25

causing painful labor; even so those things that men by vain imagination do feign against nature to be pleasant (as though it lay in their power to change the things as they do the names of things), all such pleasures they believe to be of so small help and furtherance to felicity that they count them great let and hindrance; because that, in whom they have once taken place, all his mind they possess with a false opinion of pleasure; so that there is no place left for true and natural delectations. For there be many things which of their own nature contain no pleasantness, yea the most part of them much grief and sorrow; and yet, through the perverse and malicious flickering incitements of lewd and dishonest desires, be taken not only for special and sovereign pleasures, but also be counted among the chief causes of life.

“ In this counterfeit kind of pleasure they put them that I spake of before; which, the better gown they have on, the better men they think themselves: in the which thing they do twice err, for they be no less deceived in that they think their gown the better than they be in that they think themselves the better. For if you consider the profitable use of the garment, why should wool of a finer-spun thread be thought better than the wool of a coarse-spun thread? Yet

they, as though the one did pass the other by nature and not by their mistaking, avaunce themselves° and think the price of their own persons thereby greatly increased. And therefore the honor, which in a coarse gown they durst not have looked for, they require as 5 it were of duty, for their finer gown's sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it angrily and disdainfully.

“And again, is it not a like madness to take a pride in vain and unprofitable honors? For what natural 10 or true pleasure dost thou take of another man's bare head or bowed knees? Will this ease the pain of thy knees, or remedy the phrensy of thy head? In this image of counterfeit pleasure, they be of a marvellous madness, which for the opinion of nobility° rejoice 15 much in their own conceit, because it was their fortune to come of such ancestors, whose stock of long time hath been counted rich (for now nobility is nothing else),° specially rich in lands. And though their ancestors left them not one foot of land, or else they 20 themselves have squandered it away, yet they think themselves not the less noble therefore of one hair.°

“In this number also they count them that take pleasure and delight, as I said, in gems and precious stones, and think themselves almost gods if they chance 25

to get an excellent one; specially of that kind which in that time of their own countrymen is had in highest estimation; for one kind of stone keepeth not his price still in all countries and at all times. Nor they buy  
5 them not but taken out of the gold and bare; no, nor so neither, before they have made the seller to swear that he will warrant and assure it to be a true stone and no counterfeit gem. Such care they take lest a  
10 counterfeit stone should deceive their eyes in the stead of a right stone.<sup>o</sup> But why shouldst thou not take even as much pleasure in beholding a counterfeit stone which thine eye cannot discern from a right stone? They should both be of a like value to thee, even as to a blind man. What shall I say of them that keep  
15 superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholding and not in the use or occupying thereof? Do they take true pleasure, or else be they deceived with false pleasure? Or of them<sup>o</sup> that be in a contrary vice, hiding the gold which they shall never occupy,  
20 nor peradventure never see more; and, whiles they take care lest they shall lose it, do lose it indeed? For what is it else, when they hide it in the ground, taking it both from their own use and perchance from all other men's also? And yet thou, when thou hast hid  
25 thy treasure, as one out of all care hoppest for joy;

the which treasure, if it should chance to be stolen and thou, ignorant of the theft, shouldst die ten years after ; all that ten years' space that thou livedest after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to thee whether it had been taken away, or else safe as thou leftest it ? Truly both ways like profit came to thee.

“ To these so foolish pleasures they join dicers, whose madness they know by hearsay and not by use ; hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there, say they, in casting the dice upon a table ; which <sup>10</sup> thou hast done so often that if there were any pleasure in it, yet the oft use might make thee weary thereof ? Or what delight can there be, and not rather displeasure, in hearing the barking and howling of dogs ? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felt when a <sup>15</sup> dog followeth an hare than when a dog followeth a dog ? for one thing is done in both ; that is to say, running ; if thou hast pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter and the expectation of tearing in pieces the beast doth please thee, thou shouldst rather <sup>20</sup> be moved with pity to see a silly innocent hare murdered of a dog, the weak of the stronger, the fearful of the fierce, the innocent of the cruel and unmerciful. Therefore all this exercise of hunting, as a thing unworthy to be used of free men, the Utopians have <sup>25</sup>

rejected to their butchers ; to the which craft, as we said before,° they appoint their bondmen. For they count hunting the lowest, vilest, and most abject part of butchery ; and the other parts of it more profitable and more honest, as which do bring much more commodity ; and do kill beasts only for necessity, whereas the hunter seeketh nothing but pleasure of the silly and woeful beast's slaughter and murder ; the which pleasure in beholding death they think doth rise in the very beasts either of a cruel affection of mind or else to be changed in continuance of time into cruelty by long use of so cruel a pleasure. This therefore and all such like, which is innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seeing there is no natural pleasantness in them, do plainly determine them to have no affinity with true and right pleasure. For as touching that they do commonly move the sense with delectation (which seemeth to be a work of pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their opinion. For not the nature of the thing but their perverse and lewd custom is the cause hereof ; which causeth them to accept bitter or sour things for sweet things, even as women with child, in their vitiate and corrupt taste, think pitch and tallow sweeter than any honey. Howbeit no man's

judgment, depraved and corrupt either by sickness or by custom, can change the nature of pleasure more than it can do the nature of other things.

“They make divers kinds of true pleasures; for some they attribute to the soul and some to the body. 5 To the soul they give intelligence and that delectation that cometh of the contemplation of truth. Hereunto is joined the pleasant remembrance of the good life past<sup>o</sup> and the assured hopes of a future happiness.

“The pleasure of the body they divide into two 10 parts. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceived, which many times chanceth by the renewing and refreshing of those parts which our natural heat drieth up: this cometh by meat and drink, and sometimes whiles those things be voided whereof 15 is in the body over-great abundance. Sometimes pleasure riseth, exhibiting to any member nothing that it desireth nor taking from it any pain that it feeleth, which for all that tickleth and moveth our senses with a certain secret efficacy, but with a mani- 20 fest motion, and turneth them to it; as is that which cometh of music.

“The second part of bodily pleasure they say is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiet and upright state of the body. And that truly is every 25

man's own proper health, intermingled and disturbed with no grief. For this, if it be not letted nor assaulted with no grief,<sup>o</sup> is delectable of itself, though it be moved with no external or outward pleasure.

5 For though it be not so plain and manifest to the sense as the greedy lust of eating and drinking, yet nevertheless many take it for the chiefest pleasure. All the Utopians grant it to be a right great pleasure, and, as you would say,<sup>o</sup> the foundation and ground

10 of all pleasures; as which even alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasant; and, it being once taken away, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without grief, not having health, that they call unsensibility and not pleasure.

15 The Utopians have long ago rejected and condemned the opinion of them which said that steadfast and quiet health (for this question also hath been diligently debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleasure, because they say it cannot be

20 presently and sensibly perceived and felt by some outward motion.<sup>o</sup> But, of the contrary part, now they agree almost all in this, that health is a most sovereign pleasure. For seeing that in sickness, say they, is grief, which is a mortal enemy to pleasure,

25 even as sickness is to health, why should not then

pleasure be in the quietness of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter,° whether you say that sickness is a grief, or that in sickness is grief, for all cometh to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure itself or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fire is of heat, truly both ways it followeth, that they cannot be without pleasure that be in perfect health. Furthermore, whiles we eat, say they, then health, which began to be appaired, fighteth by the help of food against hunger; in the 10 which fight whiles health by little and little getteth the upper hand, that same proceeding, and, as ye would say,° that onwardness to the wont strength ministreth that pleasure whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, which in the conflict is joyful, shall 15 it not be merry when it hath gotten the victory? But as soon as it hath recovered the pristinate strength,° which thing only in all the fight it coveted, shall it incontinent be astonished? Nor shall it not know nor embrace the own wealth° and goodness? For 20 that it is said health cannot be felt, this, they think, is nothing true. For what man waking,° say they, feeleth not himself in health but he that is not°? Is there any man so possessed with stonish insensibility, or with the sleeping sickness,° that he will not grant 25

health to be acceptable to him and delectable? But what other thing is delectation than that which by another name is called pleasure?

“They embrace [therefore] chiefly the pleasures of the mind; for them they count the chiefest and most principal of all. The chief part of them they think doth come of the exercise of virtue and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth they give the preëminence to health. For the delight of eating and drinking, and whatsoever hath any like pleasantness, they determine to be pleasures much to be desired, but no other ways than for health’s sake. For such things of their own proper nature be not pleasant, but in that they resist sickness privily stealing on. Therefore, like as it is a wise man’s part rather to avoid sickness than to wish for medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight careful griefs<sup>o</sup> than to call for comfort, so it is much better not to need this kind of pleasure than in sealing<sup>o</sup> the contrary grief to be eased of the same: the which kind of pleasure if any man take for his felicity, that man must needs grant that then he shall be in most felicity, if he live that life which is led in continual hunger, thirst, itching, eating, drinking, scratching, and rubbing; the which life how not only foul it is

but also miserable and wretched, who perceiveth not? These doubtless be the basest pleasures of all, as un-pure and unperfect; for they never come but accom-panied with their contrary griefs, as with the pleasure of eating is joined hunger, and that after no very equal sort. For of these two the grief is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it riseth before the pleasure, and endeth not until the pleasure die with it.

“ Wherefore such pleasures they think not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary. Howbeit they have delight also in these, and thankfully knowl-edge the tender love of mother nature, which with most pleasant delectation allureth her children to that which of necessity they be driven often [to] use. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daily griefs of hunger and thirst could not be driven away but with bitter potions and sour medicines, as the other diseases be wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But beauty, strength, nimbleness, these, as peculiar and pleasant gifts of nature, they make much of. But those pleasures which be received by the ears, the eyes, and the nose; which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other kind of living beasts doth behold the fairness and the beauty of the world,

or is moved with any respect of savours, but only for the diversity of meats, neither perceiveth the concordant and discordant distances of sounds and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and allow as certain pleasant rejoicings of life. But in all things this cautel they use, that a less pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure; which they think to follow of necessity, if the pleasure be dishonest. But yet to despise the comeliness of beauty, to waste the bodily strength, to turn nimbleness into sluggishness, to consume and make feeble the body with fasting, to do injury to health, and to reject the other pleasant motions of nature (unless a man neglect these his commodities whiles he doth with a fervent zeal procure the wealth of others, or the common profit, for the which pleasure forborne he is in hope of a greater pleasure of God): else for a vain shadow of virtue, for the wealth and profit of no man, to punish himself,° or to the intent he may be able courageously to suffer adversity, which perchance shall never come to him: this to do they think it a point of extreme madness, and a token of a man cruelly-minded towards himself and unkind toward nature, as one so disdaining to be in her danger that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefits.

“This is their sentence° and opinion of virtue and pleasure. And they believe that by man’s reason none can be found truer than this, unless any godlier be inspired into man from heaven. Wherein whether they believe well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discuss, neither it is now necessary; for we have taken upon us° to show and declare their lores and ordinances,° and not to defend them.°

“But this thing I believe° verily: howsoever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world<sup>10</sup> neither a more excellent people, neither a more flourishing commonwealth. They be light and quick of body, full of activity and nimbleness, and of more strength than a man would judge them by their stature, which for all that is not too low. And though their soil<sup>15</sup> be not very fruitful nor their air very wholesome, yet against the air they so defend them with temperate diet, and so order and husband their ground with diligent travail, that in no country is greater increase, and plenty of corn and cattle, nor men’s bodies of longer<sup>20</sup> life and subject or apt to fewer diseases. There, therefore, a man may see well and diligently exploited and furnished° not only those things which husbandmen do commonly in other countries, as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrenness of the ground, but also a whole<sup>25</sup>

wood by the hands of the people plucked up by the roots in one place and set again in another place ; wherein was had regard and consideration not of plenty but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber <sup>5</sup> might be nigher to the sea or the rivers or the cities. For it is less labor and business to carry grain far by land than wood. The people be gentle, merry, quick, and fine-witted, delighting in quietness, and when need requireth, able to abide and suffer much <sup>10</sup> bodily labor ; else they be not greatly desirous and fond of it, but in the exercise and study of the mind they be never weary.

“ When they had heard me speak<sup>o</sup> of the Greek literature or learning (for in Latin there was nothing that <sup>15</sup> I thought they would greatly allow besides historians and poets), they made wonderful earnest and importunate suit unto me that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therefore to read<sup>o</sup> unto them, at the first, truly, more because I would not <sup>20</sup> seem to refuse the labor than that I hoped that they would anything profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceived incontinent by their diligence that my labor should not be bestowed in vain ; for they began so easily to fashion their letters, so <sup>25</sup> plainly to pronounce the words, so quickly to learn by

heart, and so surely to rehearse the same, that I mar-  
velled at it; saving that the most part of them were  
fine and chosen wits and of ripe age, picked out of the  
company of the learned men, which not only of their  
own free and voluntary will, but also by the command-  
ment of the council undertook to learn this language.  
Therefore in less than three years' space there was  
nothing in the Greek tongue that they lacked. They  
were able to read good authors without any stay, if  
the book were not false.<sup>10</sup>

“ This kind of learning, as I suppose, they took so  
much the sooner, because it is somewhat alliant to  
them. For I think that this nation took their begin-  
ning of the Greeks, because their speech, which in all  
other points is not much unlike the Persian tongue,<sup>15</sup>  
keepeth divers signs and tokens of the Greek lan-  
guage in the names of their cities and of their magis-  
trates.<sup>o</sup> They have of me<sup>o</sup> (for, when I was deter-  
mined to enter into my fourth voyage,<sup>o</sup> I cast into the  
ship in the stead of merchandise, a pretty fardel<sup>o</sup> of <sup>20</sup>  
books, because I intended to come again rather never  
than shortly ) the most part of Plato's works, more of  
Aristotle's, also Theophrastus' *Of Plants*,<sup>o</sup> but in divers  
places ( which I am sorry for ) unperfect. For whiles  
we were sailing, a marmoset chanced upon the book as <sup>25</sup>

it was negligently laid by, which, wantonly playing therewith, plucked out certain leaves and tore them in pieces.<sup>o</sup> Of them that have written the grammar, they have only Lascaris<sup>o</sup>; for Theodorus<sup>o</sup> I carried not with me, nor never a dictionary but Hesychius<sup>o</sup> and Dioscorides.<sup>o</sup> They set great store by Plutarch's<sup>o</sup> books; and they be delighted with Lucian's<sup>o</sup> merry conceits and jests. Of the poets they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus<sup>o</sup> small print.  
10 Of the historians they have Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian.<sup>o</sup> Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus,<sup>o</sup> carried with him physic books: certain small works of Hippocrates<sup>o</sup> and Galen's *Microtechne*,<sup>o</sup> the which book they have in great estimation. For though there be  
15 almost no nation under heaven that hath less need of physic than they, yet, this notwithstanding, physic is nowhere in greater honor; because they count the knowledge of it among the goodliest and most profitable parts of philosophy.<sup>o</sup> For whiles they by the help  
20 of this philosophy search out the secret mysteries of nature, they think that they not only receive thereby wonderful great pleasure, but also obtain great thanks and favor of the Author and Maker thereof; whom they think, according to the fashion of other artificers,  
25 to have set forth the marvellous and gorgeous frame

of the world for man to behold, whom only he hath made of wit and capacity to consider and understand the excellency of so great a work. And therefore, say they, doth he bear more good-will and love to the curious and diligent beholder and viewer of his work and s marveller at° the same than he doth to him, which like a very beast without wit and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hath no regard to so great and so wonderful a spectacle.

“ The wits therefore of the Utopians, inured and 10 exercised in learning, be marvellous quick in the invention of feats helping anything to the advantage and wealth of life. Howbeit, two feats they may thank us for; that is, the science of imprinting and the craft of making paper°: and yet not only us but 15 chiefly and principally themselves. For when we showed to them Aldus° his print in books of paper, and told them of the stuff whereof paper is made and of the feat of graving letters, speaking somewhat more than we could plainly declare° (for there was 20 none of us that knew perfectly either the one or the other), they forthwith very wittily conjectured the thing. And whereas before they wrote only in skins, in barks of trees, and in reeds,° now they have attempted to make paper and to imprint letters. And 25

though at first it proved not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same they shortly got the feat of both, and have so brought the matter about that if they had copies of Greek authors, they could lack no books. But now they have no more than I rehearsed before; saving that by printing of books they have multiplied and increased the same into many thousand of copies.

“ Whosoever cometh thither to see the land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long journeying well-experienced and seen in the knowledge of many countries (for the which cause we were very welcome to them), him they receive and entertain wonders gently and lovingly; for they have delight to hear what is done in every land. Howbeit, very few merchant-men come thither. For what should they bring thither? unless it were iron; or else gold and silver, which they had rather carry home again. Also such things as are to be carried out of their land, they think it more wisdom to carry that gear forth themselves than that others should come thither to fetch it, to the intent they may the better know the out-lands of every side them and keep in ure thefeat<sup>o</sup> and knowledge of sailing.<sup>o</sup>

OF BOND MEN, SICK PERSONS, WEDLOCK, AND DIVERS  
OTHER MATTERS<sup>o</sup>

“ They neither make bondmen of prisoners taken in battle, unless it be in battle that they fought themselves, nor [of] bondmen’s children, nor, to be short, [of] any man whom they can get out of another country, though he were there a bondman; but either such as 5 among themselves for heinous offences be punished with bondage, or else such as in the cities of other lands for great trespasses be condemned to death. And of this sort of bondmen they have most store; for many of them they bring home, sometimes paying 10 very little for them; yea, most commonly getting them for gramecy.<sup>o</sup> These sorts of bondmen they keep not only in continual work and labor but also in bonds. But their own men they handle hardest, whom they judge more desperate and to have deserved greater 15 punishment; because they, being so godly<sup>o</sup> brought up to virtue in so excellent a commonwealth could not for all that be refrained from misdoing.

“ Another kind of bondmen they have, when a vile drudge, being a poor laborer in another country, doth 20 choose of his own free-will to be a bondman among them. These they handle and order honestly, and en-

tertain almost as gently as their own free citizens ; saving that they put them to a little more labor, as thereto accustomed. If any such be disposed to depart thence, which seldom is seen, they neither hold him <sup>5</sup> against his will, neither send him away with empty hands.

“ The sick, as I said, they see to with great affection, and let nothing at all pass<sup>o</sup> concerning either physic or good diet, whereby they may be restored <sup>10</sup> again to their health. Them that be sick of incurable diseases they comfort with sitting by them, with talking with them, and, to be short, with all manner of helps that may be. But if the disease be not only incurable but also full of continual pain and anguish, <sup>15</sup> then the priests and the magistrates exhort the man, seeing he is not able to do any duty of life, and by overliving his own death<sup>o</sup> is noisome and irksome to other and grievous to himself, that he will determine with himself no longer to cherish that pestilent and <sup>20</sup> painful disease ; and, seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be unwilling to die, but rather take a good hope to him and either dispatch himself out of that painful life, as out of a prison or a rack of torment, or else suffer himself willingly to be <sup>25</sup> rid out of it<sup>o</sup> by other. And in so doing they tell him

he shall do wisely, seeing by his death he shall lose no commodity but end his pain. And because in that act he shall follow the counsel of the priests, that is to say of the interpreters of God's will and pleasure, they show him that he shall do like a godly and a virtuous man. They that be thus persuaded finish their lives willingly, either with hunger, or else die in their sleep<sup>o</sup> without any feeling of death. But they cause none such to die against his will ; nor they use no less diligence and attendance about him ; believing this to be an honorable death.<sup>o</sup> Else he that killeth himself before that the priests and the council have allowed the cause of his death, him, as unworthy both of the earth and of fire, they cast unburied into some stinking marsh.

15

“The woman is not married before she be eighteen years old.<sup>o</sup> The man is four years elder before he may marry. If either the man or the woman be proved to have bodily offended, before their marriage, with another, he or she, whether it be,<sup>o</sup> is sharply punished ; and both the offenders be forbidden ever after in all their life to marry, unless the fault be forgiven by the prince's pardon. But both the good man and the good wife of the house where that offence was done, as being slack and negligent in looking to their charge,

25

be in danger of great reproach and infamy. That offence is so sharply punished because they perceive that unless they be diligently kept from the liberty of this vice, few will join together in the love of marriage; 5 wherein all the life must be led with one, and also all the griefs and displeasures that come therewith must patiently be taken and borne.

“ Furthermore, in choosing wives and husbands they observe earnestly and straitly a custom which seemed 10 to us very fond and foolish. For a sad and an honest matron sheweth the woman, be she maid or widow, naked to the wooer; and likewise a sage and discreet man exhibiteth the wooer naked to the woman. At this custom we laughed and disallowed it as foolish.<sup>o</sup> 15 But they on the other part do greatly wonder at the folly of all other nations, which in buying a colt, whereas a little money is in hazard, be so chary and circumspect that though he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him unless the saddle and all the harness 20 be taken off, lest under those coverings be hid some gall or sore; and yet in choosing a wife, which shall be either pleasure or displeasure to them all their life after, they be so reckless<sup>o</sup> that, all the residue of the woman’s body being covered with clothes, they esteem 25 her scarcely by one handbreadth (for they can see no

more but her face); and so do join her to them not without great jeopardy of evil agreeing together, if anything in her body afterward do offend and mislike them. For all men be not so wise as to have respect to the virtuous conditions of the party ; and the endowments of the body cause the virtues of the mind more to be esteemed and regarded, yea, even in the marriages of wise men. Verily so foul deformity may be hid under those coverings that it may quite alienate and take away the man's mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawful for their bodies to be separate again. If such deformity happen by any chance after the marriage is consummate and finished; well, there is no remedy but patience. Every man must take his fortune, well a worth! But it were well done that a law were made, whereby all such deceits might be eschewed and avoided beforehand. And this were they constrained more earnestly to look upon, because they only of the nations in that part of the world be content every man with one wife apiece, and matrimony is there never broken but by death, except adultery break the bond or else the intolerable wayward manners of either party. For if either of them find themself for any such cause grieved, they may by the license of the council change and take

another. But the other party liveth ever after in infamy and out of wedlock. But for the husband to put away his wife for no fault but for that some mishap is fallen to her body, this by no means they  
5 will suffer. For they judge it a great point of cruelty that anybody in their most need of help and comfort should be cast off and forsaken; and that old age, which both bringeth sickness with it and is a sickness itself, should unkindly and unfaithfully be dealt  
10 withal.<sup>o</sup> But now and then it chanceth, whereas the man and the woman cannot well agree between themselves, both of them finding other with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily, that they by the full consent of them both be divorced<sup>o</sup> asunder and  
15 new married to other; but that not without the authority of the council, which agreeth to no divorces before they and their wives have diligently tried and examined the matter. Yea and then also they be loath to consent to it, because they know this to be the  
20 next way to break love<sup>o</sup> between man and wife, to be in easy hope of a new marriage.

“Breakers of wedlock be punished with most grievous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then the parties which in that behalf have suffered  
25 wrong be divorced from the avowters if they will, and

be married together, or else to whom they lust. But if either of them both do still continue in love toward so unkind a bedfellow, the use of wedlock is not to them forbidden, if the party be disposed to follow in toil and drudgery the person which for that offence is 5 condemned to bondage. And very oft it chanceth that the repentance of the one and the earnest diligence of the other doth so move the prince with pity and compassion that he restoreth the bond-person from servitude to liberty and freedom again. But if the same 10 party be taken eftsoons° in that fault, there is no other way but death. To other trespasses there is no pre- script punishment appointed by any law°; but accord- ing to the heinousness of the offence or contrary, so the punishment is moderated by the discretion of the 15 council.

“The husbands chastise their wives and the parents their children, unless they have done any so horrible an offence that the open punishment° thereof maketh much for° the advancement of honest manners. But 20 most commonly the most heinous faults be punished with the incommodity° of bondage; for that they suppose to be to the offenders no less grief, and to the commonwealth more profitable, than if they should hastily put them to death and make them out of the 25

way. For there cometh more profit of their labor than of their death, and by their example they fear other<sup>o</sup> the longer from like offences. But if they, being thus used, do rebel and kick<sup>o</sup> again, then forsooth they be slain as desperate and wild beasts, whom neither prison nor chain could restrain and keep under. But they which take their bondage patiently be not left all hopeless; for after they have been broken and tamed with long miseries, if then they show such <sup>10</sup>repentance whereby it may be perceived that they be sorrier for their offence than for their punishment, sometimes by the prince's prerogative, and sometimes by the voice and consent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated or else clean remitted and forgiven. <sup>15</sup>He that moveth to advowtry is in no less danger and jeopardy than if he had committed advowtry indeed; for in all offences they count the intent and pretensed purpose as evil as the act or deed itself.<sup>o</sup> For they think that no let ought to excuse him that did his <sup>20</sup>best to have no let.

“They set great store by fools<sup>o</sup>; and as it is great reproach to do to any of them hurt or injury, so they prohibit not to take pleasure of foolishness. For that, they think, doth much good to the fools. And if any <sup>25</sup>man be so sad and stern that he cannot laugh neither

at their words nor at their deeds, none of them be committed to his tuition,<sup>o</sup> for fear lest he would not order them gently and favorably enough to whom they should bring no delectation (for other goodness in them is none): much less any profit should they yield him.

“To mock a man for his deformity, or for that he s lacketh any part or limb of his body, is counted great dishonesty and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh; which unwise doth imbraid any man of that as a vice which was not in <sup>10</sup> his power to eschew. Also as they count and reckon very little wit to be in him that regardeth not natural beauty and comeliness, so to help the same with paintings is taken for a vain and a wanton pride, not without great infamy. For they know even by very <sup>15</sup> experience that no comeliness of beauty doth so highly commend and advance the wives in the conceit of their husbands as honest conditions and lowliness<sup>o</sup>; for as love is oftentimes won with beauty, so it is not kept, preserved, and continued but by virtue and <sup>20</sup> obedience.

“They do not only fear their people from doing evil by punishments, but also allure them to virtue with rewards of honor. Therefore they set up in the market-place the images of notable men and of such <sup>25</sup>

as have been great and bountiful benefactors to the commonwealth, for the perpetual memory of their good acts ; and also that the glory and renown of the ancestors may stir and provoke their posterity to virtue. He that inordinately and ambitiously desireth promotions is left all hopeless for ever attaining any promotion as long as he liveth. They live together lovingly ; for no magistrate is either haughty or fearful : fathers they be called, and like fathers they use to themselves. The citizens, as it is their duty, do willingly exhibit unto them due honor without any compulsion. Nor the prince himself is not known from the other by his apparel, nor by a crown or diadem or cap of maintenance,° but by a little sheaf of corn 15 carried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, whereby only he is known.

“They have but few laws ; for to people so instruct and institute° very few do suffice. Yea, this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable books of laws° and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men should be bound to those laws which either be in number more than be able to be read or else blinder and darker than that any man can 25 well understand them. Furthermore they utterly

exclude and banish all proctors and sergeants at the law,<sup>o</sup> which craftily handle matters and subtly dispute of the laws; for they think it most meet that every man should plead his own matter and tell the same tale before the judge that he would tell to his man of law. So shall there be less circumstance of words<sup>o</sup> and the truth shall sooner come to light; whiles the judge with a discreet judgment doth weigh the words of him whom no lawyer hath instruct with deceit; and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple <sup>10</sup> wits against the false and malicious circumversions of crafty children.<sup>o</sup> This is hard to be observed in other countries, in so infinite a number of blind and intricate laws; but in Utopia every man is a cunning lawyer; for, as I said, they have very few laws and <sup>15</sup> the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is, that they allow as most just. For all laws, say they, be made and published only to the intent that by them every man should be put in remembrance of his duty: but the crafty and subtle interpretation of them can <sup>20</sup> put very few in that remembrance, for they be but few that do perceive them; whereas the simple, the plain, and gross meaning of the laws is open to every man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number and have most need <sup>25</sup>

to know their duties, were it not as good for them that no law were made at all as, when it is made, to bring so blind an interpretation upon it that without great wit and long arguing no man can discuss it? to <sup>s</sup>the finding out whereof neither the gross judgment of the people can attain, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their livings can suffice thereto.

“ These virtues of the Utopians have caused their <sup>10</sup> next neighbors and borderers, which live free and under no subjection (for the Utopians long ago have delivered many of them from tyranny), to take magistrates of them, some for a year and some for five years’ space; which when the time of their office is expired <sup>15</sup> they bring home again with honor and praise, and take new ones again with them into their country. These nations have undoubtedly very well and wholesomely provided for their commonwealths: for, seeing that both the making and the marring of the weal <sup>20</sup> public doth depend and hang of the manners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers could they more wisely have chosen than those which cannot be led from honesty by bribes<sup>o</sup> (for to them that shortly after shall depart thence into their own country money <sup>25</sup> should be unprofitable), nor yet be moved either with

favor or malice towards any man, as being strangers and unacquainted with the people? — the which two vices of affection<sup>o</sup> and avarice where they take place<sup>o</sup> in judgments, incontinent they break justice,<sup>o</sup> the strongest and surest bond of a commonwealth. These 5 peoples which fetch their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians call their fellows; and other, to whom they have been beneficial, they call their friends.

“As touching leagues, which in other places be- 10 tween country and country be so oft concluded, broken, and made again, they never make none with any nation. For to what purpose serve leagues? say they; as though nature had not set sufficient love between man and man. And whoso regardeth not 15 nature, think you that he will pass for words? They be brought into this opinion chiefly because that in those parts of the world leagues between princes be wont to be kept and observed very slenderly. For here in Europa,<sup>o</sup> and especially in these parts where 20 the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is everywhere esteemed holy and inviolable; partly through the justice and goodness of princes and partly through the reverence of great bishops<sup>o</sup>; which, like as they make no promises themselves but 25

they do very religiously perform the same, so they exhort all princes in any wise to abide by their promises; and them that refuse or deny so to do, by their pontifical power and authority they compel thereto.  
5 And surely they think well° that it might seem a very reproachful thing, if in the leagues of them, which by a peculiar name be called faithful,° faith should have no place.

“ But in that new-found part of the world, which is  
10 scarcely so far from us beyond the line equinoctial as our life and manners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the more and holier ceremonies the league is knit up with, the sooner it is broken° by some cavillation found in the words;  
15 which many times of purpose be so craftily put in and placed that the bands can never be so sure nor so strong but they will find some hole open to creep out at and to break both league and truth: the which crafty dealing, yea, the which fraud and deceit, if  
20 they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargains and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with a sour countenance as an offence most detestable and worthy to be punished with a shameful death°; yea, even very they° that  
25 advance themselves authors of like counsel given to

princes. Wherefore it may well be thought either that all justice is but a base and a low virtue, and which availeth itself far under the high dignity of kings; or at the leastwise that there be two justices, the one, meet for the inferior sort of the people, going afoot and creeping by low on the ground, and bound down on every side with many bands, because it shall not run at rovers<sup>o</sup>; the other a princely virtue, which like as it is of much higher majesty than the other poor justice, so also it is of much more liberty, as to <sup>10</sup> the which nothing is unlawful that it lusteth after.

“These manners of princes, as I said, which be there<sup>o</sup> so evil keepers<sup>o</sup> of leagues cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all; which perchance would change their mind if they lived here. <sup>15</sup> Howbeit they think that though leagues be never so faithfully observed and kept, yet the custom of making leagues was very evil begun.<sup>o</sup> For this causeth men (as though nations which be separate asunder by the space of a little hill or a river were coupled together <sup>20</sup> by no society or bond of nature), to think themselves born adversaries and enemies one to another; and that it is lawful for the one to seek the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not; yea, and that, after the leagues be accorded, friendship doth <sup>25</sup>

not grow and increase; but the license of robbing and stealing doth still remain, as far forth<sup>o</sup> as, for lack of foresight and advisement in writing the words of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrary is not <sup>5</sup> therein sufficiently comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion: that is, that no man ought to be counted an enemy which hath done no injury; and that the fellowship of nature is a strong league; and that men be better and more surely knit together by <sup>10</sup> love and benevolence than by covenants of leagues, by hearty affection of mind than by words.

#### OF WARFARE

“War or battle, as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kind of beasts in so much use as it is to man, they do detest and abhor; and, contrary to the custom <sup>15</sup> almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glory<sup>o</sup> as glory gotten in war. And therefore, though they do daily practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of war (and that not only the men but also the women, upon certain appointed <sup>20</sup> days), lest they should be to seek in thefeat of arms<sup>o</sup> if need should require; yet they never go to battle but either in the defence of their own country or to drive out of their friends’ land the enemies that be come in,

or by their power to deliver from the yoke and bondage of tyranny some people that be oppressed with tyranny ; which thing they do of mere pity and compassion. Howbeit they send help to their friends ; not ever<sup>o</sup> in their defence but sometimes also to requite and revenge 5 injuries before to them done. But this they do not unless their counsel and advice in the matter be asked whiles it is yet new and fresh. For if they find the cause probable<sup>o</sup> and if the contrary part<sup>o</sup> will not restore again such things as be of them justly demanded, 10 then they be the chief authors and makers of the war; which they do not only as oft as by inroads and invasions of soldiers preys and booties be driven away, but then also much more mortally<sup>o</sup> when their friends' merchants in any land, either under the pretence of 15 unjust laws or else by the wresting and wrong understanding of good laws, do sustain an unjust accusation under the color of justice. Neither the battle which the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes<sup>o</sup> against the Alaopolitanes<sup>o</sup> a little before our time was made for 20 any other cause but that the Nepheloge<sup>t</sup>e merchantmen, as the Utopians thought, suffered wrong of the Alaopolitanes under the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruel and mortal war revenged, the countries round about joining their 25

help and power to the puissance and malice of both parties, that most flourishing and wealthy peoples being some of them shrewdly shaken and some of them sharply beaten, the mischiefs were not finished nor ended until the Alaopolitanes at the last were yielded up as bondmen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes, for the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the war, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them.

“So eagerly the Utopians prosecute the injuries done to their friends, yea, in money matters ; and not their own likewise. For if they by covin or guile be wiped beside their goods,° so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreak their anger by abstaining from occupying with that nation until they have made satisfaction. Not for because they set less store by their own citizens than by their friends ; but that they take the loss of their friends’ money more heavily than the loss of their own : because that their friends’ merchantmen, forasmuch as that they lose is their own private goods, sustain great damage by the loss ; but their own citizens lose nothing but of the common goods and of that which was at home plentiful and almost superfluous, else had it not been sent forth :

therefore no man feeleth the loss. And for this cause they think it too cruel an act to revenge that loss with the death of many ; the incommodity of the which loss no man feeleth neither in his life, neither in his living.<sup>o</sup> But if it chance that any of their men in any other<sup>5</sup> country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a private counsel ; knowing and trying out the truth of the matter by their ambassadors, unless the offenders be rendered unto them in recompense of the injury, they will not be appeased ; but incontinent they<sup>10</sup> proclaim war against them. The offenders yielded they punish either with death or with bondage.

“ They be not only sorry but also ashamed to achieve the victory with much bloodshed, counting it great folly to buy precious wares too dear. They rejoice<sup>15</sup> and avaunt themselves if they vanquish and oppress their enemies by craft and deceit ; and for that act they make a general triumph and as if the matter were manfully handled, they set up a pillar of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies in<sup>20</sup> token of the victory. For then they glory, then they boast and crack that they have played the men indeed, when they have so overcome as no other living creature but only man could, that is to say, by the might and puissance of wit. For with bodily strength, say they<sup>25</sup>

bears, lions, boars, wolves, dogs, and other wild beasts do fight ; and as the most part of them do pass us in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger than they all.

5 "Their chief and principal purpose in war is to obtain that thing which if they had before obtained, they would not have moved battle.<sup>o</sup> But if that be not possible, they take so cruel vengeance of them which be in the fault that ever after they be afeared to do  
10 the like. This is their chief and principal intent, which they immediately and first of all prosecute and set forward<sup>o</sup>; but yet so that they be more circumspect in avoiding and eschewing jeopardies than they be desirous of praise and renown. Therefore immediately after that war is once solemnly denounced, they  
15 procure many proclamations, signed with their own common seal, to be set up privily at one time in their enemy's land in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to him that  
20 will kill their enemy's prince; and somewhat less gifts, but them very great also, for every head of them whose names be in the said proclamations contained. They be those whom they count their chief adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto  
25 him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is

doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them alive: yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they will change their minds and come in to them, taking their parts, they proffer the same great rewards with pardon and surety of their lives. 5

“Therefore it quickly cometh to pass that they° have all other men in suspicion, and be unfaithful and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great fear and in no less jeopardy. For it is well known that divers times the most part of them, and specially the prince himself, hath been betrayed of them in whom they put their most hope and trust. So that° there is no manner of act nor deed that gifts and rewards do not enforce men unto. And in rewards they keep no measure°; but, remem-15bering and considering into how great hazard and jeopardy they call them, endeavor themselves to recompense the greatness of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promise not only wonderful great abundance of gold, but also lands 20 of great revenues, lying in most safe places among their friends. And their promises they perform faithfully, without any fraud or covin.

“This custom of buying and selling adversaries among other people is disallowed, as a cruel act of 25

a base and a cowardish mind. But they in this behalf think themselves much praiseworthy, as who like wise men by this means dispatch great wars without any battle or skirmish. Yea, they count it also a deed of pity and mercy, because that by the death of a few offenders the lives of a great number of innocents, as well of their own men as also of their enemies, be ransomed and saved, which in fighting should have been slain. For they do no less pity the base and common sort of their enemies' people than they do their own, knowing that they be driven to war against their wills by the furious madness of their princes and heads.

"If by none of these means the matter go forward as they would have it, then they procure occasions of debate and dissension<sup>o</sup> to be spread among their enemies, as by bringing the prince's brother or some of the noblemen in hope to obtain the kingdom. If this way prevail not, then they raise up the people that be next neighbors and borderers to their enemies and them they set in their necks under the color of some old title of right, such as kings do never lack. To them they promise their help and aid in their war; and as for money they give them abundance, but of their own citizens they send to them few or none; whom they make

so much of and love so entirely that they would not be willing to change any of them for their adversary's prince. But their gold and silver, because they kept it all for this only purpose, they lay it out frankly and freely; as who should live even as wealthily, if they <sup>5</sup> had bestowed it every penny. Yea, and besides their riches which they keep at home, they have also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that, as I said before, many nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire soldiers out of all countries and send them to <sup>10</sup> battle, but chiefly of the Zapoletes.<sup>°</sup> This people is five hundred miles from Utopia eastward.<sup>°</sup> They be hideous,<sup>°</sup> savage, and fierce, dwelling in wild woods and high mountains, where they were bred and brought up. They be of an hard nature, able to abide and sustain <sup>15</sup> heat, cold, and labor; abhorring from<sup>°</sup> all delicate dainties, occupying no husbandry nor tillage of the ground, homely and rude both in the building of their houses and in their apparel; given unto no goodness, but only to the breeding and bringing up of cattle. The <sup>20</sup> most part of their living is by hunting and stealing. They be born only to war, which they diligently and earnestly seek for; and when they have gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They go forth of their country in great companies together, and whosoever <sup>25</sup>

lacketh soldiers, there they proffer their service for small wages. This is only the craft that they have to get their living by. They maintain their life by seeking their death. For them whom with they be in wages,° they fight hardily, fiercely, and faithfully; but they bind themselves for no certain time. But upon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other side for greater wages; and the next day after that they will be ready to come back again for a little more money.° There be few wars thereaway wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore it daily chanceth that nigh kinsfolk, which were hired together on one part and there very friendly and familiarly used themselves one with another, shortly after, being separate into contrary parts, run one against another enviously and fiercely; and forgetting both kindred and friendship, thrust their swords one in another, and that for none other cause but that they be hired of contrary princes for a little money; which they do so highly regard and esteem that they will easily be provoked to change parts for a halfpenny more wages by the day. So quickly they have taken a smack in° coveteousness, which for all that is to them no profit; for that they get by fighting immediately they spend unthriftily and wretchedly in riot.

“This people fight for the Utopians against all nations, because they give them greater wages than any other nation will. For the Utopians, like as they seek good men to use well, so they seek these evil and vicious men to abuse; whom when need requireth <sup>5</sup> with promises of great rewards they put forth into great jeopardies, from whence the most part of them never cometh again to ask their rewards. But to them that remain on live they pay that which they promised faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put <sup>10</sup> themselves in like dangers another time. Nor the Utopians pass not how many of them they bring to destruction; for they believe that they should do a very good deed for all mankind, if they could rid out of the world all that foul, stinking den of that most <sup>15</sup> wicked and cursed people.

“Next unto these they use the soldiers of them whom they fight for; and then the help of their other friends; and last of all they join to<sup>o</sup> their own citizens, among whom they give to one of tried virtue and <sup>20</sup> prowess the rule, governance, and conduction of the whole army. Under him they appoint two other; which whiles he is safe be both private and out of office, but if he be taken or slain, the one of the other two succeedeth him, as it were by inheritance.<sup>o</sup> And <sup>25</sup>

if the second miscarry° then the third taketh his room; lest that, as the chance of battle is uncertain and doubtful, the jeopardy or death of the captain should bring the whole army in hazard. They choose 5 soldiers out of every city those which put forth themselves willingly; for they thrust no man forth into war against his will, because they believe if any man be fearful and faint-hearted of nature he will not only do no manful and hardy act himself but also be occasion 10 of cowardness to his fellows. But if any battle be made against their own country, then they put these cowards, so that they be° strong-bodied, in ships among other, bold-hearted men; or else they dispose them upon the walls, from whence they may not fly. 15 Thus, what for shame that their enemies be at hand and what for because they be without hope of running away, they forget all fear. And many times extreme necessity turneth cowardness into prowess and manliness.

20 "But as none of them is thrust forth of his country into war against his will, so women that be willing to accompany their husbands in times of war be not prohibited or stopped. Yea, they provoke and exhort them to it with praises. And in set field° the wives do stand 25 every one by her own husband's side. Also every

man is compassed next about with his own children, kinsfolks, and alliance; that they whom nature chiefly moveth to mutual succor thus standing together may help one another.<sup>o</sup> It is a great reproach and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her husband, or the son without his father. And therefore, if the other part stick so hard by it that the battle come to their hands,<sup>o</sup> it is fought with great slaughter and bloodshed, even to the utter destruction of both parts. For as they make all <sup>10</sup> the means and shifts that may be to keep themselves from the necessity of fighting so that they may dispatch the battle by their hired soldiers, so when there is no remedy but that they must needs fight themselves, then they do as courageously fall to it as before, whiles they <sup>15</sup> might, they did wisely avoid it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first brunt; but in continuance by little and little their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborn and obstinate minds that they will rather die than give back an inch. For that surety of living <sup>20</sup> which every man hath at home, being joined with no careful anxiety or remembrance how their posterity shall live after them (for this pensiveness oftentimes breaketh and abateth courageous stomachs) maketh them stout and hardy and disdainful to be conquered. <sup>25</sup>

Moreover, their knowledge in chivalry and feats of arms putteth them in a good hope.<sup>o</sup> Finally, the wholesome and virtuous opinions wherein they were brought up even from their childhood, partly through learning and partly through the good ordinances and laws of their weal public, augment and increase their manful courage. By reason whereof they neither set so little store by their lives that they will rashly and unadvisedly cast them away, nor they be not so far in lewd and fond love therewith that they will shamefully covet to keep them when honesty biddeth leave them.

“When the battle is hottest and in all places most fierce and fervent, a band of chosen and picked young men, which be sworn to live and die together, take upon them to destroy their adversary’s captain. Him they invade, now with privy wiles, now by open strength. At him they strike both near and far off. He is assailed with a long and a continual assault, fresh men still coming in the wearied men’s places; and seldom it chanceth, unless he save himself by flying, that he is not either slain or else taken prisoner and yielded to his enemies alive. If they win the field, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter, for they had rather take them alive than

kill them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursuit of their enemies but they leave behind them one part of their host in battle array under their standards; insomuch that if all their whole army be discomfited and overcome, saving the rearward, and <sup>5</sup> that they therewith achieve the victory, then they had rather let all their enemies scape than to follow them out of array. For they remember it hath chanced unto themselves more than once: the whole power and strength of their host being vanquished <sup>10</sup> and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoicing in the victory have persecuted them flying, some one way and some another, few of their men lying in an ambush, there ready at all occasions, have suddenly risen upon them thus dispersed and scattered out of <sup>15</sup> array and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase, and have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battle, and spite of their teeth° wresting out of their hands the sure and undoubted victory, being a little before conquered, have for their <sup>20</sup> part conquered the conquerors.

“It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an ambush or wittier in avoiding the same. You would think they intend to fly, when they mean nothing less; and contrariwise, when they go about that <sup>25</sup>

purpose you would believe it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceive themselves either overmatched in number or closed in too narrow a place, then they remove their camp either in the night season with silence, or by some policy they deceive their enemies; or in the day-time they retire back so softly<sup>o</sup> that it is no less jeopardy to meddle with them when they give back than when they press on. They fence and fortify their camp surely with a deep and a broad trench. The earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudges and slaves awork about it: it is done by the hands of the soldiers themselves: all the whole army worketh upon it, except them that watch in harness before the trench for sudden adventures.<sup>o</sup> Therefore, by the labor of so many, a large trench closing in a great compass of ground is made in less time than any man would believe.

“Their armor or harness which they wear is sure and strong to receive strokes and handsome for all movings and gestures of the body, insomuch that it is not unwieldy to swim in. For in the discipline of their warfare, among other feats they learn to swim in harness. Their weapons be arrows afar off, which they shoot both strongly and surely<sup>o</sup>; not only footmen but also horsemen. At hand-strokes they use

not swords but poll-axes, which be mortal,<sup>o</sup> as well in sharpness as in weight, both for foins<sup>o</sup> and down strokes. Engines for war they devise and invent wonders wittily; which when they be made they keep very secret, lest if they should be known before needs require, they should be but laughed at and serve to no purpose. But in making them hereunto they have chief respect, that they be both easy to be carried and handsome to be moved and turned about.

“Truce taken with their enemies for a short time <sup>10</sup> they do so firmly and faithfully keep that they will not break it; no, not though they be thereunto provoked. They do not waste nor destroy their enemies’ land with foragings, nor they burn not up their corn. Yea, they save it as much as may be from being over-<sup>15</sup> run and trodden down, either with men or horses; thinking that it groweth for their own use and profit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, unless he be an espial. All cities that be yielded unto them, they defend; and such as they win by force of assault, they <sup>20</sup> neither despoil nor sack. But them that withstood and dissuaded the yielding up of the same they put to death; the other soldiers they punish with bondage. All the weak multitude they leave untouched. If they know that any citizens counselled to yield and <sup>25</sup>

render up the city, to them they give part of the condemned men's goods. The residue they distribute and give freely among them whose help they had in the same war; for none of themselves taketh any portion of the prey.

“But when the battle is finished and ended, they put their friends to never a penny cost of all the charges that they were at, but lay it upon their necks that be conquered.<sup>o</sup> Them they burden with the whole charge of their expenses, which they demand of them partly in money, to be kept for like use of battle, and partly in lands of great revenues, to be paid unto them yearly forever. Such revenues they have now in many countries; which by little and little <sup>15</sup> rising of divers and sundry causes, be increased above seven hundred thousand ducats<sup>o</sup> by the year. Thither they send forth some of their citizens as lieutenants, to live there sumptuously like men of honor and renown; and yet, this notwithstanding, much money <sup>20</sup> is saved, which cometh to the common treasury, unless it so chance that they had rather trust the country with the money; which many times they do so long until they have need to occupy it. And it seldom happeneth that they demand all. Of these <sup>25</sup> lands they assign part unto them which at their

request and exhortation put themselves in such jeopardies as I spake of before. If any prince stir up war against them, intending to invade their land, they meet him incontinent out of their own borders with great power and strength; for they never lightly 5 make war in their own country. Nor they be never brought into so extreme necessity, as to take help out of foreign lands into their own island.

#### OF THE RELIGIONS IN UTOPIA

“There be divers kinds of religion, not only in sundry parts of the island, but also in divers places of 10 every city. Some worship for God the sun, some the moon, some some other of the planets.<sup>o</sup> There be that give worship to a man that was once of excellent virtue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and highest God. But the most and 15 the wisest part, rejecting all these, believe that there is a certain godly power unknown, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far above the capacity and reach of man’s wit, dispersed throughout all the world, not in bigness, but in virtue and power. Him 20 they call the father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the encreasings, the proceedings, the changes, and the ends of all things.

Neither they give<sup>o</sup> divine honors to any other than to him.

“ Yea, all the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this point they agree altogether with  
5 the wisest sort in believing that there is one chief and principal God, the maker and ruler of the whole world; whom they all commonly in their country language call Mythra.<sup>o</sup> But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and among some another.  
10 For every one of them, whatsoever that is which he taketh for the chief God, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only divine might and majesty the sum and sovereignty of all things, by the consent of all people, is attributed and given. Howbeit, they  
15 all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this variety of superstitions, and to agree together in that religion which seemeth by reason to pass and excel the residue. And it is not to be doubted but all the other would long ago have been abolished; but  
20 that, whatsoever unprosperous thing happened to any of them as he was minded<sup>o</sup> to change his religion, the fearfulness of the people did take it not as a thing coming by chance but as sent from God out of heaven; as though the God whose honor he was forsaking  
25 would revenge that wicked purpose against him.

“But after they heard us speak of the name of Christ, of his doctrine, laws, miracles, and of the no less wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood willingly shed brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of the world into their sect, you will not believe with how glad minds they agreed unto the same, whether it were by the secret inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it next unto that opinion which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit, I think this was no small help and furtherance in the matter, that they heard us say that Christ instituted<sup>o</sup> among his all things common, and that the same community doth yet remain amongst the rightest Christian companies.<sup>o</sup> Verily, howsoever it came to pass, many of them consented together in our <sup>15</sup> religion and were washed in the holy water of baptism.

“But because among us four<sup>o</sup> (for no more of us was left alive, two of our company being dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorry for, they, being entered and instructed in all other points of our <sup>20</sup> religion, lack only those sacraments which here none but priests do minister. Howbeit, they understand and perceive them and be very desirous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether, without the sending of a <sup>25</sup>

Christian bishop,<sup>o</sup> one chosen out of their own people may receive the order of priesthood. And truly they were minded to choose one, but at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also which do not  
5 agree to Christ's religion fear no man from it, nor speak against any man that hath received it, saving that one of our company<sup>o</sup> in my presence was sharply punished. He, as soon as he was baptized, began against our wills, with more earnest affection<sup>o</sup> than  
10 wisdom, to reason of Christ's religion; and began to wax so hot in his matter that he did not only prefer our religion before all other, but also did utterly despise and condemn all other, calling them profane and the followers of them wicked and devilish<sup>o</sup> and the  
15 children of everlasting damnation. When he had thus long reasoned the matter, they laid hold on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile; not as a despiser of religion, but as a seditious person and a raiser up of dissension among the people. For this is  
20 one of the ancientest laws among them: that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenance of his own religion.<sup>o</sup>

“For King<sup>o</sup> Utopus, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were before  
25 his coming thither at continual dissension and strife

among themselves for their religions ; perceiving also that this common dissension, whiles every several sect took several parts<sup>o</sup> in fighting for their country, was the only occasion of<sup>o</sup> his conquest over them all ; as soon as he had gotten the victory, first of all he s made a decree that it should be lawful for every man to favor and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion ; so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and con-<sup>10</sup>tentious rebuking and inveighing against other. If he could not by fair and gentle speech induce them unto his opinion, yet he should use no kind of violence and refrain from unpleasant and seditious words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this<sup>15</sup> cause strive and contend, was decreed banishment or bondage.

“This law did King<sup>o</sup> Utopus make, not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continual contention and mortal hatred utterly extin-<sup>20</sup>guished, but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion ; whereof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedly, as doubting whether God, desiring manifold and divers sorts of honor, would inspire sundry men with<sup>25</sup>

sundry kinds of religion. And this surely he thought a very unmeet and foolish thing and a point of arrogant presumption, to compel all other by violence and threatenings to agree to the same that thou believest <sup>5</sup> to be true.<sup>o</sup> Furthermore though there be one religion which alone is true, and all other vain and superstitious, yet did he well foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason and sober modesty), that the truth of the own power<sup>o</sup> would at the last issue out <sup>10</sup> and come to light. But if contention and debate in that behalf should continually be used, as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborn and in their evil opinion most constant, he perceived that then the best and holiest religion would be trodden under foot and <sup>15</sup> destroyed by most vain superstitions; even as good corn is by thorns and weeds overgrown and choked. Therefore all this matter he left undiscussed and gave to every man free liberty and choice to believe what he would, saving that he earnestly and straitly <sup>20</sup> charged them that no man should conceive so vile and base an opinion of the dignity of man's nature as to think that the souls do die and perish with the body or that the world runneth at all adventures,<sup>o</sup> governed by no divine providence. And therefore they believe <sup>25</sup> that after this life vices be extremely punished and

virtues bountifully rewarded. Him that is of a contrary opinion they count not in the number of men, as one that hath availed the high nature of his soul to the vileness of brute beasts' bodies; much less in the number of their citizens, whose laws and ordinances, 5 if it were not for fear, he would nothing at all esteem. For you may be sure that he will study either with craft privily to mock, or else violently to break, the common laws of his country, in whom remaineth no further fear than of the laws nor no further hope than 10 of the body. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honors, excluded from all offices, and reject from all common administrations in the weal public. And thus he is of all sort<sup>o</sup> despised as of an unprofitable and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit, 15 they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no man's power to believe what he list.<sup>o</sup> No, nor they constrain him not with threatenings to dissemble his mind and show countenance contrary to his thought; for deceit and falsehood and 20 all manner of lies,<sup>o</sup> as next unto fraud, they do marvellously detest and abhor. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion; and that only<sup>o</sup> among the common people; for else, apart among the priests and men of gravity, they do not only suffer but also exhort 25

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him to dispute and argue, hoping that at the last that madness will give place to reason.

“There be also other, and of them no small number, which be not forbidden to speak their minds, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, being in their living neither evil nor vicious. Their heresy is much contrary to the other; for they believe that the souls of brute beasts be immortal and everlasting, but nothing to be compared with ours in dignity, neither ordained and predestinate to like felicity. For all they° believe certainly and surely that man’s bliss shall be so great that they do mourn and lament every man’s sickness but no man’s death, unless it be one whom they see depart from his life carefully° and against his will. For this they take for a very evil token, as though the soul, being in despair and vexed in conscience through some privy and secret fore-feeling of the punishment now at hand, were afeared to depart; and they think he shall not be welcome to God, which when he is called runneth° not to him gladly, but is drawn by force and sore against his will. They therefore that see this kind of death do abhor it, and them that so die they bury with sorrow and silence; and when they have prayed God to be merciful to the soul and mercifully to pardon the in-

firmities thereof, they cover the dead corpse with earth.

“Contrariwise, all that depart merrily and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse with joyful singing, commanding the souls <sup>5</sup> to God with great affection; and at the last, not with mourning sorrow but with a great reverence, they burn the bodies,° and in the same place they set up a pillar of stone with the dead man’s titles therein graved. When they be come home they rehearse <sup>10</sup> his virtuous manners and his good deeds, but no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death. They think that this remembrance of their° virtue and goodness doth vehemently provoke and enforce the quick to virtue; and that nothing can <sup>15</sup> be more pleasant and acceptable to the dead, whom they suppose to be present among them when they talk of them, though to the dull and feeble eyesight of mortal men they be invisible. For it were an inconvenient thing that the blessed should not be <sup>20</sup> at liberty to go whither they would; and it were a point of great unkindness in them to have utterly cast away the desire of visiting and seeing their friends to whom they were in their lifetime joined by mutual love and charity, which in good men after <sup>25</sup>

their death they count to be rather encreased than diminished. They believe therefore that the dead be presently conversant<sup>o</sup> among the quick, as be-holders and witnesses of all their words and deeds.  
5 Therefore they go more courageously to their business, as having a trust and affiance in such overseers ; and this same belief of the present conversation<sup>o</sup> of their forefathers and ancestors among them feareth them from all secret dishonesty.

10 "They utterly despise and mock soothsayings and divinations of things to come by the flight or voices of birds,<sup>o</sup> and all other divinations of vain super-stition which in other countries be in great observa-tion. But they highly esteem and worship miracles<sup>o</sup>  
15 that come by no help of nature as works and witnesses of the present power of God. And such they say do chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtful matters by common intercession and prayers they procure and obtain them with a sure  
20 hope and confidence and a steadfast belief.

"They think that the contemplation of nature and the praise thereof coming<sup>o</sup> is to God a very acceptable honor. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion that they pass no  
25 thing for learning, nor give their minds to no knowl-

edge of things.<sup>o</sup> But idleness they utterly forsake and eschew, thinking felicity after this life to be gotten and obtained by busy labors and good exercises. Some therefore of them attend upon the sick, some amend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, <sup>5</sup> dig turfs, gravel, and stones, fell and cleave wood, bring wood, corn, and other things into the cities in carts; and serve not only in common works, but also in private labors, as servants, yea, more than bondmen. For whatsoever unpleasant, hard, and <sup>10</sup> vile work is anywhere, from the which labor, loath-someness, and desperation doth fray other, all that they take upon them willingly and gladly; procuring quiet and rest to other, remaining in continual work and labor themselves, not embraiding others there- <sup>15</sup> with. They neither reprove other men's lives nor glory in their own. These men, the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honored of all men.

“ Yet they be divided into two sects. The one is of <sup>20</sup> them that live single and chaste, abstaining not only from the company of women but also from the eating of flesh, and some of them from all manner of beasts; which, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtful, be all wholly set upon the desire of the <sup>25</sup>

life to come ; by watching and sweating, hoping shortly to obtain it, being in the mean season merry and lusty. The other sect is no less desirous of labor, but they embrace matrimony ; not despising the solace thereof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature without labor and toil nor towards their native country without procreation of children. They abstain from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labor. They love the flesh of four-footed beasts, because they believe that by that meat they be made hardier and stronger to work. The Utopians count this sect the wiser, but the other the holier<sup>o</sup> ; which, in that they prefer single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason, they would mock them ; but now, forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. There is nothing in which they are more cautious than in giving their opinion positively concerning any sort of religion.<sup>o</sup> And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name they call buthrescas,<sup>o</sup> the which word by interpretation signifieth to us, men of religion, or religious men.

“ They have priests of exceeding holiness, and there-  
25 fore very few<sup>o</sup> ; for there be but thirteen in every city,

according to the number of their churches, saving when they go forth to battle ; for then seven of them go forth with the army, in whose steads so many new be made at home. But the other, at their return home, again reënter every one into his own place. They <sup>5</sup> that be above the number, until such time as they succeed into the places of the other at their dying, be in the mean season continually in company with the bishop<sup>o</sup>; for he is the chief head of them all. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, <sup>10</sup> by secret voices for the avoiding of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own company.<sup>o</sup> They be overseers of all divine matters, orderers of religions,<sup>o</sup> and as it were judgers and masters of manners; and it is a great dishonesty and shame to be <sup>15</sup> rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living.

“ But as it is their office to give good exhortations and counsel, so it is the duty of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punish offenders, sav- <sup>20</sup> ing that the priests, whom they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters.<sup>o</sup> And there is almost no punishment among them more feared ; for they run in very great infamy and be inwardly tormented with a <sup>25</sup>

secret fear of religion and shall not long scape free with their bodies; for unless they by quick repentance approve the amendment of their lives to the priests, they be taken and punished of the council as <sup>5</sup>wicked and irreligious.

“ Both childhood and youth is instructed and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligent to instruct them in learning than in virtue and good manners; for they use with very great endeavor and diligence <sup>10</sup>to put into the heads of their children whiles they be yet tender and pliant good opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weal public; which, when they be once rooted in children, do remain with them all their life after and be wonders profitable for the <sup>15</sup>defence and maintenance of the state of the commonwealth, which never decayeth but through vices rising of evil opinions.

“ The priests, unless they be women° (for that kind is not excluded from priesthood; howbeit few be <sup>20</sup>chosen, and none but widows and old women)— the men priests, I say, take to their wives the chiefest women in all their country; for to no office among the Utopians is more honor and preëminence given, insomuch that if they commit any offence they be <sup>25</sup>under no common judgment but be left only to God

and themselves; for they think it not lawful to touch him with man's hand, be he never so vicious, which after so singular a sort<sup>o</sup> was dedicate and consecrate to God as a holy offering. This manner may they easily observe because they have so few priests and do 5 choose them with such circumspection; for it scarcely ever chanceth that the most virtuous among virtuous, which in respect only of his virtue is advanced to so high a dignity, can fall to vice and wickedness. And if it should chance indeed, as man's nature is mutable 10 and frail, yet by reason they be so few and promoted to no might nor power, but only to honor, it were not to be feared that any great damage by them should happen and ensue to the commonwealth. They have so rare and few priests, lest, if the honor were com- 15 municate to many, the dignity of the order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run in contempt; specially because they think it hard to find many so good as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficient 20 to be endued with mean virtues.<sup>o</sup>

“ Furthermore, these priests be not more esteemed of their own countrymen than they be of foreign and strange countries; which thing may hereby plainly appear, and I think also that this is the cause of it: 25

for whiles the armies be fighting together in open field, they a little beside, not far off, kneel upon their knees in their hallowed vestments, holding up their hands to heaven; praying, first of all for peace, next for victory of their own part, but to neither part a bloody victory.<sup>o</sup> If their host get the upper hand,<sup>o</sup> they run into the main battle<sup>o</sup> and restrain their own men from slaying and cruelly pursuing their vanquished enemies, which enemies, if they do but see them and speak to them, it is enough for the safeguard of their lives; and the touching of their clothes defendeth and saveth all their goods from ravin and spoil. This thing hath advanced them to so great worship and true majesty among all nations that many times they have as well preserved their own citizens from the cruel force of their enemies as they have their enemies from the furious rage of their own men: for it is well known that when their own army hath reculed and in despair turned back and run away, their enemies fiercely pursuing with slaughter and spoil, then the priests coming between have stayed the murder and parted both the hosts; so that peace hath been made and concluded between both parts upon equal and indifferent conditions.<sup>o</sup> For there was never any nation so fierce, so cruel

and rude but they had them in such reverence that they counted their bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and unreverently touched.

“They keep holy day the first and the last day of <sup>s</sup> every month and year; dividing the year into months, which they measure by the course of the moon, as they do the year by the course of the sun. The first days they call in their language cynemernes,<sup>o</sup> and the last trapemernes<sup>o</sup>; the which words may be interpreted primifest and finifest, or else in our speech first feast and last feast.

“Their churches be very gorgeous, and not only of fine and curious workmanship, but also, which in the fewness of them was necessary, very wide and large <sup>15</sup> and able to receive a great company of people. But they be all somewhat dark. Howbeit, that was not done through ignorance in building but, as they say, by the counsel of the priests, because they thought that over-much light doth disperse men’s cogitations, <sup>20</sup> whereas in dim and doubtful light<sup>o</sup> they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion; which because it is not there of one sort among all men — and yet all the kinds and fashions of it, though they be sundry and manifold, agree to- <sup>25</sup>

gether in the honor of the divine nature, as going divers ways to one end — therefore nothing is seen nor heard in the churches which seemeth not to agree indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice,° peculiar to any several sect, that they execute at home in their own houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered that they be no derogation nor prejudice to any of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no image of any god is seen in the church, to the intent it may be free for every man to conceive God by their religion after what likeness and similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of God, but only Mythra; in the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine majesty, whatsoever it be. No prayers be used but such as every man may boldly pronounce without the offending of any sect.

“ They come therefore to the church the last day of every month and year, in the evening, yet fasting, there to give thanks to God for that they have prosperously passed over the year or month whereof that holy day is the last day. The next day they come to the church early in the morning to pray to God that they may have good fortune and success all the new year or month which they do begin of that same holy day.

But in the holy days that be the last days of the months and years, before they come to the church the wives fall down prostrate before their husbands' feet at home, and the children before the feet of their parents, confessing and acknowledging that they have offended 5 either by some actual deed or by omission of their duty ; and desire pardon for their offence. Thus if any cloud of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblown, that they might be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable minds ; for 10 they be afeared to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore, if they know themselves to bear any hatred or grudge towards any man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices before they have reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for fear of great ven- 15 geance and punishment for their offence.

“ When they come thither the men go into the right side of the church and the women into the left side.° There they place themselves in such order that all they which be of the male kind in every household sit 20 before the goodman of the house, and they of the female kind before the goodwife.° Thus it is foreseen that all their gestures and behaviors be marked and observed abroad° of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, 25

that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, lest, if children be joined together, they should pass over that time in childish wantonness wherein they ought principally to conceive a religious and devout fear towards God, which is the chief and almost the only incitation to virtue.

“They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they think not that the merciful clemency of God hath delight in blood and slaughter; which hath given life to beasts to the intent they should live. They burn frankincense and other sweet savors, and light also a great number of wax candles and tapers; not supposing this gear<sup>o</sup> to be anything available to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men; but this unhurtful and harmless kind of worship pleaseth them, and by these sweet savors and lights and other such ceremonies men feel themselves secretly lifted up and encouraged to devotion with more willing and fervent hearts. The people weareth in the church white apparel: the priest is clothed in changeable colors,<sup>o</sup> which in workmanship be excellent but in stuff not very precious. For their vestments be neither embroidered with gold nor set with precious stones, but they be wrought so finely and cunningly with divers feathers of fowls that the estimation of no costly stuff

is able to countervail the price<sup>o</sup> of the work. Furthermore, in these birds' feathers and in the due order of them which is observed in their setting, they say is contained certain divine mysteries, the interpretation whereof known, which is diligently taught by the 5 priests, they be put in remembrance of the bountiful benefits of God toward them and of the love and honor which of their behalf is due to God, and also of their duties one toward another.

“ When the priest first cometh out of the vestry<sup>o</sup> 10 thus apparelléd, they fall down incontinent every one reverently to the ground, with so still silence on every part that the very fashion of the thing striketh into them a certain fear of God, as though he were there personally present. When they have lain a little 15 space on the ground, the priest giveth them a sign for to rise. Then they sing praises unto God,<sup>o</sup> which they intermixed with instruments of music, for the most part of other fashions than these that we use in this part of the world. And like as some of ours be much 20 sweeter than theirs, so some of theirs do far pass ours. But in one thing doubtless they go exceeding far beyond us ; for all their music, both that they play upon instruments and that they sing with man's voice, doth so resemble and express natural affections, the 25

sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thing, that whether it be a prayer or else a ditty of gladness, of patience, of trouble, of mourning, or of anger, the fashion of the melody doth so represent the meaning of the thing that it doth wonderfully move, stir, pierce, and inflame the hearers' minds.<sup>o</sup>

"At the last the people and the priest together rehearse solemn prayers in words expressly pronounced,<sup>o</sup> so made that every man may privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all. In these prayers every man recognizeth and knowledgeth God to be his maker, his governor, and the principal cause of all other goodness, thanking him for so many benefits received at his hand, but namely that through the favor of God he hath chanced into that public weal which is most happy and wealthy and hath chosen that religion which he hopeth to be most true; in the which thing, if he do anything err, or if there be any other better than either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth him that he will of his goodness let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready to follow what way soever he will lead him: but if this form and fashion of a commonwealth be best and his own religion most true and perfect, then he desireth God to give him a constant steadfastness in

the same and to bring all other people to the same order of living and to the same opinion of God ; unless there be anything that in this diversity of religions doth delight his unsearchable pleasure. To be short, he prayeth him that after his death he may come to s him° ; but how soon or late, that he dare not assign or determine. Howbeit, if it might stand with his Majesty's pleasure, he would be much gladder to die a painful death and so to go to God than by long living in worldly prosperity to be away from him. When <sup>10</sup> this prayer is said they fall down to the ground again, and a little after they rise up and go to dinner. And the residue of the day they pass over in plays and the exercise of chivalry.°

“ Now I have declared and described unto you as <sup>15</sup> truly as I could the form and order of that commonwealth which verily in my judgment is not only the best but also that which alone of good right may claim and take upon it the name of a commonwealth or public weal. For in other places they speak still of the com- <sup>20</sup> monwealth, but every man procureth his own private wealth. Here where nothing is private, the common affairs be earnestly looked upon. And truly on both parts they have good cause so to do as they do. For

in other countries who knoweth not that he shall starve for hunger, unless he make some several provision for himself, though the commonwealth flourish never so much in riches ? And therefore he is compelled, even <sup>5</sup> of very necessity, to have regard to himself rather than to the people, that is to say, to other. Contrariwise, there where all things be common to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lack anything necessary for his private uses, so that<sup>o</sup> the <sup>10</sup> common storehouses and barns be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a niggish sort, neither there is any poor man or beggar ; and though no man have anything, yet every man is rich. For what can be more rich than to live joyfully and merrily without <sup>15</sup> all grief and pensiveness, not caring for his own living nor vexed or troubled with his wife's importunate complaints,<sup>o</sup> not dreading poverty to his son nor sorrowing for his daughter's dowry ? Yea, they take no care at all for the living and wealth of themselves and <sup>20</sup> all theirs, of their wives, their children, their nephews, their children's children, and all the succession that ever shall follow in their posterity. And yet, besides this, there is no less provision for them that were once laborers and be now weak and impotent than for <sup>25</sup> them that do now labor and take pain.

“ Here now would I see if any man dare be so bold as to compare with this equity the justice<sup>o</sup> of other nations; among whom I forsake God<sup>o</sup> if I can find any sign or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this that a rich goldsmith<sup>o</sup> or an usurer or, to be short, any of them which either do nothing at all, or else that which they do is such that it is not very necessary to the commonwealth, should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness or by unnecessary business? when in the mean time poor laborers, <sup>10</sup> carters, ironsmiths, carpenters, and plowmen, by so great and continual toil as drawing and bearing beasts<sup>o</sup> be scant able to sustain, and again so necessary toil that without it no commonwealth were able to continue and endure one year, do yet get so hard <sup>15</sup> and poor a living and live so wretched and miserable a life that the state and condition of the laboring beasts may seem much better and wealthier; for they be not put to so continual labor, nor their living is not much worse; yea, to them much pleasanter, taking no thought in the <sup>20</sup> mean season for the time to come. But these silly poor wretches be presently tormented with barren and unfruitful labor; and the remembrance of their poor, indigent, and beggarly old age killeth them up<sup>o</sup>; for their daily wages is so little that it will not suffice for <sup>25</sup>

the same day, much less it yieldeth any overplus that may daily be laid up for the relief of old age.

“ Is not this an unjust and an unkind public weal, which giveth great fees and rewards to gentlemen, as <sup>5</sup> they call them, and to goldsmiths, and to such other, which be either idle persons or else only flatterers and devisers of vain pleasures ; and, of the contrary part, maketh no gentle provision<sup>o</sup> for poor plowmen, colliers, laborers, carters, ironsmiths, and carpenters ; without <sup>10</sup> whom no commonwealth can continue ? But when it hath abused the labors of their lusty and flowering age, at the last, when they be oppressed with old age and sickness, being needy, poor, and indigent of all things ; then, forgetting their so many painful watchings, not <sup>15</sup> remembering their so many and so great benefits, recompenseth and acquitteth them most unkindly with miserable death. And yet besides this the rich men not only by private fraud but also by common laws do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor some part of <sup>20</sup> their daily living ; so, whereas it seemed before unjust to recompense with unkindness their pains that have been beneficial to the public weal, now they have to this their wrong and unjust dealing (which is yet a much worse point) given the name of justice ; yea, <sup>25</sup> and that by force of a law.<sup>o</sup>

“Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men, procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the common- 5 wealth. They invent and devise all means and crafts, first how to keep safely without fear of losing that they have unjustly gathered together<sup>o</sup>; and next how to hire and abuse the work and labor of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices, when the rich 10 men have decreed to be kept and observed for the commonwealth’s sake, that is to say, for the wealth also of the poor people, then they be made laws. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their unsatisfiable covetousness divided among them- 15 selves all those things which would have sufficed all men, yet how far be they from the wealth and felicity of the Utopian commonwealth ? out of the which in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, how great a heap of 20 cares is cut away ; how great an occasion of wickedness and mischief is plucked up by the roots ? For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, ravin, brawling, quarrelling, brabbling,<sup>o</sup> strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punish- 25

ments are rather revenged than refrained, do die when money dieth<sup>o</sup>? And also that fear, grief, care, labors, and watchings do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea, poverty itself, which  
15 only seemed to lack money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanish away.

“And that you may perceive this more plainly, consider with yourselves some barren and unfruitful year, wherein many thousands of people have starved for  
10 hunger. I dare be bold to say that in the end of that penury so much corn or grain might have been found in the rich men’s barns, if they had been searched, as being divided among them whom famine and pestilence hath killed, no man at all should have felt that plague  
15 and penury. So easily might men get their living if that same worthy princess, Lady Money,<sup>o</sup> did not alone stop up the way between us and our living; which, a God’s name,<sup>o</sup> was very excellently devised and invented that by her the way thereto should be opened.  
20 I am sure the rich men perceive this, nor they be not ignorant how much better it were to lack no necessary thing than to abound with over-much superfluity, to be rid out of innumerable cares and troubles than to be besieged with great riches. And I doubt not that  
25 either the respect of every man’s private commodity,

or else the authority of our saviour Christ (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodness could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) would have brought all the world long ago into the laws of this weal public, if 5 it were not that one only beast, the princess and mother of all mischief, Pride, doth withstand and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by her own commodities but by the miseries and incommodities of other. She would not by her good will<sup>o</sup> be made a 10 goddess, if there were no wretches left whom she might be lady over to mock and scorn, over whose miseries her felicity might shine, whose poverty she might vex, torment, and encrease by gorgeously setting forth her riches. This hell-hound creepeth into men's 15 hearts and plucketh them back from entering the right path of life, and is so deeply rooted in men's breasts that she cannot be plucked out.

“This form and fashion of a weal public, which I would gladly wish unto all nations, I am glad yet that 20 it hath chanced to the Utopians; which have followed those institutions of life whereby they have laid such foundations of their commonwealth as shall continue and last, not only wealthily but also, as far as man's wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure forever. 25

For seeing the chief causes of ambition and sedition with other vices be plucked up by the roots and abandoned, at home there can be no jeopardy of domestical dissension,<sup>o</sup> which alone hath cast under foot and brought to naught the well-fortified and strongly-defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concord remaineth, and wholesome laws be executed at home, the envy of all foreign princes be not able to shake or move the empire, though they have many times long ago gone about to do it, being evermore driven back."

Thus when Raphael had made an end of his tale, though many things came to my mind which in the manners and laws of that people seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason,<sup>o</sup> not only in the fashion of their chivalry<sup>o</sup> and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their laws, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances, that is to say, in the community of their life and living, without any occupying of money (by the which thing only all nobility, magnificence, worship, honor, and majesty, the true ornaments and honors, as the common opinion is, of a commonwealth, utterly be overthrown and destroyed); yet, because I knew that he was weary of talking,

and was not sure whether he could abide that anything should be said against his mind,<sup>o</sup> specially because I remembered that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be afeared lest they should seem not to be wise enough unless they could find some fault in other men's inventions; therefore I, praising both their institutions and his communication,<sup>o</sup> took him by the hand and led him in to supper; saying that we would choose another time to weigh and examine the same matters, and to talk with him more 10 at large therein; which would to God it might once come to pass. In the mean time, as I cannot agree and consent to all things that he said (being else without doubt a man singularly well learned and also in all worldly matters exactly and profoundly experienced), so must I needs confess and grant that many things be in the Utopian weal public which in our cities I may rather wish for than hope after.<sup>o</sup>

Thus endeth the afternoon's talk of Raphael Hythloday concerning the laws and institutions of the 20 island of Utopia.



## APPENDIX

CONTAINING MATTER IN THE SECOND (1558) EDITION OF ROBYNSON'S TRANSLATION BUT NOT IN THE FIRST:—

The Translator to the Gentle Reader,  
Peter Giles to Hierome Buslyde,  
A Metre of Four Verses in the Utopian Tongue,  
A Short Metre of Utopia, written by Anemolius,  
Gerard Noviomage of Utopia,  
Cornelius Graphey to the Reader.



## APPENDIX

### THE TRANSLATOR TO THE GENTLE READER

THOU shalt understand, gentle reader, that though this work of Utopia in English, come now the second time forth in print, yet was it never my mind nor intent that it should ever have been imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose took upon me at the 5 first the translation thereof: but did it only at the request of a friend° for his own private use, upon hope that he would have kept it secret to himself alone; whom though I knew to be a man indeed both very witty and also skilful, yet was I certain that in the 10 knowledge of the Latin tongue he was not so well seen as to be able to judge of the fineness or coarseness of my translation. Wherefore I went the more slightly through with it, propounding to myself therein rather to please my said friend's judgment than mine own, 15 to the meanness of whose learning I thought it my part to submit and attemper my style. Lightly therefore I overran the whole work, and in short time, with more haste than good speed, I brought it to an

end. But as the Latin proverb° sayeth, The hasty bitch bringeth forth blind whelps ; for when this my work was finished, the rudeness thereof showed it to be done in post-haste. Howbeit, rude and base though <sup>5</sup> it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to imprinting it came, and that partly against my will. Howbeit, not being able in this behalf to resist the pithy persuasions of my friends and perceiving therefore none other remedy but that forth it should, I <sup>10</sup> comforted myself for the time, only with this notable saying of Terence° :

“ *Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.*  
    *Si illud, quod est maxumè opus iactu non cadit :*  
    *Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas ;* ”

<sup>15</sup> in which verses the poet likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaying or a game at the tables, meaning therein if that chance rise not which is most for the player's advantage, that then the chance which fortune hath sent ought so cunningly to be played as <sup>20</sup> may be to the player least damage. By the which worthy similitude surely the witty poet giveth us to understand that though in any of our acts and doings, as it oft chanceth, we happen to fail and miss of our good pretended purpose so that the success and our intent

prove things far odd ; yet so we ought with witty circumspection to handle the matter that no evil or incommodey as far forth as may be and as in us lieth do thereof ensue. According to the which counsel, though I am indeed in comparison of an expert game- 5 ster and a cunning player but a very bungler, yet have I in this bychance, that on my side unawares hath fallen, so, I suppose, behaved myself that, as doubtless it might have been of me much more cunningly handled had I forethought so much or doubted any 10 such sequel at the beginning of my play ; so I am sure it had been much worse than it is if I had not in the end looked somewhat earnestly to my game. For though this work came not from me so fine, so perfect, and so exact at the first as surely for my small learning 15 it should have done if I had then meant the publishing thereof in print ; yet I trust I have now in this second edition taken about it such pains that very few great faults and notable errors are in it to be found.° 20

Now therefore, most gentle reader, the meanness of this simple translation and the faults that be therein (as I fear much there be some) I doubt not but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premises, gently and favorably wink at° them. So doing thou shalt minister 25

unto me good cause to think my labor and pains herein  
not altogether bestowed in vain.

VALE.

To the Right Honorable HIEROME BUSLYDE,<sup>o</sup> Provost  
of Arienn<sup>o</sup> and Councillor to the Catholic King  
5 Charles,<sup>o</sup>

PETER GILES, Citizen of Antwerp, wisheth health and  
felicity.

Thomas More, the singular ornament of this our  
age, as you yourself, right honorable Buslyde, can  
10 witness, to whom he is perfectly well known, sent  
unto me this other day *The Island of Utopia*, to very  
few as yet known but most worthy; which, as far  
excelling Plato's commonwealth, all people should  
be willing to know; specially of a man most elo-  
15 quent so finely set forth, so cunningly painted out,  
and so evidently subject to the eye<sup>o</sup> that as oft as  
I read it methinketh that I see somewhat more  
than when I heard Raphael Hythloday himself  
(for I was present at that talk as well as Master  
20 More) uttering and pronouncing his own words.  
Yea, though the same man, according to his pure elo-  
quence, did so open and declare the matter that he

might plainly enough appear to report not things which he had learned of others only by hearsay but which he had with his own eyes presently seen and thoroughly viewed and wherein he had no small time been conversant and abiding; a man truly in mine <sup>5</sup> opinion as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience much passing, yea even the very famous and renowned traveller Ulysses,<sup>9</sup> and indeed such a one as for the space of these eight hundred years past I think nature into the world <sup>10</sup> brought not forth his like; in comparison of whom Vespucci<sup>o</sup> may be thought to have seen nothing.

Moreover, whereas we be wont more effectually and pithily to declare and express things that we have seen than which we have but only heard, there <sup>15</sup> was besides that in this man a certain peculiar grace and singular dexterity to describe and set forth a matter withal. Yet the selfsame things as oft as I behold and consider them drawn and painted out with Master More's pencil, I am therewith so moved, <sup>20</sup> so delighted, so inflamed, and so rapt that sometimes methinks I am presently conversant, even in the island of Utopia. And I promise you, I can scant believe that Raphael himself by all that five years' space that he was in Utopia abiding saw there so much as <sup>25</sup>

here in Master More's description is to be seen and perceived<sup>o</sup>; which description with so many wonders and miraculous things is replenished that I stand in great doubt whereat first and chiefly to muse or 5 marvel, whether at the excellency of his perfect and sure memory which could well-nigh word by word rehearse so many things once only heard ; or else at his singular prudence, who so well and wittily marked and bare away all the original causes and fountains 10 (to the vulgar people commonly most unknown) whereof both issueth and springeth the mortal confu-  
sion and utter decay of a commonwealth and also the advancement and wealthy state of the same may rise and grow ; or else at the efficacy and pith of his words, 15 which in so fine a Latin style, with such force of eloquence hath couched together<sup>o</sup> and comprised so many and divers matters, specially being a man continually encumbered with so many busy and troublesome cares, both public and private, as he is. 20 Howbeit all these things cause you little to marvel, right honorable Buslyde, for that you are familiarly and thoroughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost divine, wit of the man.

But now to proceed to other matters, I surely know 25 nothing needful or requisite to be adjoined unto his

writings, only a metre of four verses written in the Utopian tongue, which after Master More's departure Hythloday by chance showed me, that I have caused to be added thereto, with the alphabet of the same nation, and have also garnished the margent<sup>o</sup> of the book with certain notes. For, as touching the situation of the island, that is to say, in what part of the world Utopia standeth, the ignorance and lack whereof not a little troubleth and grieveth Master More, indeed Raphael left not that unspoken of. Howbeit with very few words he lightly touched it, incidentally by the way passing it over, as meaning of likelihood to keep and reserve that to another place; and the same, I wot not how, by a certain evil and unlucky chance escaped us both. For when Raphael was speaking thereof, one of Master More's servants came to him and whispered in his ear; wherefore I being then of purpose more earnestly addict to hear<sup>o</sup> one of the company, by reason of cold, taken I think a shipboard, coughed out so loud that he took from my hearing certain of his words.<sup>o</sup> But I will never stint nor rest until I have got the full and exact knowledge hereof; insomuch that I will be able perfectly to instruct you, not only in the longitude or true meridian of the island, but also in the just latitude thereof, that is to say, in

the sublevation or height of the pole in that region, if our friend Hythloday be in safety and alive.

For we hear very uncertain news of him: some report that he died in his journey homeward<sup>o</sup>; some again affirm that he returned into his country, but partly for that he could not away<sup>o</sup> with the fashions of his country folk and partly for that his mind and affection was altogether set and fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hath taken his voyage thitherward again.

Now as touching this, that the name of this island is nowhere found among the old and ancient cosmographers, this doubt Hythloday himself very well dissolved. For why it is possible enough, quoth he, that the name which it had in old time was afterward changed or else that they never had knowledge of this island; forasmuch as now in our time divers lands be found which to the old geographers were unknown.

Howbeit, what needeth it in this behalf to fortify the matter with arguments, seeing Master More is author hereof<sup>o</sup> sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the book, indeed herein I both commend and also knowledge the man's modesty.

Howbeit, unto me it seemeth a work most unworthy to

be long suppressed and most worthy to go abroad into the hands of men, yea and under the title of your name to be published to the world ; either because the singular endowments and qualities of Master More be to no man better known than to you or else because no man is 5 more fit and meet than you with good counsels to further and advance the commonwealth, wherein you have many years already continued and travailed with great glory and commendation, both of wisdom and knowledge and also of integrity and uprightness. 10

Thus, O liberal supporter of good learning and flower of this our time, I bid you most heartily well to fare.

At Antwerp, 1516, the first day of November.

A METRE OF FOUR VERSES IN THEUTOPIANTONGUE,  
briefly touching as well the strange beginning, as also 15  
the happy and wealthy continuance of the same com-  
monwealth.

Utopus ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.

Bargol he maglomi baccan soma gymnosophaon.

Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin. 20

Voluala barchin heman la lauoluola dramme pagloni.

Which verses the translator, according to his simple knowledge and mean understanding in the Utopian tongue hath thus rudely Englished :

My king<sup>o</sup> and conqueror, Utopus by name,  
 A prince of much renown and immortal fame,  
 Hath made me an isle that erst no island was,  
 Full fraught with worldly wealth, with pleasure and solace  
 5 I one of all other without philosophy  
 Have shaped for man a philosophical city.  
 As mine I am nothing dangerous to impart,  
 So better to receive I am ready with all my heart.<sup>o</sup>

### A SHORT METRE OF UTOPIA

10 Written by Anemolius,<sup>o</sup> poet laureate, and nephew to  
 Hythloday by his sister.

Me Utopie cleped antiquity,  
 Void of haunt and herborough<sup>o</sup> ;  
 Now am I like to Plato's city,<sup>o</sup>  
 Whose fame fieth the world through.  
 15 Yea like, or rather more likely  
 Plato's plat to excel and pass :  
 For what Plato's pen hath platted briefly  
 In naked words ; as in a glass,  
 The same have I performed fully,  
 20 With laws, with men, and treasure fitly.  
 Wherefore not Utopie, but rather rightly  
 My name is Eutopie<sup>o</sup> ; a place of felicity.

## GERARD Noviomage° OF UTOPIA

Doth pleasure please ? Then place thee here and well  
thee rest ;

Most pleasant pleasures thou shalt find here.

Doth profit ease ? Then here arrive, this isle is best,  
For passing profits do here appear. 5

Doth both thee tempt and wouldest thou grip both  
gain and pleasure ?

This isle is fraught with both bounteously.

To still thy greedy intent, reap here incomparable  
treasure,

Both mind and tongue to garnish richly.

The hid wells and fountains both of vice and virtue, 10  
Thou hast them here subject unto thine eye.

Be thankful now, and thanks where thanks be due

Give to Thomas More, London's immortal glory.

## CORNELIUS GRAPHEY° TO THE READER

Wilt thou know what wonders strange be in the land 15  
that late was found ?

Wilt thou learn thy life to lead by divers ways that  
godly be ?

Wilt thou of virtue and of vice understand the very  
ground ?

Wilt thou see this wretched world, how full it is of  
vanity?

Then read and mark and bear in mind for thy behoof,  
as thou may best,

All things that in this present work, that worthy clerk  
Sir Thomas More,

With wit divine, full learnedly unto the world hath  
plain expressed,

5 In whom London well glory may, for wisdom and for  
godly lore.

## NOTES

The following works, being frequently referred to or quoted from, are cited by short title or author's name:

Bridgett : *Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More* . . . by the Rev. T. E. Bridgett . . . London, 1892.

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Collins : Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by J. Churton Collins. Oxford, 1904.

Dibdin : . . . *Utopia* . . . by . . . Sir Thomas More . . . A New Edition; with copious Notes, . . . and a Biographical and Literary Introduction, by . . . T. F. Dibdin. . . . London, 1808.

Lumby : More's *Utopia*. . . . Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by the late Rev. J. Rawson Lumby . . . Cambridge, 1897.

Lupton : The *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More . . . with . . . Introduction and Notes by J. H. Lupton . . . Oxford, 1895.

More, *Richard III.* : More's *History of King Richard III.* Edited with Notes, Glossary and Index of Names, by J. Rawson Lumby . . . Cambridge, 1883.

Roper : *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas More Knight* . . . written by his sonne-in-lawe, William Roper. (The references are to Sampson's reprint in his edition of the *Utopia*.)

Sampson : The *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More. . . . Edited by George Sampson, with an Introduction and Bibliography by A. Guthkelch. . . . London, 1910.

The references to Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, and Pope are to the Globe editions (The Macmillan Co.) of their poems: to Shakspere, to Neilson's Cambridge edition of his works.

1:2. **William Cecil** (1520-1598), a schoolfellow of Robynson, as he is reminded in this letter, after distinguishing himself at Cambridge, studied law at Gray's Inn. Through the influence of the Protector Somerset he was made Master of Requests, and because of his ability and application rose rapidly. In 1547 he entered Parliament, and the next year, at twenty-eight, was made Secretary of State. Three years later, in the very year in which this letter was written, he was knighted. Recognizing his ability, Mary would have kept him in her service, had he been willing to conform to Catholicism. Elizabeth's first appointment replaced him in his former office, and until his death forty years later he was her most trusted adviser and ablest statesman. In 1571 she created him Baron Burghley, by which title he is generally known.

1:3. **the King.** Edward VI., in 1551 a boy of fourteen, ruling with John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, as leader in his council.

1:4. **Ralph Robynson.** Cf. Introduction, lvi ff.

1:7. **Corinth.** A city of Greece, near the Gulf of Corinth, about forty-five miles south of west from Athens.

1:7. **Philip.** Philip II. (b. 382 B.C.) succeeded to the throne of Macedonia in 359 B.C., and in the following year began the career of conquest that ended only with his assassination in 336 B.C.

1:12. **harness.** Armor.

"Ring the alarum-bell! Blow, wind! come, wrack!

At least we'll die with harness on our back."

— SHAKSPEARE, *Macbeth*, V, v, 51.

1:14. **rampire.** Fortify, strengthen, barricade. "After they had taken their repast, Rosader rampired up the house, lest upon a sudden his brother should raise some crew of his tenants, and surprise them unawares." — LODGE, *Rosalynde*, Baldwin's ed., 43.

1:17. **Diogenes.** Born in Asia Minor about 412 B.C., Diogenes emigrated to Athens in his youth, studied philosophy there, and became the most famous of the cynics. According to Seneca, he carried his contempt for worldly possessions so far that he lived in a tub. While on a voyage he was captured by pirates, who sold him into slavery. His purchaser took him to Corinth, but there restored him to freedom. He died at Corinth in 323 B.C.

2:3. **philosophical cloak.** "Among the male part of the Greek nation, those who, like philosophers, affected great austerity, abstained entirely from wearing the tunic, and contented themselves with throwing over their naked body a simple cloak or mantle." — HOPE, *The Costume of the Ancients*, I, 22.

2:12. **working.** This story is told by Lucian, who makes a similar apologetic use of it in introducing his *The Way to Write History*. Cf. Fowler, *The Works of Lucian*, II, 110.

3:9. **Utopia.** Cf. note on 63:13.

3:12. **almost forty years ago.** Between the publication of *Utopia* (1516) and the appearance of Robynson's translation (1551), thirty-five years elapsed. More had been dead sixteen years before this, the first form in which his work was published in England, appeared.

3:17. **room.** Position, office, dignity. "A Parliament . . . whereof Sir Thomas More was chosen Speaker; who, being very loath to take that room upon him, made an oration . . . for his discharge thereof." — ROPER, 210.

5:15. **George Tadlowe.** Of this person, nothing further is known.

6:4. **the danger.** Apparently Robynson felt that, though the times had changed greatly since More wrote his work, there was still some danger that the publication in English of such a far-reaching criticism of the government might give offence to those in authority.

6: 18. **say well by.** Speak well of.

“How say you by the French lord?”

— SHAKSPERE, *Merchant of Venice*, I, ii, 58.

7: 4. **tract of time.** Process, or lapse, of time.

“Silly worms in tract of time overthrow . . . stately towns.”

— LYLY, *Euphues*, Arber's ed., 110.

7: 5. **quailed.** Weakened, slackened.

“Let not search and inquisition quail  
To bring again these foolish runaways.”

— SHAKSPERE, *As You Like It*, II, ii, 20.

7: 14. **bountifully showed.** Probably referring to a clerkship that Cecil had procured for Robynson.

8: **Address.** Peter Giles. Born at Antwerp about 1486, Giles was some eight years younger than More. As Erasmus had been the director of his studies and was his intimate friend, it is probable that he brought about the meeting between him and More. In 1517 Erasmus and Giles sent More “their portraits painted by Quentin Matsys on two panels united as a diptych.” Giles was made town-clerk of Antwerp in 1510, and died in 1533, the year before More.

8: 16. **better seen.** Better versed.

“A schoolmaster well seen in music.”

— SHAKSPERE, *Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii, 133.

8: 18. **homely.** Careless, negligent.

“He rood but hoomly in a medlee cote.”

— CHAUCER, *Prologue*, 328.

10: 15. **so that.** Provided that.

10: 24. **sleep.** Cf. note on 101: 10.

11: 11. **John Clement.** Taken into More's family from St. Paul's school, Clement seems to have acted as tutor to More's children while pursuing his own studies

in Greek and Latin. He married Margaret Gigs, an orphaned relative of More who lived in his family as if a daughter. He justified More's good opinion of him, becoming so proficient in Greek that he was made professor of it at Oxford. He gave up his position, however, to study and practise medicine, and became one of the most famous physicians of the time.

11 : 18. **Hythloday.** Cf. note on 20 : 25.

11 : 19. **Amaurote.** Cf. note on 88 : 5.

11 : 20. **Anyder.** Cf. note on 92 : 12.

12 : 3. **I will write as I have done.** Note More's pretence of striving for such absolute accuracy that he will not admit even a trivial detail about which there is the slightest doubt in his mind. The statement in the *Utopia* is (92 : 19) that the Anyder is half a mile wide at Amaurote.

12 : 14. **I cannot tell.** In his letter to Busleyden (227) Giles explained how it happened that, though Hythloday definitely stated the location of Utopia, neither he nor More caught it.

12 : 23. **professor of divinity.** This may have been something more than an attempt to give verisimilitude, for Lupton quotes (7) a marginal note from the 1624 ed. of Robynson's translation: "It is thought of some that here is unfeignedly meant the late famous Vicar of Croyden in Surrey."

12 : 25. **to see news.** Further to illustrate that news was not originally confined to that which is learned by means of words, Lumby quotes (186) from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "New news lately done, our eyes and ears are full of her cures."

13 : 2. **luckily begun.** Hythloday states (189) that many of the Utopians eagerly embraced Christianity as taught them by him and his fellows.

13 : 5. **of the bishop.** More wrote a *Pontifice*, which Robynson shrunk from translating, by the Pope. In his second edition his expression is, "by the high Bishop."

14: 1. prevent him. Anticipate him. "The Duke not enduring so long to tarry, but intending under pretext of dissension and debate arising in the realm to prevent his time, . . . was . . . slain." — MORE, *Richard III.*, 4.

14: 18. alloweth nothing. Praise nothing.

"I like them all, and do allow them well."

— SHAKSPERE, *2 Henry IV.*, IV, ii, 54.

Robynson frequently follows a plural subject by a verb in the singular.

14: 19. smack. Small quantity. From A. S. *smæc*, taste, flavor.

14: 25. can away with no mirth. Can have companionship with no mirth. "Away," on the way, is analogous to afoot, on foot. Cf. 228:6.

15: 1. so narrow in the shoulders. Analogous to the modern expression, "so strait-laced."

15: 6. he that is bitten of a mad dog feareth water. A popular fallacy, still prevalent. As a matter of fact, rabies simply causes a restriction of the throat that makes all swallowing difficult or impossible.

15: 13. louting and flouting. Depreciating and disdaining.

"Whom double fortune lifted up and louted."

— *A Mirror for Magistrates*.

"Please her the best I may,

She loves but to gainsay.

Alack and well-a-day!

Phillida flouts me."

— Seventeenth Century Song.

16: 2. for guests so dainty-mouthed. Since ye are guests so dainty-mouthed.

16: 10. stand with his mind. Agree with his mind.

"If it stand with honesty."

— SHAKSPERE, *As You Like It*, II, iv, 91.

17: 2. Henry, the eighth. Born in 1491, and therefore thirteen years More's junior, Henry became king on the

death of his father in 1509. Possessed of great and various abilities, he concealed under a pleasing exterior an inflexible will and a stern, cruel disposition. The Introduction gives (xxii ff.) an account of the circumstances that led up to the most important event of his reign, the severing of the allegiance of the church in England to Rome. Notwithstanding his despicable character, Henry did much that raised England to a position of international importance and prepared the way for the glorious reign of his daughter Elizabeth. He was succeeded in 1547 by Edward VI., his only son, a boy of ten.

**17: 5. King of Castile.** More wrote *cum serenissimo Castellae principe Carolo*, for Charles, who was born in Ghent in 1500 and became Duke of Burgundy and Prince of Castile on the death of his father in 1506, did not assume the title King of Castile until January, 1516. Before the end of that year he was King of Spain, and three years later he became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, which was practically Emperor of Germany. After a notable career, in 1555 he abdicated the government of the Netherlands, and in the following year that of Spain, in favor of his son, Philip II., and in 1556 that of Germany, in favor of his brother, Ferdinand I. Charles then retired to the monastery of Yuste, in Spain, where he died in 1558.

**17: 7. Flanders.** A semi-independent state from 862 until 1384, Flanders, a country extending along the North Sea from the mouth of the Scheldt to the Strait of Dover, in that year was united with Burgundy; and in 1477 passed with it to the House of Hapsburg. It was united with the German empire in 1512, and now forms the western portion of Belgium.

**17: 8. Cuthbert Tunstall.** Having been born in 1474, he was four years older than More. He was made Master of the Rolls in May, 1516. He became Bishop of London in 1522, and was translated from that see to Durham in 1530. Though a zealous Catholic, he took the oath of

supremacy; but was deprived of his bishopric under Edward VI. He was restored by Mary; but was again deprived of it for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Elizabeth, and placed for the few remaining months of his life in the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He died at Lambeth in 1559.

**18: 3. Bruges.** A city as early as the seventh century, Bruges during the Middle Ages was the greatest commercial centre of northern Europe, containing at one time factories from seventeen different kingdoms and a population of 200,000. It was the continental headquarters for the English wool trade. The silting up of the arm of the sea on which was its harbor destroyed its commercial importance; and already at the time of More's visit much of its business had been transferred to Antwerp. It is now a quiet little city with a population of about 55,000.

**18: 6. Margrave.** Count of the marches, or borders; originally a German territorial title.

**18: 9. George Temsice.** Lupton states (23) that "Georgius a Tempseca (de Theimsecke) was a native of Bruges, and wrote a history of Artois."

**18: 9. provost of Cassel.** Chief magistrate of Cassel, a town of Roman origin, now in northern France, but at the time of this embassy belonging to the Netherlands. Some forty miles to the southeast of Bruges, it should not be confused, as it is by Dibdin (I, 23), with the capital of Hesse-Cassel, a part of Germany.

**18: 17. Brussels.** A mere village until in 977 a Duke of Lorraine selected it as his residence and built a castle there, Brussels gradually increased in importance during the Middle Ages. In the fourteenth century it became the residence of the Burgundian princes, whose court after 1477 was an exceptionally brilliant one. It reached its climax under the Charles V. to whom More refers. It has been the capital of Belgium since the separation of that country from Holland in 1831.

**18: 19. Antwerp.** A city on the Scheldt, some sixty miles from the sea, and about fifty east of Bruges. Though a very old city, it was not a rival of Bruges till late in the fifteenth century. By the middle of the following century, however, it had become the wealthiest and most prosperous city in Europe, with agencies of nearly a thousand foreign firms. It is still one of the most important European seaports, and has a population of over 350,000.

**18: 22. Peter Giles.** Cf. note on **8: Address**.

**19: 17. my wife and children.** More's family at this time consisted of his second wife and his four children by his first wife, of whom the eldest was ten and the youngest, his only son, six. In a letter to Erasmus written after his return from this embassy More said, "The office of ambassador never much pleased me. It does not seem so suitable to us laymen as to you priests, who have no wives and children to leave at home, or who find them wherever you go. When we have been a short time away, our hearts are drawn back by the longing for our families." — BRIDGETT, 69.

**19: 21. Our Lady's church.** The cathedral of Notre Dame. It is not only "the most gorgeous and curious church of building in all the city," but one of the finest Gothic churches in existence. Begun in 1352, it was not completed till a century after More's death.

**20: 3. favor.** Appearance.

"I know that virtue to be in you, Brutus,  
As well as I do know your outward favour."

— SHAKSPERE, *Julius Cæsar*, I, ii, 90.

**20: 22. Palinure.** The pilot of Aeneas. Cf. Vergil's *Aeneid*, III, 202.

**20: 23. Ulysses.** The Greek chieftain whose wanderings after the fall of Troy are told in the *Odyssey*. In the opening lines of that poem, Homer says, "many were the men whose towns he saw and whose mind he learnt."

**20: 24.** **Plato.** This Athenian philosopher is said to have visited Sicily, Egypt, and other countries in the pursuit of knowledge.

**20: 25.** **Hythloday.** This name is More's invention. There is general agreement that the first part is from *ὑθλος*, trifles, nonsense; but difference of opinion as to the source of the last syllable: Morley (*Utopia*, 9) and Collins (148) derive it from *δαιος*, knowing in; Lupton thinks (26) it from *δαιειν*, to distribute, "as if to express . . . 'a teller of idle tales'" ; while Sampson suggests (24) that it is " (perhaps) some derivative of the old root \* *δαιω* in its causal sense of ' to teach.' "

**21: 7.** **Seneca's.** Lucius Annaeus Seneca (b. 3 A.D.), a Roman philosopher and writer of tragedies. He was tutor to Nero, who, envious of his vast wealth, subsequently ordered him to commit suicide. This he did in 65 A.D. His teaching has been termed, " with all its imperfections, the purest and noblest of antiquity."

**21: 7.** **Cicero's.** Marcus Tullius Cicero (B.C. 106-B.C. 43), the famous Roman orator and man of letters, among whose writings are many on philosophical subjects. " As a philosopher, . . . he was allowed to be the greatest teacher that Rome ever had."

**21: 9.** **a Portugal born.** Portugal was formerly used to denote both the country and an inhabitant of it. More probably makes Hythloday a Portuguese partly because Vespucci's last two voyages were made for the King of Portugal, partly because of the then recent achievement of the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama. In July, 1497, he sailed from Lisbon, and, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, reached Calicut (22: 7), May 20, 1498; thus succeeding in finding an all-water route to India, which was what Columbus set out to do but failed to accomplish. He arrived at Lisbon on his return voyage in September, 1499.

**21: 11.** **Amerigo Vespucci.** A Florentine (b. 1452), who went to Spain in 1490, and became connected with the

firm that fitted out Columbus's second expedition (1493). According to his own story, he himself made four voyages to the New World: two, 1497 and 1499, from Spain, by order of the king; two, 1501 and 1503, from Portugal, under the patronage of the king of that country. The first was, however, mythical, modern scholars having shown that during the time that he asserted he was absent on it Vespucci was in fact in Seville superintending the preparations for Columbus's third voyage.

**21: 12.** now in print. The letter in which Vespucci gave accounts of his voyages was published twice in 1507, once separately and once in Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae Introductio*.

**21: 20.** the country of Gulike. Vespucci wrote that the men were left in *castello*, in a fort. This in More's account became *in Castello*, and the capital letter misled both of the earliest English translators into taking *Castello* for the name of a country, Burnet (6) translating it "in New Castile." So *Castellanorum*, of those in the fort, becomes with Robynson, "of his companions Gulikians," with Burnet, "Castalians." Lupton first explained (28) how Robynson came to translate as he did: "In the old dictionaries *Castellum* is given as the ancient name of Jülich (the French Juliers, 23 miles west of Cologne), and this is sometimes spelt *Gulike*. . . . That More's *Castellum* was in South America, not in *Gallia Belgica*, does not seem to have troubled the translator."

**21: 21.** for his mind's sake. According to his desire, as in the expression, "he had a great mind to."

**21: 24.** covered with the sky. A quotation from Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vii, 819.

**21: 25.** of like length and distance. Lupton notes (28) that this is an adaptation of a saying of Anaxagoras, given by Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* (I, 104), "From every place the way to the shades is of equal length." Roper states (258) that while More was in the

Tower his wife visited him and upbraided him for remaining in the close, filthy prison, when by doing as the bishops had done he might be enjoying his comfortable home. "Is not this house as nigh Heaven as mine own?" was More's only answer.

**22:6.** *Taprobane.* The name given by the Greek and Roman geographers to the island Ceylon.

**22:7.** *Calicut.* A town on the southwestern coast of India, the first port reached by Vasco da Gama, who established a Portuguese factory there. Calico was extensively made here, and takes its name from the place. It became a part of British India in 1792.

**23:5.** *out of my remembrance.* One of the many touches introduced by More to give verisimilitude to his fiction. So Lucian (cf. note on 152:7), in the account in his *True History* of the games in the Island of the Blest, says, "Who won the flat race, I have forgotten." — FOWLER, *The Works of Lucian*, II, 162.

**23:15.** *the line equinoctial:* the equator.

**23:21.** *out of fashion.* Out of order or shape.

"I prattle out of fashion, and I dote  
In mine own comforts."

— SHAKSPERE, *Othello*, II, i, 208.

In More's Latin the word thus translated is *horrida*, rough.

**24:22.** *feat and use.* These words are here practically synonymous, the two being used to translate the one word *usus*.

**24:22.** *loadstone.* Magnetic oxide of iron; but here used by metonymy for the mariner's compass.

**25:3.** *farther from care than jeopardy.* Burnet translates (8) More's *securi magis quam tuti* more accurately and intelligibly, "more secure than safe," secure being used in its primary sense, free from care or fear.

**25:5.** *shall turn them to evil.* Them is here dative, not accusative, shall turn for them, etc.

**25: 11.** in another place. This is generally considered a reference to the second part of the *Utopia*, the first written. But the second part of the *Utopia* does not tell what Hythloday said he saw "in every country where he came," and the very next paragraph shows conclusively that More did not here refer to it. It is simply a part of More's verisimilitude to suggest that he might later produce another volume telling of countries other than *Utopia* that Hythloday visited.

**25: 19.** they be no news. The *Travels* attributed to John Mandeville, an English knight, which appeared in the latter part of the fourteenth century and was very popular, contained accounts of a number of monsters. Cf. especially ch. XIX.

**25: 21.** Scyllas. Scylla was a yelping, six-headed monster that according to Homer (*Odyssey*, XII, 85 ff.) dwelt in a cave in a rock in the straits of Messina. Cf. also Vergil, *Aeneid*, III, 424 ff.

**25: 21.** Celenos. Celaeno was chief of the Harpies that snatched their meat away from Aeneas and his comrades. Vergil, *Aeneid*, III, 211.

**25: 21.** Laestrygons. A tribe of giants that destroyed eleven of Odysseus's twelve ships and devoured their crews. Homer, *Odyssey*, X, 82 ff.

**25: 23.** great and incredible monsters. Lucian's *True History* is full of these, including a whale some two hundred miles long, in whose interior Lucian found men that had been living there comfortably for twenty-seven years. Cf. Fowler, *The Works of Lucian*, II, 148 ff. More states later (152:7) that the Utopians "be delighted with Lucian's merry conceits and jests."

**26: 10.** our former communication. Our precedent conversation.

**27: 8.** I pass not. I care not.

"As for these silken-coated slaves, I pass not."

— SHAKSPERE, *2 Henry VI.*, IV, ii, 136.

**27 : 10. depart.** Separate. Down to 1662 the marriage service of the Church of England contained the expression "till death us depart": in that year "depart" was changed to "do part," as in the present prayer-book.

**27 : 21. at your pleasure.** Robynson omits Hythloday's answer to this, probably because it contains an untranslatable play on words. Giles said, *Mihi uisum est non ut seruias regibus, sed ut inseruias*; to which Hythloday responded, *Hoc est una syllaba plus quam seruias*. Lupton (36) thus suggests the paronomasia: "service at a court is only short for servitude."

**28 : 6. states.** Princes. "The Duke . . . was . . . slain, leaving three sons. . . . All three . . . were great states of birth." — MORE, *Richard III.*, 5.

**28 : 9. think it.** Think ye it.

**28 : 11. friend Raphael.** More's Latin here and elsewhere (59 : 22) where this expression occurs is *mi Raphael*.

**29 : 12. feats of chivalry.** Deeds of chivalry.

**31 : 3. once in England.** The simple, natural way in which the discussion of the state of affairs in England is led up to is noteworthy.

**31 : 8. the insurrection.** The excessive taxation led a considerable body of Cornishmen, under the lead of a lawyer and a farrier, to revolt and march on London. They were defeated with great slaughter at Blackheath, June 22, 1497, and their leaders captured and executed. Cf. Bacon's *History of Henry VII.*

**31 : 12. John Morton.** Born about 1420, Morton, after studying at Oxford, became an advocate in the ecclesiastical courts. After holding several minor offices, he became Master of the Rolls in 1473 and Bishop of Ely six years later. As such he appears in Shakspere's *Richard III.* He was an adherent of the Earl of Richmond, who, after his accession as Henry VII., made him Archbishop of Canterbury in 1486 and Lord Chancellor in the following year. In 1493 he was created a cardinal,

and died seven years later. Cf. the Introduction (xi) for More's relations with him.

**31: 17. of a mean stature.** Of an average height.

**32: 11. in the chief of his youth.** In his early youth.

**32: 24. were for the most part twenty hanged together upon one gallows.** Lupton gives (43) as a more accurate translation: "were being hanged in all directions, sometimes twenty on one gallows." Dibdin (I, 53) states that "22,000 criminals are supposed to have been executed during Henry the Eighth's reign." Hanging continued to be a punishment for theft in England until 1827.

**34: 3. out of Blackheath field.** Cf. note on **31: 8.** More wrote *e Cornubiensi praelio*, from the battle of the Cornishmen; Robynson substitutes for this the place of their defeat.

**34: 4. the wars in France.** In 1492 Henry VII. invaded France, ostensibly in the interests of Anne of Brittany, who had been forced to wed Charles VIII. of France. He laid siege to Boulogne, but as he was secretly in league with Charles soon withdrew for a money payment.

**34: 9. because war, like the tide, ebbeth and floweth.** With this forcible figure, Robynson paraphrases rather than translates More's *quando bella per intermissas uices commeant*, since wars by intermittent alternations come and go. One of the principal changes that Robynson made in his second edition was to substitute for this strong figure the weak and well-nigh unintelligible "forasmuch as wars have their ordinary recourse."

**34: 17. able to bring.** "Adapted or calculated to bring." — LUMBY, 193.

**34: 19. at their tails.** In Scotland a chief's train of attendants was itself termed his "tail," and when he appeared with it in public he was said to "have his tail on." Cf. Scott, *Waverley*, ch. XVI.

**34: 20. serving men.** As Chancellor, More was obliged, for his state, to support a considerable number of attend-

ants, for whom he had no use when he had resigned his office. He did not, however, turn them adrift; but, Roper states (236) "placed all his gentlemen and yeomen with bishops and noblemen, and his eight watermen with the Lord Audley, that in the same office succeeded him."

**35: 5. starve for hunger.** Die on account of hunger. Starve was not originally restricted to dying for lack of food, so that the expression is not pleonastic.

"My lady, whom I love and serve,  
And ever shal, til that myn herte sterfe."

— CHAUCER, *The Knight's Tale*, 1143.

**35: 16. jet.** Strut or swagger.

"The gates of monarchs  
Are arch'd so high that giants may jet through."

— SHAKSPERE, *Cymbeline*, III, iii, 4.

**35: 18. 'Nay, by Saint Mary, sir.'** There is nothing to correspond to this in More's Latin.

**35: 20. of stouter stomachs.** Of greater courage.

"Thou did'st smile,  
. . . . . which rais'd in me  
An undergoing stomach, to bear up  
Against what should ensue."

— SHAKSPERE, *Tempest*, I, ii, 153 ff.

**36: 9. with hired soldiers in peace.** After the discontinuance of the feudal levies, the kings of France hired foreign mercenaries as a standing army. These overran the country and committed great excesses. To replace them Charles VII. tried in 1444 to establish a regular French army.

**36: 19. said of Sallust.** Said by Sallust. More's Latin is an inaccurate quotation of Sallust's "*Ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus.*" — *Cat.*, XVI.

**36: 25. Carthaginians, Syrians.** "More had probably in his mind the Janizaries and Mamelukes: of the latter of whom Gibbon writes that 'the rage of these ferocious animals, who had been let loose on the strangers, was provoked to devour their benefactor.' — *Decline and Fall*, ch. lix, *sub fin.*" — LUPTON, 49.

**37: 7. crack. Brag.**

"And Ethiopes of their sweet complexion crack."

— SHAKSPERE, *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 268.

**37: 13. uplandish.** Up-country, hence rustic, boorish. "The duke elector of Saxony came from the war of those uplandish people . . . into Wittenberg." — TYNDALE, *Answer to Sir Thomas More*.

**38: 3. for war sake.** On account of war.

**38: 8. not only the.** Not the only.

**38: 10. Englishmen alone.** Partly because of its favorable soil and climate, partly because of its comparative freedom from devastation by war, England during the Middle Ages was the only country in the north of Europe that produced wool to any considerable extent. It had virtually a monopoly, therefore, of the wool-trade with Flanders; and as the manufacture of cloth there became more and more extensive the profits of wool-growing in England correspondingly increased. That More did not exaggerate the hardships caused the peasantry by the consequent turning of more and more arable land into sheep-walks is shown by many sixteenth century writings. One of these, cited by Collins (160), has the significant title, "Certayne causes gathered together wherein is shewed the decaye of England only by the great multitude of shepe, to the utter decay of household kepyng, mayntenance of men, dearth of corne, and other notable dyscommodityes approved by syxe olde proverbes." Cf. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, 120 ff.

**38: 19. abbots.** "The chief growers of wool were the

Cistercian monks, who owned huge flocks of sheep." — GIBBINS, *Industry in England*, 124.

**39:3.** a sheep-house. Lupton quotes (52) a close parallel from the sixteenth century ballad *Now-a-dayes*:

"Gret men makithe now a dayes  
A shepecott in the churche."

**39:4.** no small quantity. The sense of More's Latin would have been expressed better, had Robynson written 'too small.'

**39:14.** put besides it. Put out of it.

"In faith, my lord, you are too wilful-blame;  
And since your coming hither have done enough  
To put him quite besides his patience."

— SHAKSPERE, *1 Henry IV.*, III, i, 177.

**39:17.** silly. Simple, innocent. "Our 'silly' is the Old-English 'sælig,' or blessed. We see it in a transition state in our early poets, with whom 'silly' is an affectionate epithet which sheep obtain for their harmlessness. One among our earliest calls the new-born Lord of Glory Himself, 'this harmless *silly* babe.' " — TRENCH, *On the Study of Words*, 97.

**39:24.** though it might well abide the sale. Even if it were kept till a fitting time of sale.

**40:9.** For there . . . ground left. Robynson overlooked a sentence, a translation of which is supplied from Burnet.

**40:12.** to the occupying wherof about husbandry: to the using of which in agriculture.

**40:21.** their. *I.e.*, the sheepowners'.

**41:9.** passeth for the breeding of young store. Cares for the breeding of young stock.

**41:24.** did consist. The export of wool and cloth was long the basis of England's national wealth. In the fourteenth century the "taxes for King Edward III. were

calculated, not in money, but in sacks of wool." — GIBBINS, *Industry in England*, 123.

**42:11. newfangledness.** Novelty. More apparently forgets that he is reporting what Hythloday asserts that he said at Cardinal Morton's "not long after" the insurrection of 1497. Henry VII. was penurious in expenditure and noticeably simple in dress, and naturally throughout the England of his time "a sobriety of costume was almost consequent to these regal tastes." (Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 230.) The period of riotous expenditure and of extravagance in dress began in 1509 with the accession of Henry VIII., who in the year before More wrote this "spent £5000 on silks and velvets, and £1500 on plate and jewellery." (J. E. Symes, in Traill's *Social England*, III, 156.) At the present value of money these sums would equal nearly a quarter of million dollars. Cf. note on 99:17.

**42:16. unlawful games.** By a law passed in 1377 "servants and laborers" were directed to practice with the bow and arrow on Sundays and holidays instead of playing football, dice, and skittles, and other unprofitable games." (Gibbins, *Industry in England*, 186.) In his own home More would not permit games with cards or dice. Cf. note on 102:9.

**42:22. towns of husbandry.** Town is from the Anglo-Saxon *tun*, a hedge, and before it gained its present significance meant a place enclosed by a hedge or fence, a farm with its buildings. "Inside this boundary the 'township,' as the village was then called from the 'tun' or rough fence and trench that served as its simple fortification, formed a ready-made fortress in war." — GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, 3.

As a matter of fact, laws similar to that which More makes Hythloday, speaking about 1498, propose were passed in 1514, 1515, and 1516. (W. J. Corbett, Traill's *Social England*, III, 152.) More endeavors to show

Hythloday's astuteness by attributing to him prevision. Cf. note on 62 : 7.

42 : 25. **engross and forestall.** Get sole possession of and buy in advance to force up the price; to "corner the market." The act of 1514 was directed especially against "engrossers" of farms. Dibdin states (I, 71) that as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century a "fore-staller" was found guilty at Worcester.

43 : 12. **than just or profitable.** Burnet better expresses (25) More's meaning: "which tho' it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself it is neither just nor convenient."

44 : 17. **earnest let.** Serious hindrance.

45 : 11. **is recompensed.** Is paid for.

45 : 15. **by and by.** Immediately.

45 : 16. **stoical ordinances.** It was a doctrine of the Stoics that there were no degrees in wrong-doing, that all sins were equally blameworthy.

45 : 19. **both a matter.** Both one matter, *i.e.*, of equal importance.

46 : 13. **out of the . . . danger.** Out of the jurisdiction.

46 : 24. **the new law.** *The New Testament.*

47 : 2. **cruelty one upon another.** In view of the earnestness of this passage, it is noteworthy that capital punishment is a penalty for crime in Utopia (97 : 23) and that More himself as a judge condemned a number of persons to death.

47 : 17. **rid out of.** Removed from.

48 : 15. **Polylerites.** The name of this people, derived from  $\piολυς$ , much, and  $\lambda\etaρος$ , nonsense, clearly indicates their mythical character.

49 : 3. **to the mighty king.** In his second edition Robynson translated more accurately, "to their chief lord and king."

49 : 5. **commodious rather than gallant.** Comfortable rather than showy.

**49: 19. gyves.** Originally fetters for the legs. "The villains march wide betwixt the legs, as if they had gyves on; for indeed I had the most of them out of prison." — SHAKSPERE, *1 Henry IV.*, IV, ii, 43.

Later the meaning was not restricted.

"And Eugene Aram walked between,  
With gyves upon his wrists."  
— HOOD, *The Dream of Eugene Aram*.

**49: 23. pricked forward with stripes.** Spurred on by flogging. Lupton gives (66) as the sense of the Latin, "they do not so much imprison as flog them."

**50: 2. indifferent.** Fairly, moderately.

"I am myself indifferent honest."  
— SHAKSPERE, *Hamlet*, III., i, 122.

**50: 9. found.** Maintained, which Robynson substituted for "found" in his second edition.

**50: 14. damned.** Condemned. "The queen in great fright and heaviness, . . . damning the time that ever she dissuaded the gathering of power about the king, got herself in all the haste possible . . . into the sanctuary." — MORE, *Richard III.*, 19.

"Consider what effect has been produced on the English vulgar mind by the use of the sonorous Latin form 'damno,' in translating the Greek *κατακρίνω*, when people charitably wish to make it forcible; and the substitution of the temperate 'condemn' for it, when they choose to keep it gentle." — RUSKIN, *Sesame and Lilies, Of Kings' Treasuries*.

**51: 21. of that they were of counsel in that pretence.** For being of counsel (*i.e.*, for their complicity) in that purpose.

**52: 11. to their guides.** As their guides. Lumby quotes (198) in illustration, "They had John to their minister. — *Acts*, xiii, 5."

**52 : 16. taken with the manner.** Caught in the act.  
 "Thou stolest a cup of sack eighteen years ago, and wert taken with the manner." — SHAKSPERE, *1 Henry IV.*, II, iv, 345.

**52 : 23. But it is a thing to be doubted.** But, it may be objected, it is a thing to be feared.

"I doubt  
 My uncle practises more harm to me."  
 — SHAKSPERE, *King John*, IV, i, 19.

**53 : 7. in such a matter.** The phrases are badly placed in this sentence. The meaning is clear if they are rearranged thus — they would in such a matter make of their counsel their own countrymen and companions.

**54 : 4. without a proof.** Without a trial, without putting it to the proof. So below (54 : 7) "prove" means try.

**54 : 8. the privileges of all sanctuaries.** Down to the Reformation one accused of a felony, except treason or sacrilege, could take refuge in a church and remain there, "in sanctuary," free from molestation by the officers of the law. Certain places retained this right of sanctuary after the Reformation, till, in 1624, all sanctuary for crimes was done away with. Until 1697, however, several places in London remained sanctuaries for insolvent debtors. Of these the most notorious was Whitefriars, which became known as Alsatia. Cf. Shadwell, *The Squire of Alsatia*, and Scott, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, ch. XVI.

**55 : 1. sad.** Staid, serious.

"She is never sad but when she sleeps."  
 — SHAKSPERE, *Much Ado*, II, i, 358.

**55 : 21. unwieldy.** Lacking strength to wield aught ; powerless, rather than bulky or clumsy.

"I give this heavy weight from off my head,  
 And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand."  
 — SHAKSPERE, *Richard II.*, IV, 204.

**56: 13. into houses of religion.** Literally, into the monasteries of the Benedictines; an order of monks and nuns following the rule of St. Benedict (c. 480-c. 543). It was the largest and most important of the monastic orders. To it belonged Augustine and his fellows who introduced Christianity into England.

**56: 13. lay brethren.** Those who have taken monastic vows but none of the orders of priesthood. They usually discharge the more menial services in a monastery.

**56: 17. friar.** A member of a mendicant religious order. Theoretically the monk withdrew into a cell or a monastery to escape the temptations of the world, and sought to save his soul by good works (mainly writing, teaching, and copying manuscripts), meditation, prayer, and penance; while the friar sought the same object by remaining in the world to preach and minister to the poor, to sympathize with whom and to gain whose confidence he made himself poorer than the poorest by his vow of poverty — hence the term friar, brother. The four principal orders of friars were the Franciscans (Gray Friars or Friars Minor), the Dominicans (Black or Preaching Friars), the Carmelites (White Friars), and the Augustine, or Austin, Friars.

**57: 2. vagabonds.** The friars entered England in the thirteenth century, a few years after their establishment, and at first did so much good that the charitable built and richly endowed homes for them. The result was that within a century they had sadly deteriorated, and were for the most part hypocrites and vagabonds. Cf. Chaucer, *Prologue*, 208-269.

**57: 6. gall.** A sore produced by chafing.

“Let the gall’d jade wince.”

— SHAKSPERE, *Hamlet*, III, ii, 252.

**57: 9. javel.** A worthless fellow, a rascal. Roper states (270) that when More appeared in his best apparel

on the morning of his execution, the Lieutenant of the Tower advised him, as it would be a perquisite of the executioner, "to put it off, saying that he that should have it was but a javel. 'What, Master Lieutenant,' quoth he, 'shall I account him a javel that shall do me this day so singular a benefit?'"

**57: 17. save your souls.**

"In your patience possess ye your souls."

— *Luke, xxi, 19.*

**57: 20. Be you angry and sin not.** The Authorized Version gives "stand in awe, and sin not." (*Ps.*, iv, 4.) The Revised Version gives "be ye angry," which is the reading of the Vulgate, as a marginal reading.

**57: 25. The zeal of thy house hath eaten me.** — *Ps.*, lxix, 9.

**58: 1. Helizeus.** The Greek form of Elisha. The story of Elisha's cursing, in the name of the Lord, the children who had mocked him by calling "Go up, thou bald head"; and of their consequent destruction by bears, is given in *2 Kings*, ii, 23 and 24. Lumby pointed out (200) that the Latin is part of a hymn, which Lupton states (77) is "the Hymn of Adam of St. Victor, *De Resurrectione Domini.*"

**58: 11. according to his foolishness.** "According to his folly," in the Authorized Version. *Prov.*, xxvi, 5.

**58: 16. many bald men.** Probably referring to the tonsure.

**58: 20. privy beck.** Secret motion of the head or hand.

"Nods and becks and wreathed smiles."

— *MILTON, L'Allegro, 28.*

**59: 2. parcel.** Portion.

"The lips is parcel of the mouth."

— *SHAKSPERE, Merry Wives, I, i, 236.*

**59: 5. for the judgment of them.** To show the judgment of them.

**59: 21. of a child.** As a child. Cf. Introduction, xi.

**60: 8. Plato judgeth.** "Unless it happen either that philosophers acquire the kingly power in states, or that those who are now called kings and potentates be imbued with a sufficient measure of genuine philosophy, that is to say, unless political power and philosophy be united in the same person, . . . there will be no deliverance . . . for cities, nor yet, I believe, for the human race; neither can the commonwealth, which we have now sketched in theory, ever till then grow into a possibility." — PLATO, *Republic*, Davies and Vaughan's tr., Bk. V, 473.

**60: 12. will vouchsafe.** "The form of the sentence which follows makes it more likely that he wrote 'wyll not vouchesaufe.'" — LUPTON, 80.

**60: 24. Dionysius.** Dionysius the Younger, who became king of Syracuse 367 B.C. As he was an indolent, dissipated youth, his uncle, Dion, invited Plato to visit Sicily to instruct him in philosophy. Dionysius soon became weary of the instruction and suspicions of the motives of Dion and Plato. He exiled the former; and Plato with difficulty succeeded in returning to Athens. Dionysius then became more dissolute than ever.

**61: 5. the French king.** Francis I., who on the death of Louis XII., Jan. 1, 1515, succeeded to his throne and policy.

**61: 10. keep Milan.** By the victory of Marignano, September 13 and 14, 1515, Francis gained Milan, the sovereignty of which he claimed as an inheritance from his great-grandmother.

**61: 11. fugitive Naples.** In 1495 Charles VIII. of France seized Naples, but he was soon forced to abandon it. In 1501 his successor, Louis XII., conquered it, but two years later he too was forced to withdraw.

**61: 12. conquer the Venetians.** In 1508 Louis XII.,

in league with the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Aragon, conquered Venice, deprived it of most of its possessions on the mainland, and largely increased the territory in northern Italy under French domination. In 1513, however, the French were expelled from Italy. The victory of Marignano was won by Francis by the timely arrival of his Venetian allies; but immediately after the battle, spite of their protests, he entered into a league with the Pope. Venice and all Europe might well believe that history was about to repeat itself.

**61 : 13. all Italy.** Italy at this time consisted of five independent states, Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples, and of a number of smaller feudal states dependent on these. Lemonnier states (*Histoire de France*, ed. Lavisson, V, i, 125) that after Francis's victory at Marignano the Pope "saw the realm of Naples threatened with invasion and Francis I. dominating throughout Italy."

**61 : 14. Flanders.** Cf. note on 17 : 7. Even after Flanders had been incorporated into the Empire, Francis laid claim to it. Charles V., who became emperor in 1519, compelled him, however, by the treaty of Madrid, 1526, and that of Cambray, 1529, to renounce all claim to it.

**61 : 14. Brabant.** A duchy to the east and northeast of Flanders that embraced parts of what are now Belgium and Holland. It was united with Burgundy in 1430, and in 1477 passed with it to the House of Hapsburg.

**61 : 14. of all Burgundy.** *I.e.*, of both the county, in the eastern part of what is now France, and the duchy, which lay to the west of it. The French dukes of Burgundy were invested with the county in 1384, and in the same year Flanders was annexed to the duchy. It was one of the most powerful states in Europe until 1477. In that year the last duke died, and the duchy was seized by Louis XII. of France. By the marriage of the daughter of the last duke to Maximilian of Austria, who became emperor in 1493, the county and the Netherlands passed

to the House of Hapsburg, and in 1512 they were incorporated into the Empire.

**61: 24. hire the Germans.** Francis I. did hire the Germans before invading Italy, and the battle of Marignano was practically between his mercenaries and the Swiss who had been hired by the Duke of Milan.

**61: 25. Swychers.** The Swiss. Immediately after the battle of Marignano, Francis opened negotiations with the Swiss. Eight of the cantons made a treaty with him, December 7, 1515; and in the following May he began negotiations with the other five. These were pending at the time More wrote.

**62: 2. with gold.** Of the Emperor, Maximilian, Prescott writes (*Ferdinand and Isabella*, II, ch. XXIV), "No bribe was too paltry for a prince whose means were as narrow as his projects were vast and chimerical."

**62: 4. King of Aragon.** Ferdinand the Catholic. By his marriage with Isabella of Castile in 1469 two of the three Christian kingdoms then in what is now Spain were united. By expelling the Moors in 1492 and annexing the portion of Navarre south of the Pyrenees in 1513, he brought all Spain under his rule and prepared the way for a united country.

**62: 5. Navarre.** A small kingdom that consisted of three provinces. In 1513 Ferdinand of Aragon seized the two south of the Pyrenees, and on June 15, 1515, while More was in Flanders, incorporated them into Castile. The one north of the Pyrenees went to France, and now forms a part of that country.

**62: 7. cometh in with his five eggs.** There is nothing in More's Latin to correspond to this. Apparently it was a proverbial expression applicable to any petty, worthless scheme. Lupton quotes (83) the complete expression from Ray's *English Proverbs*: "You come in with your five eggs a penny, and four of them be rotten."

**62: 7. King of Castile.** As before (17: 5), More does

not call Charles king, but prince, as in fact he was in the latter part of 1515, when this conversation is represented as having taken place. More wrote, however, nearly a year later (8:3); and apparently to indicate Hythloday's astuteness attributes to him as a shrewd guess a suggestion that events that had happened during the year would show was well based. Charles having been recognized as king in Castile in February, 1516, in the following August, to end the hostility that had long existed between their countries, he and Francis made a treaty that stipulated that he was to marry Francis's daughter and receive as her dowry the French claim to Naples. The wedding, however, never took place. Cf. Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, II, ch. XXV.

**62: 12. Englishmen.** Under Henry VII. England was in alliance with Germany and Spain against Louis XII. of France, and for a while after his accession Henry VIII. adhered to this policy. In 1511, however, he joined the Holy League, and in 1513 defeated the French at Guinegate. In the same year, though, secret negotiations were entered into for an alliance between France and England, a condition of which was the marriage of Louis XII. to Henry's sister Mary. This took place on Oct. 9, 1514, less than three months before the death of Louis.

**62: 16. the Scots.** They were the traditional allies of the French, and time and again invaded England when that country went to war with France. To bring this to an end Henry VII. married his daughter, Margaret, to James IV. of Scotland in 1502; but this did not prevent James from invading England when Henry VIII. went to war with France in 1513. At Flodden James was defeated, and he himself and the greater part of the Scottish nobility were slain.

**62: 17. in aounters.** In case that; literally, in adventures, in chance that.

**62: 24. just inheritor.** Several claimants to the Eng-

lish crown found asylum and supporters on the continent during the last decades of the fifteenth century. Henry, Earl of Richmond, was in exile, chiefly in Brittany, from 1471 to 1485. He then invaded England, and having defeated and killed Richard III. became king as Henry VII. During his reign two pretenders to the crown appeared: in 1487 Lambert Simnel, who posed as the Earl of Warwick and was supported by Margaret of Burgundy; and in 1491 Perkin Warbeck, who called himself Duke of York and was supported by both Margaret and Charles VIII. of France. More seems to be referring, however, to what was a general practice rather than to any individual case.

63: 5. *turn over the leaf.* More wrote *uerti iubeam uela*, should order the sails to be shifted, *i.e.*, should order that they go on another tack. Robynson changed the metaphor and added "and learn a new lesson."

63: 12. *Achoriens.* Again the name, from *α* and *χώρα*, those without a place, indicates the mythical nature of the people.

63: 13. *Utopia.* This is the first mention of the island. Note the casual way in which it is introduced. Cf. Introduction, xlvii. The name is derived from *οὐ*, no, and *τόπος*, place.

63: 17. *alliance.* *I.e.*, marriage alliance. Lupton suggests (85) that "More may perhaps have been thinking of the ancient claim of England to the throne of France"; but in view of what has preceded it is more probable that he had in mind the French claim to Milan or Naples.

64: 2. *pilled.* Plundered. "There was daily pilled from good men and honest, great substance of goods to be lashed out among unthrifts." — MORE, *Richard III.*, 67.

64: 10. *set by.* Esteemed.

65: 2. *his.* The French king's.

65: 9. *did before him.* By Charles VIII.'s claiming Naples, the period of great international European wars had been begun but about twenty years before More wrote this.

**65: 25. call down the value of coin.** Edward IV., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. caused much commercial distress by tampering, in various ways, with the coinage.

**66: 4. foreign war.** In 1489, 1490, and 1492 Henry VII. by grants from Parliament and by "benevolences" raised large sums for the defence of Brittany from France. In October, 1492, he invaded France, but within a month signed a treaty with the French king by which for a large sum of money he abandoned the war.

**66: 12. old and moth-eaten laws.** This again is a pointed satire at the methods of Henry VII., whose ministers "revived the old feudal dues and caused those who infringed the feudal rights of the king to be heavily fined."

**67: 6. endanger. Subject.**

**67: 12. wrong and unjust.** Epsom and Dudley, Henry VII.'s ministers, even brought false charges against his subjects for the purpose of wringing money from them for the king.

**67: 15. pick a thank.** Get the thanks. Analogous to "pick a quarrel." A pick-thank was a sycophant.

"Tales devis'd . . .

By smiling pick-thanks and base newsmongers."

— SHAKSPERE, *1 Henry IV.*, III, ii, 23.

**67: 17. wherewith to take the contrary party in a trip.** As a literal translation of More's Latin is, whereby a false accusation may be directed, probably "trip" here means offence. Cf.

"By this we gather  
You have tripp'd since."

— SHAKSPERE, *Winter's Tale*, I, ii, 75.

**68: 3. writhen.** Twisted, distorted.

"Wrethen in fere so well and cunningly."

— *The Flower and the Leaf*, 57.

**68 : 7. Crassus.** Marcus Lucinius Crassus, a Roman of great wealth, who was elected consul with Pompey in 70 B.C., and with him and Caesar made the First Triumvirate ten years later.

**69 : 9. wealth.** Welfare. "Some wise men also ween that his drift covertly conveyed lacked not in helping forth his brother Clarence to his death, which he resisted openly; howbeit, somewhat, as men deemed, more faintly than he that were heartily minded to his wealth."—MORE, *Richard III.*, 6.

**69 : 11. to feed his sheep.** Lupton refers (93) to *Ezekiel*, xxxiv, 2: "Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! should not the shepherds feed the flocks?"

**70 : 8. the hardy and courageous Fabrice.** Sampson says (67), "More exactly 'the upright and high-minded Fabricius.'" Caius Fabricius, a Roman general and consul, was noted for his frugality and incorruptibility. Lupton points out (94), however, that the saying here attributed to him is ascribed by Valerius Maximus to M. Curius Dentatus, who defeated Pyrrhus 275 B.C. More's slip probably came from the fact that in the same chapter in which he tells this Valerius states that Fabricius was an ambassador to Pyrrhus.

**70 : 24. do cost not above his power.** Make expenditures not above his ability to pay. The extravagance of Henry VIII. was notorious. Cf. note on 42 : 11.

**71 : 4. calling again laws which custom hath abrogated.** Reviving laws that have fallen into desuetude, as Henry VII. did. Cf. note on 66 : 12.

**71 : 7. such fines and forfeits.** Lupton quotes (95) from Gairdner's *Henry VII.* as a case in point the treatment of Sir William Capel, who "was condemned in the sum of £2700 under certain obsolete penal laws, though he was allowed to compound with the king for £1600."

**71 : 11. Macarians.** Another imaginary people, the name being derived from *μακάριος*, happy, blessed.

71: 19. hoarding up so much money. At his death Henry VII. left "a hoard of 1,800,000 *l.* [some \$100,000,000 at the present value of money], mainly gathered by injustice and oppression." — GARDINER, *History of England*, 357.

72: 22. school philosophy. Academic speculation.

73: 5. civil. This is generally said to mean "fitted for the life of citizens," "pertaining or adapted to citizens"; but the personification of philosophy that follows and what is said concerning her good manners make it probable that the secondary meaning of *civilis*, polite, urbane, was also in More's mind.

73: 11. Plautus. Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 250 B.C. —184 B.C.), one of the best and most prolific Roman comic dramatists. One hundred and thirty plays were attributed to him, of which twenty are extant. All but one of these deal with real life, in which "vile bondmen," witty but unscrupulous slaves, are frequently "scoffing and trifling."

73: 14. philosophers' apparel. Cf. note on 2: 3.

73: 15. Octavia. A reading tragedy long attributed to Seneca, but certainly not by him, as it refers to the death of Nero.

73: 16. Seneca disputeth with Nero. In the second act. Cf. note on 21: 7.

73: 17. played the dumb person. In addition to the *dramatis personae*, the plots of the Latin comedies frequently required the appearance of minor characters who had no words to speak. These were termed *personae mulae*, dumb persons.

73: 19. gallimaufry. Originally signifying a hash or ragout, this came to mean, as Dibdin quotes (I, 123) from a dictionary of 1622, "a confused heap of things together." "They have made our English tongue a gallimaufray, or hodgepodge, of all other speeches." — EDWARD KIRKE, *Epistle* prefixed to Spenser's *The Shep-heards Calendar*.

**73: 24. play that as well as you can.**

“Act well your part, there all the honor lies.”

— POPE, *Essay on Man*, IV, 194.

**74: 16. Train.** That which draws on, hence stratagem, artifice.

“Yet first he cast by treaty and by trains

Her to persuade that stubborn fort to yield.”

— SPENSER, *Faerie Queene*, I, vi, 3.

**74: 20. not very bad.** “Politics are a field where action is one long second-best, and where the choice constantly lies between two blunders.” — JOHN MORLEY, *On the Study of Literature*.

“Doubtless he had an ideal, but it was the ideal of a practical statesman, — to aim at the best, and to take the next best, if he is lucky enough to get even that.” — LOWELL, *Abraham Lincoln, My Study Windows*, 164.

**75: 11. the Utopians do in theirs.** This, the first mention of Utopia save in geographical references, is such as would at once excite the interest of all Platonists. Cf. Introduction, xlviii.

**75: 25. wink at.** Shut the eyes to.

“And the times of this ignorance God winked at.”

— *Acts*, xvii, 30.

**76: 5. proclaimed in open houses.** A mistranslation of *palam in tectis*, openly on the housetops. Cf. *Luke*, xii, 3: “Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed upon the housetops.”

**76: 11. rule of lead.** Hence, one easily bent. Lumby points out (204) that the expression occurs in Aristotle's *Ethics*, V, 10, 7.

**76: 15. even as much.** In his second edition Robynson translated More's *tantundem*, “even as little.”

**76: 19. Mitio saith.** “If I provoke or even put up

with his violence, I shall indeed be as mad as he." — TERENCE, *Adelphi*, I, ii, 66.

76: 19. **Terence.** Publius Terentius Afer, a Roman freedman, who, though he died at the age of twenty-six (c. 159 B.C.), won great and enduring fame as a comic dramatist. He produced but six plays, all of which are extant.

77: 13. **laid in his neck.** Laid to his charge. Cf. 186: 9.

"O, are you come, Iago? You have done well,  
That men must lay their murders on your neck."

— SHAKSPERE, *Othello*, V, ii, 169.

77: 15. **Plato . . . declareth.** "He who has become a member of this little band [of true philosophers] . . . and has watched the madness of the many, with the full assurance that there is scarcely a person who takes a single judicious step in his public life, . . . keeps quiet and confines himself to his own concerns, like one who takes shelter behind a wall on a stormy day, when the wind is driving before it a hurricane of dust and rain; and when from his retreat he sees the infection of lawlessness spreading over the rest of mankind, he is well content, if he can in any way live his life here untainted in his own person by unrighteousness and unholy deeds." — PLATO, *Republic*, Davies and Vaughan's tr., VI, 496.

78: 2. **as my mind giveth me.** As my mind inclineth, as it seems to me. "My mind gave me his clothes made a false report of him." — SHAKSPERE, *Coriolanus*, IV, v, 156.

78: 3. **all the stroke.** All the power or influence. "They . . . which otherwise have any stroke in the disposition of such preferments." — HOOKER, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, V, 81.

78: 15. **had in price.** Had in esteem.

"I have ever lov'd the life removed,  
And held in idle price to haunt assemblies."

— SHAKSPERE, *Measure for Measure*, I, iii, 8.

79: 3. **hold well with Plato.** Agree with Plato. Lupton states (106) that Diogenes Laertius, *De Vitis Phil-*

*osoph.*, and Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, II, 42, say that Plato refused to be the legislator for a great city that the Arcadians and Thebans built because they would not agree to an equality of rights.

**80 : 13. by bribes and gifts.** Many contemporary complaints show that More's picture of the condition of affairs in his day was not too highly colored. His own incorruptibility made him conspicuous among the officials of his time. To his son-in-law he said, "If the party will at my hand call for justice, then were it my father stood on the one side, and the devil on the other, his cause being good, the devil should have right." — ROPER, 229.

**80 : 15. to be at any cost or charge.** To incur any expenditures. Owing to necessary expenditures connected with his offices, More left Henry's service poorer than when he entered it fourteen years earlier.

**80 : 16. occasion.** Warrant, ground.

**81 : 19. which, what place it may have.** Which, how it can have a place.

**82 : 16. chronicles.** Hythloday states later (95 : 21) that the chronicles of Utopia contain the history of 1760 years, from the conquest of the island by Utopus.

**83 : 1. about twelve hundred years ago.** This would be about 315 A.D., three years after the Emperor Constantine embraced Christianity in consequence of seeing, when on the expedition that led to his overthrowing Maxentius, a cross with a Greek motto that signified "By this conquer" flaming in the sky at noonday. In 313 he granted Christianity rights at least equal to those of other religions, and in 324 advised all his subjects to embrace it, as he himself had done.

**83 : 3. Romans and Egyptians.** Egypt became a Roman province in 30 B.C.

**83 : 10. found it out.** They knew nothing, however, of Christianity, in which the Utopians were first instructed by Hythloday and his companions. Cf. 189.

85 : 6. fetching about a circuit or compass. Coming around in a circle. "And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium." — *Acts*, xxviii, 13.

85 : 13. nor mounteth not. In early English two negatives frequently intensify the negation.

87 : 3. King. This is Robynson's addition: nowhere does More use the word *rex* in referring to Utopus or any other official of Utopia.

87 : 5. Abraxa. The derivation of this name has puzzled the commentators. Lupton suggests (118) that More "may have intended to express the notion of roughness or ruggedness, as Strabo did by his derivation of the river-name Araxes," or that "possibly, as he calls the name of the river of Amaurote 'Waterless' (Anydrus), he may have meant something of the same kind by Abraxas, as if 'Αβράκτος, 'not rained upon.' " Collins thinks (185), on the other hand, that "what suggested the word to More was what suggested to him the letters of the Utopian alphabet [which, however, was by Giles (227 : 4)], namely the symbols or gems of the Gnostics," by whom Abraxas, a god, is frequently associated in the gems with Mithras, the name given by all the Utopians to the supreme god (188 : 8).

87 : 14. because. So that.

87 : 16. into. Among.

87 : 23. fifty-four . . . shire-towns. The number in England and Wales in More's day.

88 : 5. Amaurote. From ἀμαυρός, dim, faint, obscure.

88 : 10. of the realm. More's word is simply *terrae*. Utopia is such a confederacy of city states as existed in Hellas; and the council may be a reminiscence of that of the Amphictyonic League.

88 : 24. by course. In turn.

89 : 1. bondmen. More's expression is *duos asscriptios seruos*, two serfs attached to the soil. Cf. 155 : 1-8.

89 : 5. phylarch. From φύλαρχος, tribal chief. Cf. 96 : 20.

89 : 19. occupiers of husbandry. Followers of farming.

89: 20. **solemn and customably.** Regularly.

90: 4. **marvellous policy.** Wonderful contrivance.

There are several sources whence More may have taken this idea: Pliny stated (*Nat. Hist.*, X, 54) that artificial incubation was practised by the Egyptians; and the author of *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* gives (ch. V) an account of an incubation-house at Cairo.

90: 16. **at a sudden brunt and . . . at a dead lift.** At a spurt and . . . at a long continued pull.

91: 13. **holy day.** The first and the last days of each month were holy days. Cf. 203: 5.

92: 2. **it skilleth not.** It matters not. "As a madman's epistles are no gospels, so it skills not much when they are deliver'd." — SHAKSPERE, *Twelfth Night*, V, 294.

92: 5. **the council-house.** Cf. 88: 5. Apparently only because it contained the council-house was Amaurote considered the chief city of the island: the powers of its officials were in no way superior to those of the officials of the other cities.

92: 9. **foursquare.** In general, and even in such details as its bridge, the smaller stream that runs through the city, the walls that surround it on three sides, the dry moat, and the many gardens within the walls, Amaurote is similar to the London of More. Cf. Introduction, lv.

92: 12. **Anyder.** From *ἄνυδρος*, waterless: an appropriate name for the principal river in the Land of Nowhere.

92: 15. **twenty-four miles.** A mistranslation of More's *milibus octoginta*, which Burnet renders "about eighty miles."

92: 19. **half a mile broad.** The length and breadth of the Anyder differ decidedly from those of the Thames.

92: 20. **ocean sea.** Ocean is also used as an adjective in "Leviathan, which God of all his works  
Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream."

— MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, i, 200.

92: 21. **By all that space.** In all that distance.

92: 22. a good sort of. A good many.

92: 24. with a swift tide. The partial damming of the Thames by London Bridge caused a fall of three or four feet when the tide was running, and "shooting the bridge" was attended with so much difficulty and danger that every year persons were drowned while attempting it.

94: 10. for carriage. For the conveyance of commodities. There were no carriages in the London of either More or Robynson; the first one seen in the metropolis was a present from the Dutch to Queen Elizabeth.

94: 24. any man's own. So among the "guardians" in Plato's ideal city, "no one should possess any private property, if it can possibly be avoided; secondly, no one should have a dwelling or storehouse into which all who please may not enter." — *Republic*, Davies and Vaughan's tr., III, 416.

95: 15. King. Cf. note on 87: 3.

96: 2. at all adventures. In a haphazard manner.

96: 4. thatched over with straw. More is here sketching the development of domestic architecture in London. "The low huts, closely packed together, which filled the streets during the Saxon period, were continued well into the thirteenth century. These houses were wholly built of wood, and thatched with straw, or reeds." In 1189, after a disastrous fire, an ordinance was passed that required party walls sixteen feet high of stone and gave special privileges to those that built entirely of stone; and in 1212 this was supplemented by one that prohibited the use of thatch as a roofing material. "Most of the houses consisted of little more than a large shop and an upper room or solar"; but "in the fourteenth century houses were built of two and three storeys." — WHEATLEY, *The Story of London*, 35-38.

96: 13. glass. Though glaziers were sufficiently numerous in London to form a gild as early as the time of Edward III., glass windows did not come into general use in the city until about a century after More's time.

**96:15. amber.** The Latin has *succino*, in resinous amber. Burnet's translation (75) of the passage is somewhat more intelligible: "they use also in their windows a thin linen cloth, that is so oiled or gummed that by that means it both lets in the light more freely to them and keeps out the wind the better."

**96:20. syphogrant.** Lupton has put forth (135) the only suggestion as to the derivation of this word and "trani-bore": "while one of them has a suspicious resemblance to *θηριβόροι*, 'bench-eaters,' the first part, at any rate, of the other recalls *σῦφος*, 'a sty.' Can More have been thinking of the Benchers and Steward (Sty-ward) of his old Inn? . . . It is certain that in his account of the public meals of the Utopians there are reminiscences of his old life at an Inn of Court."

**97:1. the prince.** Note that this "prince" is simply the supreme magistrate of a city. There is no reference to any ruler over the whole people except Utopus, who is nowhere given a title by More.

**97:8. put up to.** Recommended to.

**97:23. It is death.** It is a crime punishable by death.

**97:25. common election.** So among the Gauls, according to Caesar (*De Bello Gallico*, VI, 20. Bohn tr., 151), "It is not lawful to speak of the commonwealth, except in council."

**98:12. the same day.** Dibdin says (II, 28) that More borrowed this idea from the usage of the House of Commons.

**98:21. existimation.** Esteem, estimation. "Men's existimation follows us according to the company we keep." — *Spectator*, No. 456.

**99:6. brought up.** Lupton points out (139) that by confusing *educti* and *educati* Robynson has made nonsense of this passage. Burnet's translation (78), though somewhat free, gives More's meaning: "from their childhood they are instructed in it, partly by what they learn at school,

and partly by practice, they being led out often into the fields about the town, where they not only see others at work but are likewise exercised in it themselves."

99:12. **clothworking.** Both in England and Flanders the principal manufacture at this time was the weaving of cloth from English wool. As early as 1100 A.D. the cloth-weavers in London were sufficiently important to have a gild; but it was not until after Flemish weavers had settled in England during the reign of Edward III. (1327-1377) that English cloths could compete with Flemish in fineness. "From this period the export of wool gradually declines, while on the other hand our home manufactures increase, until at length they in turn are exported. In fact, manufactured cloth, and not raw wool, becomes the basis of our national wealth, and finally the export of wool is forbidden altogether, so that we may have the more for the looms at home." — GIBBINS, *The Industrial History of England*, 55.

99:13. **masonry.** During the fifteenth century there was great activity in building in England. "All over the country there are still parish churches to be seen which were built at this time; " and "the general revival of the use of bricks . . . led to the erection of the first country houses that at all deserve the name, and to the first introduction of chimneys into farm-houses." — W. J. CORBETT, Traill's *Social England*, II, 534, 536.

99:17. **of one fashion.** An indirect criticism of the extravagances of dress and the frequent changes of fashion that followed the accession of the splendor-loving Henry VIII. These culminated at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," 1540, when "such was the insane desire to outshine each other felt by the English and French nobility . . . , that they mortgaged and sold their estates to gratify their vanity, and changed their extravagantly-splendid dresses twice each day during the meeting." — FAIRHOLT, *Costume in England*, 239. Cf. note on 42:11.

**99:23.** *maketh their own.* This is somewhat of the nature of a lament for "the good old times." Before the reign of Henry VII. cloth-weaving had been principally a cottage or domestic industry; but during the latter part of the fifteenth century "manufactures were slowly and surely transferred to various villages, and in several industries a kind of modern factory system can be traced at this time. . . . The germs of the modern system were there; . . . a system of congregated labor organized upon a capitalistic basis by one man — the organizer, head, and owner of the industrial village — the master clothier." — GIBBINS, *The Industrial History of England*, 66.

**100:23.** *continual work.* By law the working-day for laborers and artificers in the England of More's time was from five in the morning to between seven and eight in the evening, from the middle of March to the middle of September, and from daybreak to nightfall during the rest of the year.

**101:4.** *six . . . hours to work.* Lupton quotes (145) Marx to show that "this is the estimate of the time necessary for labor formed by many modern socialists."

**101:10.** *give to sleep.* More himself gave but four or five hours to sleep, rising at two, — two hours earlier than he makes the Utopians rise. Cf. 10:24.

**101:25.** *rise not in.* Aspire not to.

**102:9.** *foolish and pernicious games.* More carried out these ideas in his own home. As chancellor he was obliged to have a number of retainers, but these he did not allow to idle away any time. "He divided his garden into portions, to each of which he assigned one of his men as its cultivator. Some learnt to sing, others to play on the organ; but he absolutely forbade games of cards or dice, even to the young gentlemen in his house." — BRIDGETT, 139. Cf. 42:16.

**102:11.** *the battle of numbers.* More's manner of referring to this suggests that it was a well-known game

of his time, a mere allusion to which would be sufficient for his readers. It may have been "the philosopher's game," the invention of which was attributed to Pythagoras. This had been revived by Claud. Bruxer, who in 1514 published an explanation of it. Strutt says (*Sports and Pastimes of the English People*, Hone's ed., 413) of it, "It is called a 'number fight,' because in it men fight and strive together by the art of counting or numbering how one may take his adversary's king and erect a triumph upon the deficiency of his calculations."

**102: 13.** *vices fight with virtues.* The full account of this game that More gives suggests, on the other hand, that it was not well known. Probably it was his own invention.

**102: 22.** *sleight.* Cleverness, cunning, as in "sleight of hand."

**103: 12.** *be idle.* Lumby notes (209) the greater vigor of the Latin, *steriunt*, are snoring.

**103: 14.** *religious men, as they call them.* *I.e.*, men withdrawn from the world to devote themselves to a specifically religious life. The "as they call them" suggests what was true in More's time, that many of them led lives that were far from being religious in the ordinary sense of the word.

**103: 25.** *money beareth all the swing.* A literal translation of More's Latin is, where we measure everything by money. Cf. note on 78: 3.

**104: 4.** *so few.* Only so many.

**105: 15.** *handy occupation.* Manual labor.

**105: 19.** *barzanes.* Lupton says (148), "More describes the Utopian language as being, with the exception of 'divers signs and tokens of the Greek,' 'in all other points not much unlike the Persian tongue.' . . . The choice of Barzanes for the name of a chief ruler is in accordance with this." Collins thinks (197) that the name was probably suggested to More by that of a king mentioned by Diodorus Siculus or that of a satrap named by Arrian;

but it is more probable that More got the suggestion for the name from Mithrobarzanes, the "wise and wonderful Chaldean" that conducted Menippus, in Lucian's dialogue with that name, to the under-world. This was one of the dialogues of Lucian that More translated from the Greek into Latin in 1505. Cf. Introduction, xv, 7.

**105** : 20. *adamus*. The title given by More is *ademas*. By his substitution Robynson obscures one of More's characteristic touches, the derivation of *ademas* being from *a*, without, and *δῆμος*, people.

**106** : 3. *asketh*. Demands, requires.

"The wrastling for this worlde axeth a fall."

— CHAUCER, *Balade of Good Counseil*.

**106** : 16. *in a good stay*. Fixed.

**107** : 1. *Now, sir*. More has simply *Iam*.

**107** : 15. *nothing passed for*. This indirect criticism of the predilections and practices of the upper class of England has somewhat of the nature of the cry "Patronize home industry"; for in More's time, "the English could not weave fine cloths" and "English cloths were mostly sent to be fulled and dyed in the Netherlands; and indeed we cannot consider dyeing as a really English industry till the days of James I." — GIBBINS, *Industry in England*, 125, 131.

**107** : 22. *happed*. Wrapped, covered. "Lord, what these weathers are cold, and I am ill happed." — *Second Shepherds' Play of the Towneley Cycle*, 1.

**108** : 19. *occupying and entertainment*. Business and intercourse.

**108** : 21. *families*. The remainder of the sentence shows that More used *familia* in a sense similar to the Roman. "Generation alone was not the foundation of the ancient family. . . . Nor is the family principle natural affection. . . . The ancient family was a religious rather than a natural association." — DE COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, Bk. II, ch. I.

109: 5. **father.** "Thanks to the domestic religion, the family was a small organized body; a little society, which had its chief and its government. . . . The very name by which he is called — *pater* — contains in itself some curious information. . . . It contained in itself not the idea of paternity, but that of power, authority, majestic dignity." — DE COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, Bk. II, ch. VIII.

109: 12. **children of the age of fourteen years or there-about.** This is Robynson's translation of the single word *puberes*, "by which," says Lupton (154), "More no doubt simply meant 'adults,' as he meant 'children' by *im-puberes*." Burnet translates, (89) "No family may have less than ten and more than sixteen persons in it, but there can be no determined number for the children under age."

109: 23. **the next land.** The nearest portion of the continent.

110: 22. **pestilent plague.** Plague and fire were the two great dreads of the Londoners. There were two kinds of "plague" in the England of More's time: "the black death," which first appeared in 1348 and did not finally disappear until 1680; and "the sweating sickness," which first appeared in 1485. As there was an epidemic of the first in 1513 and one of the second in 1508, the subject would be fresh in More's mind when he wrote this in 1516. A year later his daughter Margaret was attacked by "the sweating sickness" and barely escaped death. Cf. Roper, 221.

110: 23. **their own foreign towns.** A clumsy translation of *colonia*.

112: 1. **meat-markets.** Meat formerly meant any kind of food. "And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb . . . ; to you it shall be for meat." — *Genesis*, i, 29.

112: 24. **number of their halls.** *I.e.*, number of persons in the thirty families eating in their respective halls.

**113: 1. cured in the hospitals.** Cared for in the hospitals. "Except the law give a child a guardian only for his goods and his lands, discharging him of the cure and safekeeping of his body." — *MORE, Richard III.*, 37.

**113: 3. four hospitals.** The London of More's time was quite well provided with hospitals. The principal ones, — St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, St. Mary Spital, and St. Mary Bethlehem (for insane persons), — and the leper houses were, as were the hospitals in Utopia, outside the city walls. Elsing Spital was just inside the walls, but this was an asylum for the blind. Cf. Besant, *Mediaeval London*.

**113: 7. too throng and strait.** Too crowded or confined. The hospitals of More's time left much to be desired in arrangement and management; and this passage by implication criticizes their treatment of the sick. Of St. Bartholomew's, the principal one, Besant writes (*Med. Lond.*, II, 251): "As the patients were brought in, they were put to bed — two, four, even eight in one bed — without any regard to the kind of disease from which they suffered, so that in case of contagion or infection the other occupants of the bed were certain to catch it."

**113: 23. the bishop.** In the last chapter, Of Religions in Utopia, it is stated that the bishop is the "chief head of the priests" (199: 9); but nothing more is told concerning him. Apparently he was merely a city official, and there was no archbishop.

**114: 4. set hours of dinner and supper.** From what has been said before (101: 5), these were noon for dinner and five o'clock for supper. But cf. note on 117: 7.

**114: 4. the whole syphogranty or ward.** More probably derived this idea from Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*: "Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and exterminate the love of riches, he introduced . . . the use of public tables, where all were to eat in common of the same meat." — *PLUTARCH's Lives*, Langhorne's tr., I, 134.

**114: 9.** to his own house. By the law of Lycurgus, no one was permitted to eat at home.

**114: 12.** a point of small honesty. Somewhat dishonorable.

**114: 18.** by course. In turn.

**115: 22.** serve at the tables. More himself, when a boy, served at the table of Cardinal Morton. Cf. Introduction, xi, 19. Of the Squire who was among the Canterbury pilgrims, Chaucer says,

"Curteis he was, lowely, and servysable,  
And carf biorn his fader at the table."

— *Prologue*, 99.

**115: 23.** they stand by with marvellous silence. Apparently this was the way that English children received their meals in More's day; for a manuscript of about 1500 entitled *Symon's Lesson of Wisdom for all Manner Children* contains the following advice:

"Look thou be courteous standing at meat,  
And that men giveth thee, take and eat.  
And look thou neither cry nor crave,  
Saying, 'That and that would I have !'  
But stand thou still before the board,  
And look thou speak no loud word."

— EDITH RICKERT, *The Babees' Book*, 123.

**116: 4.** overthwart the over end. Across the upper end. The table of the benchers is so placed in an Inn of Court.

**116: 6.** four at a mess. Dibdin points out (II, 58) that this is a reminiscence of More's life at an Inn of Court, where the students always dine "four at a mess." In Lacedaemon, "There were fifteen persons to a table, or a few more or less."

**116: 7.** if there be a church standing in that syphogranty. That there were two hundred syphogrants was stated

earlier (97:2), while later (199:1) we are told that the number of churches in each city was but thirteen.

116:8. **the priest and his wife.** That the clergy in Utopia are permitted to marry is noteworthy, as it was the requirement of celibacy that kept More himself from becoming a priest. Cf. Introduction, xiii, 10. In his controversy with the Protestants, however, he opposed the marriage of the clergy.

116:24. **if there be . . . served alike.** This clause, which Robynson failed to translate, is supplied from Burnet.

117:4. **reading.** This was the practice in More's own household, as stated by his great-grandson: "He used to have one read daily at his table, which being ended he would ask of some of them how they understood such and such a place." — CRESACRE MORE, *Life of Sir Thomas More*, 103.

117:17 **Their dinners be very short, but their suppers be somewhat longer.** More's Latin is *Prandia breuiuscula sunt, coenae largiores*. Of these the *coena*, which in Rome came at four or five o'clock, was much the more important meal, so that a more accurate translation would be, their luncheons are quite brief, but their dinners are longer. In sixteenth century England the principal meal of the day was at noon, or earlier, and hence Robynson translated as he did. Cf. De Quincey, *Casuistry of Roman Meals*.

117:21. **music.** More was very fond of music. While at Oxford he learned to play the viol and the flute, and he had not only his wife and children but even his retainers learn to play some instrument.

117:21. **banquets.** **Desserts.** "There were all the dainties, not only of the season, but of what art could add, venison, plain solid meat, fowl, bak'd and boil'd meats, banquet, in exceeding plenty and exquisitely dress'd." — EVELYN, *Diary*, Oct. 27, 1685.

**117: 22. conceits nor junkets.** This is a double translation of *bellaria*, sweetmeats. Conceits were fancy confectionery; junkets, cream cheeses or cakes.

“With stories told of many afeat,  
How faery Mab the junkets eat.”

— MILTON, *L'Allegro*, 101.

**117: 25. maketh for.** Contributes to.

**118: 7. as from whom.** As they are those from whom.

**118: Title.** Discussed. More's title for this chapter is simply *De Peregrinatione Utopiensium*; but, as usual, he considers in the chapter much not covered by the title.

**118: 12. some profitable let.** Some good reason for preventing them.

**118: 14. their prince's letters.** Another indication that the prince was merely the chief magistrate of the city.

**118: 16. their return.** Lycurgus was even stricter: “He would not permit all that desired it to go abroad and see other countries, lest they should contract foreign manners, gain traces of a life of little discipline, and of a different form of government.” — PLUTARCH'S *Lives*, Langhorne's tr., I, 155.

**119: 5. gently entertained of.** Kindly treated by.

**119: 21. the bounds of his own city.** It has been said (88: 14) that the bounds of each city extend at least twenty miles on each side of it; though how this could be when some of the cities are but twenty-four miles apart (88: 2) is not apparent.

**120: 11. as I said.** Cf. 88: 5.

**120: 15. the lack . . . is performed.** The want . . . is made up.

“The confessour heere, for his worthynesse,  
Shal parfourne up the number of his covent.”

— CHAUCER, *Summoner's Tale*, 2260.

**121: 2. uncertainty of the next year's proof.** Uncertainty as to what next year's crop may prove to be.

**121: 13. iron.** This, when More wrote and for a century and a half afterwards, was an import of England.

**121: 17. at a day.** At a set time.

**121: 20. of the whole city.** In mediæval England "the town itself (*communitas*) was the organ by which payments to or from the merchant of another place might be adjusted." — CUNNINGHAM, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I, 208.

**121: 23. of the private debtors.** *I.e.*, the city that was obligated collected the debts from the individuals for whom it was responsible.

**122: 3. no right nor conscience.** A literal translation of the Latin is simply, they do not think it right.

**122: 11. strange soldiers.** Foreign soldiers. Cf. 175-179 for a detailed account of their hiring mercenaries and rewarding treason among their enemies.

**122: 19. shall not be believed.** Note the artistic effect of thus having Hythloday forestall his hearers' incredulity; and how much the touch adds to the verisimilitude.

**122: 25. guise and trade.** Manner and custom.

"To doon obsequies as was tho the gyse."

— CHAUCER, *Knight's Tale*, 993.

**123: 2. indifferent esteemer.** Impartial judge.

**123: 14. under iron.** Inferior to iron.

**124: 1. as the people is ever foolishly imagining.** More did not mean the Utopians specifically, as this suggests; as people ever foolishly imagine, better gives his meaning.

**124: 14. from ours . . . discrepant.** With ours . . . at variance.

**124: 16. them that be wise.** Robynson has made nonsense of this passage. The meaning of More's Latin is, and in this respect incredible except to those who know it by experience.

**125: 2. chains of gold.** It is "the irony of fate" that the portraits of the writer of this represent him wearing a heavy chain of gold. This was, however, an obligation of the dignity of knighthood.

**125: 8. altogether at once.** Lupton suggests (176) that Robynson took More's word, *semel*, once for all, for *simul*, together. Apparently he translated it twice, once as *simul* and once as *semel*.

**125: 22. cast away nuts.** Lupton notes (177) that this is "rather a Latin proverb than an English one" for putting away childish things.

**126: 2. Anemolians.** Derived from *ἀνεμώλιος*, windy, this is an appropriate name for such braggarts as these people evidently were. The account of the reception of their ambassadors was probably suggested by that in Lucian's *Nigrinus* of the Athenians' treatment of a vulgar rich man who tried to dazzle them by ostentatious display. — Cf. FOWLER, *The Works of Lucian*, I, 16.

**126: 5. those three citizens.** Cf. 88: 6.

**127: 3. aiglets.** Pendants. Fairholt in his *Costume in England*, 408, defines them as, "The tags or metal sheathings of the points, so constantly used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to tie different portions of the dress."

**127: 13. how proudly . . . advanced themselves.** All this translates More's *quo pacto cristas erexerint*, how they plumed themselves.

**128: 7. lubber.** Clumsy, stupid fellow.

**129: 11. of the own nature.** Of its own nature. *Its* was not used as the possessive of *it* in Robynson's time. It is used but once in the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611) and but seventeen times in Shakspere's works.

**130: 6. niggish penny-fathers.** Niggardly misers.

"Illiterate hinds, rude boors, and hoary penny-fathers."

— MIDDLETON, *Father Huberd's Tales*, Dyce's ed. of Middleton's Works, V, 601.

**130: 20. both men and women.** As in Plato's ideal state. Cf. *Republic*, V, 452. More's own daughters were given the same education as his son. Bridgett quotes (114) Erasmus as writing of More, "he has reared his whole family in excellent studies — a new example, but one which is likely to be much imitated, unless I am mistaken, so successful has it been;" and states (138), "The fame of his learned daughters became European, . . . and was so great in England that in 1529 . . . they were invited by the king to hold a kind of philosophical tournament in his presence."

**130: 25. perfect and sure.** Lupton suggests (184) that when he wrote this More was thinking of the then undeveloped capacity of English.

**131: 9. geometry.** The "guardians" in Plato's ideal state were to be educated in music, gymnastic, arithmetic, plane and solid geometry, astronomy, harmonics, and dialectic. Cf. *Republic*, Bks. III and VII.

**131: 12. clerks.** Scholars. *Clericus* originally signified a priest, but as learning in the Middle Ages was confined almost entirely to those connected with the church, it came to connote educated, and in course of time the connotation supplanted the denotation.

"Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriat poete,  
Highte this clerk whos rhetorik sweete  
Enlumyned al Ytaille of poetrie."

— CHAUCER, *The Clerk's Prologue*, 31.

**131: 13. gone beyond them.** Said ironically, of course. It was the logical subtleties and the barren speculations of mediæval education that "the New Learning," of which More was one of the foremost representatives in England, was striving to supplant.

**131: 16. the Small Logicals.** The *Parva Logicalia* of Petrus Hispanus, which "contains sundry additions to the text of Aristotle in the form of dissertations on sup-

*positio, ampliatio, restrictio, exponibile propositions*, and other subtleties, more ingenious than useful." — MANSEL, quoted by Lupton, 185.

131: 18. **second intentions.** *The Century Dictionary* defines first intention, in logic, as "a general conception obtained by abstraction from the ideas or images of sensible objects," as "man, animal, thing;" second intention as "a general conception obtained by reflection and abstraction applied to first intentions as objects," as "the concepts of a genus, of a species, of a specific difference, and of an accident."

131: 20. **man himself in common.** Man in the abstract; the general concept man. This, however, is a first intention rather than a second.

131: 24. **the heavenly spheres.** More himself was much interested in astronomy, and after he had entered the service of Henry VIII. the king delighted to talk with him on the subject. "Otherwhiles would he in the night have him up into his leads [*i.e.*, on the roof], there to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions, and other operations of the stars and planets." — ROPER, 209.

132: 3. **the other stars.** More, of course, believed in the geocentric theory of our universe, according to which the sun and moon were planets. Copernicus' epoch-making work was not published until 1543. Over a century later Milton seems uncertain as to which is the correct conception: he adopts the older as the basis of his *Paradise Lost*, but makes Raphael suggest the newer to Adam (Bk. VIII) as a possibility.

132: 5. **amities and dissensions of the planets.** Astrological terms. In several of More's epigrams he ridiculed astrology and astrologers.

132: 19. **manners and virtues.** *I.e.*, moral philosophy, or ethics.

132: 24. **They reason of virtue and pleasure.** The discussion that follows is full of reminiscences of Cicero's

*De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, only the most important of which are pointed out.

133:3. them which defend pleasure. *I.e.*, the Epicureans.

133:7. their grave, sharp, bitter, and rigorous religion. By inserting "their," for which there is no equivalent in the Latin, Robynson has given this a specific application not intended by More. Burnet better conveys (113) More's meaning: "they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion, that is so indulgent to pleasure."

133:16. to our evil deeds punishments. Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, Bk. I: "If some people of wealth and interest fancy themselves sufficiently fenced against prosecution and disturbance from men, yet there's the dread of a deity which they cannot elude." — Collier's tr., 35.

133:25. the less pleasure should not be a let or hindrance to the bigger. Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, Bk. I: "Lesser satisfactions are to be quitted for the obtaining of greater." — Collier's tr., 26.

134:2. grief, and sorrow. Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, Bk. I: "Usually . . . some one phantom or other of pleasure enchant[s] us; we yield ourselves prisoners to our own desires and lose all apprehensions of the consequences; and so for the love perhaps of a poor insignificant satisfaction . . . we run ourselves into diseases, distresses, and disgraces; . . . while they who contrive and regulate their pleasures in such a manner that no subsequent inconveniences attend them . . . receive always double interest for any pleasure they quit." — Collier's tr., 33.

134:9. now, sir. As before (107:1), there is nothing in the Latin to correspond to "sir."

134:11. that pleasure that is good and honest. Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, Bk. II: "Epicurus elsewhere changes his note, and says as you do, that there's no living a life of pleasure but for him that lives up to the rules of

ingenuity and virtue. And what's living up to the rules of ingenuity and virtue? Why, the same thing as living a life of pleasure." — Collier's tr., 92.

134: 14. virtue; whereto only they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicity. Virtue; to which alone they of the contrary opinion (i.e., the Stoics) attribute felicity. Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, Bk. I: "There are some people abroad that, widely mistaking the intendment and scope of nature, affirm that virtue and glory claim that denomination [the *summum bonum*]; an absurdity from which Epicurus, if they'd lend him an ear, would easily free them." — Collier's tr., 30.

134: 15. a life ordered according to nature. The Latin is, *secundum naturam uiuere*. Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, Bk. IV: "The moral end of the Peripatetics, . . . they defined . . . compendiously, *Secundum naturam vivere*, To follow nature's rule of life; this was their *summum bonum*. . . . Living according to nature, . . . it [an animal] should be happy in, if not all, yet the most and the best of those circumstances which are agreeable to nature." — Collier's tr., 231, 232.

134: 22. that we be, and that we be in possibility to attain felicity. That we exist and are able to attain happiness.

134: 24. out of care in joy and mirth. Free from care in joy and mirth. Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus*, Bk. I: "A life of jollity and pleasure is the *summum bonum*, the last and completest good, into which all others must be resolved and itself into none." — Collier's tr., 30.

135: 3. labors, watchings, and fastings. Lupton points out (191) that Robynson's English contains an allusion, that is not in More's Latin, to *2 Cor.*, vi, 5.

136: 2. prescript of nature. The dictates of nature.

136: 22. wealth. Well-being. Note that the composition has changed from exposition to exhortation: Hythlodaeus is not here merely stating the opinions of the Utopians or striving to justify them, he is urging their adoption.

**137: 21.** *Appetite they join to nature.* Lupton suggests (194) that the meaning of this rather obscure passage is, “‘they add, with good reason, the appetite (or inclination) of Nature,’ without which many things might be taken for pleasures, which were not really so.”

**138: 8.** *taken place.* Become fixed.

**138: 25.** *coarse-spun thread.* A similar idea is expressed in the *Cynicus* of Lucian, a Latin translation of which More published ten years before the publication of the *Utopia*. “Clothing — what is that for? protection too, I think.” “Yes.” . . . “Embroidered clothes have no more warmth in them than others. . . . The old cloak, the shaggy hair, the whole get-up that you ridicule has this effect: it enables me to live a quiet life.” — FOWLER, *The Works of Lucian*, IV, 173, 177, 180.

**139: 2.** *as though the one did pass the other by nature and not by their mistaking, avaunce themselves.* As though the one surpassed the other intrinsically and not merely by their erroneous judgment, give themselves airs.

**139: 15.** *for the opinion of nobility.* Because they consider themselves of noble birth.

**139: 19.** *rich (for now nobility is nothing else).* The Wars of the Roses “were carried on almost exclusively by the barons and their retainers” and “had the ultimate effect of causing the feudal aristocracy to destroy itself in a suicidal conflict.” Many of the nobles that escaped death were impoverished, and followed the example of Henry VII. by endeavoring to recoup their fortunes by enlarging and developing their estates and indulging in mercantile speculations. Hence the complaints made about the enclosures of commons and the giving up of agriculture for the more profitable sheep-raising.

**139: 22.** *of one hair.* In the slightest respect.

**140: 10.** *a right stone.* A genuine stone. If Bridgett is right (443) in identifying More with the “namesake” of Folly that, according to Erasmus’ *Moriae Encomium*,

presented his bride with false jewels, More made a practical application of his ideas. "Now, I ask," writes Erasmus, "what difference did it make to the young lady, since she fed her eyes and mind on the glass with just as much delight as if it were diamond, and cherished her rubbish as if it were the rarest treasure?"

**140: 18. Or of them.** *I.e.*, Or what shall I say (cf. l. 14) of them.

**142: 2. as we said before.** More wrote *supra diximus*, as we said above. Apparently the second part of the *Utopia* was originally written as an independent essay or treatise; and when More concluded to put it into the mouth of a traveller as an account of the manners and customs of a people that he had visited, he did not make all the necessary changes; hence the editorial "we."

**143: 9. the good life past.** From both of his editions Robynson has unaccountably omitted the conclusion of More's sentence, which is supplied in the text from Burnet's translation.

**144: 3. if it be not letted nor assaulted with no grief.** If it be not hindered or attacked by pain.

**144: 9. as you would say.** There is nothing to correspond to this in the Latin.

**144: 21. by some outward motion.** By neglecting to translate the *nisi*, except, before this, Robynson obscures More's meaning.

**145: 2. it maketh nothing to this matter.** It does not pertain to the matter, it makes no difference.

**145: 13. as ye would say.** Again an addition by Robynson.

**145: 17. the pristinate strength.** Its pristine, or former, strength.

**145: 20. the own wealth.** Its own well-being.

**145: 22. waking.** Being awake.

**145: 23. he that is not?** Cf. "the Physician's Aphorism," with which Carlyle begins his essay *Characteristics*:

" the healthy know not of their health, but only the sick."

**145** : 25. **the sleeping sickness.** More wrote *lethargus*, which in his second edition Robynson translated "lethargy." The "sleeping sickness" is a disease confined almost exclusively to the negroes of western Africa, of which Robynson may have read in travellers' accounts. Several of the expeditions to the New World, among them Vespucci's of 1501, which remained there two days, touched at Ethiopia before sailing across the Atlantic.

**146** : 18. **careful griefs.** Pains full of care.

**146** : 19. **sealing.** Putting an end to, stopping. Possibly a misprint for "healing."

**148** : 19. **to punish himself.** When a young man, More lived for some time among the Carthusians and subjected himself to their discipline, fasting and scourging himself. This passage reads as if a condemnation of such austerities that his more mature judgment considers useless. But, on the other hand, to the end of his life he wore a hair shirt next his skin. Cf. Roper, 234.

**149** : 1. **sentence.** Judgment, decision.

"My sentence is for open war."

— MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, II, 51.

**149** : 7. **we have taken upon us.** More again uses the editorial plural. Cf. note on **142** : 2.

**149** : 8. **lores and ordinances.** Opinions and laws. The single Latin word thus translated is *instituta*.

**149** : 8. **not to defend them.** This is noteworthy, as showing More's attitude towards his work: Utopia is in some respects *an* ideal government; it is not in all respects *his* ideal of a government. Cf. **216** : 15 and Introduction, liii.

**149** : 9. **I believe.** Robynson follows the Latin in changing the number.

**149** : 23. **exploited and furnished.** A double rendering of *administrata*, performed.

150: 13. **heard me speak.** A literal translation of what More wrote is, when they had heard from us ; and the clause in parentheses is impersonal. Throughout this passage Robynson makes Hythloday's personality too prominent.

150: 18. **read.** The technical term for oral instruction in the mediæval universities, and still similarly used in many European universities.

151: 10. **if the book were not false.** If the text were not faulty.

151: 18. **magistrates.** The derivations of these, so far as they have been determined, have been given as the names occur.

151: 18. **of me.** More too uses the singular, *ex me*.

151: 19. **my fourth voyage.** The "my" is Robynson's addition. A literal translation of the Latin is, on the fourth voyage ; *i.e.*, on Vespucci's fourth voyage, which was Hythloday's third. Cf. 21: 12.

151: 20. **a pretty fardel.** A fairly large bundle.

"A pretty while these pretty creatures stand."

— SHAKSPERE, *Lucrece*, 1233.

"There lies such secrets in this fardel and box, which none must know but the King." — SHAKSPERE, *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 782.

151: 23. **Theophrastus' Of Plants.** Theophrastus, a Greek philosopher and naturalist (370 B.C.—288 B.C.), whose best-known work is the *Characters*, wrote at least two works concerning plants.

152: 3. **tore them in pieces.** Lupton thinks (215) that this bit of verisimilitude is derived from some personal experience that More had from the tricks of his own pet monkey.

152: 4. **Lascaris.** Constantine Lascaris was a Greek scholar who settled in Italy some time after 1453. His Greek grammar, which was published at Milan in 1476, is the first book printed in Greek.

**152:4. Theodorus.** A Greek scholar (1398-1478), whose Greek grammar, which was considered by the Renaissance scholars as the best, was first printed, by Aldus at Venice, in 1495.

**152:5. Hesychius.** A Greek grammarian, who flourished in Alexandria in the fourth or sixth century A.D. He compiled a dictionary that was printed by Aldus in 1514. As Hythlodaeus could not have carried this with him on a voyage that began in 1503, More either made a slip here or knew an earlier edition than any now extant.

**152:6. Dioscorides.** Apparently another slip by More, for the only Dioscorides mentioned by bibliographers was not the compiler of a dictionary but the author of Greek medical works, which were published by Aldus in 1499. He flourished in the first or second century A.D. His book was one of those that Chaucer's *Doctour of Phisyk* knew well. Cf. *Prologue*, 430.

**152:6. Plutarch.** A Greek historian and philosopher of the first century A.D., whose *Lives of the Greeks and Romans* has been called "one of the most valuable relics of Greek literature."

**152:7. Lucian.** A rhetorician, satirist, and humorist (c. 125-200 A.D.). Though he was a native of Syria, his Attic prose is pronounced by Jebb "the best that had been written for four hundred years." Some of his dialogues were published by Aldus in 1503. More published in 1506 a Latin translation of three of his dialogues. Cf. *Introduction*, xv.

**152:9. Aldus.** Aldus Manutius (c. 1450-1515), an Italian scholar and printer, who about 1490 established at Venice a press that became noted not less for the accuracy of the editions of the Greek and Roman authors that it put forth than for the mechanical execution of the volumes. The works of the poets named were printed by him in the following years: Aristophanes, 1498; Homer, 1504; Euripides, 1503; and Sophocles, 1502. The omis-

sion of Aeschylus from the list is explained by the fact that Aldus did not publish an edition of his dramas until three years after More wrote. On the other hand, More again slips by making Hythloday carry with him a book, the Homer, that did not appear until after he had left Europe. Cf. note on 152 : 5.

**152 : 11. Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian.** The histories of both Thucydides and Herodotus were printed by Aldus in 1502. Herodian was a Greek historian (c. 170-c. 240 A.D.), who settled in Italy, and wrote a history of Rome from 180 to 238 A.D. The first edition of his work was published in 1503, by Aldus.

**152 : 11. Tricius Apinatus.** Lupton states (216) that this name is "evidently formed [by More] from the 'apinae tricaeque' of Martial, xiv. i. 7." Apina and Trica were two towns in Apulia captured by Diomede, that were so small that their names "passed into a proverb for anything trivial — mere bagatelles." The name Tricius Apinatus means, therefore, trivial trifler; and should be compared with that of Hythloday himself. Cf. note on 20 : 25.

**152 : 13. Hippocrates.** A Greek physician (c. 460-377 B.C.), "the father of medicine," whose works were first printed in 1526. Eighty-seven treatises have been ascribed to him, but many of them are spurious. Among the genuine is "the Hippocratic oath," which is still administered to the students of some medical colleges on their graduation.

**152 : 13. Galen's "Microtechne."** Galen (c. 130-c. 200 A.D.) was a Greek philosopher and writer on medicine, of whose numerous works eighty-three that are considered genuine are extant. The *Microtechne*, or little art, so called to distinguish it from his larger work, the *Megalotechne*, was the principal text-book in the mediæval medical schools. It was first printed in 1490. Both "Ypocras" and "Galyen" are among the writers on medicine that Chaucer's *Doctour of Phisyk* "wel knew." Cf. *Prologue*, 431.

153:6. marveller at. Admirer of.

153:15. science of imprinting and the craft of making paper. A knowledge of paper-making, without which the invention of printing would have been of far less value, was introduced into Europe from the Orient as early as the fifth century; but died out in the eighth or ninth. It was revived in the eleventh, and paper fine enough to be used for manuscripts was made in the twelfth. Printing from movable types was invented at Strasburg about 1440; but the earliest extant specimen was printed at Mainz in 1454.

153:17. Aldus. Lupton suggests (218) that Aldus was particularly in More's mind because he died in the very year in which this portion of the *Utopia* was written. Cf. note on 152:9.

153:20. plainly declare. Saying somewhat about rather than explaining it, is the meaning of the Latin.

153:24. in reeds. On reeds; i.e., on papyrus.

154:24. ure thefeat. Use the art.

154:24. of sailing. In several political poems of the fifteenth century complaint is made "that English merchants exported their commodities in foreign bottoms, to the discouragement of native shipping;" and under Henry VII. "the export trade was chiefly in the hands of foreigners." That king, however, by the passage of navigation laws (for instance, one that limited the trade between England and the south of France "to goods carried in English ships and manned by English sailors"), laid the foundation of England's maritime preëminence. Up to 1539, Henry VIII. did not adhere to his father's policy, but suspended the navigation laws to suit his own private interests. This passage is, therefore, an indirect criticism of his acts and policy. Cf. Traill, *Social England*, II, 559, 746; III, 157.

155: Title. Divers Other Matters. More's title is simply *De Servis*; but Robynson's better indicates the miscellaneous nature of the chapter.

155: 12. *gramercy*. A corruption of the French *grand merci*, great thanks, that is common in Elizabethan literature.

155: 16. *so godly*. In such a godly manner.

156: 8. *let nothing at all pass*. Neglect nothing.

156: 17. *overliving his own death*. *I.e.*, outliving his real life. More thus forcibly expresses the idea that the real man dies when his usefulness ends. Cf. *Ichabod*, in which Whittier, because it seemed to him that Webster had compromised with the slave-owners, wrote of him two years before his death,

" . . . From those great eyes  
The soul has fled:  
When faith is lost, when honor dies,  
The man is dead!"

156: 25. *rid out of it*. Freed from it.

157: 8. *die in their sleep*. More's Latin indicates more active agency than this suggests: a literal translation is, having been put to sleep, they are released.

157: 11. *an honorable death*. Robynson connects two clauses that are not in the same sentence in the original and mistranslates. More's meaning is, For men to die in this way upon persuasion is considered honorable; but, on the other hand, he that, etc.

157: 17. *eighteen years old*. This is the age prescribed by Aristotle in his *Politics* (VII, 16). More's own daughter, Margaret, was two years younger than this when she married William Roper, in 1521.

157: 20. *whether it be*. Whichever it be.

158: 14. *disallowed it as foolish*. Condemned it as foolish. It is noteworthy that it is Hythloday and his companions that find fault with the custom; but just as More, in the first part of the work, gets the worse of every argument with Hythloday, so here Hythloday has no answer to make to the defence of their custom by the

Utopians. Bacon refers to this passage in his *New Atlantis*, and proposes a substitute for the obnoxious custom.

**158: 23. reckless.** Careless, negligent.

"A monk whan he is recchelees  
Is likned til a fissh that is waterlees."

— CHAUCER, *Prologue*, 179.

**160: 10. withal.** With. Not uncommon in Elizabethan English at the end of a sentence.

**160: 14. be divorced.** In *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Milton too contended that incompatibility of temper should be by itself sufficient ground for divorce.

**160: 20. next way to break love.** Nearest (quickest) way to diminish affection.

**161: 11. eftsoons.** Again. The word is compounded of eft, again, and soon; and usually means soon again, or simply soon; but More's idea is that a second offence is punishable by death.

**161: 13. by any law.** As bondage has already been said to be the punishment for certain offences, and death for others, More evidently meant this to apply, as the context suggests, only to acts of incontinence by unmarried persons.

**161: 19. open punishment.** Public punishment. "Wherefore if Demetrius, and the craftsmen which are with him, have a matter against any man, the law is open; and there are deputies: let them implead one another."

— *Acts*, xix, 38.

**161: 20. maketh much for.** Contributes much to.

**161: 22. incommmodity.** Inconvenience, discomfort; but here implying rather penalty.

**162: 3. they fear other.** They frighten others.

"This aspect of mine  
Hath fear'd the valiant."  
— SHAKSPEARE, *Merchant of Venice*, II, i, 8.

**162: 4. kick. Resist.**

"But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked."

— *Deuteronomy*, xxxii, 15.

**162: 18. deed itself.** In *Fancy's Show-Box* Hawthorne debates whether the soul may contract stains of guilt, "in all their depth and flagrancy, from deeds which may have been plotted and resolved upon, but which, physically, have never had existence;" and concludes that "it is not until the crime is accomplished that guilt clinches its gripe upon the guilty heart, and claims it for its own."

**162: 21. fools.** More himself kept at least two domestic fools, at different times, the more famous of whom, Henry Patenson, appears in Holbein's picture of More's family.

**163: 2. tuition.** Care — the original meaning of the word. "Nobles of the land were appointed, as the king's nearest friends, to the tuition of his own royal person." — *MORE, Richard III.*, 24.

**163: 18. honest conditions and lowliness.** Honorable character and respectful demeanor.

**164: 14. cap of maintenance.** A symbol of dignity or estate carried before English sovereigns at their coronation.

**164: 18. instruct and institute.** Taught and trained.

**164: 20. innumerable books of laws.** Dibdin, writing in 1808, says (II, 155) that "Viner, sixty years ago, wrote an *abridgment* of the common and statute laws of England in twenty-four folio volumes!"

**165: 2. proctors and sergeants at the law.** Collins states (226), "A proctor . . . was a person who performed the duties of an attorney or solicitor in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts in England. . . . The serjeant-at-law was formerly the highest degree of barrister, ranking next to the judge. . . . This distinction was entirely honorary, merely giving precedence over ordinary barristers."

**165: 7. circumstance of words.** Circumlocution.

**165: 12. children.** People. "This is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the Lord." — *Isaiah*, xxx, 9.

**166: 23. by bribes.** Cf. note on 80:13.

**167: 3. affection.** Partiality. Roper states (229) that after More became chancellor one of his sons-in-law humorously complained that whereas when Wolsey was chancellor his servants got great gain from suitors to the cardinal, he himself, though he had married one of More's daughters, could find none, because More "was so ready himself to hear every man, poor or rich, and kept no doors shut from them." "He would for no respect digress from justice as it well appeared by a plain example of another of his sons-in-law, called Master Heron. For when he, having a matter before him in the chancery, and presuming too much on his favor, would by him in no wise be persuaded to agree to any indifferent order, then made he in conclusion a flat decree against him."

**167: 3. take place.** Have a place.

**167: 4. break justice.** Break down, or diminish, justice. Cf. "break love," 160:20.

**167: 20. here in Europa.** What follows is, of course, ironical. In the years immediately preceding the writing of the *Utopia* More could have found many instances of bad faith on the part of princes and prelates in the keeping of treaties; and a few years later Machiavelli enunciated as a principle, "A Prince that is wise and prudent cannot nor ought not to keep his parole, when the keeping of it is to his prejudice, and the causes for which he promised removed." — *The Prince*, XVIII.

**167: 24. great bishops.** As before (13:5) Robynson seems to shrink from translating More's *pontifices*, popes.

**168: 5. they think well.** They (*i.e.*, the bishops) think rightly.

**168: 7. faithful.** *I.e.*, they are called Christians because they hold the faith of Christ.

168: 14. the sooner it is broken. Not, of course, by the Utopians, for Hythloday has just said that they make no leagues; but by their neighbors, whose bad faith was a chief factor in causing the feeling of the Utopians against leagues.

168: 24. with a shameful death. In the Latin, *furca*, by the cross.

168: 24. even very they. Even the very persons.

169: 8. run at rovers. Run at random. Dibdin states (II, 308) that "this is a technical term in archery, and means shooting at random."

169: 13. there. *I.e.*, in the countries near Utopia.

169: 13. evil keepers. Poor observers.

169: 18. was very evil begun. Was in its very origin bad,—for the reason that follows.

170: 2. as far forth. Inasmuch as. This passage is evidently a reference to the frequent forays in "the Batable ground," the border between England and Scotland.

170: 16. against glory. Contrary to true glory.

170: 20. be to seek in thefeat of arms. Be found lacking in the knowledge of the use of weapons.

171: 4. not ever. Not always.

171: 9. probable. *I.e.*, one that may be supported, a just one.

171: 9. the contrary part. The opposing side.

171: 14. much more mortally. With much greater fierceness.

171: 19. Nephelogetes. Dwellers in cloud-land. Coined by More from *νεφέλη*, cloud, and *γῆ*, land.

171: 20. Alaopolitanes. Dwellers in the city of the blind. Another coinage by More; this time from *ἀλαός*, blind, and *πόλις*, city.

172: 14. be wiped beside their goods. Be deprived of their goods.

"From my succession wipe me, father."

— SHAKSPERE, *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 490.

173: 4. **neither in his life, neither in his living.** Neither in life itself nor in his livelihood.

174: 7. **moved battle.** Made war.

174: 12. **set forward.** Promote.

175: 6. **they.** *I.e.*, their enemies.

175: 13. **So that.** "This should not be so worded as to express a consequence. The Latin is *Tam facile*, etc., 'so easily are men incited by gifts to any deed whatever.'"

— LUPTON, 249.

175: 15. **keep no measure.** Set no bounds.

176: 16. **debate and dissension.** "He must be dull indeed who does not perceive that Utopia when following out these principles, is removed but a few miles from the English Channel, and that a practice which seems the more odious in these upright and wise Utopians was ten-fold more unjustifiable in those who, professing the doctrines of Christ, never scrupled to employ the same means against their own enemies. Were the intrigues of Henry VIII. and his minister Dacre against Scotland more moral than these? Were not their attempts to sow treason and disaffection among the Scotch lords an exact exemplification of this Utopian policy?" — BREWER, *The Reign of Henry VIII.*, I, 289.

177: 11. **Zapoletes.** Lupton first pointed out (252) that this name is derived from *Za-*, the intensive, and *πωλεῖν*, to sell; and therefore means ready sellers (of themselves), or readily sold.

177: 12. **five hundred miles from Utopia eastward.** Switzerland is about this distance to the southeast of England; and at the very time that More wrote this Henry VIII. was bargaining for the services of the Swiss, the great mercenaries of the period, to fight against their former allies, the French.

177: 13. **hideous.** A somewhat too strong word to translate *horridus*, rough.

177: 16. **abhorring from.** Turning in disgust from.

178: 5. whom with they be in wages. From whom they are to receive their wages.

178: 10. a little more money. Between 1500 and 1515 the Swiss had fought as mercenaries both for and against the French.

178: 23. taken a smack in. Gained a taste for. Cf. note on 14: 19.

179: 19. join to. Add.

179: 25. by inheritance. The Spartans had a similar law. Cf. Thucydides, IV, 38.

180: 1. miscarry. Come to grief.

"There miscarried a vessel of our country."

— SHAKSPERE, *Merchant of Venice*, II, viii, 29.

180: 12. so that they be. Provided they be.

180: 24. in set field. In battle array.

181: 4. help one another. More may have derived this idea from what Tacitus says (*Germania*, VII) was the custom of the Germans: "their squadrons or battalions, instead of being formed by chance or a fortuitous gathering, are composed of families and clans."

181: 8. to their hands. *I.e.*, if the enemy fights through the mercenaries and allies to the Utopians themselves.

182: 2. knowledge in chivalry and feats of arms putteth them in a good hope. Knowledge of horsemanship and the use of weapons gives them confidence.

183: 18. spite of their teeth. Spite of all opposition. An analogous expression is Chaucer's "maugre his head," spite of his head: *Knight's Tale*, 1169 and 2618.

184: 7. softly. Quietly. Robynson failed to translate More's *tali seruato ordine*, keeping such order.

184: 15. adventures. Unexpected attacks.

184: 24. strongly and surely. It is noteworthy that the Utopians use the weapons that won so many victories for the English, bows and arrows and pole-axes.

185: 1. which be mortal. Hence when Theseus, in

Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* (2537-2560) so modified his order as to make the contest between Palamon and Arcite and their knights a tournament rather than a battle, pole-axes were among the weapons that might not be brought into the lists.

185: 2. *foins*. Thrusts. The long sword was merely a cutting weapon; the pole-axe, being a combination of spear and axe, was used for both thrusts and cutting blows.

186: 9. *lay it upon their necks that be conquered*. Make the conquered pay for it. Cf. note on 77: 13.

186: 16. *ducats*. The gold ducat, so named because first coined by Italian dukes, was worth about \$2.25, so that this sum would be some \$1,575,000, at a time when money had about eight times its present purchasing power.

187: 12. *other of the planets*. As has been stated (132: 3), More believed in the geocentric conception of the universe, according to which the sun was merely a planet that revolved around the earth. Caesar says of the Germans: "They rank in the number of the gods those alone whom they behold, and by whose instrumentality they are obviously benefited, namely, the sun, fire, and the moon." — *De Bello Gallico*, VI, 21. Bohn tr., 151.

188: 1. *Neither they give*. Nor do they give.

188: 8. *Mythra*. Having said that the Utopian language resembled the Persian (151: 5), More carries out his fiction by giving to the chief deity the name of the Persian sun-god.

188: 21. *as he was minded*. About the time he had made up his mind.

189: 12. *Christ instituted*. "This is too strong a rendering of *Christo placuisse*: 'that Christ approved of a community of living among his followers.'" — LUPTON, 269.

189: 14. *the rightest Christian companies*. *I.e.*, among monks and friars. Cf. Introduction, xii and xiii, on More's leaning towards the monastic life.

189: 17. *us four*. Originally the company that left

the fort consisted of Hythloday and five companions (22:5). Note the verisimilitude given by the realistic touch of making two die during their travels.

190:1. **Christian bishop.** Cf. the statement in More's letter to Giles (12:23) that "a devout and godly man" intended to sue the Pope to make him bishop of Utopia!

190:7. **our company.** Not used in the same sense as before (189:18), but to mean association or congregation of Christians.

190:9. **more earnest affection.** Greater zeal.

190:14. **devilish.** The sense of the Latin is better given by Burnet (176), "impious and sacrilegious persons." More seems to be gently satirizing the frequent overzealous proselyte.

190:22. **his own religion.** Lupton gives (271) as a more accurate translation of this important sentence: "For they reckon this among their most ancient (or, most important) institutions, that no one's religion should be an injury to him;" and says, "The passage is one to be noted, not only as bearing on More's own views of religious toleration, but as laying down a distinction, significant as coming from him, between punishing an act as an offence against religion, and as an offence against the public peace of the realm."

190:23. **King.** Cf. note on 87:3.

191:3. **every several sect took several parts.** Each different sect fought independently.

191:4. **the only occasion of.** All that gave opportunity for.

191:18. **King.** Cf. note on 87:3.

192:5. **to be true.** "More's tone is too serious, and the arguments he makes Utopus employ too solid and convincing, to allow us to regard all this as merely proper to the romance. On the other hand, if the words express to us the author's own thoughts on the subject of religious toleration, how are we to reconcile them with his avowed principles at a later period?" — LUPTON, 272.

192: 9. **the own power.** Its own power. Cf. note on 129: 11.

192: 23. **at all adventures.** At all hazards, by chance.

193: 14. **of all sort.** By all classes.

193: 18. **to believe what he list.** Cf. JOHN FISKE, *The Will to Believe*.

193: 21. **all manner of lies.** Elsewhere More states that God doth "much mislike lying."

193: 23. **and that only.** *I.e.*, this prohibition applies only to discussion among the common people.

194: 11. **all they.** They all.

194: 14. **carefully.** Full of care and anxiety.

194: 20. **runneth.** "He would further say unto them, that, upon his faith, if he might perceive his wife and children would encourage him to die in a good cause, that it should so comfort him, that for very joy thereof, it would make him merrily run to death." — ROPER, 239.

195: 8. **burn the bodies.** As this was the mode used by the Persians for disposing of corpses, once again More is carrying out his fiction that the Utopians had points in common with the Persians.

195: 13. **their.** *I.e.*, of the dead.

196: 3. **be presently conversant.** Be associated in person.

196: 7. **the present conversation.** The personal intercourse.

196: 12. **flight or voices of birds.** "From 'sothe sayings' to 'birdes' is all an equivalent for the single word *auguria*." — LUPTON, 279.

196: 14. **miracles.** More's *Confutation of Tindale* shows that he himself believed that "God ceaseth no year to work miracles."

196: 22. **thereof coming.** Therefrom arising.

197: 1. **of things.** *I.e.*, of secular things.

198: 13. **the holier.** Cf. Introduction, xiii.

198: 20. **religion.** Robynson omits a sentence, a translation of which is supplied from Burnet.

**198: 21. buthrescas.** Coined by More from *βου-*, exceedingly, and *θρῆσκος*, devout.

**198: 25. very few.** More thought that many of the evils in the church of his time arose from the freedom with which persons who had no vocation or qualifications therefor were consecrated to the priesthood.

**199: 9. bishop.** Cf. note on 113: 23.

**199: 12. of their own company.** By their companion priests.

**199: 14. religions.** Religious rites and ceremonies.

**199: 23. saving that . . . divine matters.** Except that the priests excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters those whom they find exceedingly vicious livers.

**200: 18. women.** Whatever may have been his personal opinion at the time he wrote this, More in his controversial writings against the Protestants opposed the admission of women to the priesthood and the marriage of the clergy.

**201: 3. after so singular a sort.** In such an especial manner.

**201: 21. mean virtues.** Ordinary virtues.

**202: 6. a bloody victory.** This is a sharp satire on some of the prelates of More's time, who not only incited their princes to war but personally fought with their armies.

**202: 6. get the upper hand.** Overcome, conquer. Chaucer says of the Shipman among the Canterbury pilgrims,

"If that he faught, and hadde the hyer hond ;  
By water he sente hem hoom to every lond."

— *Prologue*, 399.

**202: 7. into the main battle.** Into the thick of the fight.

**202: 24. equal and indifferent conditions.** Equal and impartial terms.

**203 : 9. cynemernes.** Lupton suggests (289) that this word is derived from “κυνημερινός, ‘the dog’s day of the month,’ strictly the night between the old and new, when food was placed out at the cross-roads, and the barking of the dogs was taken as a sign of the approach of Hecate.”

**203 : 10. trapemernes.** “So in like manner τραπ-ημερινός would express the turning or closing day of the month.”

— LUPTON, 289.

**203 : 21. dim and doubtful light.**

“Storied windows richly dight,  
Casting a dim religious light.”

— MILTON, *Il Penseroso*, 159.

**204 : 5. sacrifice.** “As the Utopians had no sacrifices, . . . the Latin (*sacrūm*) would be more correctly translated ‘rite.’” — COLLINS, 241.

**205 : 18. the left side.** Separation of the sexes was the common practice in the churches of More’s time. “Whereas upon the holy-days, during his high office of Chancellorship, one of his gentlemen, when service at the church was done, ordinarily used to come to my Lady, his wife’s pew, and say unto her, ‘Madam, my Lord is gone,’ the next holy-day after the surrender of his office and departure of his gentlemen, he came unto my Lady, his wife’s pew himself, and making a low curtsey, said unto her, ‘Madam, my Lord is gone.’” — ROPER, 238.

**205 : 22. goodman . . . goodwife.** Formerly in common use to designate the heads of families.

**205 : 24. abroad.** Away from home.

**206 : 13. this gear.** This stuff. The contemptuous tone here is Robynson’s rather than More’s: the Latin is simply *haec*, this.

**206 : 20. changeable colors.** The meaning of the Latin is rather parti-colors.

**207 : 1. countervail the price.** Equal the esteem.

**207 : 10. out of the vestry.** The Latin is *ex adyto*, from the innermost part of the temple.

**207: 17.** sing praises unto God. His piety and his love of music led More, even when chancellor, to sing in the choir of the parish church at Chelsea. "This Duke [of Norfolk] coming on a time to Chelsea to dine with him, fortuned to find him at the church, singing in the choir, with a surplice on his back; to whom after service, as they went homewards together arm in arm, the Duke said, 'God's body, God's body, my Lord Chancellor, a parish clerk, a parish clerk! You dishonor the King and his office.' 'Nay,' quoth Sir Thomas More, smiling upon the Duke; 'your Grace may not think that the King, your master and mine, will with me for serving of God, his master, be offended, or thereby account his office dishonored.' " — ROPER, 236.

**208: 6.** the hearers' minds. Both Plato (*Republic*, III, 398–401) and Aristotle (*Politics*, VIII, 5) have similar passages on the power of music; but neither was necessarily in the mind of such a music-lover as More when he wrote this.

**208: 8.** expressly pronounced. Burnet's (196) "in a set form of words" better expresses More's idea.

**209: 6.** come to him. Robynson neglected to translate *facile*, easily.

**209: 14.** chivalry. Military training. Cf. **216: 6.**

**210: 9.** so that. Provided.

**210: 17.** his wife's importunate complaints. From what Roper tells us of More's second wife, one is led to suspect a personal touch here.

**210: 20.** nephews. In early English this frequently meant, as here, grandsons.

**211: 2.** justice. In Plato's *Republic*, Socrates is led to sketch the ideal state by an endeavor to define justice.

**211: 3.** I forsake God. Simply a strong assertion.

**211: 5.** goldsmith. In More's time the goldsmiths were also bankers.

**211: 12.** as drawing and bearing beasts. As draught animals and beasts of burden.

**211: 24.** killeth them up. Killeth them off.

**212: 8.** no gentle provision. In several modern governments old-age pensions are paid to laborers and artisans.

**212: 25.** force of a law. "A reference to the Statute of Laborers passed in 1495-96, and again in 1514." — *COLLINS*, 244.

**213: 8.** gathered together.

"The good old rule  
Sufficeth them, the simple plan,  
That they should take, who have the power,  
And they should keep who can."  
— WORDSWORTH, *Rob Roy's Grave*.

**213: 24.** brabbling. Wrangling.

"Here in the streets, desperate of shame and state,  
In private brabble did we apprehend him."  
— SHAKSPERE, *Twelfth Night*, V, 67.

**214: 2** money dieth? "May I have no need, I nor any that I call friend, of gold and silver. For all human evils spring from the desire of these, seditions and wars, conspiracies and murders. The fountain of them all is the desire of more." — *LUCIAN*, *Cynicus*, Fowler's tr., IV, 179. "Lawsuits were banished from Lacedaemon with money. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants." — *PLUTARCH*'s *Lives*, *Lycurgus*, Langhorne's tr., I, 152. "Because the world's coinage has been the cause of countless impieties," the "guardians" in *Plato*'s ideal state are to be "forbidden to handle or touch gold and silver, or enter under the same roof with them, or to wear them on their dresses, or to drink out of the precious metals." — *Republic*, Davies and Vaughan's tr., Bk. III, 116.

**214: 16.** that same worthy princess, Lady Money. The personification is Robynson's: More wrote merely

*beata illa pecunia*, which Burnet translates (203), "that blessed thing called money."

**214: 18. a God's name.** In God's name.

"What, welcome be the cut, a Goddes name!"

— CHAUCER, *Prologue*, 854.

**215: 7. Pride.** This denunciation of pride, put into the mouth of Hythloday, is thoroughly in accord with the sentiments of More himself as expressed in other works.

**215: 10. by her good will.** With her consent.

**216: 4. no jeopardy of domestical dissension.** No danger of domestic strife.

**216: 15. of no good reason.** This is decidedly weaker than More's *per quam absurde*, very absurdly.

**216: 16. fashion of their chivalry.** Manner of their military operations. More's Latin is *de belli gerendi ratione*.

**217: 2. against his mind.** Contrary to his opinion.

**217: 7. communication.** Account.

**217: 18. than hope after.** This sentence expresses seriously More's attitude towards his work. It is not *his* ideal state, but a realistic account of an imaginary government, whose institutions, laws, and customs, he regarded, in the words of Sir James Mackintosh, "with almost every possible degree of approbation and shade of assent; from the frontiers of serious and entire belief, through gradations of descending plausibility, where the lowest are scarcely more than the exercises of the ingenuity, and to which some wild paradoxes are appended, either as a vehicle, or as an easy means (if necessary) of disavowing the serious intention of the whole of this Platonic fiction."

— *Life of More*, Lardner's *Cabinet of Biography*, I, 27.

**221: 7. a friend.** George Tadlowe. Cf. 5: 15.

**222: 1. proverb.** Lumby states (185) that Erasmus gives it in Latin, but as a quotation from Aristotle.

**222: 11. Terence.** "The life of man is as when we play at dice; if the throw that was most wanted comes

not up, we must correct that by skill which chance has sent us." — *Adelphi*, IV, vii, 21. Patrick's tr.

223 : 20. to be found. Cf. Introduction, lix.

223 : 25. wink at. Cf. note on 75 : 25.

224 : 3. Buslyde. Jerome Busleyden was not only provost of the church of Arienn and counsellor to King Charles, but a canon of Brussels, Mechlin, and Cambray. To the original edition of the *Utopia* was appended a letter by him complimentary of More and his work. He died within a year of writing it, leaving a large bequest for the foundation of a college for the teaching of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in the University of Louvain.

224 : 4. Arienn. Aire, a small town some thirty miles southeast of Calais, now included in France.

224 : 5. King Charles. Cf. note on 17 : 5.

224 : 16. subject to the eye. Laid out before the eye.

225 : 8. Ulysses. Cf. note on 20 : 23.

225 : 12. Vespucci. Cf. note on 21 : 11.

226 : 2. perceived. Giles must have smiled to himself as he wrote this humorously satirical sentence.

226 : 16. couched together. Placed side by side.

227 : 5. margent. Margin. Robynson omitted the Utopian alphabet and the marginal notes from the first edition of his translation. The notes appear in the second, but add little to the elucidation of the text. Cf. Introduction, xxxv.

227 : 18. addict to hear. Bent on hearing.

227 : 21. certain of his words. A homely, realistic touch, like so many in the *Utopia*, designed to give verisimilitude to More's fiction. Cf. Introduction, xlix.

228 : 4. homeward. *I.e.*, to Portugal.

228 : 6. could not away. Could not agree, could not go on the way with. Cf. note on 14 : 25.

228 : 22. author hereof. Authority for this.

230 : 1. king. Giles' Latin is *dux*, leader.

230 : 8. with all my heart. The meaning of the final

couplet is, As I am nothing loth to impart what is mine,  
so I am ready with all my heart to receive what is better.

**230: 10. Anemolius.** From ἀνέμωλος, windy; used by Homer to designate a braggart. Lupton says (xciii), "It is probable that in calling Anemolius 'poet laureate' here, a hit is intended at John Skelton," a writer of irregular verse, "who bore that title in More's time. . . . Skelton was the great opponent of More's friend Lily." Note that there is nothing to denote that Anemolius was "the Utopian laureate," as has been stated by several commentators; that he was Hythloday's nephew is in the way of such an interpretation.

**230: 13. void of haunt and herborough.** Seldom visited and without provision for strangers.

**230: 14. Plato's city.** *I.e.*, the imaginary one in Plato's *Republic*.

**230: 23. Eutopie.** From εὖ, well or blessed, and τόπος, a place. Both Dibdin (II, 3) and Ruskin (*Fors Clavigera*, Letter VII) consider this the derivation of Utopia. Cf. note on 63: 13.

**231: 1. Gerard Noviomage.** Lupton states (320) that Gerhard Geldenhauer (1482-1542), called Noviomagus from the place of his birth, was a teacher of philosophy in the University of Louvain, who became court chaplain of King Charles of Austria. Later he became a Lutheran and taught at Augsburg and Marburg.

**231: 14. Cornelius Graphey.** Born at Alst in Flanders in 1482, Cornelius Schreiber, whose name was Latinized as Grapheus, became secretary of Antwerp. In 1520 he published a work favoring the Reformation and in consequence was imprisoned at Brussels until he recanted in 1522. He died at Antwerp in 1558. He was "eminent in the arts and sciences, a historian, orator, poet, and musician, master of several languages, and on terms of intimate friendship with the celebrated Erasmus." — ULLMANN, *Reformers before the Reformation*, I, 136.

## GLOSSARY

(Unusual words that appear but once and are explained in the notes are not included in this glossary.)

a, in.	a-work, at work.
abide, endure, await, suffer.	
able, enable.	belike, probably.
abuse, ill use.	besieged, beset, encumbered.
acquitteth, requites.	borderers, inhabitants of
adjoined, added.	neighboring countries.
advance (themselves), exalt, put forward.	brunt, spurt, onset.
advisement, advice.	by and by, immediately.
avoided, avoided.	by low, below, lowly.
advowtry, adultery.	
affiance, faith.	careful, full of care.
alliance, kindred, relatives.	carefully, in a manner full of care, anxiously.
alliant, akin.	cark, concern greatly.
allow, commend, praise.	cast, condemned.
appaired, impaired.	cautel, quibble; precaution, proviso.
applied, adapted.	cavillation, quibble, tech- nicality.
approve, prove.	chaffer, trade.
as far forth, in as much as, so far as.	chases, private unenclosed hunting grounds.
assaying, attempting, trying.	chivalry, horsemanship, mili- tary training.
assentation, agreement.	clean, entirely.
astonied, astonished.	color, apparent reason, ex- cuse.
attemper, accommodate.	commodious, advantageous, comfortable.
author, originator; authority.	conceit, fancy, opinion.
available, serviceable, ad- vantageous.	
avale, abase, degrade.	
avaunt, pride.	
avowters, adulterers.	

conduction, leadership.	empery, empire.
conversation, intercourse.	endanger, subject, influence.
corn, grain.	endued, endowed.
countervail, equal, make up for.	enforce, force.
covin, deceit, treachery.	ensample, example.
crack, boast, brag.	ensure, assure.
craft, means.	entered, initiated.
cunning, skilful.	entreat, treat, consider.
curious, elaborate.	erst, formerly.
customably, customarily.	espial, spy.
danger, jurisdiction, power.	esteem, estimate, judge.
defenced, defended.	fain, forced.
delectable, enjoyable.	fantasy, fancy.
delectation, delight, pleasure.	fashion, order, appearance.
denounced, proclaimed.	fear, frighten.
derived, diverted, conducted.	fearful, terrifying.
device, purpose, determination.	feat, use, deed, art.
disallowed, condemned.	fells, skins, hides.
disannulled, disregarded.	fond, silly, foolish.
discribed, distinguished; described.	forborne, refrained from.
diserdes, dolts.	forby, past.
dishonest, dishonorable.	fore-feeling, anticipation.
dishonesty, dishonor, disgrace.	forego, give up.
disprove, disapprove.	foreseen, provided.
dissident, disagreeing.	forestall, buy up in anticipation of a scarcity.
do, makes.	found, maintained.
dors, drones.	fraight, fraught, freighted, laden.
doubted, feared. —	fray, frighten, deter.
dreuell, drudge.	gallant, gay.
embraiding, upbraiding.	glebe land, arable land.
	grief, pain.

gross, obvious, common, general.	let, hindrance, preventive ; to hinder.
gyves, fetters.	lewd, foolish.
hailsed, greeted, saluted.	licensed, freed by permission.
handsome, handy.	lightly, easily, quickly.
harmless, without harm.	limited, marked out.
harness, armor.	line equinoctial, the equator.
holpen, helped.	lust, desire, wish.
homely, careless ; simply, negligently.	marmoset, a small monkey.
honest, honorable.	matter, material.
honesty, honor.	mean, average, moderate, ordinary.
humanity, politeness, culture.	meat, provisions, food.
husband, cultivate.	meath, mead.
impbraid, upbraid.	mere, pure, unmixed.
improved, disapproved.	merrily, cheerfully.
in, on.	methinketh, it seems to me.
incontinent, immediately.	minister, administer.
indifferent, moderately, im- partially.	mislike, displease.
indifferently, equally.	moveth, solicits, incites.
infamed, disgraced, despised.	namely, especially.
ingross, buy at wholesale.	naughty, bad, evil, vile.
instruments, legal docu- ments.	newfangled, novel.
inured, accustomed.	next, nearest.
invade, attack.	niggish, niggardly.
just, equal.	noisome, injurious.
knowledge, acknowledge.	noying, hurting.
lack, dispense with.	noyous, annoying, hurtful.
largely, at large, fully.	occasion, chance, opportunity ; warrant.
	occupied, having intercourse with ; busied.

occupy, use (a craft, or in business), trade, traffic.	pullen, poultry.
of, about, by, concerning, for, from, in, on, upon, with.	puppets, dolls.
on live, alive.	queans, loose women.
open, public; utter.	quick, living.
out, foreign.	ravin, rapine, plunder.
out of, free from.	rearward, rear-guard.
overblown, blown away.	reculed, recoiled.
overseen, lacking in foresight.	refrain, check, restrain.
overthwart, across.	rehearsed, set forth in dis-course.
pardy, by God.	rejected, cast aside.
pass, care, consider; surpass.	repairs, reparations.
passing, surpassing.	reprehend, blame.
pensiveness, depressing thought.	reverend, reverence.
perish, destroy.	room, office, position, dignity.
plat, plan, sketch.	rush-bucklers, swashbuck-lers.
plat form, ground plan.	
policy, stratagem.	
poll, to cut the hair; to rob.	
prescribed, promised.	
prescript, prescribed; pre-scription.	
presently, in person; at present.	
pretended, regarded.	
pretensed, designed, intended.	
price, worth, esteem.	sad, staid, sober-minded, serious.
proceeding, progress.	scant, scarce, scarcely.
proof, trial; crop.	scape, escape.
properly, finely, handsomely.	seen, learned, skilled.
propriety, private ownership.	seething, boiling.
prove, try.	semblable, similar.
	serviceable, in the manner of servants.
	several, separate, separately; especial.
	shamefastness, shame-facedness.
	shrewdly, severely.
	sickerly, securely, surely.

silly, innocent, harmless.	ure, use.
sodden, boiled.	use themselves, behave.
solemn, regular.	uttered, put forth, published.
spend, use, consume, waste.	
spill, injure, destroy.	valiant, sound, well, lusty.
stand, agree.	void, free, unoccupied.
starve, die.	vulgar, common.
stay, hesitation.	
stead, place.	weal public, commonwealth.
still, constantly.	wealth, welfare.
stint, stop.	wealthily, well.
strait, strict.	wealths, goods, possessions.
subject, placed beneath.	wealthy, well off, in a state of well-being.
subelevation, elevation.	
submit, lower.	well a worth, alas.
tables, backgammon.	what by . . . what by, partly by . . . partly by.
thereaway, thereabouts.	what for . . . what for, partly for . . . partly for.
towardness, inclination.	whether, whichever.
train, plan, stratagem.	wink at, close the eyes to.
translating, changing, trans-	wit, wisdom.
ferring.	withal, with.
travail, labor, work.	wittily, wisely.
unexercised, undisciplined.	wonders, wondrously.
unhonest, unworthy, dis-	wot, knows.
graceful.	wried, twisted, distorted,
uplandish, rural, rustic,	perverted.
boorish.	
upright, well-balanced.	



## ANALYTICAL INDEX

### TO THE UTOPIA, THE EPISTLES, AND THE VERSES

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