Inscribed copy
From my library
at pub. date.

$2650-
4.21.11
J.S.
11.7.11.

GEORGE GOYDER
Charles Jattey
firm as to
May.

Tinos 1893
UTOPIA

written by sir

THOMAS MORE.
RALPH Robinson’s translation of More’s Utopia would not need any foreword if it were to be looked upon merely as a beautiful book embodying the curious fancies of a great writer & thinker of the period of the Renaissance. No doubt till within the last few years it has been considered by the moderns as nothing more serious than a charming literary exercise, spiced with the interest given to it by the allusions to the history of the time, and by our knowledge of the career of its author. But the change of ideas concerning “the best state of a publique weale,” which, I will venture to say, is the great event of the end of this century, has thrown a fresh light upon the book; so that now to some it seems not so much a regret for days which might have been, as (in its essence) a prediction of a state of society which will be. In short this work of the scholar and Catholic, of the man who resisted what has seemed to most the progres;
sive movement of his own time, has in our days become a Socialist tract familiar to the meetings and debating rooms of the political party which was but lately like "the cloud as big as a man's hand." Doubtless the Utopia is a necessary part of a Socialist's library; yet it seems to me that its value as a book for the study of sociology is rather historic than prophetic, & that we Socialists should look upon it as a link between the surviving Communism of the Middle Ages (become hopeless in More's time, & doomed to be soon wholly effaced by the advancing wave of Commercial Bureaucracy), and the hopeful & practical progressive movement of today. In fact I think More must be looked upon rather as the last of the old than the first of the new.

Apart from what was yet alive in him of mediæval Communist tradition, the spirit of association, which amongst other things produced the Gilds, and which was strong in the Mediæval Catholic Church itself, other influences were at work to make him take up his parable against the new spirit of his Age.
The action of the period of transition from Mediæval to Commercial Society with all its brutalities, was before his eyes; and though he was not alone in his time in condemning the injustice and cruelty of the revolution which destroyed the peasant life of England, & turned it into a grazing farm for the moneyed gentry; creating with a single stroke the propertyless wage-earner, and the masterless vagrant (hodie "pauper") yet he saw deeper into its root-causes than any other man of his own day, and left us little to add to his views on this point except a reasonable hope that those "causes" will yield to a better form of society before long.
Moreover the spirit of the Renaissance, itself the intellectual side of the very movement which he strove against, was strong in him, and doubtless helped to create his Utopia, by means of the contrast which it put before his eyes of the ideal free nations of the ancients, & the sordid welter of the struggle for power in the days of dying feudalism, of which he himself was a witness. This Renais-

...
sance enthusiasm has supplanted in him the chivalry feeling of the age just passing away. To him war is no longer a delight of the well born, but rather an ugly necessity, to be carried on, if so it must be, by ugly means. Hunting and hawking are no longer the choice pleasures of Knight & Lady, but are jeered at by him as foolish and unreasonable pieces of butchery: his pleasures are in the main the reasonable ones of learning & music. With all this, his imaginations of the past he must needs read into his ideal vision, together with his own experiences of his time & people. Not only are there bondslaves and a king, & priests almost adored, and cruel punishments for the breach of the marriage contract, in that happy island, but there is throughout an atmosphere of asceticism, which has a curiously blended savour of Cato the Censor and a mediæval monk.

On the subject of war; on capital punishment; the responsibility to the public of kings and other official persons, ages, & such-like matters More speaks words that would not be out of place in
the mouth of an eighteenth century Jacobin; & at first sight this seems rather to show sympathy with what is now mere Whigism, than with Communism; but it must be remembered that opinions which have become (in words) the mere commonplace of ordinary bourgeois politicians, were then looked on as pieces of startlingly new & advanced thought, and do not put him on the same plane with the mere radical of the last generation.

In More then, are met together the man instinctively sympathetic with the Communistic side of Medievel society; the protester against the ugly brutality of the earliest period of Commercialism; the enthusiast of the Renaissance, ever looking toward his idealised ancient society as the type and example of all really intelligent human life; the man tinged with the asceticism at once of the classical philosopher and of the monk; an asceticism indeed which he puts forward not so much as a duty, but rather as a kind of stern adornment of life.

These are we may say, the moods of the man who created Utopia for us; & all are
tempered and harmonised by a sensitive clearness and delicate beauty of style, which make the book a living work of art. But lastly we Socialists cannot forget that these qualities and excellencies meet to produce a steady expression of the longing for a society of equality of condition; a society in which the individual man can scarcely conceive of his existence apart from the Commonwealth of which he forms a portion. This, which is the essence of his book, is the essence also of the struggle in which we are engaged. Though doubtless it was the pressure of circumstances in his own days that made More what he was, yet that pressure forced him to give us, not a vision of the triumph of the newborn capitalism, the element in which lived the new learning and the new freedom of thought of his epoch; but a picture (his own indeed, not ours) of the real New Birth which many men before him had desired; and which now indeed we may well hope is drawing near to realization, though after such a long series of events which at the time of their happening seemed to nullify his hopes completely.
A frutefull pleasauant, and wittie worke, of the beste state of a publicque weale, & of the newe yle, called Utopia: written in Latine, by the right worthie and famous Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englishe by Raphe Robinson, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, & nowe by him at this seconde edition newlie perused and corrected, and also with divers notes in the margent augmented.

Imprinted at London, by Abraham Wele, dwellinge in Pauls churchyarde, at the signe of the Lambe.
The translator to the gentle reader

THOU shalt understand gentle reader that though this worke of Utopia in English, come now the seconde tyme furth in print, yet was it never my minde nor in- tente, that it should ever have bene im- printed at all, as who for no such purpose toke upon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne private use, upon hope that he wolde have kept it se- crete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wit- tie, & also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the latin tongue, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propound- ynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frendes judgemente, then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learn- inge I thoughte it my part to submit and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I over ran the whole woorke, & in shorte
tyme, with more hast then good sped, I brought it to an ende. But as the latin proverbe sayeth: The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finished, the rudenes therof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to imprintinge it came, & that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, & perceiving therrfore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable say- ing of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.

Si illud, quod est maxume opus iactu non cadit:
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.

In which verses the poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplai- yng or a game at the tables: meanynge therin, if that chaunce rise not whiche is most for the plaiers advauntage, that xij
then the chauncse whiche fortune hath sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie poete geveth us to understande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretensed purpose, so that the successse & our intent prove thinges farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspcetion to handle the matter, that no evyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in us lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamester & a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet have I in this by chauncse that on my side unwares hath fallen, so, I suppose, behaved myself, that, as doubtles it might have bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came xiiij
not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact, that at first, as surely for my smale lerning, it should have done, yf I had thenment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I have now in this seconde edition taken about it such paines, that verye fewe great faultes & notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therefore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideracion of the premisses, gentlye and favourablye winke at them. So doynge thou shalt minister unto me good cause to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogetheres bestowed in vaine. Vale.
Thomas More to Peter Giles, sendeth gretynge,

I AM almoste ashamed, righte welbeloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this boke of the Utopian common wealth, welniegh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marvel. For you knewewelwynough, that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure and studye belonginge to the invention in this worke, and that I had no nede at all to trouble my braines about the disposition or conveiunce of the matter: & thersore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld study to set forth the matter with eloquence: for asmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beynge firste, not studied for, but suddain & unpremeditate, & then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke language then in the latin tonge. And my
To his homely plaine, and simple speche, so muche the niegher shuld it go to the truth: which is the onelye marke wher- unto I do and ought to directe all my travail and study herin \( \wedge \) I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of somuchelaboure, haveinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, thatalmoostethere was nothinge left for me to do. Elles, either the invention or the disposition of this matter, myghte have required of a witte, neither base, neither at all unlearned, both some time and leasure, and also some studie. But if it were requisite and necessarie that the matter shoulde also have bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a sueretie that thynge coulde I have perfourmed by no tyme nor studye \( \wedge \) But now seynge all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherein elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde have bene employed, and that thereremayned no other thynge forme to do, but onelye to write playnelye the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thynge

\( \wedge \)
lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to The
the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busy,
nesse, my other cares and troubles did leave almost lesse then no leasure.

WHILES I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne a-
warde to determine, some as an umpier or a judge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. WHILES I go one waye to see and visite my frenede: an other waye about myne owne privat affaires While I spendealmostal thedayabrodeemonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne: I leave to my self, I meane to my booke, no time. For when I am come home, I muste commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my servauntes. All the whiche thinges I reckon and accompte amongst businessse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done: and done must they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne house. And in anye wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him
selle, that he be merie, jocunde, and plea- 
saunt amonge them, whom eyther nature 
hathe provided, or chaunce hath made, 
or he him selfe hath chosen to be the fe-
lowes and companyons of hys life: so 
that with to muche gentle behauioure & 
familiaritie he do not marre them, and by 
to muche sufferaunce of his servauntes, 
make them his maysters.

MONGE these thynges now rehearsed, 
stealeth awaye the daye, 
themoneth, the yeare. When do I 
write then? And all this while have I spo-
ken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of 
meate, which emong a great numberdoth 
wast no lesse tyme then doeth slepe, 
wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of 
man crepethawaye. I therefore do wynne 
and get onelye that tyme whiche I steale 
from slepe and meate.

WHICHE tyme, because it is very 
little, and yet somwhat it is, 
therefore have I onesat thelaste, 
though it belongeth first, finished Utopia, 
and have sent it to you, frende Peter, 
to reade and peruse: to the intente that 
yf anye thynghe have escaped me, you
might put me in remembraunce of it. For the
inghe in this behalfe I do not greatly ye Epistle
mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God
I were somewhat in wit and learninge, as
I am not all of the worste and dullest
memorye) yet have I not so great truste
& confidence in it, that I think nothinge
coulde fall out of my mynde.

FOR John Clement, my boye, who
as you knowe was there presente with us, whome I suffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new shotte up corne, which hathe alreadye begun to spring up both in Latin & Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne) he, I saye, hathe broughte me into a greate doubt.\[5pt\]For wheras Hythlodaye (onelessemymemoryefayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe over the river of Anyder, is fyve hundreth paseis, that is to saye, half a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth that two hundreth of those paseis muste be plucked away, for that the ryver con-teyneth there not above three hundreth
The Epistle

paseis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse myselfe deceaved. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I have done, and as myne owne remembraunce serveth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing false, so yf there beanye thynge doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycause I had rather be good, then wilie. Howebeit thys mattermaye easelye be remedied, yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphael himselfe by woorde of mouth, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for an-
other doubtte also that hathe chaunced, throughhe whose faulte I cannot tel: whet-
ther throughhe mine, or yours, or Raph-
aels. For neyther we remembred to en-
quire of hym, nor he to telus, in what part
of the newe world Utopia is situate. The
whiche thynge, I had rather have spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus have escaped us: as well for

Adversitie betwene making a lye, & tel-
ing a lie

In what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth it is un-
knownen
that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in
what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I
write so long a treatise, as also because
there be with us certen men, & especial-
lie one vertuous and godly man, & a pro-
fessor of divinitie, who is excedyng

desierous to go unto Utopia: not for a
vayne & curious desire to see newes, but
to the intente he may further & increase
oure religion, which is there alreadye
luckelye begonne  
And that he maye
the better accomplyshe and perfourme
this hys good intente, he is mynded to
procure that he maye be sente thether by
the hieghe Byshoppe: yea, and that he
himselfe may be made Bishoppe of Uto-
pia, beyngenothynge scrupulous herein,
that hemusteobteyne thys Byshopricke
with suete. For he counteth that a godly
suete, which procedeth not of the desire
of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie
zeale.

WHerFore I moste earnestly
desire you, frende Peter, to
talke with Hythlodaye, yf you
can, face to face, or els to wryte youre
letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys

The
Epistle

It is
thoughte
of some
that here
is unfain-
edly ment
the late fa-
mous vi,
care of
Croydon
in Surrey

A godly
suete

7
matter, that in this my booke there maye
aney thinge be founde whyche
is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking,
which is true. And I thynke veryelye it shal
be well done, that you shewe unto him
the booke it selfe. For yf I have myssed
or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte
have escaped me, no man can so well cor-
recte and amende it, as he can: and yet
that can he not do, oneles he peruse and
reade over my booke written. Moreover,
by this meanes shall you perceave, whe-
ther he be well wyllynge & content that
I shoulde undertake to put this worke
in writyng. For if he be mynded to pub-
lyshe and put forth his owne laboures
and travayles himselfe, perchaunce he
woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also,
that in publishynge the Utopiane weale
publique, I shoulde prevent him, & take
frome him the flower and grace of the
noveltie of this his historie.

However, to saye the verye
treuth, I am not yet fullye deter-
mined with my selfe, whether I
will put furth my booke or no. For the
natures of men be so divers, the phanta-
sies of some so waywarde, their myndes so unkynde, their judgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a jocounde lyfe, folowyngе their owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and unquiete themselves with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe & publishynge of some thyngle that maye be either profeit or pleasure to others: whiche others never; theles will disdainfully, scornefully, & unkindly acepte the same. The moost part of al be unlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in conteempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing but that which is verie barbarous in dede If it be one that hath a little smacke of learnynge, he rejecteth, as homely geare and commen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed fullofoldedmought; eaten termes, and that be worn out of use Some there be that have pleasure onelye in olde rustic antiquities: and some onelie in their owne doynges. One is so sowe, so crabbed, and so unpleasaunte, that he can awaye with nomyrthe
nor sporte
nor sporte An other is so narrowe betweene the shulders, that he can beare no
jestes nor tauntes Some seli poore
soules be so afeard that at everye snap,
pishe woorde their nose shall be bitten
of, that they stande in no lesse drede of
everye quicke and sharpe woorde, than
he that is bitten of a madde dogge fear-
eth water Some be so mutable and
waverynge, that everye houre they be in a
newe mynde, sayinge one thinge syt-
tinge, & an other thynge standynge
An other sorte sytteth upon their ale-
bencheis, & there amonge their cuppes
they geve judgement of the wittes of
writers, and with greate authoritie they
condempne, even as pleaseth them, ev-
erye writer accordynge to his writinge, in
moste spitefull maner mockynge, low-
tinge, and flowtinge them; beyng them
selves in the meane season sauffe, & as
sayeth the proverbe, oute of all daunger
of gonneshotte for why, they be so
smugge and smothe, that they have not
so much as one hearre of an honesteman,
wherby one may take holde of them.
There be moreover some so un: The kynde & ungentle, that though they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their herties to love the author therof, nor to aforde him a good woorde: beynge much like uncourteous, unthankfull, & chourlish gestes; whiche when they have with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departhe home, geving no thankes to the feastemaker. Go yourwayes now & make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges, for gestes so dayntiemouthed, so divers in taste, & besides that of soukynde & unthankfull natures. But nevertheless (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter, I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe advise-ment. Howbeit, seeyng I have taken great paynes & laboure in wryting the matter, if it may stande with his mynde & pleasure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publishyng of the booke, followe the counsell & advise of my frendes, & speciallye yours.
The Epistle

Thus fare you well right hertely beloved frende Peter, with your gentle wife: & love me as you have ever done, for I love you better then ever I dyd.
The first booke of the communication of Raphael Hythloday, con-
ernyng the best state of a commenwelth.

HE moste victories & trium-
phant Kyng of
Engelande, Hen-
dy the eyght of
that name, in al
royal vertues a
Princemost pere-
lese, hadde
of late in con-
troversie with Charles, the right highe
and mightye Kyng of Castell, weighty
matters & of great importaunce. For
the debatement & final determination
wherof, the kings Majesty sent me
Ambassadour into Flaunders, joyned
in commission with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doutlesse out of com-
parison, and whom the Kynges Majestie of
late, to the great rejoysynge of allmen,
dyd preferre to the office of Maister of
the Rolles.

BUT of this mannes prayses I
wyll saye nothyng, not because
I doo feare that small credence
The first booke of Utopia

shall be given to the testimony that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but because his vertue & lernyng be greater and of more excellency then that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous and sopercfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughten not of me to bee praysed, unlesse I woulde seeme to shew and set furth the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the proverbe saith.

HERE mette us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted commissioners: excellent menall. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregrave (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, provost of Casselses, a man, not only by lernyng, but also by nature, of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonynge, & debatyng of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twice
mette, & upon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully & throughly agree, they for a certayne space tooke their leave of us, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure.

In the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. While I was there abidynge, often tymes amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then anye other, dyd visiteme one Peter Giles, a citisen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest; for it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honesty more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: but towards his frendes so kyndedhered, so lovyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous, No man
The first booke of Utopia

useth lesse simulation or dissimulation in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke & communication so merye & pleasante, yea, & that withoute harme, that throughhe his gentyll intertwaynemente, and his sweete & delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervente desyre that I had to see my native countrey, my wyfe & my children, whom then I dyd muche longe & covete to see, because that at that time I had been more then iii. monethes from them.

Upon a certayne daye, when I hadde herde the divine service in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious churche of buyldyng in all the citie, and also most frequented of people, and the service beynge done, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his favourite & apparell, furthwith I judged to
bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came unto me, and saluted me. And as I was aboute to answere him: see you this man? sayth he, (and therewith he poyneted to the man that I sawe hym talkynde with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge hym straunghe home to you. He should have ben very wel­come to me, sayd I, for your sake. Nay, quod he, for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day livyng, that can tell you of so many straunge & unknowne peoples and countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of suche newes. Then I conjectured not farre a misse, quod I, for even at the first syght, I judged him to be a mariner. Naye, quod he, there ye were greatly deceyved: he hath sailed in dede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Ulisses: yea, rather as the auncient and sage philosopher Plato; for this same Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue, but profounde & excellent in the Greke language; wherin he ever bestow­c 1

The first booke of Utopia

Raphaell Hithlodaye

17
The first booke of Utopia ed more studye then in the Latine, by-

cause he had given himselfe wholy to the

study of philosophy: wherof he knew

that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to any purpose, savynge a fewe of

Senecaeas & Ciceroes dooynges. His pa-

trimonye that he was borne unto, he lefte
to his brethern (for he is a Portugall

borne) & for the desire that he had to see

and knowe the farre countreyes of the

worlde, he joyned himselfe in company

with Amerike Vespuce, & in the iii. last

voyages of those iii. that he nowe in

printe, & abrode in everymannes handes,

he continued styll in his company, sav-
yng that in the last voyage he came not

homeagaynewithhim,forhemadesuche

meanes and shift, what by intretaunce,

& what by importune sute, that he gotte

licence of mayster Americke (though it

were sore against his wyll) to be one of

the xxiii. whiche in the ende of the last

voyage were left in the countrey of Gu-

like. He was therefore lefte behynde

for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke

more thoughte and care for travailyng,

then dyenge: havyng customably in his
mouthe these saiynges: He that hathe no 
grave, is covered with the skye: and, The 
way to heaven out of all places is of like 
length and distaunce. Which fantasy of 
his (if God had not ben his better frende) 
he had surely bought full deare. But after 
the departynge of Mayster Vespuce, 
when he had travailed thorough and 
aboute many countreyes with v. of his 
companions, Gulikianes, at the last, by 
merveylous chaunce he arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, 
where he chaunced to fynde certayne of 
hys countreye shippes, wherein he re-
tourned agayne into his countreye, no-
thyng lesse then looked for.

This when Peter hadde tolde me, I thanked him for 
his gentle kindnesse that he 
had vouchsafed to bryngne 
me to the speache of that 
man, whose communica-
tion he thoughte shoulde be to me plea-
saunte and acceptable. And therewith I 
tourned me to Raphael. And when wee 
hadde haylsed echother: & had spoken 
these commune woordes that bee cus-
tomablyes spoken at the first meting and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine, upon a bench covered with green torves, we satte downe talkyng together. Thence he tolde us, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle & litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the love and favoure of the people of that countreye, insomuchet that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiye with them verye familiarly. He tolde us also, that they were in high reputation & favour with a certayne great man (whose name and countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes & charges of him and his fyve companions. And besides that, gave them a trustye guyde to conducte them in their journey (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge theim to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes jour-
neys, he sayd, they founde townes, and cities, and weale publique, full of people, governed by good & holsome lawes. For under the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the sonne doth extende his course, lyeth, quod he, great and wyde desertes and wildernesses, parched, burned, & dryed up with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and unpleasaunt to beholde; all thynges out of fassyon & comelinesse, inhabited withe wylde beastes, and serpentes, or at the leasewayse, with people that be no lesse savage, wylde, and noy/ some, then the verye beastes them selves be. But a litle farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle & lytle to waxe pleaunt. The ayre softe, temperate, and gentle. The grounde covered with grene grasse. Less wilnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come a gayne to people, cities & townes, where in is continuall entercourse & occupiying of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselves and with theire bor derers, but also with merchauntes of
The first booke of Utopia

Shippes of straunge fassions

farre countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion, sayd he, to go to many countreyes on every syde; for there was no shippe ready to any voyage or journey, but I & my fellowes were into it very gladly receyved. The shippes that thei founde first, were made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wise. The sayles were made of great russhes, or of wickers, & in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyes, and sayles of canvasse, yea, and shortly after hav-yng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experete and cunninge, bothe in the sea and in the wether. But he saide that he founde greate favoure and frendship amonge them for teachynge them the feate and use of the lode stone, whiche to them before that time was un-knowne. And theryfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull upon the sea: nor to venter upon it, but only in the somer time. But nowe they have suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy wintere in so dooynge, farther from care then daunger; in
so muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng, through their owne polish hardinesse, shall tourne them to evyll and harme, which at the first was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodious.

But what he tolde us that he sawe in everye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare, neither it is my purpose at this time to make rehersall therof. But peradventure in an other place I wyll speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as shall be profitable too bee known, as in speciall be those decrees & ordinaunces, that he marked to be well & wittely provided & enacted amonge suche peoples as do live together in a civile policye and good ordre, for of suche thynges dyd wee buselye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tode us of the same. But as for monsters, by cause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitive: for nothyng is more easye to bee founde, then bee barkynge Scyllaes, ravenyng Celenes, and
Lestrigones, devourers of people, and such lyke great & incredible monsters. But to fynde citizens ruled by good and holsome lawes, that is an exceding rare and hardethyng. But as he marked many fonde and folisshe lawes in those newe founde landes, so he rehersed divers actes and constitutions, whereby these oure cities, nations, countreis, & kyng-domes may take example to amend their faultes, enormities and erroours. Wherof in another place, as I sayde, I will intrete Now at this time I am determined to rehersonely that he tolde us of the manners, customes, lawes and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repete oure former communicacion by thoccaasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte, wherof he was brought into the men-tion of that weale publique.

OR when Raphael had very prudentlye touched divers thynges that be amisse, some here & some there, yea, very many on bothe partes, & againe had spoken of suche wise lawes and prudence
The first book of Utopia

decrees as be established & used, bothe here amonge us, and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte and experte in the lawes & customes of every severall countrey, as though into what place so-ever he came geastwise, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche mervailynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael, quod he, I wondre greatly why you gette you not into some kinges courte; for I am sure, there is no prince livyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, & this your knowlege of countreis and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, & helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng yourselfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinsfolke.

As concernyng my frendes & kynsfolke, quod he, I passe not greatly for them, for I thinke I have sufficiently doone my parte towards them already. For these thynges, that other men doo not departe from until they be olde and sycke, yea, whiche they be then
verye lothe to leave when they canne no longer keepe, those very same thynges dyd I, beyng not only lustye and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, divide among my frendes and kynsfolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie oughte to holde them contented, and not to require nor to loke that besydes this, I shoulde for their sakes geve myselfe in bondage unto kingses Nay, God forbyd that, quod Peter, it is notte my mynde that you shoulde be in bondage to kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure; whiche surely I thinke is the highest waye that you can devise howe to bestowe your time frutefullly, not onlye for the private commoditie of your frendes and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for thadvauncement of your self to a much welthier state and condition then you be nowe in. To a welthier condition, quod Raphael, by that meanes that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyve at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke very fewe of these great
states and pieres of realmes can saye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendeshippes: & therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they have not me, nor iii. or iiii. suche other as I am.

WELL, I perceive playnly frende Raphael, quod I, that you be desirous neither of richesse, nor of power. And truly I have in no lesse reverence and estimation a man of your mynde, then anye of theim all that bee so high in power & authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accord-ving to this wisdome, to this high & free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoynt and dispose your selfe, that you maiapplye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publicque, thoughe it be somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you never so wel doe, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his head (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeste opinions, & vertuous persuasions; for from the prince, as from
The first booke of Utopia

a perpetual wel sprynge, commeteth amonge the people the floode of al that is good or evell. But in you is so perfecte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, & agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge, you maye well be any kinges counsellour. You be twyse deceaved maister More, quod he, fyrste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is in me the habilitye that you force upon me, & yf it were never so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the moste parte of all princes have more delyte in warlike matters & feates of chivalrie (the knowledge wherof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel and peaceablelie to rule & gouverne that they have alreadie. Moreover, they that be counsellours to kinges, every one of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that benedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, that he will not allowe another mans counsel, saving
that they do shamefully and flatteringly
give assent to the fond and folishe say-
inges of certeyn great men, whose fa-
vours, because they be in high authoritie
with their prince, by assentation & flat-
terie they labour to obtayne. And verily
it is naturally geven to all men to esteme
their owne inventions best. So both the
Raven and the Ape thincke their owne
yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such
a company, where some disdayne & have
despite at other mens inventions, and
some counte their owne best, if among
suche menne, I say, a man should bringe
furth any thinge that he hath redde done
in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done
in other places; there the hearers fare as
though the whole existimation of their
wisdome were in jeoperdye to be over-
thrown, and that everafter thei shoulde
be counted for verye diserdes, unles they
could in other mens inventions pycke
out matter to reprehend, & find fault at.
If all other poore helps fayle,
then this is their extreame refuge.
These thinges, say they, pleased
our forefathers and auncestours: wolde
God we coulde be so wise as thei were: & as though thei had wittely concluded the matter & with this answere stopped every mans mouth, thei sitte downe a-gaine; as who should sai, It were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the best and wittiest of their decrees to lye unexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might have ben ta-ken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therin many faultes. & Manyetymes have I chaunced upon such proude, leude, overthwarte, and way- warde judgementes, yea, & once in Eng- land. I prai you Syr, quod I, have you ben in our countrey? Yea forsoth, quod he, and there I taried for the space of iii. or v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection that the Western English men made agaynst their kyng, which by their owne miserable & pitiful slaughter was suppressed & ended. In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdeynge to the righte reverende father, Ithon Morton, Archebishop and
Cardinal of Canterbury, & at that time also lorde Chancelloure of Englands: a man Mayster Peter (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye upright. In his face did shone such an amiable reverence, as was pleaunte to beholde, gentill in communication, yet earnest and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to prove, but withoute harme, what promptewitte, and what bolde spirite were in every man. In the which, as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not joyned impudency, he toke great delectatyon; and the same person, as apte and mete to have an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd lovingly embrance. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pytthie. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderfull excellente. These qualityes, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learn
The first booke of Utopia

ynge and use had made perfecte. The kyng put muche truste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned unto hym, when I was there; for even in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from schole in to the courte, and there passed all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled & tossed in the waves of dyvers mysfortunes and adversities. And so by many and grete daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned, can not easely be forgotten.

T chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne layeman cunnyngge in the lawes of youre Realme, who, I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that strayte & rygorous justice, which at that tyme was there executed upon fellones, who, as he sayde, were for the moste part xx. hanged together upon one gallowes; and seyng so fewe escaped punishement, he sayde he coulde not chuse but greatly wonder and marvel, howe and by what evil lucke it shold so come
to passe, that theves nevertheless were in every place so ryffe and so rancke. Naye syr, quod I, (for I durst boldely speake my minde before the Cardinal), marvel nothinge here at; for this punishment of theves passeth the limites of justice, and is also very hurtefull to the weale publique; for it is to extreame and cruel a punishment for thefte, & yet not sufficient to refrayne and withhold men from thefte; for simple thefte is not so great an offense that it owght to be punished with death; neither ther is any punishment so horrible, that it can kepe them frome stealynge, whiche have no other craft wherby to get their living. Therfore in this poynete, not you onely, but also the most part of the world, belike evyll scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate then to teache their scholers. For great and horrible punishmentes be ap-pointed for theves, wheras much rather provision should have ben made, that there were some meanes whereby they myght get their livyng, so that no man shoulde be dryven to this extreme neces-sitie, firste to steale, and then to dye.

By what means there might be fewer theves & robbers
Yes, quod he, this matter is well enough provided for already; there be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their livinge by, if they would not willingly be nought.

Ay, quod I, you shall not shape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not long a go oute of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: suche, I saye, as put their lives in jeoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres have their ordinarie recourse. But let us considre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbere of gentlemen which can not be content to live idle themselves, lyke dorres, of that whiche other have laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and shave to the quicke,
by reisyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they use, men els through their lavasse & prodigall spend, ynge, hable to brynge theymselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idlenesse themselfes, but also carrye about with them at their tailes, a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge servyngmen, which never learned any craft wherby to gette their livynges. These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselfes, be incontinent thrust out of dores. for gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the deadmans heyre is not hable to main teine so great a house, and kepe so many serving men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for honger, or manfullye playe the theves; for what would you have them to do? When they have wandred abrodes so longe, untill they have worn threde bare their apparell, & alsoappaired theirhelth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickely faces, & patched cotes, will not take them into
service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke; knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythfull service to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages & hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes & pleasure, was wont with a sworde & a buckler by his syde to jette through the strete with a bragginge loke, & to thynke him selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Nay by saynt Mary, sir, quod the lawier, not so; for this kinde of men muste we make moste of; for in them as men of stower stomackes, bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consiste the whole powre, strength, and puissaunce of our army, when we must fight in batayle. Forsothe sir, as well you myghte saye, quod I, that for warres sake you muste cheryshe theves, for suerly you shall never lacke theves whyles you have them. No nor theves be not the most fals and faynt harted soldiers, norsoul, diours be not the cowardleste theves: so wel thees ii. craftes agree together.
BUT this faulte, though it be much used amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations. Yet Fraunce, besides this, is troubled & infected with a much sorer plague. The whole royalme is fylled and besieged with hiered soul-diours in peace tyme, (yf that bee peace,) whyche be brought in under the same colour & pretense that hath persuaded you to kepe these ydellservyng men for thies wysefooles & veryearchedoltes thought the wealth of the whole countrey herein to consist, if there were ever in a redinesse a stronge & a sure garrison, specially of old practised soldiours, for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therfore they must be forced to seke forwarre, to the ende they mai ever have practised soldiours, and cunning mansleiers, lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exer-cise, shoulde waxe dul. But howe pertiu-tious and pestilent a thyng it is to main-tayne suche beastes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes have learned, and
In Utopia, conveniences comeeth by continuall garisons of souls-diours. The examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginians, Syriens, & of manye other countreyes doo manifestly declare for not onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes & cities of all these, by divers occasions have been overrunned and destroyed of their owne armies, before hande had in a redinesse. Now how unnecessary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche soouldiours, which from their youth have ben practised & inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor advance themselves to have very often gotte the upper hand & maistry of your new made and unpractised soouldiours. But in this poynte I wyll not use many woordes, lest perchaunce I may seeme to flatter you. No, nor those same handy crafte men of yours in cities, nor yet the rude & uplandish plowmen of the countreye, are not supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle servyngmen, unlesse it be suche as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or els whose bolde stomakes be discouraged throughhe povertie. Thus you may see, that it is not
to be feared lest they should be effeminated if they were brought up in good craftes and laboursome woorkes, whereby to gette their livynges, whose stoute & sturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte & spill none but picked and chosen men) nowe either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse: or els by to easy and womanly exercises be made feble and unhabile to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so ever the case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing avayleable to the weale publique for warre sake, which you never have but when you wyl your selfes, to keepe and mainteyn an innumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous in peace; wherof you ought to have a thowsand times more regarde, then of warre.

BUT yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is proper & peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde, quod I, your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and
so small eaters, now, as I heare saye, he become so great devowerers & so wylde, that they eate up, & swallow downe, the very men them selfes. They consume, destroye, & devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke, in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and thefore dearest woll, there noble men, and gentlemen, yea & certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearely revenues and profytes that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothinge profiting, yea, much noyinge the weale publique: leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune hou- ses: they plucke downe townes, & leave nothinge standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepehowse. And as though ye loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, & parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on covetous & unsatiable cormarauntes,
& very place of his natyve contrey, maye
compasse aboute & inclose many thou-
sand akers of grounde to gether within
one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be
thrust owte of their owne, or els either
by coveyne and fraude, or by violent op-
pression, they be put besydes it, or by
wrongs and injuries thei be so weried,
that they be compelled to sell all: by one
meanes theirefore or by other, either by
hooke or crooke, they muste needes
departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched
soules, men, women, husbands, wives,
fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull
mothers, with their yonge babes, & their
whole household, smal in substance, &
muche in numbre, as husbandrye req-
uireth manye handes; awaye thei trudge,
I, say, out of their knowen and accusto-
med houses, fyndyne no place to reste
in. All their housholdestuffe, which is
very little woorthe; though he it myght well
abide the sale, yet beeynge sodainely
thruste out, they be constrayned to sell
it for a thing of nought. And when they
have wandered abrode tyll that be spent,
what can they then els doo but steale, &

The first
booke of
Atopia

The de-
caye of
husbandry
causeth
beggery,
which is
the mother
of vaga-
boundes &
theves

41
The first booke of Utopia

then justly, pardy, be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute & workenot: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei never so willyngly profre themselves thereto, for one shepheard or heardman is ynough to eate up that grounde with cattel, to the occupiynge wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in manye places dearer. Yea, besides this, the price of wolle is so rysen that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, & make cloth therof, benowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanses verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geve them selves to idlenesse for after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeaunce God toke of their inordinate & unsaciable covetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more justely shoulde have fallen on the shepe masters owne heades. And though the
number of shepe increase never so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, be-
cause there be so fewe sellers. For they be almoost all comen into a fewe riche
mennes handes, whome noneade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste
not before they mayes sell as deare as they luste. Now the same cause bringeth in
like deareth of the other kindes of cattell, yea, and that so much the more, because
that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that
passethe for the breadynge of younge stoore. For these riche men brynge not up
theyonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them
abrode vere chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell
them agayne excedynged ear. Andtherefore, as I suppose, the whole incommo-
ditie hereof is not yet felte; for yet they make dearthonly in those places, where
they sell. But when they shall fetche them away from thence where they be
bredde faster than they can be broughte up, then shall there also be felte greate
dearth, stoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte.
Thus the unreasonable covetousnes of a few, hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their servauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggynge? Or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes and stoute stomackes wyll sooner set their myndes unto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggarye and miserable povertie, is joyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie, & excessive riote. For not only gentle mennes servauntes, but also handicrafe men: yea & almooste the ploughmen of the countrey, with a lother sortes of people, use mucbe straunge & proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to mucbe prodigall riotte and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, bro-

The first booke of Utopia

Dearth of victualess is the de-
cay of house kep-
ing; where ensueth beggery & thefte

Excesse in apparell & dietamaint-
teiner of beggery & thefte

Baudes, whores, winetavernes, alehouses, & unlawfull games be very mothers of theves.
tbdbouscs, stcvQCS, and yet another XlbcHrst stewes, wynetavernes, ale bouses, & tip/'booke of Ungbouses, with so manye oughtie, Utopia lewde, and unlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes; do not all these sende the hauntes of them streynge a stealyng, when they mon- 
em to be up al, to ingresse, and for-
ing them anewe. Suffrernot these ricche 
men to be theves, or elles nowe be either 
vaer, or idle, or els serveing men, and shorter 
Choldvorthy, which be thevethes, or else thevethes, or else these pesymous 
may be brought up in idelines. Let not 
husbandry and tillage be restored, let 
husbandry and tillage be renewed, that the 
may bee honeste labours for this idell sort 
may bee honeste labours for this idell sort 
of suches wil go to the cost of buyld- 
of suches wil go to the cost of buyld-
ning men to pass. Suffrernot these ricche 
rich men ingressers and fore- 

car'des, tables, tennis, boules, coytes; do
Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine advance your selves of executing justice upon fellons; for this justice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florishynge to the shewe, then either juste or profitable, for by sufferinge your youthe wantonly and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even frome theyr tender age, by litle & litle with vice: then a goddes name to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were ever like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theves, and then punish them?

Now as I was thus speakinge, the lawier began to make hym selve readie to answere, and was determined with him selve to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in rehersinge then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod he, you have said wel, being but a straunger, and one that myghte rather
heare some thing of these matters, then
have any exacte or perfecte knowledge of
the same, as I wil incontinent by open
proffe make manifest and plaine. For
firste I will rehearse in order all that you
have sayde: then I wyll declare wherein
you be deceived through lacke of knowl-
edge, in all oure fashions, maners, and
customes: and last of all I will aunswere
youre argumentes, & confute them every
one. Firste therefore I wyll begynne
where I promysed. Four thynges you
semed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the
Cardinall: for it appeareth that you will
make no shorte aunswere, which make
suche a begunynge. Wherefore at
this time you shall not take the paynes
to make your aunswere, but keep it to
yourenexte meatynge, whiche I woulde be
righte glad that it might be even to mor-
rowe next, onles either you or mayster
Raphael have any earnest let. But nowe
mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye
heare of you, why you thinke thefte not
worthye to be punished with death, or
what other punishemente you can devise
more expedient to the weale publique; for

The first
booke of
Utopia

He is wor-
thelie put
to silence
that is to
full of
wordes

47
I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde have thefte escape unpunished. For yf nowe the extreme punishement of death can not cause them to leave stealinge, then ye ruffians & robbers shoulde be suer of their lyves; what vio-

lence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishemente, as a verye provocation to the mischiefe? 

SUERLYE my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor justice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to countervaylemans life. But if they would thus saye: that the breakynge of justice, and the transgression of the lawes is re-

compensed with this punishment, & not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous justice wel be called plaine injurie? For so cruel gou-

ernauce, so streite rules, and unmercy-
ullawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be commited, by & by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordi-

naunces are to be borne withall, as to
countealoffensesofsucheequalitie,that
thekillingofaman,orthetakyngofhis
moneyfromhimwerebothamatter,and
theonemomoreheinousoffensethenthe
other:betwenethewhychetwo,yfwe
haveanyerespectetoequitie,nosimili-
tudeorequalitieconsisteth.Godcom-
maundethusthatweshallnotkill;and
bewe then so hastietokillamanfor
takingea little money?Andifyman
wouldunderstandekillingbythiscom-
maundementofGod,toBeforbidden
afterno largerwi sen then mansconstitu-
tiondefinekillyngetobe lawfull,then
why mayeit notlykewysebymanscon-
stitionsbedeterminedafterwhatsort
whordome,fornication, and perjurie
maybe lawfull?Forwhereasbythepermis-
sionofGodnomanhathpowertokillnei-
therhimself,noryetanyeotherman:then
yfa lawe madebytheconsentofo men,
concerninge slaughterofmenoughteto
beofsuchestrengthe,force,andevertue,
thattheywhichcontrarie tothecom-
maundementofGodhavekilledthose,
whomthisconstitutionofmancom-
maunded to bekilled,be cleane quite &
The first booke of Utopia

Thefte in the olde lawe not punished by death

What inconveniencie ensueth of punishinge thefte with death

exempte oute of the bondes & danger of Gods commaundement: shall it not then by this reason folow, that the power of Gods commaundemente shall extende no further then mans lawe doeth define & permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions in al things shall determine how farre the observation of all Gods commaundementes shall extende. To be shorte Moyses law, though it were un-gentle & sharpe, as a law that was geven to bondmen, yea, & them very obstinate, stubborne, & styfnecked, yet it punished thefte by the purse, and not wyth death. And let us not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, under the which he ruleth us with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children, hath geven us greater scoupe & licence to the execution of cruelte, one upon another. Now ye have heard the reasons whereby I am persuaded that this punishment is unlawfull. Furthermore I thinke ther is no body that knoweth not, how unreasonable, yea, howe permitious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a thefe and an
homicide or murderer, should suffer equall & like punishment. For the thefe seynge that man is condempt for thefte in no lesse jeoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convicte of manslaughter: through this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye provoked, and in a maner con-
strained to kill him whome els he woulde have but robbed. For the murder beynge ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowen, seynge the partye is nowe deade, & rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte have uttered & disclo
sed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discrived: yet he is in no more daunger and jeoperdie, then if he had committed but single fellonye. Therefor whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theves aferd, we provoke them to kil good men.

Now as touchinge this question, what punishemente were more commodious & better: that true
lye in my judgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might
The first booke of Utopia

Howe the Romayns punished thefte

be worse. For why should we doubt that to be a good & a profytable waye for the punishemente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes past so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as amonge them were convicte of great and heynous trespaces, them they condemped into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as that which I sawe, whiles I travailed abroade aboute the worlde, used in Persia amongethe people that commenly be called the Polysterites. Whose land is both large and ample, & also well and wittelye governed: and the people in all conditions free & ruled by their owne lawes, savinge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great kinge of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed & inclosed almoste rounde aboute with hyghe mountains, & do content themselves with the fruietes of their owne lande, whiche is of it selfe
verye fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordyng to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: & those that they have, by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather than gallante, & may better be called happie, or welthy, then notable or famous: for they be not knownen as much as by name, I suppose, saving only to theyr next neighbours & boderes.

THey that in this lande be atteineded and convict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the righte owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to have no more righte to the thiefestolen thinge, then the thiefe him selfe hathe. But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wives &
The first booke of Utopia

Theves condemned to be common labourers

children. And they them selves be condemned to be common laborers, & one/les the thefte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in gives, but be untied & go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly & slacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they live without checke or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, because they be commen servauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes, that which is bestowed upon them is gathered of almes. And though that waye be un/certain, yet the people be so ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places cernet landes be appointed hereunto: of the revenewes wherof they be mainteined.
And in some places ever ye man giveth a certein tribute for the same use and purpose. Again in some partes of the land these serving men (for so be these dampned persons called) do no common worke, but as everye private man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, & a certeine limited waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chastice the slouthe of these servinge men with stripes. By this meanes they never lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, everye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the com mon treasourie. All and every one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heads be not polled or shaven, but rounded a lytle above the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Every one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne coloure: but to receive money is death, as well to the gever, as to the receivoure, and no lesse jeoperdie it is for a
free man to receive moneye of a servynge manne for anye maner of cause: & lyke-wise for servinge men to touche weapons 

The servinge men of everye severall shire be distincte & knowen frome other by their severall and distincte badges: whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a servinge man of another shyre. And it is no lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea & to conceale suche an enterpries, in a servinge man it is deathe, in a freeman servitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth & uttereth suche counsellles, be decreed large giftes: to a freeman a great some of mon- ney, to a servinge man freedome: and to them bothe forg evenes & pardone of that they were of counsel in that pretence; so that it can never be so good for them to go forewarde in their evyll purpose, as by repentance to tourne backe.

**HIS is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I have shewed you.**

Wherein, what humanitie is used, howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe
commodityous it is, you do playnelye perceave: for asmuche as the ende of their wrath & punyshemente intendeth nothynge elles, but the destruction of vices, and savynge of menne: with so usynge, & ordering them, that they cannot chuse but be good, & what harme so ever they did before, in the residewe of theyr life to make a mendes for the same. More over it is so little feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyll for their savegarde chuse them to theyr guydes before any other, in every sheire chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they have nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to skape awaye by flienge. For howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, fyle prevelie and unknownen, oneles he woulde runne awaye naked? Howebeit so also flienge he
shoulde be discrived by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conspire againste the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the servyng men of one sheire alone, coulde never hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterprise, without sollicitinge, entysinge, & allurynge the servinge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not asmuch as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No, it is not to be thoughte that they woulde make theyr owne countreymen and companions of theircounsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be jeopardy to the conceolour therof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener & detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or indispaire to recover againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffringe, and by geving good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll everafter that, lyve
like a trewe & an honest man; for everye yeare divers of them be restored to their freedome throughe the commendation of their patience.

WHAN I had thus spoken, sayinge moreover that I coulde see no cause why this ordre might not be had in Englande, with muchemore profyte then the justice whiche the lawyer so heighly praysed: Naye, quod the lawyer, this coulde never be so stablyshéd in Englande, but that it must nedes brinenge the weale publike into great jeopardie and hasarde. And as he was thus sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouth, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his sayinge.Well, quod the Cardinal, yet it were harde to judge withoute a profse, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geuen,if than the kinge shoulde commaund execution to be defferred and spared, & would prove this order and passion: takeinge awaye the priviliges of all sainctuaries: if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to
The waver-
ing judg-
mentes of 
flatterers

Vaga-
bondes

The first 
booke of 
Utopia

be good and profitable, than it were well done that it were established: els the con-
dempned & reprived persons may as well and as justly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Nei-
ther any jeoperdie can in the mean space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these vagaboundes may very wel be or-
dered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so manye lawes, and so litle prevailed. When the Cardinall had thus saide, than every man gave greate praise to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But moost of al was estemed that which was spoken of vagaboundes, because it was the Cardinalles owne addition.

CAN not tell whether it were best to reherse the communica-
tion that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no evil in it, and partlye it par-
tained to the matter before saide. There chaunced to stand by a certein jesting parasite, or scoffer, which wold seme to resemble and counterfeit the foole. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he
was almost the very same in deed that he labored to represent: he so studied with wordes & sayinges brought furth so out of time and place, to make sporte and move laughter, that he himselfe was oftener laughed at then his jestes were. Yet the foolish fellowe brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuffe, that he made the proverbe true, which saieth: He that shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the mark. So that when one of the company sayd, that through my communication a good order was founde for theves, and that the Cardinal also had wel provided for vagaboundes, so that only remained some good provi
dion to be made for them that through sicknes and age were fallen into povertie, and were become so impotent and un-
weldie, that they were not hable to worke for their livinge: Tushe, quod he, let me alone with them: you shall se me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driven sumwher oute of my sight, they have so sore troubled me manye times and ofte, when they have wyth their last
mentable teares begged money of me: &
yet they coulde never to my mynde so
tune their songe, that thereby they ever
got of me one farthinge, for evermore
the one of these two chaunced: either
that I would not, or els that I could not,
because I had it not. Therfore now they
be waxed wise. For when they see me go
by, because they will not leese theyr la-
bour, they let me passe and saye not one
worde to me. So they loke for nothinge of
me, no in good sothe, no more then yf
I were a priest or a monke. But I will
make a lawe, that all these beggers shall
be distributed, & bestowed into houses
of religion. The men shalbe made laye
brethren, as they call them, & the women
nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled,
& allowed it in jest, yea & all the residue in
good earnest. But a certeine freare, gra-
duate in divinitie, toke suche pleasure &
delite in this jeste of priestes & monkes,
that he also beynge elles a man of grislie
and sterne gravitie, began merilie and
wantonlye to jeste and taunt Naye,
quod he, you shall not so be ridde and
dispatched of beggers, oneles you make
some provision also for us frears. Why, quod the jester, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite, & set to worke: for you be the greatest & veriest vagaboundes that be. This jest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disprove it, every man toke it gladly, savynge onelye the frear. For he (and that no marvel) beynge thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, & chafed at it, & was in such a rage, that he could not refrain himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing, and reviling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, javel, backbiter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdiction: cizingether with terrible threateninges out of holie scripture. Then the jestynge scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, & verely he was good at that, for he could play a part in that play, no man better. Patient youre selfe good maister freare, quod he, & be not angrie, for scripture saith: in your patience you shall save your soules. Then the freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes)
No gallous wretche, I am not angrie, quod he, or at the leaste wise, I do not sinne: for the psalmiste saith, be you angrie, and sinnenot. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the freare, & desired him to quiete himselfe. No my lord, quod he, I speak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd: the zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is songe in the church, The skorners of Helizeus, whiles he went up into the house of God, felte the zeale of the bald; as peradventure this skorning villaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it, quod the Cardinall, perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you should do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wisely, yf you woulde not set youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a foolish contention. No forsoeth my lorde, quod he, I shoulde not do more wyselye. For Salomon the wyse saieth: Answere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, & do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many skorners of
Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shall one skorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we have also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and skorne us be excommunicate, suspended, & acursed. The cardinal, seing that none ende would be made, sent away the jester by a prevy becke, and turned the communi
cation to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his issueters, & so dismissed us.

OOKE maister More wyth how longe & tedious a tale I have kept you, whichesurely I woulde have bene ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, & did after such a sorte geve eare unto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche, though I have done sumwhat briefly, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgemeunte of them, whiche when they had improved and dis/allowed my sayinges, yet incontinent
hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in good earnest, his jesters foolish inventions: because that he him selfe by smiling at them did seeme not to disprove them. So that herby you may right wel perceave how little the courtiers woulde regarde and esteme me & my sayinges.

ENSURE you maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you; all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasantly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrey, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte up of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate love towrades you before, yet saynge you do so earnestlye favoure this man, you wyll not beleve howe muche my love towrades you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwith-
standinge, I can by no meanes chaunge
my mind, but that I must nedes beleve,
that you, if you be disposed, and can
fynde in youre hearte to followe some
princes courte, shall with your good
counselles greatlye helpe & further the
commen wealth. Wherfore there is no-
thyngemoreapppertaining to youre dew-
ty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good
man. For where as your Plato judgeth
that wealepubliquesshallbythismeanes
atteyn perfecte felicitie, eyther if phi-
losophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges
give themselves to the studie of philo-
sophie, how farre I praye you, shall
commen wealthes then be frome thys
felicitie, yf philosophers wyll vouche-
saufe to enstruct kingses with their good
counsell?

HEY benotso unkinde, quod he,
but they woulde gladlye do it,
yea, manye have done it alreadye
in booke that they have put furthe, if
kynges and princes would be willynge
and readye to folowe good counsell. But
Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, one-
lesse kynges themselves woulde applye
their mindes to the studye of philosophie, that elles they woulde never thoroughlye allowe the counsell of philosophers, beynge themselves before even from their tender age, infecte and corrupt with perverse and evill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe proved trewe in kinge Dionysse. If I shoulsde propo.
se to any kyng wholsome decrees, do
ynge my endevoare to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulsde furthe with either be driven a-
waye, or elles made a laughying stocke?

Well, suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, & there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consulta-
tion, the kynge him selfe there beynge presente in hys owne personne, they beate their braynes, and serche the verye bot-
tomes of their wittes, to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitive Naples, and then howe to con-
quere the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaundres,
Brabant, and of all Burgundie; with divers other landes, whose kingdome he hath longe ago in mind and purpose invaded, Here, whiles one counsellleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure as shall be thought mete & expedient for their purpose, & to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geve them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they have brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require & clayme againe. Another thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes. An other woulde have the favoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others advyse is to appease the puissaunte power of the Emperoures majestie wyth golde, as with a moste pleasante, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyveth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragon, and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedome of Navarra, as a full assurance of peace. Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in the kynga of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, & to bringe to their
The first booke of Utopia

parte certeine pieers of his courte for greate pensions. While they all staye at the chiefeste doubt of all, what to do in the meane time with Engelande; and yet agree all in this, to make peace with the Englishmen, and with mooste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes,& hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that theryfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre never so lytle, incontinent to set upon them. And moreover previlie & secrelye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) privelie therefore I saye, to make muche of some pieere of Engelande, that is bannisshed hiss coun- trey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, & affirm hym selfe juste inhereytoure thereof, that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they have but small truste and affiaunce.
HERE I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consulta-
tion, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie
towarre, here, yf I selie man shoulde rise vp and will them to tourne over the leafe,
& learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but
to tarye styll at home, & that the kynge-
dome of Fraunce alone is almooste great-
er then that it maye well be governed of one man: so that the kynge shoulde not
nede to studye howe to gette more; and then shoulde propose unto them thede-
crees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate over a-
gaynste the Ilande of Utopia on the southeaste side. These Achoriens ones
made warre in their kinges quarrell for to
gette him another kingdome, whiche he
laide claime unto, and avaunced hymselfe
ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof,
by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the
last when they had gotten it, and sawe
that they hadde even as muche vexation
and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in
gettynge it, and that either their newe...
The first booke of Utopia

conquered subjectes by sundrye occasions were makyng daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with divers inrodes and forragynges invadeynge them; so that they were ever fighting either for them, or agayne them, and never coulde breake up theyr campes. Seynge them selves in the meane season pyllled & impoverisshed: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupte and wicked manners, that they had taken a delite & pleasure in robbinge & stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king beynge troubled with the charge and governaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to dischargetheis office towards them both: seing againe that all these evelles & troubles were endles:
at the laste layde their heads together, and like faithfull and loyinge subjectes gave to their kyngge free choise & libertie to kepe styll the one of these two kingdomes, whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they weremo then might well be governed of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles besydes his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome, & to geve over the newe to one of his frendes, who shortlye after was violentlie driven out further, more if I shoulde declare unto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake should be broughte into a troublesome hurleiburley, when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroyed, should at the length through some mischance be in vaime and to none effect: and that therfore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him: to
make much of it, to enrich it, & to make it as flourishing as he could, to endeavour him selfe to love his subjectes, & againe to be beloved of them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to governe them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, seinge that whiche he hath all reddy is even ynough for him, yea and more then he can wel turnehym to: this myneadvysse maister More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken? So God help me, not very thankfully, quod I.

EL let us procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinge their wittes & devisinge what substant crafte they myght invente to buyrche the kinge with greate treasures of money. First one counsellleth to rayse & Enhance the valuation of money when the kinge must payeanye: andagayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse then it is worthe, when he muste receive or gather any. For thus great sommes shalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shalberceave. Another counsellleth to faynewarre, that
when under this colour and pretence the kyng hath gathered great abundance of money, he may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnity and holy ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe upon mans bloude, lyke a loving & a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kyng in remembrance of certeine olde & moughteaten lawes, that of longe tyme have not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, everie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kyng to require: for there is no waye so profitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and colour of justice. An other advyseth him to forbidde manye thinges under greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peo- ples profit not be used, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them whyche by this prohibition substeyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the favour of the people is wonne, and proffiteriseth two wayes. First by takinge forfaytes of
themwhomecovetousnesofgaynes hath
brought in daunger of this statute, and
also by sellinge privileges and licences,
whych the better that the prince is for-
sothe, the deerer he selleth them: as one
that is lothe to graunte to any private
persone, anye thinge that is againste the
proffite of his people. And therefore
maye sel none but at an exceeding dere
pryce. An other giveth the kynge counsel
to endaunger unto his grace the judges
of the realme, that he maye have them
ever on his side, and that they maye in
everyematter despute and reason for the
kynges right. Yea & further to call them
into his palace and to require them there
to argue and discusse his matters in his
owne presence. So there shalbenomatter
of his so openlye wronge and unjuste,
wherein one or other of them, either be-
cause he wyl have sumthinge to allege &
objecte, or that he is ashamed to saye that
whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike
a thanke with his prince, will not fynde
some hole open to set a snare in, where-
with to take the contrarie parte in a trippe.
Thus whiles the judges cannot agree a-
monges them selfes, reasoninge and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trewthe in dowte; in the meane season the kinge maye take a fyt occasion to understand the lawe as shal moste make for his advantage, whereunto al other, for shame or for feare, wil agree. Then the judges may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges side. For he that geveth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuse. For it shalbe sufficient for him to have equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen & wrested understandinge of the same, or els, whiche with good and just judges is of greater force then all lawes be, the kynges indisputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counsellours agre and consent together with the ryche Crassus, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which muste kepe & maynteyne an armie: furthermore, that a kynge, thoughhe he would, can do nothinge unjustlye. For all that all men have, yea also the men them selfes, be all his; and that every man hath so much of his owne, as the
kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe moste for the kings advantage, that his subjectes have very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whosesavegardedotheherein consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these things be, theremen benot wontepatiently to obeeye harde, unuste, and unlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part, neade & povertie doth holde downe and kepe under stowte courages, & maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge stomakes. Hereagayne if I shoudle ryse up, & bolde/lye affirme that all these counsellles be to the kingedishonoure & reproche, whose honoure and safetye is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures: and if I should declare that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al live wealthily, sauffe from wronges and injuries: and
that therefore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, even as the office & d EVT OF a shepehearde is, in that he is a shepherde, to feede his shepereth er than himselfe.

OR as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and maytentionance of peace to consiste in the povertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. for where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations & alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finally who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby trustinge to get some windfall) then they that have nowe nothinge to leese?

AND yf any kyng were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea so behated of his subjectes, that other wyes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shavinge, and by bringinge
them to beggerie, seuerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby, though the name of a king be kepte, yet the majestie is lost. For it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to have rule over beggers, but rather over ryche and welthie men. Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye, one man to live in pleasure and wealth whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a jayler. To be shorte, as he is a folyshe phisition that cannot cure his patientes disease onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjectes, but by taking from them the wealthie & commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that he knoweth not the feate how to governe men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce unhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. for these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contemple or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne,
hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not above his power. Let him restreynewykrednes. Let him prevente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subjectes, & not by sufferynge wickednes to increase, afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hathe abrogated: specially suche as have bene longe forgotten, and never lacked nor neaded. And let hym never under the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes & forfaytes, as no judge wyll suffre a private persone to take, as unjuste and ful of gile.

HERE if I should brynge forth befoare them the lawe of the Macariens, which be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall never at anye time have in hys treasure above a thousande pounde of golde or sylver. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealtthe and commoditye of his countreyc, then for thenriching of him selfe, made this lawe, to be a stop & a barre
to kings from heaping & hording up so muche money as might impoveryshe their people. For he forsaw that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kyng in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell; and also to maintein his warres againste the invasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceived the same stocke of money to be to litle & unsuffi- cient to encourage & enhable him wrong; fullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this provision, his peo- ple shoulde not lacke money wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seynge the kyng could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in above the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he wouldesekeno occasions to doe his subjectes injurie. Sucheakyngeshalbe feared of evel men, and loved of good men. These, & suche other informations, yf I shoulde use a- mong men wholye inclined and geven to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you should I have?
bearers clouteles, quod I, & in good faith no marveyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I cannot allowe that suche communication shalbe used, or suche counsell geven, as you be suere shall never be regarded nor receaved. For howe we so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye prevented with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not unpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counsellles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges have no place.

That is it whiche I mente, quod he, when I sayde philosophie hadde no place amonge kinges. In dede, quod I, this schole philosophie hathnot, which thinketh all thinges mete for every place. But there is another philosophie more civile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owen stage, & there, after orderynge & behavinge hereselfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, play-

The first booke of Utopia

Schole philosophie in the consultations of princes hath no place
et he her parte accordinglye with com-
lyenes, utteringe nothinge oute of dewe
ordre & fassyon. And this is the philoso-
phye that you muste use. Or els, whyles
a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and
the vyle bondemen skoffynge & tryffel-
inge amonge themselves, yf you shoulde
sodenlye come upon the stage in a phil-
osophers apparrell, and reherse oute of
Octavia the place wherein Seneca dis-
puteth with Nero: had it not bene better
for you to have played the domme per-
sone, then by rehersynge that whych
served neither for the tyme nor place, to
have made suche a tragycall comedye or
gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in oth-
er stuffe that nothing apperteynethe to
the presente matter, you must nedes
marre & pervert the play that is in hand,
though the stuffe that you bringe be
muche better. What part soever you have
taken upon you, playe that as wel as you
can and make the best of it: and doe not
therefore disturbe and brynge out of
ordre the whole matter, bycause that an
other, whyche is meryer and better, cum-
methe to your remembraunce. So the
case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of kynges & prynces. Yf evel opinions & noughty persuasions can not be utterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not even as you wolde remedy vices which use and custome hath confirmed, yet for this cause you muste not leave and for-sake the common wealthe: you muste not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, be-cause you can not rule & kepe downe the wyndes. No,nor you mustenot laboure to dryve into their heads newe & straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye & endevoure yourse lfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye & handesomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not verye badde. For it is not possible for al things to be well, onles all men were good; whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.
The first booke of Utopia

By this meanes, quod he, nothing elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remede the madnes of others, I shoulde be even as madde as they for if I wolde speake thinges that be trewe, I muste neades speake suche thinges: but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no, I can not tel; truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughhe peradventure it maye seme unplesaunte to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde seme straunge, or folishely newfangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale publique, or that the Utopians doe in theires, these thinges thoughhe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken oute of place, for asmuche as here amonges us, verye man hathe his possessions severall to him selfe, and there all thinges be common.

But what was in my communica-
tion conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Savynge that to them whyche
have throughlye decreed and determined with themselves to runne hedlonges the contrary waye, it can not be acceptable and plesaunt, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the jeopardyes Verilye yf all thynges that evil and vitiose maners have caused to seme inconveniente and noughte, should be refused, as thinges unmete and reprochefull, then we must among christen people wynke at the moste parte of al those thinges, which Christ taught us, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, that those thinges also whiche he whispered in the eares of his disciples he commaunded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most parte of them is more dissident from the maners of the world nowe a dayes, then my communication was But preachers, slie & wilie men, followynge youre counsel (as I supppose) because they saw men evelwilling to frame theyr maners to Christes rule, they have wrested & wriede his doctrine, and like a rule of leade have applyed it to mennes maners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myght agree to-
The first booke of Utopia

gether. Wherby I cannot see what good they have done: but that men maye more sickerlye be evell. And I truelye shoulde prevaile even as little in kinges counsellors. For either I muste saye otherwayes then they saye, & then I were as good to saye nothinge, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saineth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours, I can not perceave to what purpose it serveth, wherewith you wolde have me to study & endevoure my selfe, yf all things can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose, that as farre forth as is possible, they may not be very evell. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtyecounselles muste be openlye allowed & verye pestilent decrees muste be approved He shalbe counted worse then a spye, yea almoste as evell as a traytoure, that with a faynte harte doth prayse evel and noyesome decrees. Moreover a man canne have no ocasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the companye of them whych wyll soner per.
Verte a good man, then be made good them selfes: through whose evel company he shalbe marred, or els if he re-mayne good & innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others shalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impossible with that craftye wyele, and subtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better.

WHEREFORE Plato by a goodlye similitude, declareth why wise men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they see the people swarme into the stretes, and daily wet to the skinne with rayne, & yet can not persuade them to goe out of the rayne, & to take their houses, knowynge wel, that if they should goe out to them, they should nothinge prevayle, norwynne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they dokepe them selfes with in their houses, being content that they be saffe them selves, seinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people.

N OWE be it, doubtlesse maister More (to speke truelye as my mynde gevethme) whereposses,
The first booke of Utopia

sions be private, where money beareth the all the stroke, it is harde and almoste im-
possible, that there the weale publique maye justelye be governed, and prosper-
ouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that justyce is there executed, where all things come into the handes of evellmen, or that prosperitye there floryssheth, where all is divided amonge a fewe: whychefewe nevertheless doe not leade theire lives very wealthe, and the resy-
dewe lyve myserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye.

WHEREFORE when I consyder with my selfe and weye in my mynde, the wyse & godlye ordi-
aunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye few lawes al thinges be so wel & wealthe, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, & yet all things beinge there common, everye man hath aboundaunce of everye thinge, Againe on the other part, when I compare with them so manye nations ever makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well & suf-
cientlye furnysshed with lawes: where everye man calleth that he hathe gotten,
his owne proper and private goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiente for everye man to enjoye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controversies in the lawe, daylye rysynge, never to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These things, I say, when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doeno thinge marveille that he woulde make no lawes for them that refused those lawes whereby all men shoulde have and enjoye equall portions of welthes and commodities, for the wise man did easely fore-see this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealth of a communaltye, yf equalitie of all thinges should be broughte in and stablyshed: whyche I thinke is not possible to be observed where everye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where everye man under certeyne tytles & pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe devide among them selves all the whole riches, be there never so muche abundaunce and stoore, there to
The first booke of Utopia

The residew is lefte lacke, and povertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthye to enjoye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause the rychemen be covetous, craftye, and unprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by their daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them, selves.

Thus I doe fullye persauade me selfe, that no equall & juste dis tribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealtthe shall ever be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shall remaine among the most and best part of men the hevy, and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I utterly denye that it can wholy be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse above a certeine measure of grounde, and that no man shoulde have in his stocke above a pre scripte and appointed some of money:

92
if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, & that offices shoulde not be obtaine by inordinate suit, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shouledneither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoude be nedeful for the officers to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geven to theym by fraude and ravin to gather up their money againe, & by rea-son of giftes and bribes the offices be geven to rich men, which shoulde rather have bene executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be desperat & past cure, be wont with continual good cherissing to be kept and botched up for a time: so these evels also might be lightened and mitigated. But that thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and upryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles every man is maister of his owne to himselfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shallmake bygger the sore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: foras-
muche as nothinge can be given to anye one, onles it be taken from an other.

BUT I am of a contrary opinion, quod I, for me thinke, eth that men shall never there live wealtheyle, where all things be commen, for howe can there be aboundunce of gooddes or of anything, where every man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regarde of his owne gaines driveth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in othermens travayles maketh him slowthfull. Then when they be pricked with povertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne which he hath gotten with the labour of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual sedition and blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritie and reverence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye have with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot devise.
MARVEL not, quod he, that you be of this opinion for you conceave in your minde either none at al, or els a verye false image and similitude of this thing.

But yf you had bene with me in Utopia, & had presentelye sene theire fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche lived there v. yeares, and moore, & wolde never have commen thence, but onlye to make that new lande knownen here, then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you never sawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

SURELY, quod maister Peter, it shalbe harde for you to make me believe, that there is better order in that newe lande then is here in these countryes, that wee knowe for good wittes be as wel here as there: & I thinke our commen wellethes be aunciente then theires: wherein long use and experience hath found out many things commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges heare among us have bene found by chaunce, whiche no wytte could ever have devysed.
As touchinge the auncientenes, quod he, of common wealthes, than you might better judge, if you had red the histories & cronicles of that land, which if we may beleve, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge soever hetherto by witte hath bene devisid, or found by chaunce, that myght be as wel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte: yet in study, in travaile, and in laboursome endeyoure they farre passe us. For (as theire chronicles testifie) before our arri
tival there, they never hard any thing of us, whome they cal the ultraequinoctialles: saving that ones about M.CC.years ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia which was driven thether by tempest. Certene Romaines & Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that never wente thence. Markenow what profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earneste travaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the im-
pire of Rome wherof any profite could
rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occa-
sion to searche for it, founde it oute. So
greate profyte was it to them that ever
anye wente thyther from hence. But
yf annye like chance before this hath
brought anye man from thence hether,
that is as quyte out of remembraunce,
as this also perchaunce in time to come
shalbe forgotten, that ever I was there.
And like as they quickelye, almoste at the
first meting, made theire owne, what so
ever is amonge us wealtheyleye devised: so
I suppose it wolde be longe before we
wolde receave anythinge that amonge
them is better instituted then amonge us
And this I suppose is the chiefe cause
whie theire common wealthe be wyse-
lyyer governed, and doe flourrish in more
wealthe then ours, though we neither in
wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

HEREFORE gentle Maister Raphaell, quod I, I praye you and be;
seche you, describe unto us the
ilande. And study not to be shorte: but
declare largely in order, their groundes,
their rivers, their cities, theire people,
The first booke of Utopia

Theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be shorte al thinges that you shal thinke us desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke us desierous to know what soever we knowe not yet.

HERE is nothing, quod he, that I wil doe gladlier for all these things I have freshe in mind. But the matter requireth leasure. Let us go in therfore, quod I, to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure. Content, quod he, be it.

O we went in & dynd. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, & sate us downe upon the same benche, commandinge our servauntes that no man should trouble us. Then I & Maister Peter Giles desiered Maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seeing us desirous and willing to harken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a little while, musinge & bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the firste boke.
The second boke of the communication of Raphael Hythloday, concerning the best state of a common wealth; containing the description of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politike government, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Islande.

The Island of Utopia, containing in breadth in the middle part of it (for there it is broadest) 200 miles. Which breadth continueth through the most part of the land, saving that by little & little it commeth in, & waxeth narrower towards both the ends. Which fetching about a circuit or compass of 700 miles, doth fashion the whole Island like to the newmone. Between these two corners the sea runneth in, dividing them a sonder by the distance of 70 miles or there aboutes, & there surmounteth into a large and wyde sea, which by reason that the land on every side compasseth the

The site & fashion of the newe ylande Utopia
:

TThc

itabout,&sbiltrctbitfronitbewindc9,i9

not rougbcnor moun tctb not witb great
booNcof waves, but almost flowctb quietlye, not
Cltopia
mucbe unlike a greate standinge powle
andmaketb welniegbe all tbe space witb/
in tbe bellye of tbe lande in maner of a
baven and to tbe great commoditie of

sccondc

:

tbe inbabitauntes receavetb in sbyppes
towardes every e parte of tbe lande* TTbe
forefrontes or frontiers of tbe ii comers,
wbat witb fordes and sbelves, and wbat

witbrockes,beveryejeoperdous&daun/

H place
naturally

fcnccdnc/

dctbcbut
one garri/
son

gerous. In tbe middle distaunce betwene
tbem botbe standetb up above tbe water
a great rock e,wbicb tberfore is notbing
perillous, by cause it is in sigbt^Clpon tbe
top of tbis rocke is a faire and a strong
tower builded, wbicb tbey bolde witb a
garrison of men* Otber rockes tbere be
lyinge bidde under tbe water,wbicb tber/
fore be daungerous* ^be cbannelles be
knowen onely to tbemselfes, & tberfore
it seldome cbauncetb tbatanye straunger, oneles be be guided by an Cltopian,
can come into tbis baven, in so mucbe
tbat tbey tbemselfes could skasely en tre
witboute jeoperdie,but tbat tbeire way is
lOO


directed & ruled by certaine lande markes
standing on the shore. But turninge,
translatinge, & removinge thies markes
into other places, they maye destroye
theire enemies navies, be they never so
many. The out side or utter circuite of the
land is also ful of havens, but the land-
ing is so suerly fenced,what by nature, &
what by workemanshyped of mans hand,
that a few defenders maye dryve backe
many armies. Howbeit as they saye, and
as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe
partely shewe, it was not ever compassed
about with the sea. But kyng Utopus,
whose name as conquerour the Iland
beareth (for before his tyme it was called
Abraxa) which also broughte the rude &
wild people to that excellent perfection in
algood fassions, humanitye, & civile gen-
tilnes, wherein they nowe goe beyond al
the people of the world: even at his firste
arrivinge and enteringe upon the lande,
furthwith obteynynge the victory, caus-
edxvmyles space of uplandyshe grounde
where the sea had no passage, to be cut
and dygged up, and so broughte the sea
rounde aboute the lande. He set to this
worke, not only the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye & despyte) but also all his owne soldiours. Thus the worke beyng divided into so greate a number of workemen, was with excedinge marvelous spedde dyspatched; in so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to mocke, & to jeste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned theire derision to marveyle at the successes, and to feare.

Here be in the Ilande liiii large & faire cities, or shiere townes, agreynge all togeth-er in one tounge, in lyke man-ers, institucions, & lawes. They be all set and situate a lyke, and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, as far forthe as the place or plotte suffereth.

If these cities, they that be nigh-est togetheter be xxiii myles ason-der. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the nexte above onedayes jorneye a fote. There com yearly to Am-aurote out of every cytie iii oldemen, wyse and well experienced, there to entreate &
debate of the common matters of the lande. For this citie (because it standeth just in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadors of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citye. The precintes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiouslye appoynted oute, & set fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye syde lesse then xx myles of grounde, & of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce asonder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes & limites of their shieres; for they counte them selfes rather the good husbandes then the owners of their landes.

They have in the countrey, in all partes of the shiere, houses or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyshed with allsortes of instrumentes & tooles belonginge to husbandrye. These houses be inhabited of the ciezens, whyche come thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then xi persones, men and women, besydes two bondmen,
The seconde booke of Utopia

whyche be all under the rule & order of the good man & the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, & aun/cient persones. And every xxx fermes or families have one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of every one of these families or fermes commeth everye yeare into the citie xx persones whiche have continewed ij yeres before in the countreye. In theire place so manye freshe be sent theather oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, & be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taughte, & they the nexte yeare shall teache other.

This order is used for feare that either skarsenes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughhe lacke of knowledge; yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and unexperiete in husbandrie.

HIS maner and passion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne & customablye used, to the intent that no man shall be constrayned
against his will to continue long in that hard and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them have suche a pleasure & delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen plowe and til the ground, & breede up cattel, & provide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste conveyently. They brynge up a great multituide of pulleyne, & that by a mer-vaylouse policye. For the hennes doe not sytte upon the egges: but by kee-ynge theym in a certayne equallheate, they brynge lyfe into them, and hache theym. The chykens, assone as they become oute of the shel, followmen & women in steade of the hennes. They brynge up verye fewe horses: nor none but very fearce ones: and that for none other use or pur-pose, but only to exercyse theire youthe in rydyinge and feates of armes; for oxen be put to all the laboure of plowyng and drawinge: whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide &
The seconde booke of Utopia

Bread and drink

A great discretion in sowing of corne

suffre muche more laboure, payne & hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subject unto somany diseases, and that they be kepte and maintained with muche lesse coste & charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past laboure. They sowe corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meatehe, made of honey or licouressse sodde in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) howe muchove vitailles the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende, yet they sowe muchove more corne, and bryed up muchove more cattell, then serveth for their owne use, partynge the over plus among their borderers. What soever neces-sarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they ease-lye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For every moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holy daye. When
theyr harvest day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers & bailifes of husbandrie, sende word to the magistrates of the citie what number of harvest men is nede ful to be sente to them oute of the citie; the whiche companye of harvest men beynge readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispacheth all the harvest worke.

Of the cities & namely of Amaurote &

As for their cities, who so knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be all so like one to another, as far furthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skil-leth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all, this is the worthiest and of most dignitie; for the
The seconde booke of Utopia

The description of Amaurote the chiefe citie in Utopia

The description of the river of Anyder

resideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloved, as wherein I lived five whole yeares to-gether.

HE citie of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure square. for the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the toppe of the hill, & still continueth by the space of two miles, untill it come to the ryver of Anyder. The length of it,which lieth by the ryvers syde, is sumwhat more. The river of Anyder riseth four & twentie myles above Amaurote out of a litle springe. But beynge increased by other smale rivers & broukes that runne into it, and amonge other, two sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is halfe a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyonde the citie it fal-leth into the ocean sea. By all that space that liethe betwene the sea and the citie, and certen myles also above the citie, the water ebbeth and floweth sixe houres to-gether with a swift tide. Whan the sea 108
floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driveth backe the freshe water of the ryver. And sumwhat further it chaung-eth the swetenes of the freshe water with saultnes. But a litle beyonde that, the river waxeth swete, & runneth foreby the citie freshe and plesaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, & goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste even to the verie fall into the sea. Ther goeth a bridge over the river madenot of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgious & substantial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe a/longe forbie all the side of the citie with/ out let. They have also an other river which indee is not verie great; but it runneth gently & plesauntly. For it riseth even oute of the same Hill that the citie standeth upon, & runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Any- der. And because it riseth a litle withoute the citie, the Amuroatians have inclos-ed the head springe of it with stronge fences and bulwarkes, & so have joyned
it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water shoulde not be stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come upon them. From thence the water is derived and conveyed downe in cannels of bricke divers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good ser-
vice.

The citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and over-
grownen with bushes, briers, & thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side, the river it selfe serveth for a ditche.

The stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious & hand-
some, both for carriage, and also againste the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande joynded together in a long rowe through the whole streate,
without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of the houses through the whole length of the streete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes. Everye house hathe two doores, one into the streete, & a posterne doore on the backsyde into the garden. These doores be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger, and shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is private, or anie mans owne. And every tenth yeare they chaunge their houses by lot.

They set great store by their gar-deins. In them they have vineyarde, all maner of fruite, herbes, & flow-\* res, so pleaasunt, so well furnished, and so fynely keppe, that I never sawe thynge more fruteful, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and deligence herein commeth not only of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strete & strete, concerning the

The seconde booke of Utopia

To every dwelling house a garden platte ad-joyynyng the

This geere smelleth of Plato his com-munitie

The commoditie of gardens is commend ed also of Vergile
trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens; every man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the citizens, or for pleasure; and therefore it maye seme that the first founder of the citie mynded nothing so much, as these gardens. For they saye that kinge Utopus him selfe, even at the first beginning, appointed & drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fashion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice; that he left to his posteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspeccion, conteinyng the historie of M. vii. C. lx. yeares, even from the firste conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houses, made at all adventures of everye rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, & ridged rooffes, thatch-
ed over with strawe. But nowe the houses be curiouslye buylded after a gorgious & gallante sorte, with three storyes one over another. The outsides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened with tymber work. 

The roofes be plaine & flat, covered with a certen kinde of plaster that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glasse, for it is ther much used, and somhere also with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, & that for two commodities; for by thys meanes more lighte commeth in, and the winde is better kepte oute.
A trani-bore in the Utopiane tongue signifieth a head or chief peere

A marvelous strange fashion in chusinge magistrates

Tyranny in awelordered weale publique utterlie to be abhorred
choose the Tranibores yearly, but light-
lie they chaunge them not. All the other
officers be but for one yeare. The Tran-
ibores everye thyrde daye, and sumtimes,
yf nede be, oftener, come into the coun-
sell house with the prince.

Their counsell is concerninge the
common wealth. If there be anye
controversies amonuge the com-
moners, whiche be verye fewe, they dis-
patch & ende them by and by. They take
ever ij. Signograuntes to them in coun-
sel, and everi dai a new coupel. And it is
provided, that nothinge touchinge the
common wealthe shalbe confirmed and
ratificd, onlesse it have bene reasoned of
and debated thre daies in the counsell,
before it be decreed.

It is deathe to have anye consulta-
tion for the common wealthe oute
of the counsell, or the place of the
common election. This statute, they saye,
was made to the entent that the prince
& Tranibores might not easilye conspire
together to oppresse the people by ty-
rannie, and to chaunge the state of the
weale publik. Therefore matters of great

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Sutes and
controver-
sies be-
twene par-
tie & partie
furthwith
to be ended
which now
a daies of a
set pur-
pose be un
reasonably
delaid

Against
hastie and
rashe de-
cries or
statutes
weight and importance be broughte to
the election house of the Siphograuntes,
which open the matter to their families;
& afterwarde, when they have consulted
amonge themselves, they shew their de-
vide to the counsell. Somtime the mat-
ter is brought before the counsel of the
whole Ilande.

FURTHERMORE this custome
also the counsel useth, to dis-
pute or reason of no matter the
same daye that it is firste proposed or
put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte
syttinge of the counsell. Because that no
man when he hath rashely there spoken
that commeth to his tonges ende, shall
then afterwarde rather studye for rea-
sons wherwith to defende & mainteine
his firste folishe sentence, than for the com-
moditie of the common wealth; as one ra-
ther willing the harme or hinderaunce of
the weale publike then any losse or dimi-
nution of his owne existimation; and as
one that would be ashamed (which is a
verie folishe shame) to be counted anye
thing at the firste oversene in the matter,
who at the firste ought to have spoken ra-
ther wyselye, then hastely, or rashlye.
HUSBANDRIE is a science common to them all in general, both men & women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth: partly lie in their scholes with traditions & precepts, and partly in the countrey night the citie, brought up as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, everye one of them learneth one or other several & particular science, as his owne proper crafte. That is most commonly either clothworking in wooll or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is none oth-er occupation that any number to speake of doth use there.

The seconde booke of Atopia

Husbandrie or til-lage practised of all estates, which now a dayes is reject unto a fewe of the basest sort

Sciences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, & not for the maynten-aunce of ri-otous ex-cesse and wanton pleasure
The second booke of Utopia

Similitude in apparell

No citizen without a science

To what occupation everyone is naturally inclined that let him learne

Or their garmentes, which through oute all the Ilande be of one fashion (savyng that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the unmaried), & this one continueth for evermore unchaunged, semely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the movynge & weldynge of the bodye, also fytte bothe for wynter and summer: as for these garmentes (I saye) every familie maketh their owne; but of the other foresaide craftes erye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easyer craftes; as to worke wolle & flaxe. The more laborsome sciences be committed to the men. For the mooste part every man is broughte up in his fathers crafte, for moste commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation which he doth most fantasy. Whome not onely his father, but also the magistrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest house.
holder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one crafte, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse sufferd & permitted. When he hath learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll, one lesse the citie have more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe & almooste the onelye office of the Syphograuntes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle, but that everye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligence; and yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the evenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe & toylinge beastes.

OR this is worse then the miser-able and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche nevertheless is almooste everywhere the lyfe of worke- men and artificers, saving in Utopia. For they, dividynge the daye & thynghte into xxviii. justeste houres, appointe & assigne onelye sixe of those hours to worke before noone, upon the whiche they go streighte to diner: and after diner, when they have rested two houres, then they worke iii. houres, and upon that they go
to supper. About eyghte of the cloke in
the eveninge (counting one of the clocke
at the firste houre after noone) they go to
bedde: eyght houres they geve to slepe.
All the voide time, that is betwene the
houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that
they be suffered to bestowe, every man
as he liketh best him selfe. Not to thin-
tent that they shold mispend this time
in riote or slouthfulnes, but beynge then
licensed from the laboure of their owne
occupations, to bestow the time well and
thristelye upon some other science, as
shall please them.

For it is a solempe custome there,
to have lectures daylye, early in the
morning, whereto to be presente they
onely be constrained that be namelye cho-
isen & appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a
greate multitude of every sort of people,
both men & women go to heare lectures,
some one and some an other, as everye
mans nature is inclined.Yet, this notwith-
standing, if any man had rather bestowe
this time upon his owne occupation (as
it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise
not in the contemplation of any science
AFTER supper they bestow one hour in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their common halles: where they dine & suppe. There they exercise themselves in musike, or els in honest and wholesome communication. Dice-playe, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not; but they use ij. games not much unlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, bothe the striffe & discorde that vices have amongst themselfes, and agayne their unitye and concorde againste vertues; & also what vices berepugnaunt to what vertues: with what powre and strength they assaile them openlye: by what wieles and subtely they assaulte them secretelye: with what helpe & aide the vertues resiste, and overcome the puissauce of the vices: by what craft
they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory.

BUT here, least you be deceaved, one thinge you muste looké more narrowly upon. For seinge they bestowe but vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the stoore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceave, if you weye and consider with your selfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyveth ydle. First, almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole nombre: or els if the women be some-where occupied, there most commonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes this, how greate, & how ydle a companye is there of preystes, & relygious men, as they cal them? Put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which commonly be called gentilmen, and noble men:

122
take into this numbre also theire servauntes: I meane all that flocke of stoute bragging russe he bucklers. Joyne to them also sturdy & valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe under the colour of some disease or sickenes, and trulye you shal find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour at these things are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye used and frequented. Nowe consider with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe woork, how fewe be occupied, in necessarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the swinge, there many vayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be used, to serve only for ryotous superfluite, and unhonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were devided into so fewe occupations as the necessarye use of nature requyreth: in so greaty plentye of thinges as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artificers to maynteyne theire livinges. But yf all these that benowe busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyveydelye & slouth,
fullye, whyche consume & waste, everye one of them, more of these things that come by other mens laboure then ij.of the workemen themselfes doo: yf all these, I saye, were sette to profytable occupa-
tyons you easelye perceave howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea, & to muche, to stoore us with all things that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for com-
moditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural.

And this in Utopia the thinge itselfe make the manifeste & playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye or shiere adjoyning to it, sease-
lye 500 persons of al the whole numbre of men & women, that be neither to olde nor to weake to worke, be licensed & dis-
charged from laboure. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whole thoughhe they be by the lawes exempete and privi-
leged from labour) yet they exempete not themselfes; to the intent they may the rather by their example provoke other to worke. The same vacation from la-
bour do they also enjoye, to whome the people, persuaded by the commendation
of the priestes, & secrete election of the Siphograuntes, have given a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them prove not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaved, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarie wise, often it chaunceth that a handi-craftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, & throughhe diligence so profteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, tranibores, & finallye the prince him selfe; whome they in theire olde tongue cal Barzanes, & by a newer name, Adam-us. The residewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easely judged in how fewe houres how muche good worke by them may be doone and dis-patched, towards those thinges that I have spoken of.
The second booke of Utopia

How to a-voyd excessive cost in building

This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessarie occupations, they neade not so much work, as other nations doe. For first of all, the buildinge or repayringe of houses asketh everye where so manye mens continual labour, because that the unthrifty heire suffereth the houses that his father buylded, in contyneuance of tyme to fall in decay; so that which he myghte have upholden wyth lytle coste, hys successoure is constrayned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea, manye tymes also, the howse that stoode one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde, that he setetbe no-thinge by it; & it beynge neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyn, he buyldetbe uppe another in an other place with no lesse coste & chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all things be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealth in a good staye, it very seldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buyld an house upon. And they doo not only finde speedy & quicke remedies

126
for present faultes: but also prevente them that be like to fall; & by this meanes their houses continewe & laste very longe, with litle labour and smal reparations; in so much that this kind of woorkmen somtimes have almost nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square & trimme up stones, to the intente that if anye woorkke chaunce, it may the spedelierrise. 

NOW Syr, in theire apparell, marke, I praye you, howe few woorkmen they neade. Fyrste of al, whyles they be at woorke, they be covered hoome, ly with leather or skinnes, that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caste upon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse wullen clothe then is spente in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse toute. But lyneclothes is made with lesse laboure, and is therefore hadde more in use. But in lynecloth onylye whyte-
nesse, in wullen only clenlynes is regard-
ed. As for the smallnesse or finenesse of
the thred, that is no thinge passed for.
And this is the cause wherfore in other
places iii. or v. clothe gownes of dyvers
colours, and as manye silke coat es be
not enoughe for one man. Yea, and ye
he be of the delicate and nyse sorte x. be to
fewe: whereas there, one garmente wyl
serve a man mooste commenlye ij. yeares.
For whie shoulde he desire moo? seinge
ye he had them, he should not be the bet-
ter hape or covered from colde, neither
in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer.
Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed
in profitable occupations, and that fewe
artificers in the same craftes be suffici-
ente, this is the cause that plentye of all
things beinge among them, they doo
sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable
companye of people to amend the hyghe
wayes, ye anye be broken Many times
also, when they have no suche woorke to
be occupied aboute, an open proclama-
tion is made, that they shall bestowe few
erhoure in woorke, for the magistrates
doe not exercise theire citizens againste
theire willes in unneadefull labours, for whyle in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefly pretended and mynded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessarye ocupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all that the citizenes should with drawe from the bodely service to the free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this lyffe to consiste.

Of theire Livinge and Mutual Conversa-
tion together

But nowe wil I declare how the citizenes use themselfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng & enter- teynement there is amonge the people, and what passyon they use in the distribution of every thing.
IRSTE the city consisteth of families, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into their husbands houses. But the male children, with al the whole male offpringe contineweth still in their owne family and be governed of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to thintent the prescript number of the cizezens shoulde neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie which in every citie be vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones have fewer children of the age of xiiij. yeares or there about then x. or mo then xvi.; for of children under this age no numbre can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or numbre is easely observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chaunce be that in the whole citie the stooke encrease abowe the just number, therewith they fil
up the lacke of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe & exceede the dewe number, then they chuse out of every citie certaine citizens, and build up a towne under their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes have muche waste and unoccupied ground, receaing also of the same countrey people to them, if they will ioyne & dwel with them. They thus joyning & dwelling together do easelye agre in one passion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples, for they so bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe suffi-ciente & fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryve them out of those boundes which they have limited and appointed out for them selves. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them.

OR they counte this the moste juuste cause of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde
voyle and vacaunt to no good nor profitable use, kepyng other from the use and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryshe and relieved.

If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled up agayne, without the diminishyng of the just numbere of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse synce the beginnyng of the lande through a grete pestilente plage) then they fulfyll and make up thenumbre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminished.

But nowe agayne to the conversation of the cytezens amonge themselfes. The eldeste, as I sayde, ruleth the familye. The wyfes bee ministers to theire husbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee shorte, the yonger to theire
elders. Everye ctytie is devided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of every quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of every familie be brought into certeyne houses, & everye kynde of thing is layde up severall in bernes or store houses. From hence the father of everye familye, or every housholder fetchethe whatsoeuer heand his have neade of, and carieth it away with him without money, without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For why shoule any thing be denied unto him? seynge there is abundance of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leste anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth. For whye should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then anough, which is sewer never to lacke?

CERTEYNELY in all kyndes of lyvinge creatures either feare of lacke dothe cause covetousnes & ravyne,or in man only pryde,which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde
The second book of Utopia

Of the slaughter of beasts we have learned mankind shall not be slain for the purpose of vice among the Utopians can have no place.

Nexte to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of footed beasts, & wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is cleane washed awaye in the renninge ryver without the cytie, in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of theire bonde-men, for they permitte not their frie citzens to accustome them selfes to the killing of beastes, through the use whereof they thinke clemencye, the genteleste affection of our nature, by lytle & lytle to decaye & pershe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthy, lothesom, or unclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases.
Moreover everye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distance one from another, everye one knowne by a severall name. In these halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to everye one of the same halles be appointed xxx. families, on either side xv. The stewardes of everye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyve meate accordinge to the number of their halles.

But first & chiefly of all, respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a little without the walles, they have iii. hospitalles, so bigge, so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may seme iii. little townes, which were devised of that bignes, partly to thintent, the sycke, be they never so many in numbre, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte, and therfore uneasely, and incommodi-ously: and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, suche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of
The residue. These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and more over, sodilgent attendance through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is given, that though no man be sent ther against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sicke persone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath received suche meates as the phisitians have prescribed, then the beste is equallie devided among the halles, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the trani-bours, & to ambassadours & all straun-gers, if there be any, which be very fewe and seldom. But they also when they be there, have certeyne several houses apointed & prepared for them. To these halles at the set houres of dinner & suppercommeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by the noyse of a brasen trumpet: except suche as be sicke in the hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or for-
bid, after the halles be served, to fetch home meate out of the market to his own house, for they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. For though he no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly; because it is counted a pointe of small honestie. And also it were a follye to take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good & fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall.

In this hall, al vile service, all slavery, & drudgerie, with all labour-some toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women of every family by course have the office & charge of cookerie for sethinge and dresing the meate, & orderinge all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men sitte upon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, that yf anye sodeyne evyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye
Nothing sooner provoketh men to wel doing then praise and commendation

The education of younge children

rise wythoute trouble or disturbaunce of anye bodie, & go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis sitte severall alone with theyr younge suckelinge in a certayne parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet withoute cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, & at theyr pleasure take them oute of their swathynge clothes, & holde them to the fire, & refreshe them with playe. Every mother is nourse to her owne childe, onles either death, or sycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wives of the Syphograuntes quyckelye provyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done; for they that can doo it, profer themselves to no service so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche prayed: and the chylde that is nourished, ever after taketh his nourse for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nurceis, sytte all the children that be under the age of v. yeares. All the other chyl- dren of bothe kyndes, as well boyes as girles, that be under the age of mary-
age, do eyther serve at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stand by
with marvailous silence That whiche
is geven to them from the table they eate,
and other severall dynere tyme they have
none. The Siphograunte & his wife sitte
in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest
place, & because from thence all the whole
companie is in their sight. For that table
standeth overtwarte the over ende of
the hall. To them be joyned two of the
auncientest & eldest. For at everye table
they sit four at a meesse. But ye there be
a church standing in that Syphograuntie
or warde, then the priest and his wife sit
teth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in
the company. On both sydes of them sit
yonge men, and nexte unto them againe
olde men And thus through out all
the house, equall of age be sette togeth-
er, and yet be mixt and matched with un-
equal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned,
to the intent that the sage gravitie and
reverence of the elders should kepe the
yongers from wanton licence of wordes
and behavioure. Forasmuch as nothynge
can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceave it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowne) be first served of their meate, & then the residue equally. The olde men devide their deities, as they think best, to the yonger on eche syde of them.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and nevertheless equal commoditie commeth to every one. They begin everye dinner & supper of re-dinge sumthing that pertaineth to good maners & vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greved therwith. Hereof theelders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor unpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselves with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, & purposelye provoke them to talke, to then-

140
tent that they may have a profe of every mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew & utter it self. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be sumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth laboure, after supper slepe & natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholesome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor jonketes. They burneswete gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasaunt smelles, & sprinkle aboute swete omente, mentes & waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheringe of the companye. For they be muche enclin'd to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sort they live togethers in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone, farre from any neighboures, do dyne & suppe at home in their owne houses. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citzens eate and lyve by.
Of their journeyng or travayling abrode, with divers other matters cunninglye reasoned, and wyttilye discussed.

UT if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they ease-lie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, on lesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone, but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they have licence to go that jour-ney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They have a wageyn geven them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they have women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment & a let. And though they carye nothyng furth with them, yet in all their jorney they lack no-thing. For whersoever they come, they be at home.

142
If they tary in a place longer than one daye, than there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined of the workemen & companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade & without leave, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey that belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the contrei soever he commeth, he hath no meat geven him until he have wrought out his forenones taske, or dispatched so muche worke, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Ob serving this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he shalbe no les profitable to the citie, then if he were within it.
Now you see how little liberté they have to loiter: howe they can have no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither wine-tavernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counsels or unlawfull assemblies. But they be in the present sighte, and under the eies of every man. So that of necessitie they must either apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate themselves with honest & laudable pastimes.

HIS fashion and trade of life, being used amonge the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they muste of necessitie have store & plentie of all thinges. And sayenge they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amauort, whether, as I said, every citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, assonce as it is perfectlie known of what thinges there is in every place plentie, & againe, what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and sille-
ed up with the aboundaunce of the oth-
er. And this they do frely without anye
benefite, taking nothing againe of them,
to whom that thinges is given; but those
cities that have geven of their store to
any other citie that lacketh, requiring no-
thing againe of that same citie, do take
suche thinges as they lacke of an other
citie, to the which they gave nothinge.

So the whole ylande is as it were
one familie, or housholde. But
when they have made sufficient
provision of store for themselves (which
they thinke not done until they have pro-
vided for two yeres folowinge, because of
the uncertentie of the next yeares proffe)
then of those thinges wherof they have
abundaunce, they carie furth into other
countreis great plentie: as grayne, hon-
nie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple
died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyv-
inge beastes. And the seventh parte of
all these thynges they geve franckelye
and frelie to the pore of that countrey.
The residewe they sell at a reasonable &
meane price. By this trade of traffique or
marchaundise, they bring into their own

The second booke of
Utopia

A common
wealth of
the Uto-
pians

The traf-
fique & mar-
chaundise
of the Uto-
pians

11 145
The seconde booke of Utopia

In all things and above all things to their communitie they have an eye

By what pollicie money may be in lesse estimation

contrey, not only great plenty of golde and silver, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but iron. And by reason they have longe used this trade, nowe they havemoreaboundaunce of these things then anyeman wyll beleve. Nowe therefore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els upon truste to be payed at a daye, and to have the mooste parte in debtes. But in so doynge they never followe the credence of privat men: but the assuraunce or warrantise of the whole citie, by instrumentes & writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come & expireth, the citie gathereth up the debte of the private debtoures, & putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hathe the use and profite of it, untill the Utopians, their creditours, demaunde it. The mooste parte of it they never aske, for that thyng whiche is to them no profite, to take it from other, to whom it is pro-
fitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to
an other people, then they require their debite: or when they have warre, for the which purpose onely they kepe at home all the treasure which they have, to be holpen and socoured by it either in extreme jeopardyes, or in suddeine daungers. But especiallye & chiefelie to hire therewith,& that for unreasonable great wayges, straunge soldiours. For they hadderather put straungers in jeoparde, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowynge that for money ynoughhe, their enemyes themselves many times may be boughte & solde, or elles through the treason be sette togethers by the eares amonge themselves. For this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they have it, & use it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe: fearinge that my woordes shall not be beleved. And this I have more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficulttie and hardelye I meselfe would have beleved an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not presentlye sene it with mine owne eyes.
OR it musteneades be, that howe farre a thyng is dissonaunt and disagreeing from the guise & trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their belefe. Howebeit, a wise and indifferent estimer of thynges, will not greatlye marveill perchaunce, seynge all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the use also of gold and sylver amongst them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money them selves, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it may happen, so it maye be, that it shall never come to passe.

IN the meane time golde & sylver. whereof money is made, they do so use, as none of them doethe more esteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doeth not playnelye se howe farre it is under iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyve then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and silver nature hath geven no use, that we may not well lacke:
if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and lovynge mother, hathe placed the beste & mooste necessarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it selfe. And hathe removed and hyd farthest from us vayne and unprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be fastelocked up in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is ever foolishelyimagininge) intended by some subtiltie to deceave the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselues. Furthermore, if they shold make therof plate, and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stuffe: if at anye time they should have occasion to breake it, and melte it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceave verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to have pleasure and de-lite in.
The second book of Utopia

O remedie all this they have founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreeable to all their other lawes and customs, so it is from ours, where golde is so much set by and so diligently kept, very farrediscipant & repugnaunt; and therefore uncredible, but onelye to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glasse vessels, whiche in dede be curiouslye & properlie made, and yet be of very smal value: of golde and sylver they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other vessels, that serve for moste vile uses, not onely in their common halles, but in every mans private house. Furthermore, of the same mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieves wherein they tie their bondmen. Finally, whosoever for anye offense be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: upon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: & in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by all meanes possible thei procure to have gold and silver among them in reproche & infamie. And
these metalles, which other nations do as grevously & sorowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne lives: if they should altogether at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one far-thing.

They gather also pearles by the sea side, and diamondes and car- & buncles upon ceren rockes, & yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith thei deck their yonge in-fauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde & proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a little more growen in yeares & discretion, perceiving that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them awaye even of their owne shamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: even as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. 

Therefore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe divers fan-

Gemmes & precious stones, toyes for yonge children to playe withall
The second booke of Utopia

A very pleasant tale

tasies also and myndes they doo cause, dydde I neuer so playnelie perceave, as in the Ambassadours of the Anemolians.

THESE Ambassadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of everie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambassadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whome they perceaved no honoure geven to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochfoul, were wont to come thether in verie homelye & simple arie. But the Anemolianes, because they dwell farre thence, and had very litle aquaintaunce with them: heareinge that they were all appareled a like, and that verie rudely & homely: thinkinge them not to have the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determyned in the gorgiousnes of their apparell to repre-
sente verye goddes, & wyth the brighte
shyninge and glisterynge of their gay
clothing to dasell the eyes of the silie
poore Utopians. So there came in iii.
Ambassadours with c. servauntes all
apparelled in chaungeable colours: the
moste of them in silkes: the Ambassa-
dours themselfes (for at home in their
owne countrey they were noble men) in
cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold,
with golde hanginge at their eares, with
gold ringes upon their fingers, with
brouches & aglettes of gold upon their
cappes, which glistered ful of peerles
and pretious stones: to be short, trim-
med & adourned with al those things,
which among the Utopians were either
the punishment of bondmen, or the re-
proche of infamed persones, or elles tri-
fels for yonge children to playe withal.
Therefore it wolde have done a man good
at his harte to have sene howe proudelye
they displayed their pecockes fethers,
howe muche they made of their paynt-
ed sheathes, and howe loftely they set
forth and advauncecd them selfes, when
they compared their gallaunte apparrell
with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For all the people were swarmed forth into the strestes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider how muche they were deceaved, and how farre they missed of their purpose, being contrary wayes taken then they thought they should have bene.

For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreyes for some resonable cause, al that gorgeousnes of apparell semed shamefull and reprochefull. In so muche that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lorde: passing over the Ambassadoures themselfes without any honour: judging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you shoulde have sene children also, that had caste away their peerles & pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking uppon the Ambassadours cappes: digge & pushe theire mothers under the sides, sainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor dothey yet were peerles and precious stoenes, as though
he were a litel child stil. But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace sone, saith she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadours fooles Some founde faulte at theire golden cheines, as to no use nor purpose, being so smal & weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, hemyght cast them of, & runne awaye at libertye, whether he woulde. But when the Ambassadoures hadde bene there a daye or ii. & sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: & besides that, more golde in the cheines & gieves of one fugitive bondman, then all the costelye ornamentes of them iii. was worth: they beginne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away al that gorgyouse arraye, whereof theye were so proud. And speyally when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned at theire fassions and opinions.
OR they marveyle that any men be so folyshe, as to have delite & pleasure in the doubteful glisteringe of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which maye beholde annye of the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anyeman is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner thred of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in never so fyne a sponne thred) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe

They marveile also that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge so unprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea & for the use of whome, it is so much set by, is in mueche lesse estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so mueche that a lumpyshe blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye, shall have nevertheless manyewyse and goodmen in subjectyon and bondage, only for this, bycause he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche ye it shoulde be taken from hym by anye
fortune, or by some subtyll wyle & cautel of the lawe, (which no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise up the lowe, and plucke downe the highe) and be geven to the most vile slave and abject dryvell of all his housholde, then shortly after he shalgoo into the service of his servaunt as an augmentation or overplus beside his money. But they muche more marvell at and detest the madnes of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger they be not, do give almost divine honoures, for none other consideration, but because they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee suche nigeshe penny fathers, that they be sure as longe as they live, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them.

These and such like opinions have they conceaved, partely by education, beinge brought up in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from these kindes of folly, & partely by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in every citie, which be ex-

The seconde booke of Utopia

Howe muche more witte is in the heads of the Utopianes then of the common sorte of christianaes

157
The seconde booke of Utopia

Empte and discharged of all other labours, and appointed only to learning, that is to say: suche in whome even from theire very childhode they have perceaved a singular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be instructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughge oute all their whole lyffe doo bestowe in learninge those spare houres, which we sayde they have vacante from bodelye labours. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyve tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleaunyte to the eare: and for the utteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and sure.

Of all these philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to us knownen, before oure cummyynghe thethere, not as-
muche as the fame of any eye of them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Ahythmetyke, and Geometrye they have founde oute in a manner, all that oure auncient philosophers have tawghte. But as they in all things be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe logiciens, in sub- tyl inventions have farrre passed & gone beyonde them for they have not de- vysed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, verye wittelye invented in the small logicalles, whyche heare oure children in every place do learme. Furtheremore they were never yet hable to fynde out the se- conde intentions: insomuch that none of them all coulde ever see man himselfe in commen, as they cal him, though he be (as you knowe) bygger then ever was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of us even wyth our fynger But they be in the course of the starres, & the mov- ynges of the heavenly spheres verye ex- pert and cunynge. They have also wit- tely excogitated & divised instrumentes of divers fassions: wherin is exactly
The seconde booke of Utopia

comprehended and conteyned the movynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes & dissentions of the planettes, and all that deecyteful divination by the starres, they never asmuch as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, & other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certene tokens, which they have learned by long use & observation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge, & saltenes of the sea, and final ye of the original begynnynge & nature of heaven and of the worlde, they holde partely the same opinions that our olde philosophers hold, & partely, as our philosophers varye among themselfes, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the
name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowmentes and giftes of the soule.

The reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principal question is, in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almoste to muche geven and enclyned to the opinion of them which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marveled at) the defense of this soo deyntye and delicate an opinion, they fetche even from theire grave, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they joyne unto the reasons of philosophye cer- teyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche, to the investiga- tion of trewe felicitye, they thynke reason of it selfe weake and unperfecte.

Those principles be these & such lyke. That the soule is immortal: & by the bountiful goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues

The seconde booke of Utopia
The endes of good thinges

The Utopi- anes holde opynion that felicity- tie consist-ethe in hon- est pleasure

The princi- ples of phi- losophy grounded upon reli- gion

The theolo- gie of the Utopianes
The second booke of Atopia

The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christians be in doubt.

As every pleasure ought not to be embraced, so grefe is not to be pursued but for vertues sake and good deades, rewardes be appointed after this life, & to our evel deades punishmentes. Though these be pertaining to religion, yet they thinke it mete that they should be beleved & granted by profses of reason. But yf these principles were condemmed and dysannulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulndenot do all his diligence and endeour to obteyne pleasure by ryght or wronge, onlye avoydyng this inconvenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that pleasure, whiche would bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrow. For they judge it extreame madnes to folowe sharp and peinfull vertue, and not only to bannishe the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer grieue, without anye hope of proffit thereof ensuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his lyfe unpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall have no rewarde after his death? But nowe syr, they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that plea-
sure that is good and honeste, and that hereto, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured & drawn even of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, & that we be here unto ordered of god. And that he doth followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusinge thinges is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefly & principallye kende in men the love and veneration of the devine majesty. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, & that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicite. And that secondarely it bothe stirrethe and provoketh us to leade our lyfe oute of care in joy and mirth, & also moveth us to helpe and further all other in respecte of the societe of nature to obteine and enjoye the same. For there was never man so earnest and painefull a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that wold so injoyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, & relieve, to your powre, the lack & misery of others,
praysing the same as a deed of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, & speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and hevynes of lyfe, to restore them to joye, that is to saye to pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature doth provoke everye man to doo the same to himselfe?

For a joyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasauant lyfe is either evel: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrew all men frome it, as noysome & hurteful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to thy selfe? Towhome thou art bound to shew asmuch favoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other

as rather the religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall neces-sitie, ought pacientlye to receave and suffer them.
she commandeth the not to be cruel
& ungentle to thy selfe. Therefore even
very nature, saye they, prescribeth to us
a joyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as
the ende of all our operations. And
they define vertue to be lyfe ordered ac-
cordyng to the prescripte of nature. But
in that, that nature doth allure and pro-
voke men one to healpe another to lyve
merily (which suerly she doth not with-
out a good cause: for no man is so farre
above the lotte of mans state or condi-
tion, that nature doth the care and care for
hym onely, whiche equallye favoureth
all that be comprehended under the com-
munion of one shape forme and passion)
verely she commandeth the to use dili-
gent circumspection, that thou do not so
seke for thine owne commodities, that
thou procure others incommodities.

WHEREFORE theire opinion is,
that not only covenanttes and
bargaynes made amonge pri-
vatemen ought to be well and faythful-
lye fulfilled, observed, and kepte, but al-
so commen lawes, which either a good
prince hath the justly publyshed, or els the

The
Seconde
booke of
Utopia.

Bargaynes
and Lawes

165
people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceived by fraude & gyell, hath by theire common consent constituted & ratified, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any naturall zeale & affection to thy native countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from thy selfe to geve to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche never taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe a-gayne. For it is recompensed with the re-tourne of benefytes; & the conscience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bryngemore pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe coulde have brought to thy bo-
dye finally (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great and everlastinge joye. Therfore the matter diligently weyede & considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie.

**PLEASURE** they call every motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they joyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not only the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasantaunt, for that it may be gotten without wrong or injurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, even so those thinges that men by vaineymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasant (as though it laye in their power to chaunge the thinges, as they do the names of thinges) al suche pleasures they beleve to be of so small helpe and
furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let & hinderaunce. Because that in whom they have ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesaunt-nes: yea the moste parte of them muche griefe & sorrowe. And yet through the perverse & malicyous flickeringe intice-mentes of lewde and unhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and sover-aigne pleasures, but also be counted a-monge the chiefecauses of life. In this counterfeit kinde of pleasure they put them that I spake of before; whiche the better gownes they have on, the bet-ter men they thinke them selves. In the which thing they doo twyse erre, for they be no lesse deceaved in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselves the better. For if you consider the profitable use of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne threde, be thought better then the wul of a course sponne threde?
Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, avaunce themselves, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased. And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durste not have loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it displeasauntly and disdainfullye.

AND agayne, is it not a lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne & unprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedi the phrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a marvelous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, rejoyse muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their fortune to come of sucheauncetours, whoses stocke of longe tyme hath the bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothinge elles) speciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote
oflande, or els they themselves have ys, sedit ita gaynste the walles, yet they thinke themselves not the lesse noble therfore of one heare. In this number also they counte them that take pleasure & delite, as I said, in gemmes & precious stones, & thynke themselves almooste goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their owne countre men is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of stone kepeth not his pryce styll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor so neither, untyll they have made the seller to sweare that he will war, raunte & assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suchecare they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceave their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take even asmuch pleasure in beholdynge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye can not discerne from a righte stone? They shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, even as to the blynde man.
What shall I saye of them that keep superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholding, and not in the use or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceived with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they shall never occupye, nor peradventure never se more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe frome their owne use, & perchaunce frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for joye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen, & thou, ignoraunt of the thefte, shouldest dye tenne yeares after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyvedest after thy money was stollen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou lefteste it? Trewlye bothe wayes like profytte came to thee.

The seconde booke of Atopia

Beholders of treasure, not occupiynge the same

Hyders of treasure

A pretie fiction and a wittie

171
To these so foolish pleasures they joyn dice, whose madness they know by hearsay, and not by use. Hunters also, & hawkers. For what pleasure is there, saye they, in casting the dice upon a table, which thou hast done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft use might make thee were thereof? Or what delight can there be, & not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barking and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnynge, yf thou hast pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearyinge in peces the beaste doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moved with pitie to see a selye innocente hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the feare, the innocente of the cruell and unmercyfull.

Therefore all thys exercise of hutyng, as a thyng unwor- thye to be used of free men, the
Utopians have rejected to their bouchers, to the whiche crafte, as we sayde before, they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abjecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, & more honeste, as brengynge muchemore commoditie, in that they kyll beasts onely for necessitie; where as the hunter seket not binghe but pleasure of the see; lye & wofull beasts slaughter and mur- der. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beasts, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuance of time into crueltie, by longe use of so cruel a pleasure. These therfore and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is nonatual pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to have no affin- nitie with trewandright pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye move the sense wyth delectation (whiche semeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothyngge diminishe their opini-
The seconde booke of Utopia

on. For not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Even as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche & tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit nomannes judgemente deprav-ed and corrupte, either by syckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges.

They make divers kindes of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geve intelligence, and that delectation that commeth of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is joyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paste. The pleasure of the bodye they devide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt & perceaved. Whiche many times chaun-ceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth up. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those
thynges be expulsed, and voyded, where
of is in the body over great abundaunc.
This pleasure is felt, when we do our na-
tural easement, or when we be doyng the
acte of generation, or when the ytchinge
of any part is eased with rubbyng or
scratchyng, is Sometimes pleasure ris,
eth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng
that it desireth, nor takynge from it any
paine that it feeleth, which nevertheless
tikleth and moveth our senses wyth a
certeine secrete efficacie, but with a mani-
fest motion turnethe them to it. As is
that whiche commeth of musicke.

HE seconde parte of bodely plea-
sure, they say, is that which con-
sisteth and resteth in the quiete
and upryghte state of the bodye. And
that trewlye is evere mannes owne pro-
pre health entermingled and disturbed
with no grieffe. for this,yf it be not let-
ted nor assaulted with nogreif, is delect-
able of it selfe, though he it be moved with
no externall or outwarde pleasure. For
though it be not so plain and manyfeste
to the sense, as the gredye luste of eat-
ynge and drynkynge, yet nevertheless
manye take it for the chiepest pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right sovereigne pleasure, and as you woulde saye the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche even alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasure. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. For to be without greife not havinge health, that they call unsensible, and not pleasure.

The Utopians have long a go reject ed and condemned the opinion of them, whiche sayde that stedfaste and quiyte healthe (for this question also hath the beneiligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not be presentlye and sensiblye perceaved & felte by some outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a moost sovereaigne pleasure \(*\) for seynge that in sycknesse, saye they, is greiffe,whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasure, even as sicknes is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For
they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a grievfe, or that in sickenes is grievfe, for all commethe to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, true-lye bothe wayes it foloweth, that they cannot be without pleasure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat, say they, then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the upper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength ministreth that pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is joyefull, shall it not bemery, when it hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thingonely in all the fight it coveted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, saye they, fel...
The second booke of Utopia

Delectation

The pleasures of the mynde

ethe not himselfe in health: but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonishe insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleepeing sickness, that he will not graunte healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure?

HE Y imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the mind, for them they counte the chiefest & most principal of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, & conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geve the preeminence to helth. For the de-lite of eating and drinking, & whatsoever hath any like pleasures, they deter-myne to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake. For suche thinges of theirown pro-pernature benot sopleasaunt, but in that they resiste sickenesse privelie stealing on. Therfore like as it is a wisemans part, rather to avoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, & rather to drive away & put to
flight carefullgriefes, then to call for com-
fort: so it is muche better not to neade
this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be
eased of the contrarie griefe. The whiche
kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for
his felicitie, that man must needs graunt,
that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he
live that lifewhich is led in continuall hun-
ger, thurst, itchinge, eateinge, dyrnk-
ynge, scratchynge, & rubbing. The which
life how not only foule, & unhonest, but
also howe miserable and wretched it is,
who perceveth not? These doubtles be
the basest pleasures of al, as unpure and
unperfect. For they never come, but ac-
 companied with their contrarie griefes.
As with the pleasure of eateing is joyned
hunger, and that after no very egal sort.
For of these ii. the griefe is both the more
vehement, and also of longer continu-
aunce. For it beginneth before the plea-
sure, and endeth not until the pleasure
die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures
they thinke not greatlye to be set by,
but in that thei be necessari. Howbeit
they have delite also in these, and thank-
fulli knowledge that tender love of mo-

n 2

The seconde booke of
Utopia

179
ther nature, which with most pleasaut delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie use wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie greffes of hunger and thirst could not be driven awaye, but with bitter potions, & sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherwith we be seldomor troubled? But beutie, strength, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleasaut giftes of nature they make much of.

BUT those pleasures that be receaved by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper & peculiar to man (for no oth-er livinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moved with any respecte of favours, but onely for the diversitie of meates, nei-ther perceaveth the concordaunte and discordant distaunces of soundes and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasautne rejoysinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they use, that a lesse pleasure
hinder not a bigger, & that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be unhoneste, but yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do injurie to healtbe, and to rejecte the plea-saunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a fervent zeale procure the wealtbe of others, or the commen pro-fite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouslie to suffer adversite: whiche perchaunce shall never come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towards himselfe, & unkind towards nature, as one so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth & refuseth all her benefites.
This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they believe that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any godlyer be inspired into man from heven. Wherin, whether they beleve well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discusse, neither it is nowe necessarie. For we have taken upon us to shewe and declare their laws and ordinances, and not to defende them. But this thynge I beleve verely: howesover these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flourishyngge commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of activitie and nimblenes, and of more strength then a man woulde judge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe. And though theyrs soyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholesome, yet againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbande their grounde with diligente travaile, that in no countrey is greater increase, & plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe.
and subject or apte to fewer diseases. Therefore, a man may see well and diligently exploited and furnished, not onelye those thinges whiche husbandemen do commonly in other countreis, as by craft & cunninge to remedie the barreness of the grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked up by the rootes in one place, and set againe in another place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. For it is lesse labour and businesse to carrie grayne farre by land, than wood.

The people be gentle, merie, quicke, & fynewitted, delitinge in quietnes, and when neede requireth, hable to abide & suffer much bodelie labour. Els they be not greatly desirous & fond of it: but in the exercise & studie of the mind they be never wery When they had herd me speak of the greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, besides historiens & Poetes) they made
A wonderful aptness to learninge in the Utopians

But now most blockheaded asses be sette to learninge, and most pregnant wittes corrupted with pleasures

wonderfull learneste & importunate sute unto me that I would teach & instructe them in that tounge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade unto them, at the first truelie more because I would not seme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they would anything pro-fite therein. But when I had gone for-ward a little, I perceaved incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so suerlie to rehearse the same, that I mar-vaile at it, savinge that the most parte of them were fine and chosen wittes and of ripe age, piked out of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, undertooke to learne this lan-gage. Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tounge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors without anie staye, if the booke were not false. This kynde
of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bycause their speche, which in al other poyntes is not much unlyke the Persian tonge, kepeth dyvers signes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes, & of theire magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my iii. voyage, I caste into the shippe, in the steade of marchandise, a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come a-gaine rather never than shortly) they have, I saye, of me the moste parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in divers places (which I am sorye for) unperfecte. Forwhyles we were a shipborde, a marmoset chaunced upon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewith plucked oute certeyne leaves, and toore them in pieces. Of them that have wrytten the gramar, they have onelye Lascaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor
never a dictionarye, but Hesichius, and Dioscorides. They sett greate stoor by Plutarches bookes. And they be de-
lyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and jestes. Of the Poetes they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sopho-
cles in Aldus small prynte. Of the Historians they have Thucidides, Herodo-
tus, and Herodian. Also my compan-
ion, Tricius Apinatus, caried with him phisick bokes, ceretin smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they have in greate es-
timation. For though there be almost no nation under heaven that hath lesse nede of phisicke than they, yet this not;
withstanding, phisicke is no where in greater honour. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste, and most profytable partes of philos-
ophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this philosophie searche oute the se-
crete mysteryes of nature, they thinke themselves to receave therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obteine great thankes and favour of the autour and maker therof.
WHOME they thinke according to the passion of other artificers, to have set furth the marvelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affection intentively to beholde. Whom only he hath made of witte and capacitie to considre and understand the excellencie of so great a woork. And therefore he beareth, say they, more goodwil and love to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork & marvelour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hathe no regarde to soo greate & so wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inurede and exercised in learnynge, bemarveilous quycke in the invention of feates helpinge anye thinge to the advantage & wealtbe of lyffe. Howebeit ii. feates theye maye thanke us for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye us but chiefelye and principallye themselues.
For when we shewede to them Althus his print in booke of paper, & told them of the stuffe wherof paper is made, & of the feate of graving letters, speaking somewhat more then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of us that knewe perfectelye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittelye conjectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in skinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they have attempted to make paper and to imprint letters. And though at the first yt proved not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And have so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they have no moore then I rehearsed before, savinge that by pryntynge of bookes they have multiplyed & increased the same into manye thousandes of copies.

Whosoever cummethe thither to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte,
or through muche and longe journeys well experienced and sene in the knowledge of many countreies (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) him they receyve & interteyne wonders gentilly & lovinglye. For they have delite to heare what is done in every lande, howbeit verye fewe marshaunte men come thether, for what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were iron, or els gold and silver, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Also such things as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry that gere furthe themselves, then that other shoulde come thether to fetche it, to then tentente they maye the better knowe the out landes on every syde of them, and kepe in ure the feate & knowledge of sailinge.

The seconde booke of Utopia
Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and divers other matters.

They neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them selves, nor of bondmens children, nor to beshort, of anye suche as they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he were there a bondman. But either suche as amonge themselfes for heinous offences be punyshed with bondage, or elles suche as in the cities of other landes for great trespasses be condemned to death. And of this sort of bondemen they have mooste stoore.

For manye of them they bringe home, sumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooste commonlye gettynge them for gramercye. These sortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke & labour, but also in bandes. But their oune men they handle
hardest, whom they judge more desperate, & to have deserved greater punishment, because they being so godly broughte up to vertue in so excellent a common wealth, could not for all that be refreined from misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they have, when a vile drudge, being a poore laborer in an other country, doth chuse of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as theire owne free cytyzeins, savynge that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye suche be disposed to departe thens, whiche seldom is seene, they neither holde him agaynste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes. 

The sycke, as I sayde, they see to with great affection, & lettenothing at al passe concerning either phi-sycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they conforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, & to be shorte, with
all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye uncurable, but also full of contynuall payne & anguishe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhorte the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewty of lyffe, and by overlyvinge his owne deathe is noysome & irkesome to other, and grevous to himselfe, that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent & paineful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee unwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche himselfe out of that painefull lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of torment, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lise no commodi- tye, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the pryestes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finyshe theire lives will.
ynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in their sleape without anye sealinge of death. But they cause none suche to dye agaynst his wyll, nor they use no lesse dilitygence and attendaunce aboute him: belevinge this to be an honorable death. Elles he that killeth himselfe before that the pryestes & the counsel have allowed the cause of his death, him as unworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be consommed, they caste unburied into some stinkinge marrish.

The woman is not maried before she be xviii yeres olde. The man is iiiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proved to have actually offended before their marriage, with another, the partye that so hathe trespaced is sharpselye punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden ever after in al their lyfe to marrye: one-les the faulte be forreven by the princes pardon. But bothe the good man & the good wyfe of the house, where that offense was committed, as beinge slacke & neglygent in lokinge to their charge, be in daunger of greate reproche and in-
That offense is so sharply punished, because they perceive, that
onles they be diligently kept from the
libertye of this vice, fewe will joyne to-
gether in the love of marriage, wherein
all the lyfe must be led with one, and also
all the griefes & displeasures comming
therewith paciently be taken and borne.

FURTHERMORE in chuesinge
wyses & husbandes they observe
earnestly & straytelye a custome,
whiche semed to us very fonde and fol-
yshe. For a sad and an honest matrone
sheweth the woman, be shemayde or wid-
dowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse
a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the
owler naked to the woman. At this cus-
tome we laughed, & disalowed it as fool-
ishe. But they on the other part doo
greatly wonder at the follye of al other
nations, whyche in byinge a colte, where;
asalytle money is in hasarde, be so charye
and circumspecte, that thoughhe he beal-
moste all bare, yet they wyll not byehym,
oneles the saddel and all the harneies be
taken of, leaste under those coverynges
be hydde som galle or sore. And yet in

194

Though he not verie
honestly, yet not un-
wiselye
chuesinge a wyfe, whyche shalbe either
pleasure or displeasure to them all their
lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the
resydewe of the woomans bodye beinge
covered with cloothes, they esteme her
scaselye be one handebredeth (for they
can se no more but her face), and so to
joyne her to them not without greate
jeoperdye of evel agreinge together, yf
any thing in her body afterward should
chauncce to offend and myslyke them.
For all men be not so wyse, as to have re-
specte to the vertuous conditions of the
partie. And the endowmentes of the bo-
dye cause the vertues of the minde more
to be estemed and regarded: yea even in
themariagesofwysemen. Verely so foule
deformitie maye be hydde under those
coveringes, that it maye quite alienate &
take awaye the mans mynde from his
wyfe, when it shal not be lawfull for theire
bodies to be separate agayne. If suche
deformitie happen by any chaunce after
the mariage is consummate and finyssh-
ed, wel, there is no remedie but patience.
Every man muste take his fortune wel a
worth. But it were wel done that a lawe
were made whereby all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and advoyded be-
before hande.

AND this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke upon, because they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente everye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymoneie is there never broken, but by death: excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde themselfe for any such cause greved: they maye by the license of the counsel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyveth ever after in inframye, & out of wedlocke. Howebite the husbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some mys-
happe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. For they judge it a great poynct of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and for-
saken, & that oldeage, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should unkindly & unfaythfullye
be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunseth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betwene them-selves, both of them fyndinge other, with whom they hope to lyve more quietlye & merylye, that they by the full con-
seunte of them bothe be divorsede a sonder and maried again to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell, whiche agreeeth to no divorsdes, before they and their wyfes have diligentely tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, by-
cause they know this to be the next way to break love betwene man & wyfie, to be in easye hope of a newmariage. Break-
ers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste grevous bondage. And if both the offend-
ers were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe have sufferede wrong, be-
ingedivorsed from the avoutrers, bemar-
ried together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust. But if either of them both do stylishcontinewe in love towards a sounkinde bedfellowe, the use of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faulte-
les be disposed to followe in toylinge &
drudgerye the person, which for that of-

cence is condemned to bondage. And

evry ofte it chaunceth that the repen-
tunse of the one, & the earnested dilig-
ence of the other, doth so move the prince with

pytie & compassion, that he restoreth the

bonde persone from servitude to libertie

and freedom again. But if the same party

be taken eftsones in that faulte, there is

no otherwaye but death. To other tres-
paces no prescript punishemente is ap-

poyned by anye lawe. But accordinge to

the heynousenes of the offense, or con-

trarye, so the punishement is modera-
ated by the discretion of the counsell. The

husbandes chastice theire wyves: &

the parentes theire children, oneles they

have done anye so horryble an offense,

that the open punishemente thereof

maketh muche for the advauncement of

honeste maners. But moste commonlye

themoste heynous faultes be punyshed

with the incommoditie of bondage. For

that they suppose to be to the offenders

no lesse grieve, & to the common wealth

more profit, then yf they should hastely

put them to death, & so make them quite

198
out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus used, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they beslayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison nor chaine could restraine and kepe under. But they whiche take theire bondage pacientlye, be not lefte all hopeles. For after they have bene broken & tamed with longe miseries, if then thei shewe such repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaved that they be soryer for theire offense then for theire punyshe, mente: sumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyve, & sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgiven. He that moveth to advoutrye is in no lesse daunger and jeoperdie, then yf he hadde committed advoutrye in dede. For in all offenses they counte the intente & pretensed purpose as evel as the acte or dede it selfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuse him, that did his beste to have no lette.
The second booke of Utopia

Pleasure of fooles

They have singular delighte and pleasure in foles. And as it is a greater reproche to do to any of them hurt or injury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolishnes. For that, they thinke, doth muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde, and sterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare least he would not intreate them gentilly and favorably enough: to whom they should brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse anye profite shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh; which unwysely doth imbrade anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe.

ALSO, as they counte & reken verye little witte to be in him that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comliness; so to helpe the same with paynt-
inges, is taken for a vaie and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie. For they knowe even by very experience, that no comelinesse of bewtye doeth so hyghelye commende & avaunce the wives in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as love is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preserved, and continued, but by vertue and obedience.

**The second booke of Utopia**

**Counter-feite bewtie**

The do not onely feare their peo-
ple from doyng evil by punish-
ments, but also allure them to ver-
tue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set up in the marketti place the ymages of notable men, and of such as have bene great and bounteful benefac-
tors to the comen wealth, for the perpetu-
tual memorie of their good actes: & also that the glory and renowne of the aunc-
cetors maye styrrre & provoke their pos-
teritie to vertue.

**Sinne punished and vertue rewarded**

**The inordinatly and ambitious, ly desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for ever atteining any promotion as long as he liveth. They lyve together lovinglye. For no magistrate is**
eyther hawte or fearfull. fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they use themselves. The citemens, as it is their dewtie, willynglye exhibite unto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowne from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a little sheffe of comecaried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, wherby onely he is knowne.

**HEY** have but few lawes; for to people so instructe and institute, very fewe do suffice. Yea, this thing they chiefelye reprove among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder & darker, then that anye man can well understande them. Furthermore they utterlie exclude & banishe all attorneis, proctours, & sergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell mat-
ters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that every man should pleade his own mat- ter, & tel the same tale before the judge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstaunce of wordes, and the trueth shall soner come to light, whiles the judge with a discrete judgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and bear- eth out simple wittyes against the false and malicious circumventions of craftie children. This is harde to be observed in other countreis, in so infinite a number of blinde & intricate lawes. But in Uto- pia every man is a cunning lawier. For, as I said, they have very few lawes: and the plainer and grosser that anye in- terpretation is, that they allowe as most juste. For all lawes, saie they, be made and publyshed onely to the intente, that by them every man shoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye & subtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne there- to) canne put verye fewe in that remem-
braunce, where as the simple, the plaine, & grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to everye man.

LES as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in number, and have moste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation upon it, that without greate witte and longe arguyng no man can discusse it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther the grosse judgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their livynges, canne suffice thereto.

ESE vertues of the Utopians have caused their nextenegboures and borderers whiche live fre and under no subjection (for the Utopians longe ago have delivered manye of them from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, & some for five yeares space. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praise, & take
new againe with them into their coun-
trey. These nations have undoubtedlye
very well and holsomely provided for
their common wealthes $ for seynge
that bothe the makinge and marryinge of
the weale publique, doeth depende and
hange upon the maners of the rulers &
magistrates, what officers coulde they
more wyselye have chosen, then those
which can not be ledde frome honestyye
by bribes (for to them that shortly after
shal depart thens into their own coun-
trey, money should be unprofitable) nor
yet be moved eyther with favoure or
malice towards any man, as beyng
straungers, and unaquainted with the
people? The whiche two vices of affec-
tion & avarice, where they take place in
judgementes, incontinente they breake
justice, the strongest & suerest bonde
of a common wealth $ These peoples
whiche fetche their officers and rulers
from them, the Utopians cal their fel-
lowes. And other to whome they have
bene beneficiall, they call their frendes.

As touching leagues, which in o-
ther places betwene countrey &
countrey be so ofte concluded,
broken, & renewed, they nevermake none with anie nation. For to what purpose serve leagues, say they? As though na-
ture had not set sufficient love betwene man & man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chieflye, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues betwene princes be wont to be kepte and observed very sklenderly. For here in Europa, and especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the majestie of leagues is everye where esteemed holy and inviolable: partlie through the justice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselves but they do verye religiouslye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, & them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre and authoritie, they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verye reprochefull thing, yf in the leagues of
them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith should have no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scasely so farre frome us beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo & holier ceremonies the league is knitte up with, the soner it is broken by some cavillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so crafteleie put in and placed, that the bandes can never be so sure nor so stronge, but they will find some hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and treuth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude & deceite, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth and a sower countenaunce, as an offense moste detestable, and worthye to be punnished with a shamefull deathe: yea even very they that avance themselves authours of lyke counsell geven to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al jus-
Tice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which availeth it self farre under the highe dignite of kynges: or at the least wise, that there be two justices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge a fote and crepynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on every side with many bandes, bycause it shall not run at rovers. The other a prince-lye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher majestie then the other pore justice, so also it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after.

These maners of princes, as I said, whiche be there so evell kepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be never so faithfullye observed and kepte, yet the custome of makyng leagues was very evell begun. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat a sondre, by the space of a litle hil or a river, were coupled together
by no societie or bonde of nature) to
thinke themselves borne adversaries &
enemies one to an other, and that it were
lawfull for the one to seke the death and
destruction of the other, if leagues were
not: yea, and that after the leagues be
accorded, frendship doth not grow and 
encrese, but the license of robbing and 
stealing doth styll remaine, as farfurth
as for lack of forsiught and advisement
in writing the wordes of the league, any
sentence or clause to the contrarie is not
therin sufficientlie comprehended. But
they be of a contrarye opinion. That is,
that no man oughte to be counted an 
enemye, whiche hath done no injurye.
And that the fellowshippe of nature is
a stronge league: and that men be better
and more surely knit togethers by love
and benevolence, then by covenautes
of leagues: by hartie affection of minde,
then by wordes.
The seconde booke of Utopia

Of Warfare

ARRReorbeltelas a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in somuchesuse as toman,theydode, test and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothynge so muchoe against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughhe they do daylie practise & exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, and not onlie the men, but also the women upon certen appointed daies, lest they should be to seke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they never go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to drive out of their frendes lande the enemies that have invaded it, or by their power to deliver from the yocke & bondage of tirannye some people that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion.
Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes, not ever in their defence, but sometymes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell & advise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restoore agayne suche thynges as be of them justelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and invasions of soldiours praiyes & booties be driven awaye, but then also muchemore mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either under the pretence of unjuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge & wronge understandinge of good lawes, do susteine an unjust accusation under the colour of justice.

EITHER the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephe- logetes against the Alapolitanes a litle before oure time, was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelegete marchaunt men, as the Utopians
thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre revenged, the countreis rounde about joyninge their helpe and powre to the puissauence and malice of bothe parties, that moste florishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharplye beaten, the mischeves wer not finished nor ended, until the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yielded up as bondemen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this warre for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them.

O egerlye the Utopians prosequite the injuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by coweyne or gile be wiped beside their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by absteininge from occupieng with that
nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not for because they set lesse store by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more hevelie then the losse of their own. Bicause that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their own private goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therefore no man feleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it to cruell an acte, to revenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his living. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a private counsel, knowyng & trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse theoffenders be rendered unto them in recompence of the injurie, they will not be appeased: but inconti-
The second booke of Utopia

Victorie deare bought

... the victorie with bloudshed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They rejoyse & avaunt themselves, if they vanquishe & oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set up a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they have plaied the men indeede, when they have soover commen, as no other living creature but onely man could: that is to saye, by the mighte and puisaunce of wit, for with bodily strength, say they, beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe us in strength & fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obteine...
that thynge, whiche if they had before obtained, they woulde not have moved battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruel vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that ever after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosequete and set forarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte, in avoidinge and eschew-ynge jeopardies, then they be desierous of prayse and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones solemnlye denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne commen seale to be set up privilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moste frequented. In these proclamations they promisse greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and somewhat lesse giftes, but them verye greate also, for everye heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations conteyned. They be those whom they count their chiefe adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed
persons, that is dubled to him that bring,
eth anye of the same to them alive: yea, &
to the proclaimed persones themselves,
if they wil chaunge their mindes, & come
into them, taking their partes, they pro-
fer the same greate rewardes, with pardone, & suertie of their lives. Therefore
it quickly commeth to passe that their
enemies have all other men in suspicion,
and be unfaithfull, & mistrusting among
themselves one to another, living in great
feare, and in no lesse jeopardie. For it is
well known, that divers times the most
part of them ( & speciallie the prince him
selfe) hathe bene betraied of them in
whom they put their moste hope & trust.
So that there is no maner of act nor
dede that giftes and rewardes do
not enforce men unto. And in re-
wardes they kepe no measure. But re-
membbring & considering into how great
hasarde and jeopardie they cal them, en-
devoure themselves to recompence the
greatnes of the daunger with like great
benefites. And therefore they promise
notonly wonderful greate abundaunce of
golde, but also landes of great revenues
lying in most saffe places among their frendes. And their promises they performe faithfully without anye fraude or covyne.

This custome of byinge and self-lynge adversaries among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute any battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytyle and mercye, because that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyves of a greateombre of innocentes, as wel of their owen men as also of their enemies, be raunsomed and saved, which in fighting shoulde have bene sleane, for they doo no lesse pytyle the basse and common sorte of their enemies people, then they doo their owne: knowing that they be driven and enforced to ware againste their willes by the furious madnes of their princes and heades.

If by none of these meanes the matter goo forwrade, as they woulde have it, then they procure occasy,
of debate, & dissention to be spreadde amonge theire enemies: as by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye prevaylenot, then they reyse up the people that be nexte neyghbores and borderers to theire enimyes, & them they sette in theire neckes under the coloure of some olde tytle of ryghte, such as kynges doo never lacke. To them they promyssse theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyve them abundaunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they sende to them fewe or none, whome they make so much of, and love so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their adversaries prince.

But their gold and silver, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyve even as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it everye penye. Yea & besydes theire ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei have also an infinte treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their
Therefore they hire soldiours oute of all countreis and sende them to battayle, but chiefly of the Zapoletes. This people is 500 myles from Utopia eastewarde. They be hideous, savage, & fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes & high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought up. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and susteine heate, colde, & labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandryen nor tyllage of the ground, homelye & rude both in buildinge of their houses and in their apparrel, geven unto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringynge up of cattel. The mooste parte of theire lyvinge is by huntynge & stealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earnestelye seke for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes together, & who soever lackethe souldyours, there they proffer theire service for small wages. This is onelye the crafte that they have to gette theire livynge by. They maynteyne theire lyfe, by
The second booke of Utopia

seekinge theire deathe. For them whome-
wyth they be in wayges they fyghte hard-
elye, fyerslye, & faythefullye. But they
bynde themselves for no certeyne tyme.
But upon this condition they entre into
bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take
parte with the other syde for greater
wayges, & the nexte daye after that, they
wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a
lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres
thereawaye, wherin is not a greate num-
bre of them in bothe partyes.

Therefore it dayelye chaunc,
ethe that nye kynsefolke whyche
were hiered together on one parte,
and there verye frendelye and familiar-
lye used themselfes one wyth another,
shortely after beinge separate in con-
trarye partes, runne one againste anoth-
er envyouslye and fyercelye: and forget-
tinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe,
thruste theire swordes one in another.
And that for none other cause, but that
they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a
lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hygh-
lyeregare & esteame, that they will eas-
lye be provoked to chaunge partes for a
halfepeny more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye they have taken a smacke in covetesenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immedyatelye they spende unthryftelye & wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynste all nations, bycause they geve them greater wayges, then anye oth-
er nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to use wel, so they seke these evell and vicious men to a-
buse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great jeopardyes. From whens the mooste parte of them never cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine alive they paye that which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselfes in like daunger another time. Nor the Utopians passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleve that they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of the worlde all that fowle stinking denne of that most wick-
ed and cursed people.
The second book of Utopia

EXT unto thees they use the soldeours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they joyne to theire oune citizens. Emong whome they give to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, goovernaunce, & conduction of the whole armye. Under him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is sauffe, be bothe private and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the oth-er ij. succeedeth hym, as it were by inhery- taunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is uncer-teine & doubtful) the jeopardye or deathe of the capitaine shoulde brynge the whole armye in hasarde, They chuse soldy- ours out of every citye, those whych putte furthe themselfifes wylyngelye For they thruste no man forthe into warre a-gaynst his wyll. Bycause they beleve, yf annyeman be fearefull & fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doonoman; full and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be occasyon of cowardenes to his fellowes.
But if anye battell be made agaynste theire owne countreye, then they putt these cowaredes (so that they be stronge bodyed) in shyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyspose them upon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus, what for shame that theire enemies be at hande, & what for bycause they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame necessitye turnet the cowardnes into prowes & manlynes.

But as none of them is thrust forthe of his countrey into warre againste his wyll, so women that be wyllynge to accompany theire husbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they provoke and exhorte them to it with prayses. And in set fylde the wyves doo stande everye one by theire owne husbandes syde. Also every man is compasse d next aboute with his owne children, kinsfolkes, & aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefly moveth to mutual succoure, thus standynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reprochoe,
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 sticke so harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter & blodshed, even to the utter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes & shyftes that maye be to kepe themselves from the necessitye of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste needes fight themselves, then they do as corragiouslye fall to it as before, whyles they myght, they did wyselye avoyde & refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuance by litle & lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne & obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyve back an ynche.

OR that suertye of lyvinge, whiche everye man hath at home, beinge joynted with noo carefull anxietie or remembraunce how theire posteritie shall lyve after them (for this pensifnes
oftentymes breakethe & abateth courageous stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreover their knowledge in chevalrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope.

**FINALLY** the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherein they were brought up even from their childhood, partely through learnynge, and partelye through the good ordinaunces and lawes of their weale publique, augmente and encrease their manfull courage. By reason whereof, they neither set so litle store by their lives that they will rasshelye and unadvisedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lawde & fond love therewith, that they will shamefullye covete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leave them.

**WHEN** the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and fervent, a bende of chosen & picked yong men, whiche be sworne to live & dye together, take upon them to destroye theiradversaries capitaine. Whome they invade, now with privy wieles, now by
open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a continuall assaulte, freshe men stylly commynge in the weried mens places. And seldomie it chaunceth (onles he save hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prisoner, and yelded to his enemies alive.

If they wynne thefyelde, they persecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alive, then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursue of theire enemies, but they leave behinde them one parte of theire hoste in battaile arraye under their standardes. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and overcum, saving the rerewarde, and that they therewith alicheve the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to folowe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced unto themselvese more then ones: the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoysing in the victory have persecuted
them flying some one way and some another, a smalle companye of their men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, have sodainely rysen upon them thus dispersed and scattered out of arraye, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase: & have incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes, wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and undoubted victors, being a little before conquered, have for their parte conquered the conquerers.

It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in avoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse, when they go about that purpose, you wold beleve it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceave themselves either overmatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remove their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceave theire enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it...
is no lesse jeopardie to medle with them when they geve backe, then when they preese on. They fence and fortifie their campe severlye with a deape and a brode trench. The earth therof is cast inward.

Nor they do not set drudgeis & slaves a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selfes. All the whole armye worketh upon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harnes before the trenche for sodeine aventure. Therefore, by the labour of so manye, a large trench closinge in a great compass of grounde, is made in lesse tyme then anye man woulde beleve.

Their armoure or harneys, whiche they weare, is sure and strong to receave strokes, and handsome for all movinges and gestures of the bodye, insomuche that it is not unweldye to swymme in. For in the discipline of theire warefare, amonge other feates theye learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they shote both strongely and surely, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande strokes they use not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aswel in sharpe-
nes, as in weyghte, bothe for foynes and
downestrokes. Engines for warre they
devyse & invent wonders wittelye. Whiche
when they be made, they kepe verye se-
crete, leaste yf they shoulde be knowne
before neade requyre, they should be but
laughed at & serve to no purpose. But in
makyngethe them, hereunto they have chiefe
respecte, that they be both easy to be
caried, and handsome to be moved and
turned about.

TRUCE taken with their enemies
for a shorte time they do so firme;
lye and faythfullye keape, that
they wyll not breake it: no not though
they be thereunto provoked.

HEY doe not waste nor destroy
theire enemies lande with forrag-
inges, nor they burne not up theire
corne. Yea, they save it as muche as may
be from being overrunne & troden downe
either with men or horses, thinkinge that
it growethe for theire owne use and prof-
fit. They hurt no man that is unarmed,
onles he be an espiall. All cities that be
yelded unto them, they defende. And
suche as they wynne by force of assaulte,
they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the yelde- 
ynge up of the same, they put to death, the others souldiours they punnyshe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched. If they knowe that an- 
ye cytezeins counselled to yealde and rendre up the citie, to them they gyve parte of the condemned mens goods. The resydewe they distribute and give freye amonge them whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of them selfes taketh anye portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finished ended, 
they put theire frendes to never a penny 
coste of al the charges that they were at, but laye it upon theire neckes that be con-
quered. Them they burdeine with the 
whole charge of theire expenseis, whiche 
they demaunde of theem partelye in mo-
neie to be kept for like use of battayll, & partelye in landes of greate revenues to 
be payde unto them yearelye for ever. 
Suche revenues they have now in manye 
countreis. Whiche by litle & litle ryisinge 
of dyvers and sondry causes be increased 
above vij. hundrethe thousand ducates 
by the yere.

230
Whether they sende forth some of their citezeins as lieuetenauntes, to live there sumptuously like men of honoure & renowne. And yet this not withstandinge muche moneye is saved, which commeth to the commen treasury: onles it so chaunce, that they had rather trust the countrey with themoney. Which many times they do so long until they have nede to occupie it. And it seldom happeneth that theidemaund al. Of these landes they assigne part unto them, which at their request and exhortacion put themselves in such jeoperdies as I spake of before. If anye prince stirre up warre agaynste them, intending to invade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre & strengthe. For they neverlyghte, lymake warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be never brought into so extreme necessitieas to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne Ilande.
HERE be divers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in divers places of every citie. Some worship for God the sonne: some, the mone: some, some other of the planettes. There be that give worship to a man that was ones of excellent vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the moste & the wysest parte (rejectynge al these) beleve, that there is a certayne godlie powre unknowen, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre above the capacitie and retche of mans witte, dispersed throughout the world, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of all things. Neither they

232
geve any divine honours to any other then to him. Yea al the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all together with the wisest sorte, in believing that there is one cheife and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagree, that among some he is count-ed one, and amonge some an other for every one of them, whatsoever that is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only divine mighte & majestie, the summe and soveraintie of al thinges by the consent of al people is attributed and geven.

NOWBEIT they all begyn, by litle and litle, to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, & to agree togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe & excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo have bene abolished, but that whatsoever un-prosperous thynge happened to anie of
them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulness of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from God out of heaven. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakyng, woulde revenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde us speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great number of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleve with howe gladde mindes they agreed unto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of God, or elles for that they thought it nieghest unto that opinion which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe & furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde us say, that Christ instituted among his, all thinges commen: & that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongst the rightest Christian companies.
EREILY howsoever, it came to passe many of them consented together in our religion, & were wasshed in the holy water of baptisme: But because among us foure (for no mo of us was left a live, two of our compayne beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beyng entered & instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke onely those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes dominister: Howbeit they understand and perceive them, and be very desierous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether without the sending of a christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receave the ordre of priesthood: And truely they were minded to chuse one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none. Also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath received it: Saving that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He, as soone as he
was baptised, began against our wills, with more earnest affection then wisdom, to reason of Christes religion: & began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but also did utterly despise and condempne all other, calling them prophane, & the followers of them wicked and devolent, and the children of everlasting dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laid holde on him, accused him, and condempned him into exil, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, & a raiser up of dissention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for resoning in the maintenaunce of his owne religion.

OR kyng Utopus, even at the firste beginning, hearing that the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his coming thether, at continuall dissention & strife amonge themselves for their religions: perceyving also that this common dissention (whiles every severall secte tooke several partes in
fighting for their country) was the only occasion of his conquest over them all, assone as he had gotten the victory: firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for everie man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablelie, gentelie, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking & inveighing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them unto his opinion yet he should use no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and ferventlye in this cause strive and contende, was decreed banishment or bondage.

This lawe did kyngge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing un-
advisedlie, as douting whether god, desiering manifolde and diverse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men with sondrie kindes of religion. And this suerly he thought a very unmete and polish thing, & a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same that thou belevest to be trew. Furthermore thoughghe there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handelled with reason, & sober modestie) that the trueoth of the own powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continuallye be used, as the woorste men be mooste obstinate and stubbourne, & in their evyll opinion mooste constante: he perceaved that then the beste & holyest religion woulde be troden underfote and destroyed by most vaine supersticions, even as good corne is by thornes and weedes overgrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte undiscussed and gave to
everye man free libertie and choise to beleve what he woulde. Savinge that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man shoulde conceave so vile and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al aventures, governed by no divine providence.

And therfore thei beleve that after this life vices be extremelye punished & vertues bountifullly rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they countenot in the number of men, as one that hathe avaled the heighe nature of hys soule to the vielnes of brute beasts bodies: muche lesse in the number of their citizeins, whose lawes and orders, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteme, for you maye be suer that he will studie either with craft prively to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, ex -
The second booke of Utopia

A very straung sayinge

Deceit and falshod detested

cluded from all offices, and rejecte from all common administrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all sortes despised, as of an unprofitable, & of a base & vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuad-ed, that it is in no mans power to beleve what he list. No, nor they constrain hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde, and shewcountenaunce contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falshod & all maners of lies, as next unto fraude, they do mervelouslie deteste & abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, & that onelye amonge the com-men people. For els aparte amonge the priestes and men of gravitie, they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dispute and argue: hoping that at the last, that madnes will geve place to reason.

HERE be also other, and of them no small numbre, which be not for-bidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, beyng in their living neither evell nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleve that the soules
of brute beastes be immortall & everlasting. But nothyng to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined & predestinate to like felicitie. For al they believe certainty & sewerly that mans blesse shall be so great, that they do mourn & lament every mans sicknes, but no mans death, oneles it be one whome they see depart from his life carefullie, & agaynst his will. For this they take for a verye evel token, as though the soule beyng in dispaire, and vexed in conscience, through some privie and secret forfeiting of the punishment now at hande, were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawn by force & sore against his will. They therfore that see this kinde of death, do abhorre it, & them that so die, they burie with sorow and silence. And when they have praied God to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they cover the dead coorse with earth. Contrariwise all that departe merely and ful of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerse

The seconde booke of Utopia

A marvelous straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes

To die unwilleyngly an evel token

A willing and a merye death not to be lamented
with joyfull synging, commending the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence, they bourne the bodies. And in the same place they sette up a piller of stone, with the dead mans titles therein graved. When they be come home they rehearse his vertuous manneres and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembrance of the vertue and goodnes of the dead, doeth vehemently provoke & enforce the living to vertue. And that no thing can be more pleasantaunt & acceptable to the deade; whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull & feble eiesight of mortall men they be invisible.

OR it were an unconvenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greater unkindnes in them to have utterly cast away the desire of visitinge & seing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time joyned by mutuall love and amitie.
Wichce in good men, after their death, they counte to be rather increased then diminished.

They beleve therefore that the dead be presentlye conversaunt amongst the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their wordes & deedes. Therefore they go more corragiously to their busines as having a truste and affiance in such overseers. And this same beleefe of the present conversation of their forefathers & auncetours among them, fear-eth them from all secrect dishonestie.

They utterly despise and mocke soothsayinges and divinations of things to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and all other divinations of vaine superstition, which in oth-er countreis be in greate observation. But they highley esteeme and worshippe mir-acles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes & witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtefull matters, by commen intercession & prayers, they procure & obteine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast belefe.
They think that the contemplation of nature, and the praise thereof comming, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, nor geve their mindes to any knowledge of things. But ydelves they utterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten & obteined by busie labors & good exercises. Some therefore of them attende upon the sicke, some amendment high waies, clensed ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, gravell, & stones, fel & cleeve wood, bring wood, corne and other things into the cities in cartes, & serven not onelye in commen woorkes, but also in private laboures as servauntes, yea, more then bondmen, for what so ever unpleasaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and desperation doth fray other, al that they take upon them willingly & gladly, procuring quiete & rest to other, remaininge in continual worke & labour themselves, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glorie in theire owne.
These men, the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be divided into two sectes. The one is of them that live single and chast, absteining not only from the companionship of women, but also from eating of flesh, & some of them from all manner of beasts. Whiche, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtful, be all wholly set upon the desier of the lyfe to come, by watchynge, and sweatynge, hooping shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie & lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisyng the solace therof, thinking that they can not be dischargeth of their bounden duties towards nature, without labour and toyle, nor towards their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from laboure. They love the flesh of foure footed beasts, because they beleve that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke.
The second booke of Utopia

It is not all one to be wise and good

Priestes

The Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre 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. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they call Buthrescas, the which word by interpretation signifieth to us, men of religion or religious men.

They have priestes of exceeding holines, and therefore very few. For there be but xiiij. in every citie, accordinge to the number of their churches, savyng when they go furthe to battell. For than viij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre every one into his owne place, they that be above the numbre (untill suche timeas they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge) be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For
he is the chiefe head of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secrete voices, for the a- voydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own com- panie. They be overseers of al divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer judges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living.

BUT as it is their office to geve good exhortations and counsel, so is it the dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct & punishe offendors, saving that the priestes, whome they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having anye interest in divine matters. And there is almost no punishment amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For unlesse they by quicker repentance approve the amendement of their lives to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious.
Both childhode and youth is instructed & taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they use with verie great endeavour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opini-ons and profitable for the conservation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them all their lifeafter, & be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenan-cence of the state of the commonwelth. Whichenever decaith but throughhe vices risinge of evill opinions.

The priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthoode, howbeit fewe bechos-en, and none but widdowes and old wo-men) the men priestes, I saye, take to their wifes the chiestest women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminence geven. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be under no commen judgement, but be left only to God and
themselves. For they think it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he neverso vittious, whicheafter so singular a sort was dedicate & consecrate to god as a holly offering. This maner may they easelye observe, because they have so fewe priestes, and do chuse them with such circumspection. For it scasely ever chaunceth, that the moste vertuous amonge vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is avancenced to so high a digni	
ty, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it should chaunc in dede (as mans na
ture is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so fewe, & promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared that anye great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the commen wealth.

The second booke of

Utopia

They have so rares & fewe priestes, least if the honour were commu-

nicated to many, the digniti of the ordre, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should runne in contempt. Specially because they thincke it hard to find many so good, as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge
The second booke of Utopia

whereof it is not sufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore these priestes be not more estemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of for-rein & straunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open feld, they, a little beside, not farre of, knele upon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding up their handes to hea-ven: praing first of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their host gette the upper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, & restrayne their owne men from sleying & cruelly pursu-inge theire vanquyshed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but see them and speake to them, it is ynoughe for the savegarde of theire lyves. And the touch- ing of theire clothes defendeth & saveth al theire gooddes from ravine and spoyle. This thinge hathe avanced them to so greate wourship & trewe majesty among al nations, that manye times they have as wel preserved theire owne citizens from

250
the cruel force of their enemies, as they have their enemies from the furyous rage of their owne men. For it is well known, that when their owne army hath reculed, & in dyspayre turned backe and runne away, their enemies fyerslye pursuing with slaughter & spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwene have stayed the murder, & parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath benemade & conclud-ed betwene bothe partes upon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was never any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in suchereverence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to beviolentlye & unreverentlye touched.

They kepe hollye the firste & the laste daye of everye moneth and yeare, divydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in theirre language Cynemernes, & the laste Trapemernes, the whychewoordes may be interpreted, primisfeste&finisfeste,orelsinourspeache,
Their churches of dimme light and a reason why first feaste & last feast. Their churches be verye gorious, & not onelye of fine & curious workemanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receave a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Because they thought that over much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, & more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion: which because it is not there of one sort among all men, & yet all the kindes and fassions of it, though he be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the divine nature, as goyng divers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is sene nor heard in the churches, but that semeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye several secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so or-dered, that they be no derogation nor
prejudice to anye of the private sacrifices & religions. Therefore no image of anye god is seen in the churche, to the intente it may be free for every man to conceive God by their religion after what likenes & similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of God, but only Mithra, in the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine majestie, whatsoever it be. No prayers be used but suche as everyeman maye bolde; lie pronounce withoute the offendinge of any secte.

They come thherefore to the churche the laste day of everye moneth & yeare in the evenynge yet fastinge, there to gyve thankes to God for that they have prosperouslye passed over the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. Thenextedaye they come to the church earlye in the morning, to praye to God that they maye have good fortune and successse all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye.

But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the
churche, the wives fall downe prostrat
before theire husbandes feet at home, &
the children before the feete of their pa-
rentes, confessinge and acknowledginge
themselfes offenders, either by some ac-
tuall dede, or by omission of their deuty,
and desire pardon for their offense. Thus
yf anye cloude of privy displeasure was
risen at home, by this satisfaction it is
overblown, that they may be presente
at the sacrifices with pure and charitable
mindent. For they be aferd to come there
with troubled consciences. Therefore if
they knowe themselves to beare anye ha-
tred or grudge towards anye man, they
presume not to come to the sacrifices, be-
fore they have reconciled themselfes and
purged theire consciences, for feare of
greate vengeaunce & punyshemente for
their offense.

When they come thetther, the
men goo into the ryghte syde
of the churche, & the women in

to the lefte syde. There they place them-
selfes in sucheordre, that all they whyche
be of the male kinde in every houshold
sitte before the goodman of the house,

254
and they of the female kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene that all their gestures & behaviours be marked and observed abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, lest children being joynd together, they should passe over that time in childish wantonnes, wherein they ought principally to conceive a religious and devout feare towards God: which is the chieffe and almost the only incitation to vertu.

**Ceremonies**

They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of God hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geven liffe to beastes to the intent they should live. They burne franckensence, and other sweet savours, & light also a greate numbere of waxe candelles & tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing avaylable to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men. But this unhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet savoures and
lightes, and other such ceremonies men feel themselves secretlye lifted up and encouraged to devotion with more willynge and fervent hartes.

The people weare the in the churche white apparell. The priest is clothed in chayneable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stuffe not veryepretious. For theire vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely & conningleye with divers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costely stuffe is hable to countervaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is observed in theire setting, they saye is conteyned certaine divine mysteries. The interpretation wherof knownen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God toward them: and of the love & honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God: and also of their deuites one toward any other.
WHEN the priest first commeth out of the vestry thus appareled, they fall downe incontinent everye one reverentlye to the ground, with so still silence on everye part, that the very passion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally present. When they have liene a litle space on the ground, the priest geve the them a signe for to ryse.

WHEN they sing prayses unto God, whiche they intermixe with instrumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we use in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweeter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours.

BUT in one thinge doubtles they goo exceeding farre beyonde us. For all their musike, bothe that they playe upon instrumentes and that they singe with mannes voyce, dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that
whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty
of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of
mournynge, or of anger; the passion
of the melodye dothe so represente the
meaning of the thing, that it doth won-
derfullye move, stirre, pearce, and en-
flame the hearers myndes.

At the laste the people & the priest
together rehearse solempne pray-
ers in woordes, expreslye pronoun-
ced so made that every man maye pri-
vatelye applye to hymselfe that which
is commonlye spoken of all. In these
prayers, everye man recogniseth the and
knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys
governoure, and the principal cause of
all other goodnes, thankynge him for
so many benefites receaved at his hande.
But namelye that through the favoure
of God he hath chaunced into that pub-
lyque weale, which is moste happye and
welthy, and hathe chosen that religion
whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In
the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge
erre, or yf there be any other better then
eyther of them is, being more acceptable
to God, he desiereth the him that he wyl
of his goodnes let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready too followe what way soever he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and passion of a commen wealth the bee beste, & his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyr-the God to gyve hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, & too brynge all other people to the same ordre of lyvynge, & to the same opinion of God, onles there bee annye thinge that in this diversitye of religions dothe delite his unsercheable pleasure. To be shorte, he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late, that he dare not assygne or deter-mine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his majesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dyea paynetfull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyving in worldlye prosperitye to bee a-waye from him. Whan this prayer is said, they fal doun to the ground again, and a lytle after they ryse up and go to din-ner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe over in playes, and exercise of chevalrye.
NOWE I have declared & described unto you, as trulye as I coulde, the fourme & ordre of that common wealth, which verely in my judgment is not only the beste, but also that which alone of good right maye claime and take upon it the name of a common wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But every man procureth his owne private gaine. Here, wherenothinge is private, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked uppon. And truely on both partes they have good cause so to do as they do.

OR in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterve for honger, onles he make some seuerall provision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe floryshe never so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled even of verye necessitie to have regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse, there, where all thinges be commen to every man, it is not to be doubted that anyman shall lacke anye thinge necessary for his private uses: so that the commen
store houses and bernes be sufficiently stored. For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe sorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And though he no man have anye thinge, yet everye man is ryche.

For what can be more riche, then to lyve joyfully and merely, without al grieue & pensifen: Not caring for his owne lyving, nor vexed or troubled with his wives importunate complaintes, nor dreadynge povertie to his sonne, nor sorrowwyng for his daughters dowrey? Yea, they take no care at all for the lyvyng & wealthe of themselfes and all theirs, of their wyfes, their children, their nephews, their childrens children, and all the succession that ever shall followe in their posteritie. And yet besides this, there is no lesse provision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe labour and take payne.

Here nowe woulde I see, ye anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equytie, the justice of other nations. Among whom, I for-
The second booke of Utopia

sake God, if I can fynde any signe or token of equitie and justice. For what justice is this, that a ryche goldesmythe, or an usurer, or to bee shorte, anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is such, that it is not very necessary to the common wealth, should have a pleasaunte and a welthie lyvinge, either by idlenes, or by unnes-
sarye busines: when in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronsmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bear-
inge beastes be skant hable to susteine, andagaine, so necessary toyle, that with- out it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyving, and lyve so wretched & miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouringe beastes maye seme muche better & wel-
thier? For they be not put to soo continuallaboure,nor theire lyvinge is not muche worse, yea to them muche pleasaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meaneseason for the tyme to come. But these seilye poore wretches be presently tormented
with barreyne & unfrutefull labour. And
the remembraunce of theire poore indis-
gent & beggerlye olde age kylleth them
up. For theire dayly wages is solytle, that
it will not suffice for the same daye, muche
lesse it yeldeth any overplus, that may
daylye be layde up for the relyefe of olde
age.

Is not this an unjust & an unkynde
publyque weale, whiche gyveth
great fees and rewardes to gentle-
men, as they call them, & to goldsmythes,
and to suche other, whiche be either ydle
persones, or els onlye flatterers, and de-
vysers of vayne pleasures, and of the
contrary parte maketh no gentle provi-
sion for poore plowmen, colians, labor-
ers, carters, yronsmythes, & carpenters:
without whome no commen wealth can
continewe? But after it hath abused the
labours of theire lusty and flowring age,
at the laste when they be oppressed with
olde age & syckenes: being nedye, poore,
and indigent of all things, thenforget-
tyng their so manye payenefull watch-
ings, not remembring their so manye
and so greate benefites, recompenseth
The second booke of Utopia

& acquyteth them moste unkyndly with myserable death.

And yet besides this, the riche men not only by private fraud, but also by commen lawes do every day pluck and snatch awaye from the poore some parte of theirdaily living. So where as itsemed before unjuste to recompense with unkindnes their paynes that have bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they have to this their wrong and unjuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geven the name of justice, yea and that by force of a law.

Therefore when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do flourishe, so God helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe their owne commodities under the name and title of the commen wealth. They invent and devise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that they have unjustly gathered together, & next how to hire and abuse the worke and laboure of the poore for as litle money as
may be, These devises, when the riche men have decreed to be kept & observed under colour of the comminaltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes.

BUT these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their unsatiabile covetousnes devided among them selves al those things, which woulde have sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the welth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth. Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly se\cluded & banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away. How great an occas\sion of wickednes & mischiefe is plucked up by the rotes, for who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, ravine, brauling, quar\relling, brabling, striffe, chiding, conten\tion, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishementes are rather revenged then refrained, do dye when mo\ney dieth? And also that feare, grieve, care, laboures, and watchinges, do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth?
EA poverty it selfe which only semed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away. And that you may perceive this more plainly, consider with your selfes some barein and unfruteful yeare, wherein manye thousands of people have starved for honger: I dare be bolde to say, that in the end of that penury, so much corne or grain might have bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being divided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at all should have felt that plague & penuri. So easely might men gette their living, if that same worthye princesse, lady money, did not alonestop up the waye betwene us & our lyving, which a Goddes name was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the way therto should be opened.

I am sewer the ryche men perceive this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing, then to abunde with overmuchoe superfluite: to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles,
then to be beseiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of every mans private commoditie, or els the authority of oure sa-vioure Christe (which for his great wis-dom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) wold have brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it were not that one only beast, the princesse & mother of all mischiefe, Pride, doth withstande and let it. She measurethe not wealth & prosperity by herowne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, yf there were nowretches left, over whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felici-ties mighte shyne, whose povertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by gorgiouslye settynge furthe her rich-esse. Thys hell hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out.
This forme & fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish unto al nations: I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which have followed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shall continew & last not only wealthely, but also as far as mans wit may judge & conjecture, shall endure for ever. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices be plucked up by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardie of domesticall dissention, which alone hath caste under foote & brought to noughte the well fortified and stronglie defenced wealth & riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, & wholesome lawes be executed at home, the envie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or move the empire, though they have many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng evermore driven backe.
HUS when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many things came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their chevalry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and livynge, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye, all nobilitie, magnificence, worshippe, honour, and majestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, utterlye be overthrown & destroyed: yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynge shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde: speciallye remembrynge that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which be aferde lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could
find some fault in other mens inventions; therfore I praising both their institutions and his communication, toke him by the hand, & led him into supper: sayinge that we woulde chuse another time to waye and examine the same matters, & to talke with him more at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the mean time as I can not agree and consent to all things that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldlye matters exactly & profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse and graunte that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.
To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, provost of Arienn, & counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie

THOMAS MORE, the singular ornament of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslide) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel known, sent unto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knownen, but most worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealth, all people shoulde be willing to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely set furth, so conningly painted out, and so evidently subject to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somwhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke aswell as master More) uttering and
pronouncing his owne woordes. Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainely enough appeare to reporte not thinges which he had learned of others onely by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, & throughly vewed, and wherein he had no small time bene conversant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea, even the very famous and renowned traveller Vlysses: and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. C. yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thoughte to have sene nothing.

MOREOVER, wheras we be wont more effectually & pitthely to declare & expresse thinges that we have sene, then whiche we have but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace and singular dexterity, to discrive & set furth a mat-
ter withall. Yet the selfe same things as ofte as I beholde and consider them drawen and painted oute with master Mores pensille, I am therwith so moved, so delited, so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently conversaunt, even in the ylante of Utopia. And I promise you, I can skante beleve that Raphael himselfe by al that five yeres space that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there somuch, as here in master Mores description is to be sene and perceived. Whiche description with so manye wonders and miraculous thinges is replenisbed, that I stande in great doubt wherat first and chieflie to muse or marveile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and suer memorie, which could welniegh worde by worde rehearse so manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his singular prudence, who so well and wittyly marked and bare away al the originall causes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commonly most unknowen) wherof both yssueth and springeth the mortall confusion & utter decaye of a commen wealth, & also
the avancement and wealthy state of
the samemayriese and growe: or elles at
the efficacie and pitthe of his wordes,
which in so fine a latin stile, with suche
force of eloquence, hath couched togeth-
er & comprised so many and divers mat-
ters, speciallie beinge a man continual-
lie encombred with so manye busye and
troublesome cares, both publique and
private, as he is.

**HOWBEIT** all these thinges cause
you little to marvell (righte honour-
able Buslid) for that you are fami-
iliarly and throughly acquainted with the
notable, yea, almost divine witte of the
man.

**BUT** nowe to procede to other mat-
ters, Isuerly knownothing nede-
fulor requisite to be adjoyned un-
to his writinges: onely a meter of iiiij.
verses written in the Utopian tongue,
whiche after master Mores departure
Hythloday by chaunce shewed me, that
have I caused to be added thereto, with
the Alphabete of the same nation, and
have also garnished the margent of the
boke with certen notes. for, as touch-
inge the situation of the ylande, that is to saye, in what part of the worlde Utopia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not a litle troubleth and greveth master More, in dede Raphael left not that unspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by the way passing it over, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and re-serve that to an other place.

AND the same, I wot not how, by a certen evell & unluckie chaunce escaped us bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of Master Mores servauntes came to him, and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil never stynte, nor rest, until I have gotte the full & exacte knowledge here-of: insomuchte that I will be hable perfect-ly to instructe you, not onely in the lon-gitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the just latitude therof, that is to
say, in the sublevation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythlos
day be in safetie & alive \( \forall \) for we heare very uncerten newes of him. Some re-
porte, that he died in his jorney home-
warde. Some agayne affirme, that he re-
turned into his countrey, but partly for
that he coulde not away with the fash-
ions of his countrey folk, and partly for
that his minde & affection was altogeth-
er set & fixed upon Utopia, they say that
he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne.

Now as touching this, that the
name of this yland is nowhere
founde amonge the olde & aun-
cient cosmographers, this doubte Hyth-
loday himselfe verie well dissolved. For
why, it is possible enoughe, quod he, that
the name, whiche it had in olde time was
afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they
never had knowledge of this iland: for-
asmuch as now in our time divers landes
be found which to the olde geograph-
ers were unknownen. Howbeit, what ned-
eth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter
with argumentes, seynge Master More
is author herof sufficient? But wheras he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede here in I both commend, and also knowledge the mannes modestie.

OWBEIT unto me it semeth a worke most unworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abrod into the handes of men, yea, & under the title of your name to be published to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of Master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els because no man is more fitte and meete then you, with good counsell to further & avaunce the commen wealth, therin you have many yeares already continued and travailed with great glory & commendation, bothe of wisdome and knowledge, & also of integritie & uprightnes. Thus Oliberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of thisoure time, I byd you moste hartely well to fare. At Antwerpe, 1516, the first daye of November.
A meter of iiiij. verses in the Utopian tongue, briefly touchinge as well the straunge beginning, as also the happie & wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe.

TOPOS ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan,
Bargol hemaglomi Baccan soma gymnosophaon,
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin
Volual pa barchin heman la lavoluala dramme pagloni.

Whiche verses the translator, accordinge to his simple knowledge and meane understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely Englished.

Y kinge and conquerour Utopus by name,
A prince of much renowne and immortall fame,
Hath made me an yle that earst no ylanye was,
Ful fraignt with worldly welth, with pleasure and solas.

Ione of all other without philosophie
Have shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
So better to receave I am readie with al my harte.
A shortemeter of Utopia,written by Anemolius, poete laureate, & nephewe to Hypthlodaye by his sister.

E Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Voyde of haunte & herboroughe,
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughge.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and passe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefly
In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
The same have I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, & treasure fyttely,
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightly
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.
OTH pleasure please? then place the here, and well the rest,
Most pleasaut pleasures thou shalt finde here.
Doeth profit ease? then here arrive, this yle is best.
For passinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both gaine and pleasure?
This yle is freight with both bounteously.
To still thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treasure
Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie.
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
Thou hast them here subject unto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
Geve to Thomas More, Londons immortal glorye.
Wilt thou knowe what wonders strange be in the lande that late was founde? Wilt thou learne thy life to leade, by divers ways that godly be? Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, understande the very grounde? Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is of vanitie? Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoufe, as thou maie best. All thinges that in this present worke, that worthie clerke sir Thomas More, With witte divine ful learnedly, unto the worlde hath plaine exprest, In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and for godly lore.

The Printer to the Reader

The Utopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the above written Epistle is promised, hereunto I have not now adjoyned, because I have not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiæn
letters. And no marveill: seyng it is a
tongue to us muche straunger then the
Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arab.
icke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian,
the Sclavonian, the Ciprian, the Scythian
etc. Which tongues, though they be no-
thing so straunge among us as the Uto-
pian is, yet their characters we have not.
But I trust, God willing, at the next
impression hereof to perfourme that
whiche nowe I can not: that is to saye: to
exhibite perfectly unto thee the Utopian
Alphabete. In the meane time accept my
good wyl. And so fare well.
Imprinted at London in Paules Church
Yarde, at the sygne of the Lambe, by
Abraham Weale. M.D.LVI.
Now revised by F. S. Ellis & printed again by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press, Hammersmith, in the County of Middlesex. Finished the 4th day of August, 1893.

Sold by Reeves & Turner, 196, Strand.