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Charles Gatty

from apte
May.

June 1893

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Utopia
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UTOPIA, WRITTEN BY SIR
THOMAS MORE.

foreword by William Morris ❀ ❀



ALPH 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 to-day. 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 withal at one 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 personages, & 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 Mediæval 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 & 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 new-born capitalistic society, the element in which lived the new learning & 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 pleasaunt, and wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique 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 Robynson, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, & nowe by him at this seconde edition newlie perused and corrected, and also with diuers notes in the margent augmented ❀ ❀ ❀ ❀ ❀
Imprinted at London, by Abraham Wele, dwellinge in Pauls church-yarde, at the signe of the Lambe.

The translator to the gentle reader. ❀ ❀

THOU shalte understande 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 intente, that it shoulde ever have bene imprinted 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 secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, & also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursesnes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frendes judgemente, then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge 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 spede, 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 pittie persuasions of my frendes, & perceaving therfore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselve for the tyme, only with this notable saying 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: meanyng therin, if that chaunce rise not whiche is most for the plaiers advauntage, that

then the chaunce 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 geueth us to understande, that though in any of our actes and doynge, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretended purpose, so that the successe & our intent prove thinges farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection 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 comparision of an experte gamester & a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet have I in this by chaunce 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 looked somewhat earnestlye to my game. for though this worke came

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 then ment 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 errors 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 consideration 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 altogether 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 commen wealth, welniagh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marveil. for you knewewellynough, that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure and studye belongynge to the invention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition or conveiaunce of the matter: & therefore 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, beyng firste, not studied for, but suddein & unpremeditate, & then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke language then in the latin tonge. And my

The
Epistle

Truethlo-
veth sim-
plicitie &
playnes

wrytynge, the niegher it should approche to his homely plaine, and simple speche, so muche the niegher shuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke wherunto I do and ought to directe all my travail and study herin. ¶ I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of so muche laboure, havinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almooste there 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 sueretic that thyngc coulde I have performed by no tyme nor studye. ¶ But now seyngc all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde have bene employed, and that there remayned no other thyngc forme to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thyngc

lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, 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 awarde to determine, some as an umpier or a judge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one way to see and visite my frende: an other waye about myne owne privat affaires. Whiles I spende almost al the day abroad amonges 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 amonge businesse, 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

The
Epistle

The
authours
busines
and lettes

The
Epistle

selfe, that he be merie, jocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hath provided, or chaunce hath made, or he him selfe hath chosen to be the felowes and companions of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behavioure & familiaritie he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferance of his servauntes, make them his maysters.


GMONGE these thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while have I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth wast no lesse tyme then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wyne and get onelye that tyme whiche I steale from slepe and meate.

WHICHE tyme, because it is very litle, and yet somewhat it is, therfore have I ones at the laste, though it belonge first, finished Utopia, and have sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thyng have escaped me, you

Meate and
slepe great
wasters of
time

might put me in remembraunce of it. for
thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye
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 thinke nothinge
coulede fall out of my mynde.

John Cle
ment

FOR John Clement, my boye, who
as you know was there presente
with us, whome I suffer to be a-
waye frome no talke, wherein maye be
any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this
yonge bladed and new shotte up corne,
which hathe alreadye begon 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 doubtte  for wheras
Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle
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 hundred of those paseis muste
be plucked away, for that the ryver con-
teyneth there not above three hundreth

The
Epistle

A diversitie
betwene
making a
lye, & tel-
ling a lie

In what
parte of
the worlde
Utopia
standeth
it is un-
knownen

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 my selfe
deceaved. But if you cannot remember
the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I
have done, and as myne owne remem-
braunce serveth me. for as I wyll take
good hede, that there be in my booke
nothing false, so yf there be anye thynge
doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then
make a lie: bycause I had rather be good,
then wylie. ¶ Howebeit thys matter maye
easilye be remedied, yf you wyll take the
paynes to aske the question of Raphael
himselfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be
nowe with you, or elles by youre letters.
¶ Whiche you muste nedes do for an-
other doubt also that hath chaunced,
throughe whose faulte I cannot tel: whe-
ther throughe mine, or yours, or Raph-
aels. for neyther we remembred to en-
quire of him, nor he to tel us, in what part
of the newe world Utopia is situate. The
whiche thinge, I had rather have spent
no small somme of money, then that it
should thus have escaped us: as well for

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, & especiallie one vertuous and godly man, & a professour of diuinitie, who is excedynge desierous to go unto Utopia: not for a vayne & curious desyre 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 Utopia, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne 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.

WHEREFORE 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 unfainedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey

A godly suete

The
Epistle

matter, that in this my booke there maye
neyther anye thinge be founde whyche
is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking,
whiche is true. And I thynke verelye 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 wyllinge & content that
I shoulde undertake to put this woorke
in writyng. for if he be mynded to pub-
lyshe and put forth his owne laboures
and travayles himselfe, perchauce he
woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also,
that in publishyng the Utopiane weale
publique, I shoulde prevent him, & take
frome him the flower and grace of the
noveltie of this his historie.


The
unkynde
judge-
mentes of
men

NOWBEIT, 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, folowyng theyr 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 forth & publishyng of some thyng that maye be either profite or pleasure to others: whiche others nevertheless will disdainfully, scornefully, & unkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be unlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing but that which is verie barbarous in dede. ¶ If it be one that hath a litle smacke of learnyng, he rejecteth, as homely geare and comen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of oldemought, eaten termes, and that be worne out of use. ¶ Some there be that have pleasure onely in olde rustie antiquities: and some onely in their owne doynge. One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so unpleasunte, that he can away with no myrthe

The
Epistle

nor sporte. ¶ An other is so narrow betwene the shulders, that he can beare no jestes nor tauntes. ¶ Some seli poore soules be so afearde 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 feareth water. ¶ Some be so mutable and waverynge, that everye houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge syttinge, & an other thyng standyng. ¶ An other sorte sytteth upon their alebencheis, & there amonge their cuppes they geve judgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne, even as pleaseth them, everye writer accordyng to his writyng, in moste spitefull maner mockyng, lowtyng, and flowtyng them; beyng themselves 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 honest man, wherby one may take holde of them.

THERE be moreover some so un-
kynde & ungentle, that though
they take great pleasure, and de-
lectation in the worke, yet for all that,
they can not fynde in their hertes to love
the author therof, nor to aforde him a
good woorde: beyng much like uncour-
teous, unthankfull, & chourlish gestic;
whiche when they have with good and
daintie meates well fylled their bellies,
departe home, geuyng no thanks to the
feastemaker. Go your wayes now & make
a costlye feaste at youre owne charges,
for gestic so dayntie mouthed, so divers
in taste, & besides that of so unkynde &
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 liber-
tie, afterwardes to take newe advise-
ment. Howbeit, seeyng I have taken great
paynes & labour in writyng the matter,
if it may stande with his mynde & plea-
sure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or
publishyng of the booke, followe the
counsell & advise of my frendes, & spe-
ciallye yours.

A fitte si-
militude

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 communica-
tion of Raphael Hythloday, concern-
yng the best state of a comenwelth.**



HE moste victo-
rious & trium/
phant Kyng of
Englande, Hen/
rye the eyght of
that name, in al
roial vertues a
Prince most per/
relesse, 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 kinges Majesty sent me
Ambassadour into flaunders, joyned
in commission with Cuthbert Tun/
tall, a man doutlesse out of compari-
son, and whom the Kynges Majestie of
late, to the great rejoyssynge of all men,
dyd preferre to the office of Maister of
the Rolles.

BUT of this mannes prayses I
wyll saye nothyng, not bicause
I doo feare that small credence


The first
booke of
Utopia

shalbe geuen to the testimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicause 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 so perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughtenot of me to bee prayed, unlesse I woulde seeme to shew and set furth the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the proverbe saieth.

HERE mette us at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted commissioners: excellent men all. 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 singulare eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonyng, & debatyng of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fel- lowes. 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.

The first
booke of
Utopia

IN the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidyng, often tymes amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then anye other, dyd visite me 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 honestye more excellent.  for he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly wel learned, and towards all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: but towards his frendes so kynde herted, 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 frendshipp maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man

Peter
Gyles

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 & pleasaunte, yea, & that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynemente, and his sweete & delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the feruente desyre that I had to see my native countrey, my wyfe & my chylde, whom then I dyd muche longe & covete to see, because that at that time I had been more then iiii. monethes from them.


APON a certayne daye, when I hadde herde the diuine service in our Ladies Church, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious church of buyldyng in all the cite, and also most frequented of people, and the service beyng doone, was readye to go home to my lodgyng, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkyng 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 fauoure & 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 answeere him: see you this man? sayth he, (and therewith he poynted to the man that I sawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge him strayghte 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 & unknowen 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 Ulysses: 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 bestow-

The first
booke of
Utopia

Raphaell
Hythlo-
daye

The first
booke of
Atopia

ed more studye then in the Latine, by-
cause he had geuen himselfe wholly to the
study of philosophy: wherof he knew
that ther is nothyng extante in Latine,
that is to any purpose, savyng a fewe of
Senecaes & 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 joynd himselfe in company
with Amerike Vespuce, & in the iiii. last
voyages of those iiii. that be nowe in
printe, & abrode in every mannes handes,
he continued styll in his company, sav-
yng that in the last voyage he came not
home agayne with him. for he made suche
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 xxiiii. 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: havynge customably in his

mouth these saynges: 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 mervylous chaunce he arrived in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys countreye shippes, wherein he returned agayne into his countreye, nothyng lesse then looked for.

The first
booke of
Utopia



ALl this when Peter hadde tolde me, I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse that he had vouchsafed to brynge me to the speache of that man, whose communication he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphael. And when wee hadde haylsed eche other: & had spoken these commune wordes that bee cus-

The first
booke of
Utopia

tomablye 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 sattedowne talkyng together.

THERE 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 wyne the love and favoure of the people of that countreye, insomuche that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiying 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 them to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes jour-

neys, he sayd, they founde townes, and cities, and weale publiques, 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, & dried 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 leaste wyse, with people that be no lesse savage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes theim-selves be. ¶ But a litle farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle & lytle to waxe pleasaunte. The ayre softe, temperate, and gentle. The grounde covered with grene grasse. Less wildnesse in the beastes. ¶ At the last shall ye come a gayne to people, cities & townes, wherein is continuall entercourse & occupiying of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselves and with their borderers, but also with merchauntes of

The first
booke of
Utopia

The first
booke of
Utopia

Shippes
of
straunge
fassions

The lode
stone

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, weremade 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 kyeles, and sayles of canvasse, yea, and shortly after hav- yng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experte and cunnyng, bothe in the sea and in the wether. But he saide that he founde greate favoure and frend- ship amonge them for teachyng them the feate and use of the lode stone, whiche to them before that time was un- knowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timorous 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 winter: in so doo- yng, farther from care then daunger; in

so muche, that it is greatly to be doubt-
ed, lest that thyng, throughe their owne
folish hardinesse, shall tourne them to
evyll and harme, which at the first was
supposed shoulde be to them good and
commodious.

The first
booke of
Utopia



AT 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 knowen, as in
speciall be those decrees & ordinaunces,
that he marked to be well & wittely pro-
vided & enacted amonge suche peoples
as do live together in a civile policie and
good ordre. For of suche thynges dyd
wee buselye enquire, and demaunde of
him, and he likewise very willingly tolde
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 bark-
ynge Scyllaes, ravenyng Celenes, and

The first
booke of
Utopia

Lestrigones, devourers of people, and suche lyke great & incredible monsters. But to fynde citisens ruled by good and holsome lawes, that is an exceding rare and harde thyng. 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, & kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errors. Wherof in another place, as I sayde, I will intrete
Now at this time I am determined to reherse onely that he tolde us of the manners, customes, lawes and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repete oure former communication by thoccasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte, wherof he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.



FOR 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 prudente

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 soever he came geastwise, there he had ledde alhis 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

The first
booke of
Utopia

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 kinges. 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 nighest waye that you can devise howe to bestowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the private commoditie of your frendes and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for thadvancement 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 friendshippes : & therefore thinke it no great hurte, if they have not me, nor iii. or iiii. suche other as I am.

The first booke of Utopia

WELL, I perceiue 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 them all that bee so high in power & authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you : yea, and accordyng 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 mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, 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 heade (as I doubt not but you wyl) honeste opinions, & vertuous persuasions; for from the prince, as from

The first
booke of
Utopia

a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or evell. But in you is so perfitte 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 wer 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 knowlege 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 peaceable to rule & governe that they have alredie. Moreover, they that be counsellours to kinges, everyone of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that henedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, that he wil not allowe an other mans counsel, saving


that they do shamefully and flatteringly geve assent to the fond and folishe say-inges of certeyn great men, whose fa- uours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation & flat- terie they labour to obteyne. 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 helpes fayle, then this is their extreame refuge. These thinges, say they, pleased our forefathers and auncestours: wolde

The first
booke of
Utopia

Trip-
takers

The first
booke of
Utopia

God we coulde be so wise as thei were:
& as though thei had wittely concluded
the matter & with this answeare 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. 

Parcial
judge-
mentes

Manye tymes have I chaunced upon such
proude, leude, overthwarte, and way-
warde judgements, 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
iiii. or v. monethes together, not longe
after the insurrection that the Westerne
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 beholdyng to the righte reverende
father, Jhon Morton, Archebishop and




Cardinall
Morton

Cardinal of Canterbury, & at that time also lorde Chancelloure of Englande: 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 facedid shinesuch an amiable reverence, as was pleasaunte 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 embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, 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.

IT chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnyng 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 gal/lowes; and seyng so fewe escaped pun/ishment, 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 nevertheles 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 pun-
yshment of theves passeth the limites
of justice, and is also very hurtefull to
the weale publique; for it is to extream
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 stealyng, whiche have
no other craft wherby to get their living.
Therefore in this poynte, not you onlye,
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 

The first
booke of
Utopia

Of lawes
not made
according
to equitie

By what
meanes
ther might
be fewer
theves &
robbers

The first
booke of
Utopia

Yes, quod he, this matter is wel ynough provided for already; there be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their livynge by, if they would not willingly be nought.



AY, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not long ago oute of Blacke heath felde, 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 lame- nesse 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 ordinarierecourse.

But let us considre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. first there is a great numbre 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,

Idlennesse
the mother
of theves

Landlordes
by the way
checked for
Rent-rai-
yng

by reising their rentes (for this only
poynte of frugalitie do they use, men els
through their lavasse & prodigall spend-
yng, hable to bryng theymselfes to
verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say,
do not only live in idlenesse themselves,
but also carrye about with them at their
tailes, a great flocke or traine of idle and
loyteryng servyngmen, which never
learned any craft wherby to gette their
livynges ¶ These men as sone as their
mayster is dead, or be sicke themselves,
be incontinent thrust out of dores. for
gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle per-
sones, then sicke men, and many times
the dead mans heyre is not hable to main-
teine so great a house, and kepe so many
servyng men as his father dyd. Then in
the meane season they that be thus des-
titute of service, either starve for honger,
or manfullye playe the theves; for what
would you have them to do? When they
have wandred abrode so longe, untill they
have worne threde bare their apparell, &
also appaired their helth, then gentlemen
because of their pale and sickely faces,
& patched cotes, will not take them into

The first
booke of
Utopia

Of idle
servyng
men come
theves

The first
booke of
Utopia

service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke; knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful service to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages & hard fare, whyche beyng deyntely and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes & pleasure, was wont with a sworde & a buckler by hys syde to jette through the strete with a bragginge loke, & to thynke him selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye 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 stowter stomackes, bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consist the whole powre, strength, and puissaunce of oure 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 false and faynt harted soldiers, nor soul diours be not the cowardleste theves: so wel thees ii. craftes agree together.

Betwene
soldiers
& theves
smal di-
versitie

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 plage. The whole royalme is fylled and besieged with hiered souldiours in peace tyme, (yf that bee peace,) whyche be brought in under the same colour & pretense that hath persuaded you to kepe these ydell servyng men. for thies wysefooles & verye archdoltes thought the wealth of the whole coun- trey herein to consist, if there were ever in a redinesse a stronge & a sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men unex- ercised. And therfore they must be for- ced to seke for warre, to the ende thei mai ever have practised souldiers, and cunn- yng 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 perniti- ous and pestilent a thyng it is to main- tayne suche beastes, the frenche men, by their owne harmes have learned, and

The first
booke of
Utopia

What in-
conveni-
ences co-
meth by
continuall
garisons
of soul-
diours

the examples of the Romaynes, Cartha-
giniens, Syriens, & of manye other coun-
treyes doo manifestly declare. ¶ For not
onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes &
cities of all these, by diuers 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 souldiours, which from
their youth have ben practised & inured
in feates of armes, do not cracke nor ad-
vaunce themselves to have very often
gotte the upper hand & maistry of your
new made and unpractised souldiours.
But in this poynte I wyll not use many
woordes, leste perchance 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 coun-
treye, are not supposed to be greatly
affrayde of your gentlemens idle ser-
vynghmen, unlesse it be suche as be not
of body or stature correspondent to their
strength and courage, or els whose bolde
stomakes be discouraged throughe po-
vertie. ¶ 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 bodies (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte & spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakness: or els by to easy and womanly exercises be made feble and unhable 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 selves, 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 another, 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

The first
booke of
Utopia

English
shepe de-
vourers
of men

so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be
become so great devowerers & sowylde,
that they eat up, & swallow downe, the
very men them selves. They consume,
destroye, & devoure whole fieldes, how-
ses, and cities. for looke, in what partes
of the realme doth growe the fynest, and
therfore dearest woll, there noble men,
and gentlemen, yea & certeyn Abbottes,
holymen no doubt, not contenting them
selves with the yearely revenues and pro-
fytes that were wont to grow to theyr
forefathers and predecessours of their
landes, nor beyng 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
nothing standynge, but only the churche
to be made a shepehowse. And as
thoughe you 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 & unsatiabie cormaraunte,

Shepe
maisters
decayers
of hus-
bandrye

& very plage of his natyve contrey, maye
comparse 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
wronges and injurys thei be so weried,
that they be compelled to sell all: by one
meanes therfore or by other, either by
hooke or crooke, they muste needes
departe away, 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 nombre, as husbandrye req-
uireth manye handes; awaye thei trudge,
I say, out of their knowen and accusto-
med houses, fyndyng no place to reste
in. All their housholdestuffe, which is
very litle woorthe; thoughe 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
Utopia

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

The first
booke of
Utopia

The cause
of dearth
of vic-
tuales

What in-
conveni-
ence com-
meth of
dearth of
wolle

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 neuer so willyngly profre themselves thereto for one shepherde or heardman is ynoughe to eate up that grounde with cattel, to the occupiying wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this, the price of wolle is so rysen that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, & make cloth therof, be now hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geve them selves to idelnesse 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 & unsaciabie 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, because there be so fewe sellers. for they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. ¶ Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea, and that so much the more, bicause 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 the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. ¶ But first they bie them abroad verie chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore, as I suppose, the whole incommo- ditie hereof is not yet felte; for yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. ¶ But when they shall fetche them away from thence wheare 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.

The first booke of Utopia

The cause of dearth of wol

Dearth of cattel with the cause therof

The first
booke of
Utopia

**Dearth of
victuales
is the de-
cay of
house kep-
ing; wher-
of ensueth
beggery &
thefte**

**Excesse in
apparell &
diet main-
teiner of
beggery &
thefte**

**Baudes,
whores,
winetavernes, alehouses, & unlawfull games be very
mothers of theves.**

THUS the unreasonable covet-
ousnes of a few, hath turned that
thing to the utter undoing of
your ylande, in the whiche thyng 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 beggyng? Or
elles (whyche these gentell bloudes and
stoute stomackes wyll sooner set their
myndes unto) a stealing? Nowe to a-
mende the matter, to this wretched beg-
gerye and miserable povertie, is joynd
greate wantonnes, importunate super-
fluitie, & excessive riote for not only
gentle mennes servauntes, but also han-
dicrafemen: yea & almooste the plough-
men of the countrey, with al other sortes
of people, use muche straunge & proude
newefanglenes in their apparell, and to
muche prodigall riotte and sumptuous
fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines,
whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, bro-


thelhouses, stewes, and yet an other
stewes, wynetavernes, ale houses, & tip-
linge houses, with so manye noughtie,
lewde, and unlawfull games, as dyce,
cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes; do
not all these sende the haunTERS of them
streighte a stealyng, when theyr mon-
ey is gone? Caste oute these pernicious
abhominations, make a lawe that they
which plucked downe fermes, & townes
of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els
yelde and uprender the possession ther-
of to suche as wil go to the cost of buyld-
ing them anewe. Suffer not these riche
men to bie up al, to ingrosse, and for-
stalle, and with their monopolie to kepe
the market alone as please them. Let not
so many be brought up in idelnes, let
husbandry and tillage be restored, let
clotheworkinge be renewed, that ther
may be honest labours for this idell sort
to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche
hitherto either povertie hath caused to
be theves, or elles nowe be either vaga-
bondes, or idel serving men, and shorter-
lye wil be theves.


The first
booke of
Utopia

Rich men
ingross-
ers & fore-
stallers

The first
booke of
Utopia

The cor-
rupte edu-
cation of
youth a
mother of
thevery

DOUBTLES onles you finde a
remedy for these enormities,
you shall in vaine aduance your
selves of executing justice upon fellons;
for this justice is more beautiful in ap-
perauance, and more flourishyng to the
shewe, then either iuste or profitable, 
for by suffring your youthe wantonlie
and viciously to be brought up, and to be
infected, even from 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 selfe
readie to answeere, and was deter-
mined with him selfe to use the common
fashion and trade of disputers, whiche
be more diligent in rehersinge then an-
swering, as thinking the memorie wor-
thy 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 reherse in order all that you have sayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceived through lacke of knowledge, 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. foure 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 beginnyng. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make your aunswere, but keep it to youre next meatyng, whiche I woulde be righte glad that it might be even to morrowe next, onles either you or mayster Raphael have any earnest let. But nowe mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladly heare of you, why you thinke theste not worthy to be punished with deathe, or what other punishement 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

The first
booke of
Utopia

I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde have thefte escape unpunished. for yf nowe the extreme punishement of deathe can not cause them to leavestealinge, then yf ruffians & robbers shoulde be suer of their lyves; what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishement, as a verye provocation to the mischiefe?

That
thefte
ought
not to be
punished
by death

SUERLYE mylorde, quod I, I thinke it not tryght 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 countervayle mans life. But if they would thus saye: that the breakynge of justice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed 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 governaunce, so streite rules, and unmerciful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by & by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to

Straite
lawes not
allowable

counte a offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we have anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth us that we shall not kill; and be we then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? ¶ And if any man would understande killing by this commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise then mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then why maye it not lykewyse by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whordome, fornication, and perjurie may be lawfull? ¶ For whereas by the permission of God no man hath power to kil neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter of men oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God have killed those, whom this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite &

The first booke of Utopia

That mans law ought not to be prejudicial to gods law

The first
booke of
Utopia

Thefte in
the olde
lawe not
punished
by death

What
inconuen-
ience en-
sueth of
punish-
ynge theft
with death

exempte oute of the bondes & daunger
of Gods commaundement: shall it not
then by this reason folow, that the pow-
er of Gods commaundemente shall ex-
tende no further then mans lawe doeth
define & permitte? And so shall it come
to passe, that in like maner mans consti-
tutions in al thinges shal determine how
farre the observation of all Gods com-
maundementes shall extende. ¶ To be
shorte Moyses law, though it were un-
gentle & sharpe, as a law that was geuen
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 whiche he ruleth us with fatherlie gen-
tlenes, as his deare children, hath geuen
us greater scoupe & licence to the execu-
tion of cruelte, one upon another. Now ye
have heard the reasons whereby I am
persuaded that this punishment is un-
lawful, ¶ furthermore I thinke ther is no
body that knoweth not, how unreason-
able, yea, howe pernicious a thinge it is to
the weale publike, that a thefe and an

homicide or murderer, should suffer equall & like punishment. for the thefe seyng that man is condempned for thefte in no lesse jeoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convicte of manslaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a maner constrained to kill him whome els he woulde have but robbed. for the murder beyng ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowen, seyng the partye is nowe deade, & rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte have uttered & disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discribed: yet he is in no more daunger and jeopardie, then if he had committed but single felonye. Therefore whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theves aferd, we provoke them to kil good men.

NOW as touchinge this question, what punishement were more commodious & better: that true-lye in my judgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might

The first booke of Utopia

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer

What lawfull punish-ment may be devised for theft

The first
booke of
Utopia

Howe the
Romainys
punished
thefte

A worthy
and com-
mendable
punish-
ment of
theves in
the weale
publique
of the Po-
lylerites
in Persia

be wurse. for why should we doubt that to be a good & a profytable waye for the punishement of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste 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 trespases, them they condempned 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 abroad aboute the worlde, used in Persia amonge the people that comenly be called the Polylerites. 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 mountaines, & do content themselves with the fruities 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 accordynge 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 defendred: 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 & borderes.

The first booke of Utopia

THEY that in this lande be atteinted 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 thiestolen 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 &

A privie nippe for them that do otherwise

The first
booke of
Utopia

Theves
condemp-
ned to be
commen
labourers

children. And they them selves be con-
dempned 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, labor-
ing in the common workes. ¶ They that
refuse labour, or go slowly & slacklye to
their worke, be not onely 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, bicause they be commen ser-
vautes 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 thoughe that waye be un-
certein, yet the people be so ful of mercy
and pitie, that none is found more profi-
table or plentifull. In some places certein
landes be appointed hereunto: of the
renewes wherof they be mainteined. ¶

And in some places everye man geveth a certein tribute for the same use and purpose. ¶ Againe 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 limitted 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 common treasourie. ¶ All and every one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shaven, but rounded a lytle above the eares. And the tpye 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 colloure: but to receive money is deathe, as well to the gever, as to the receivoure, and no lesse jeoperdie it is for a

The first
booke of
Utopia




An evell
intent es-
timated as
the dede

The right
end and
intent of
punishe-
ment

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 besene 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 concealsuche an enterpriés, in a servinge man it is deathe, in a free man servitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth & uttereth suche counselles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great some of moneye, to a serving man freedome: and to them bothe forgevenes & pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence; so that it can never be so good for them to go forewarde in their evyll purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe.

THIS 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 playnely perceave: for asmuche as the ende of their wrath & punyshement intendeth nothinge elles, but the destruction of vices, and sayvng 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 litle 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, flye prevelie and unknowen, oneles he woulde runne awaye naked?  Howebeit so also flyinge he

The first
booke of
Utopia

shoulde be discribed 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 seruyng men of one sheire alone, coulde never hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterprise, without sollicitinge, entysinge, & allurynge the seruinge 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 countrey men and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be jeopardie to the concelour 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 in dispaire 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 ever after 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.

The first
booke of
Utopia

WHAN I had thus spoken, say-
inge moreover that I coulde see
no cause why this ordre might
not be had in Englande, with muchemore
profyte then the justice whiche the law-
yer so heighly prayed: Naye, quod the
lawier, this coulde never be so stablysh-
ed in Englande, but that it must nedes
bringe the weale publike into great jeo-
perdie and hasarde. And as he was thus
sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made
a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace.
And all that were there present, with one
assent agreed to his sayinge. Well,
quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to
judge withoute a proffe, whether this
order would do wel here or no. But when
thesentence of death is geven, if than the
kinge shoulde commaunde execution to
be defferred and spared, & would prove
this order and fassion: takinge awaye
the priviliges of all saintuaries: if then
the profe shoulde declare the thinge to

The first
booke of
Utopia

Vaga-
bondes

The waver-
ing judge-
mentes of
flatterers

be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablished: els the con- dempned & reprived persons may as wel and as justly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Nei- ther any jeopardie can in the meane 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 mysayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But moost of al was esteemed that which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause it was the Cardinalles owne addition.





ICAN 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- teined 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 dede 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 foolishe 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 throughe 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 provision to be made for them that through sicknes and age were fallen into povertie, and were become so impotent and unweldie, 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 la

The first
booke of
Utopia

Sick, aged,
impotent
persons &
beggars

The first
booke of
Utopia

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 ever more the one of these two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wise. for when they see me go by, bicause they will not leese theyr labour, 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, graduate in divinitie, toke suche pleasure & delite in this jeste of priestes & monkes, that he also beyngeltes 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

A commen
proverbe
amonge
beggars

A mery
talke be-
twene a
frere and a
foole

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, sayvng onelye the frear. for he (and that no marveile) beyng 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, back-biter, sclauderer, and the childe of perdition: citing therwith 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 saieth: in youre patience you shall save your soules. ¶ Then the freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes)

The first
booke of
Utopia


Talke qual-
ified ac-
cording to
the person
that speak-
eth

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 sinne not. ¶ Then the Cardinall 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 foolishe contention. ¶ No forsoeth my lorde, quod he, I shoulde not do more wyselye. for Salomon the wyse saieth: Answer 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 much more shall one skorne 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 awaie the jester by a prevy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters, & so dismissed us.

The first booke of Utopia

OOKE maister More wyth how longe & tedious a tale I have kept you, whiche surely 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 somewhat briefely, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgement of them, whiche when they had improved and disallowed my sayinges, yet incontinent

The first
booke of
Atopia

hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in good earnest, his jesters folish inventions: bicause that he him selfe by smiling at them did semen not to disprove them. So that herby you may right wel perceave how litle 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 pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, 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 towards you before, yet seyng you do so earnestlye favoure this man, you wyll not beleve howe muche my love towards 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. Wherefore there is nothyngemore apperteining to youre dewty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man. for where as your Plato judgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geve themselves to the studie of philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf philosophers wyll vouche-saufe to enstruct kynges with their good counsell?

The first
booke of
Utopia

THEY be not so unkinde, quod he, but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye have done it alreadye in bookes that they have put furthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, onelesse kynges themselves woulde applye

The first
booke of
Utopia

their mindes to the studye of philoso-
phie, that elles they woulde never tho-
roughlye allowe the counsell of philoso-
phers, beyng themselves before even
from their tender age, infected and cor-
rupt with perverse and evill opinions.
Whiche thyng Plato hymselfe proved
trewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde pro-
pose to any kyng wholsome decrees, do-
yng my endeouvre to plucke out of hys
mynde the pernicious originall causes of
vice and noughtines, thinke you not that
I shoulde furthewith either be driven a-
waye, or elles made a laughyng stocke? 
Well, suppose I were with the frenche
kyng, & there syttinge in his counsell,
whiles in that mooste secrete consulta-
tion, the kyng him selfe there beyng
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 kyng 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 flaunders,

The
frenche-
men privi-
lie becoun-
seled from
the desire
of Italie

Brabant, and of all Burgundie; with di-
vers other landes, whose kingdomes he
hath longe ago in mind and purpose in-
vaded. Here, whiles one counselleth to
conclude a legue of peace with the Ve-
netians, so longe to endure as shall be
thought mete & expedient for their pur-
pose, & to make them also of their coun-
sell, 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 re-
quire & clayme againe. Another thinketh
best to hie the Germanes. 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 pleasaunte, and acceptable sa-
crifice. Whiles an other gyveth counsell
to make peace wyth the kynge of Arra-
gone, and to restore unto him hys owne
kyngedome of Navarra, as a full assur-
aunce of peace. Another commeth in with
his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in
the kynge of Castell with some hope of
affinitie or allyaunce, & to bringe to their

The first
booke of
Utopia

Launce
knightes

The first
booke of
Utopia

parte certeine piere of his courte for
greate pensions. Whiles they all stayer at
the chiefeste doubt of all, what to do in
the meane time with Englande; 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 friendshipp, so that they muste
be called friendes, & hadde in suspicion as
enemies. And that therfore 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 & secretlye
(for openlie it maye not be done by the
truce that is taken) privelye therefore I
saye, to make muche of some piere of
Englande, that is bannished hys coun-
tre, whiche muste cleime title to the
crowne of the realme, & affirme hym selfe
juste inherytoure thereof, that by this
subtill meanes they maye holde to them
the kinge, in whome elles they have but
small truste and affiaunce.

NERE I saye, where so great and
heyghe matters be in consulta-
tion, where so manye noble and
wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie
to warre, 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 the de-
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
gettyng it, and that either their newe

A notable
example,
and wor-
thy to be
folowed

conquered subjectes by sundry occasions were makynge daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynge invadyng them; so that they were ever fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and never coulde breake up theyr campes. Seynge them selves in the meane season pylled & impoverished: their money carried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothyng 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 mischief: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king beyng troubled with the charge and governaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardses them both: seing againe that all these evelles & troubles were endles:

at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and lovinge subjectes gave to their kynge 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 weremother 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 shortelye after was violentlie driven out *f* further, more if I shoulde declare unto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, whereby 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 vaine and to none effect: and that therefore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him: to

The first
booke of
Utopia

make much of it, to enrich it, & to make it
as flourisshing as he could, to endeouore
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 redde is
even ynoughe for him, yea and more then
he can wel turne hym to: this myne advyse
maister More, how thinke you it would
be harde and taken? So God helpe me,
not very thankfully, quod I.

WEL let us procede then, quod
he. Suppose that some kyng
and his counsel were together
whettinge their wittes & devisinge what
subtell crafte they myght invente to en-
ryche the kinge with greate treasures of
money. first one counselleth to rayse &
enhaunce the valuation of money when
the kinge must paye anye: and agayne 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 shalbe receaved.
Another counselleth to fayne warre, that

Enhaun-
cynge and
imbasyng
of coynes

Counter-
fayte
warres

when under this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communitie, 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 coloure of justice. An other advyseth him to forbidde manye thinges under greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples 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 profite riseth two wayes. first by takinge forfaytes of

The first
booke of
Utopia

The renew
ing of olde
lawes

Re-
strayntes

The first
booke of
Utopia

Sellying
of licences

them whome covetousnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this statute, and also by sellinge privileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is forsothe, the deerer he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any private persone, anye thinge that is againste the profite of his people. And therefore maye sel none but at an exceding dere pryce. Another 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 shalbeno matter of his so openlye wronge and unjuste, wherein one or other of them, either because 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, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree a-

monges them selves, 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 ad-
vantage, 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 under-
standinge of the same, or els, whiche
with good and just judges is of greater
force then all lawes be, the kynges indis-
putable prerogative. To conclude, al the
counsellours agre and consent together
with the ryche Crassus, that no abund-
ance of gold can be sufficient for a prince,
which muste kepe & maynteyne an armie:
furthermore, that a kyng, though he
would, can do nothinge unjustlye. for
all that all men have, yea also the men
them selves, be all his; and that every
man hath so much of his owne, as the

The first
booke of
Utopia

The sayng
of riche
Crassus

The first
booke of
Utopia

kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe moste for the kynges advantage, that his subjectes have very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whose savegarde dothe herein consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men benot wontepatiently to obeye harde, unjuste, 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 should ryse up, & bolde lye affirme that all these counselles be to the kinge dishonoure & reproche, whose honoure and safetie 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 labour and studie they might al live wealthily, sauffe from wronges and injuries: and

that therfore the kyng ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, even as the office & dewtie of a shephearde is, in that he is a shepherde, to feede his sheperather than himselfe.

FOR as towching this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenance of peace to consist 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 finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurliedurlie (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 wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shavinge, and by bringinge

Povertie the mother of debate & decal of realmes

The first
booke of
Utopia

A worthy
saying of
fabrice

them to beggerie, sewerly 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 beshorte, 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 wealth & 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 contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne,

hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not above his power. Let him restreyne wyck- ednes. Let him prevente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subjectes, & not by sufferinge wickednes to increase, afterward to be punished. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hath 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 before 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 pounce of golde or sylver. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditie of his countrey, then for thenriching of him selfe, made this lawe, to be a stop & a barre

The first
booke of
Utopia

A straunge
& notable
lawe of the
Macariens

The first
booke of
Utopia

to kinges from heaping & hording up so muche money as might impoveryshe their people. for he foresawe that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge 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 & insufficient to encourage & enable him wrongfully 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 people shoulde not lacke money wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seyng the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in above the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he woulde seke no occasions to doe his subjectes injurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of evel men, and loved of good men. These, & suche other informations, yf I shoulde use among men wholye inclined and geven to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you should I have?

DE Affe hearers douteles, quod I, & in good faith no marveyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communication shalbe used, or suche counsell geven, as you be suere shall never be regarded nor receaved. for howe can so straunge infor- mations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye prevented with cleane con- trarye persuasions? This schole phil- osophie is not unpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges have no place.


Schole phi- losophie in the consul- tations of princes hath no place

THAT is it whiche I mente, quod he, when I sayde philosophye hadde no place amonge kinges. In dede, quod I, this schole philosophie hath not, which thinketh all thinges mete for every place. But there is an other phil- osophie more civile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stage, & there after orderynge & behavinge hereselfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, play-

The first
booke of
Utopia



A fine and
a fitte si-
militude

A dumme
plaier


ethe her parte accordingelye with com-
lyenes, utteringe nothings 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,
thoughe 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. Vfeuel 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 forsake the common wealthe: you muste not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule & kepe downe the wyndes. No, nor you muste not labour to dryve into their heades 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 youre selfe, 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 thinges 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 reme-
dye 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, thoughe
peradventure it maye seme unplesante
to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde
seme straunge, or folishely newfangled.

The Uto-
pian weale
publique

 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 thoughe they were
(as they be in dede) better, yet they
myghte seme spoken oute of place. for
asmuche as here amonges us, everye 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 throughly 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 jeopardies

Verilye yf all thynges that evel 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, whych 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 suppose) bicause they saw men evelwilling to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they have wrested & wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade have applyed it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myght agree to-

The first
booke of
Utopia

gether. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done: but that men maye more sickerlye be evell. And I truelye shoulde prevaile even as litle in kinges counselles. for either I muste saye otherwayes then they saye, & then I were as good to saye nothings, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saith 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 & endeouvre my selfe, yf all thinges 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 evel. for there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counselles muste be openlye allowed & verye pestilent decrees muste be approved. He shalbe counted worse then a spye, yea almoste as evel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayse evel and noyesome decrees. Moreover a man canne have no occasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the companye of them whych wyl soner per-


verte a good man, then be made good them selves: through whose evel company he shalbe marred, or els if he remaine 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, nor wyne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they do kepe them selves within their houses, being content that they be saffe them selves, seinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people.

NOWE be it, doubtlesse maister More (to speke truelye as my mynde geveth me) where posses

The first
booke of
Utopia

sions be private, where money beareth all the stroke, it is harde and almoste impossible, that there the weale publique maye justelye be governed, and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that justyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of evellmen, or that prosperitye there floryssheth, where all is divided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neverthelesse doe not leade their lives very wealthely, and the residue lyve miserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye.

WHEREFORE when I consyder with my selfe and weye in my mynde, the wyse & godlye ordinances of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes al thinges be so wel & wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, & yet all thinges 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 & sufficientlye furnysshed with lawes: where everye man calleth that he hath 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 thinges, I say, when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge 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 foresee this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealth of a communaltye, yf equalitye 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 peculiere 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

Plato wylled al thinges in a commen wealth to be commen

The first
booke of
Utopia

the residewe is lefte lacke, and povertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthy to enjoye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause theryche men be covetous, craftye, and unprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by their daylye labour more profitable to the common welthe then to themselves.

THUS I doe fullye perswade me selfe, that no equall & juste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealth 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 wholly 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 prescripte and appointed some of money:

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 obteined by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geuen to theym by fraude and ravin to gather up their money againe, & by reason of giftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which shoulde rather have bene executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodiēs 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 shall make bygger the sore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: for as-

The first
booke of
Utopia

much as nothinge can be geven to anny
one, onles it be taken from an other.



BUT I am of a contrary opin-
ion, quod I, for me think-
eth that men shal never
there live wealthele, where
all thinges be commen. for
howe can there be abund-
ance 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 other mens travayles ma-
keth 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 hathe gotten with
the labour of his owne handes, shal not
there of necessitie be continual sedition
and blodeshed? Speciallye the authori-
tye 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 youre
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 presentely sene theire fasshions
and lawes, as I dyd, whyche lived there
v. yeares, and moore, & wolde never have
commen thence, but only to make that
new lande knowen here, then doubtles
you wolde graunt, that you never sawe
people wel ordered, but only there.

SURELY, quod maister Peter, it
shalbe harde for you to make me
beleve, that there is better order
in that newe lande then is here in these
countrys, that wee knowe for good
wittes be as wel here as there: & I thinke
our commen welthes be auncienter than
theires: wherein long use and experience
hath found out many thinges commodi-
ous for mannes lyfe, besides that manye
thinges heare among us have bene found
by chaunce, whiche no wytte coulde ever
have devysed.





AS touchinge the auncientnes, 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 deuised, 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 endeouvre they farre passe us. for (as their chronicles testifie) before our arrival there, they never hard any thing of us, whome they cal the ultraequinoctialles: saving that ones about M.CC. yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia which was driven thether by tempest. Certeine Romaines & Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that never wente thence. Marke now what profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earneste travaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the empire of Rome wherof any proffite 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 proffite was it to them that ever
anye wente thyther from hence. But
yf annye like chaunce before this hath
brought anye man from thence hether,
that is as quyte out of remembraunce,
as this also perchance in time to come
shalbe forgotten, that ever I was there.
And like as they quickelye, almoste at the
first meting, made their owne, what so
ever is amonge us wealthelye devised: so
I suppose it wolde be long before we
wolde receave anythinge that amonge
them is better instituted then amonge us.
And this I suppose is the chiefe cause
whie their common wealthes be wyse-
lyer governed, and doe flourish in more
wealth then ours, though we neither in
wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

THEREFORE gentle Maister Ra-
phael, 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, their people,

their manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short 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 thinges 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.



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

The end of the firste boke.

The seconde booke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concerning the best state of a common wealthe; conteyninge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politike government, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia



THE Iland of Utopia, conteynethe in breadthe in the middelparte of it (for there it is broadest) CC. miles. Which bredthe continueth throughe the mosteparte of the lande, saving


The site
& fashion
of the
newe y-
lande U-
topia

that by litle & litle it commeth in, & waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetching about a circuite or compasse of V. C. miles, do fassion the whole Iland like to the newmone. Betwene these two corners the sea runneth in, dividing them a sonder by the distaunce of xi miles or there aboutes, & there surmountethe into a large and wyde sea, which by reason that the land on every side compassethe

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A place
naturally
fenced ne-
dethe but
one garrí-
son

it about, & shiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietlie, not muche unlike a greate standinge powle: and maketh welnieghe all the space with/ in the bellye of the lande in maner of a haven: and to the great commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaveth in shyppes towardes everye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the ii corners, what with fordes and shelves, and what with rockes, beverye jeoperdous & daun- gerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth up above the water a great rocke, which therefore is nothing perillous, bycause it is in sight. Upon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde under the water, which ther- fore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themselves, & therefore it seldome chaunceth that anye straun- ger, oneles he be guided by an Utopian, can come into this haven, in so muche that they themselves could skasely entre withoute jeoperdie, but that their way is

directed & ruled by certaine lande markes standing on the shore.  But turninge, translatinge, & removinge thies markes into other places, they maye destroye their enemies navies, be they never so many. The outside or utter circuite of the land is also ful of havens, but the landing is so suerly fenced, what by nature, & what by workemanshyp 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 Hbraxa) which also broughte the rude & wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanitye, & civile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al the people of the world: even at his firste arrivinge and enteringe upon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caused xv myles space of uplandyshe grounde where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged up, and so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He set to this

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Apolitique
devise in
the chaun-
ging of
land
markes

The Ilande
of Utopia
so named
of king
Utopus

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Many
handes
make light
worke

Cities in
Utopia

Similitude
causeth
concorde

A meane
distaunce
betwene
citie and
citie

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 nombre
of workemen, was with excedinge mar-
velous spede dyspatched; in so muche
that the borderers, whiche at the firste
began to mocke, & to jeste at this vaine
enterpryse, then turned their derision
to marveyle at the successe, and to feare.



HERE be in the Ilande liiii
large & faire cities, or shiere
townes, agreyng all togeth-
er in one tonge, 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 suffer-
ethe.

Of these cities, they that be nigh-
est together be xxiiii myles ason-
der. Againe there is none of them
distaunte from the nexte above one dayes
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 juste in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citie. The precinctes 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 selves 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 all sortes of instrumentes & tooles belongyng to husbandrye. These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then xl persones, men and women, besydes two bondmen,


The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The distri-
bution of
landes

But this
nowadaies
is the
grounde
of all mis-
cheife

Husban-
drie & til-
lage cheflye
and princi-
pally re-
garded &
advauced

whyche be all under the rule & order of the good man & the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, & aunciente persones. And every xxx fermes or families have one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, beinge as it were a head baylyffe.  Out of everyone of these families or fermes commeth everye yeare into the citee xx persones whiche have continued ij yeres before in the countrey. In their place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the citee, 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, throughe lacke of knowledge; yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and unexperte in husbandrie.

 HIS maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne & customablye used, to the intent that no man shall be constrayned

againste his wil to contynewe longe in that harde 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 conveniently. ¶ They brynge up a greate multitude of pulleyne, & that by a meruaylouse policye. for the hennes dooe not sytte upon the egges: but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate, they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche theym. The chykens, assone as they become oute of the shel, follow men & women in steade of the hennes. ¶ They brynge up verye fewe horses: nor none but verye fearece ones: and that for none other use or purpose, but onlye to exercyse theire youthe in rydyng and feates of armes; for oxen be put to all the labour 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

The duties of men of husbandrye

A straunge fassion in hatchinge & bringing up of pulleyne

The use of horses

The use of oxen

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Bread and
drink

A great
discretion
in sowing
of corne

suffre muche more labour, payne & hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche lesse coste & charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past labour. ¶ 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 meathe, made of honey or licouresse sodde in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) howe muche vitailles the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende, yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed up muche more cattell, then serveth for their owne use, partyng the over plus among their borderers. ¶ What soever necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. for every moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holy daye. ¶

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 nombre of harvest men is nederfull to be sente to them oute of the citie; the whiche companie of harvest men beyng readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispatcheth all the harvest woorke.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Mutual
helpe
quickely
dispatch-
eth

Of the cities & namely of Amaurote ❀



S for their cities, who so knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be al 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 skilleth 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

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

The des-
cription of
Amaurote
the chiefe
citie in U-
topia



THE citie of Amaurote stand
eth upon the side of a lowe
hill in fashyon almost foure
square. for the breadth of
it beginneth a litle beneth
the toppe of the hill, & still
continueth by the space of two miles, un-
till 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 Amau-
rote out of a litle springe. But beyng in-
creased by other smale riuers & 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. When the sea

The des-
cription of
the river of
Anyder

floweth in, for the length of thirtiemi-
les 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
saltnes. But a litle beyonde that, the river
waxeth swete, & runneth foreby the citie
freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea
ebbeth, & goeth backe againe, the freshe
water foloweth it almooste even to the
verie fal into the sea. Ther goeth a
bridge over the river madenot of piles or
of timber, but of stonewarke with gor-
gious & substancial 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 in dede is not verie great; but it run-
neth gentely & pleasauntly. 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 Amaurotians have inclos-
ed the head springe of it with stronge
fences and bulwarkes, & so have joyned

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The verie
like in En-
gland in
the river of
Thamys

Herein also
doeth Lon-
don agre
with Am-
aurote

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The use of
freshe wa-
ter

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 conveied 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 service.

The de-
fence of
towne
walles

THE citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drie ditch, but deape, and brode, and overgrown with bushes, briers, & thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side, the river it selfe serveth for a ditch.

Stretes

THE stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious & handy some, both for carriage, and also againste the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande joyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate,

Build-
inges and
houses

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 gardens. In them they have vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, & flowers, so pleasaunt, so well furnished, and so fynely kepte, that I never sawe thynge more fruteful, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and deligence herein commeth not onely 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-
joynnyng

This geere
smelleth
of Plato
his com-
munitie

The com-
moditie of
gardens is
commend-
ed also of
Vergile

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens; everye man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightely 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 diligente circumspection, 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 plas-
ter, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes
be well strengthened with tymbber work.
Therooffes 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.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Glased or
canvased
windowes

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Of the magistrates



VERVE thirtie families or fermes, chuse them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, & by a newer name the Philarche. Every ten Syphograuntes, with

al their thirtie families be under an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreover as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number 200, first be sworne to chuse him whom they thinke mooste mete & expediente. Then by a secrete election, they name prince one of those iiij. whome the people before named unto them. for oute of the iiij. quarters of the citie there be iiij. chosen, oute of every quarter one, to stande for the election; whiche be put up to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannie. They

A tranibore in the Utopiane tongue signifieth a head or chief peere

A marvelous straunge fassion in chusinge magistrates

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publique utterlie to be abhorred

chuese the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores everye thyrde daye, and sumtimes, yf nede be, oftener, come into the counsell house with the prince.

THEIR counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be anye controversies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they dispatch & ende them by and by. They take ever ij. Siphograuntes to them in counsel, and everi dai a new coupel. And it is provided, that nothings touchinge the common wealthe shalbe confirmed and ratified, onlesse it have bene reasoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed.

IT is deathe to have anye consultation 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 tyrannie, and to chaunge the state of the weale publik. Therefore matters of great

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Sutes and
controversies be-
twene partie & partie
furthwith
to be ended
which now
a daies of a
set purpose be un-
reasonably
delaied

Against
hastie and
rashe de-
cries or
statutes

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

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 devise to the counsell. Somtime the matter is brought before the counsel of the whole Ilande.

A custome
worthy to
be used
these daies
in our coun-
sels & par-
liamentes

FURTHERMORE this custome also the counsel useth, to dispute 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 reasons wherwith to defende & mainteine his firste foolish sentence, than for the commoditie of the common wealth; as one rather willing the harme or hinderance of the weale publike then any losse or diminution 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 first ought to have spoken rather wyselye, then hastely, or rashlye.

Of Sciences, Craftes & Ocupations. ❀



HUSBANDRIE is a science common to them all in generall, bothe men & women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth: parte

lie in their scholes with traditions & preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nigh 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 craft. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. for there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth use there.

The seconde booke of Utopia

Husbandrie or tillage 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 mayntenance of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Similitude
in apparell

No citizein
without a
science

To what oc-
cupation
everyone is
naturallie
inclined
that let him
learne

FOR their garmentes, which through-
out all the Ilande be of one fash-
ion (savyng that there is a differ-
ence betwene the mans garmente and the
womans, betwene the married and the un-
married), & this one continueth for ever-
more unchaunged, semely and comelie to
the eye, no lette to the movynge & weld-
ynge of the bodye, also fytte bothe for
wynter and summer: as for these gar-
mentes (I saye) every familie maketh their
owne; but of the other foresaide craftes
everye man learneth one. And not onely
the men, but also the women. But the
women, as the weaker sort, be put to the
easier craftes; as to worke wolle & flaxe.
The more laborsome sciences be com-
mitted to the men. for the mooste part
every man is broughte up in his fathers
crafte, for moste commonlye they be nar-
turallie 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 craft, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffred & permitted. When he hath learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll, one lesse the citie have more neede of the one, then of the other. The chiefe & almooste the onelye offyce 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 eveninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe & toylinge beastes.

FOR this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche nevertheles is almooste everyewhere the lyfe of workemen and artificers, saving in Utopia. for they, dividynge the daye & thenyghte into xxiiij. juste houres, appointe & assigne onelye sixe of those houres to woorke 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

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Idel persons to be driven out of the weale publique

A moderation in the labour and toyle of artificers

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

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 thintent that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes, but beyng then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftelye upon some other science, as shall please them.

The studie
of good lit-
erature

FOR it is a solempne custome there, to have lectures daylye, early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chosen & 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 notwithstanding, 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

liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also prayſed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe.

AFTER ſupper they beſtow one houre in playe: in ſummer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine & ſuppe. There they exerciſe themſelves in muſike, or els in honeſt and whoſome 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 ſtealeth 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 amonge themſelves, and agayne their unitye and concord againſte vertues; & alſo what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues: with what powre and ſtrength they aſſaile them openlye: by what wiles and ſubtelty they aſſaulte them ſecretelye: with what helpe & aide the vertues reſiſte, and overcome the puiſſaunce of the vices: by what craft

The ſeconde booke of Utopia

Playing after ſupper

But now a- daies dice- play is the paſtime of princes

Plaies or games alſo profitable

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory.

BUT here, least you be deceived, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly upon. for seinge they bestowe but vi. houres in woorke, perchance you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye ensewe. But this is no thinge 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 selves how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyveth ydle. first, almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere 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 comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men:

The kyndes
and sortes
of ydel
people

Women

Priestes &
religious
men. Riche
men & land/
ed men

take into this numbre also theire ser-
vauntes: I meane all that flocke of stoute
bragging russhe bucklers. Joyne to them
also sturdy & valiaunte beggers, clokinge
their idle lyfe under the coloure of some
disease or sickenes, and trulye you shal
find them much fewer then you thought,
by whose labour al these thinges are
wrought, that in mens affaires are now
daylye used and frequented. Nowe con-
syder with youre selfe, of these fewe that
doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in ne-
cessarye woorkes. for where money bear-
eth all the swinge, there many vayne and
superfluous occupations must nedes be
used, to serve only for ryotous superflu-
ite, and unhonest pleasure. for the same
multitude that now is occupied in woork,
if they were devided into so fewe occupa-
tions as the necessarye use of nature re-
quyreth: in so greate plentye of thinges
as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubt-
les the prices wolde be to lytle for the arti-
fycers to maynteyne theire livinges. But
yf all these that be nowe busied about un-
profitable occupations, with all the whole
flocke of them that lyve ydellye & slouth,

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Servyng-
men

Sturdy and
valiaunt
beggars

Wonderfull
wittely
spoken

fullye, whyche consume & waste, everye one of them, more of these thinges that come by other mens labour then ij. of the workemen themselves doo: yf all these, I saye, were sette to profytable occupatyons you easelye perceave howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea, & to muche, to stoore us with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural.

AND this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste & playne. for there in all the citey, with the whole contreye or shiere adjoyning to it, scase lye 500 persons of al the whole numbere of men & women, that be neither to olde nor to weake to worke, be licensed & discharged from labour. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe thoughte they be by the lawes exempte and privileged from labour) yet they exempte not themselves; to the intent they may the rather by their example provoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoye, to whome the people, persuaded by the commendation

Not as-
muche as
the magi-
strates live
idelly

of the priestes, & secrete election of the Siphograuntes, have geuen 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 contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handi-craftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, & throughe diligence so profyteth 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 their olde tonge cal Barzanes, & by a newer name, Adamus. 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 woorke by them may be doone and dispatched, towardses those thinges that I have spoken of.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia


Onely
learned men
called to offices

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

How to a-
voyd exces-
sive cost in
building

THIS commodity they have also
above other, that in the most part
of necessarye occupations, they
neade not so much work, as other na-
tions doe. for first of all, the buildinge
or repayringe of houses asketh everye
where so manye mens continual labour,
bicause 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 con-
streyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to
his great charge. Yea, manye tymes also,
the howse that stooode one man in muche
moneye, another is of so nyce and soo
delycate a mynde, that he setteth no-
thinge by it; & it beyng neglected, and
therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne,
he buyldeth uppe another in an other
place with no lesse coste & chardge. But
amonge the Utopians, where all thinges
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 spedy & quicke remedies

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 doc. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square & trimme up stones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the spedelierrise.

NOW Syr, in their apparell, marke, I praye you, howe few woorkmen they neade. fyrste of al, whyles they be at woorke, they be covered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe abroad they caste upon them a cloke, whych hedyeth 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 mucche lesse coste. But lynen clothe is made with lesse labour, and is therefore hadde more in use.  But in lynen cloth onlye whyte-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

How to
lessen the
charge in
apparel

nesse, in wullen only clenlynes is regard/
ed. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of
the threde, that is no thinge passed for.
And this is the cause wherfore in other
places iiii. or v. clothe gownes of dyvers
coloures, and as manye silke cootes be
not enoughe for one man. Yea, and yf 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 desyre moo? seinge
yf he had them, he should not be the bet/
ter hapte 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
thinges beinge among them, they doo
sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable
companye of people to amend the hyghe
wayes, yf 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/
er houres in woorke. for the magistrates
doe not exercise their citizens againste

theire willes in unneadefull laboures. for whie in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefly pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all that the citizeins shoulde withdrawe from the bodely service to the free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same. for herein they suppose the felicitye of this liffe to consiste.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Of theire Livinge and Mutual Conversa-
tion together ❀❀



At nowe wil I declare how the citizens use themselves one to-wardes another: what familiar occupieng & enter-tenement there is amonge the people, and what

fassion they use in the distribution of every thing.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The num-
bre of citi-
zens

FIRSTE the city consisteth of families, the families most commonly 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 ofspringe continewe 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 citezens 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 thereabout 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 stoore encrease above the just number, therewith they fil

up the lacke of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe & excede the dewe number, then they chuese out of every citie certain cítezens, and build up a towne under their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes have muche waste and unoccupied ground, receaving 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 fassion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples, for they so bringe the matter about by their lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente & 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 apointed out for them selves. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them.

FOR they counte this the moste juste cause of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

voyde 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 nouryshed and relieved.

If anye chaunce do somuche diminyshe the number of any of their cities, that it cannot be fylled up agayne, without the diminishynge of the just numbre of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse synce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plage) then they fulfyll and make up the numbre with cytezens fetcht out of their owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer their forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any cytie of their owne Ilande to be diminished.

So might
we well be
discharged
and eased
of the ydle
company of
servyng-
men

AT nowe agayne to the conversation of the cytezens amonge themselves. The eldeste, as I sayde, ruleth the familye. The wyfes bee ministers to their husbandes, the children to their parentes, and to bee shorte, the yonger to their

elders. Everye cytie 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 familie, or every housholder fetchethe whatsoever he and his have neade of, and carieth it away with him without money, without exchange, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. for why shoulde any thing be denyed unto him? seyng there is abundance of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leste anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth. for whie should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then anough, which is sewer never to lacke?

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

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 cause
of coveteus
& extortion

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Of the
slaughter
of beastes
we have lear-
ned man-
slaughter

fylth & or-
dure bring
the infect-
ion of pes-
tilence into
cyties

of vice amonge the Utopians can haue no
place.

NEXTE to the market places that
I spake of, stande meate mar-
kettes: whether be brought not
only all sortes of herbes, and the fruities
of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and
all maner of iiij. footed beastes, & wilde
foule that be mans meate. But first
the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene
washed awaye in the renningeryver with-
out the cytie, in places appoynted mete
for the same purpose. from thence the
beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane
washed by the handes of their bonde-
men, for they permitte not their frie cite-
zens to accustome them selves to the
killing of beastes, through the use where-
of they thinke clemencye, the gentleste
affection of oure nature, by lytle & lytle
to decaye & peryshe. Neither they suffer
anye thinge that is fylthye, lothesom, or
unclelye, to be broughte into the cytie,
least the ayre by the stenche therof in-
fected and corrupte, shoulde cause pes-
tilente diseases.



MOREOVER everye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, everye one knowen by a severall name. In these halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to everye one of the same halles be apoynted 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.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopa



AT first & chieflie of all, respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. for in the circuite of the citie, a litle without the walles, they have iiij. hospitalles, so bigge, so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may seme iiij. litle townes, which were devised of that bignes, partely to thintent, the sycke, be they never so many in numbre, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte, and therefore uneasely, and incommodiously: and partely 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

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke

the residue. These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more over, so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geven, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstandinge 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 equallye devided among the halles, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, & to ambassadours & all straungers, if there be any, which be very fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, have certeyne severall houses apointed & prepared for them. To these halles at the set houres of dinner & supper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or ward, 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 smal 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 dresse the meate, & orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. 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 chauce to them, as many tymes hap-peneth to women with chylde, they maye

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Every man
is at his lib-
ertie, so that
nothing is
done by
compulsion

Women
bothe
dresse and
serve the
meate

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Nourceis

Nothing
soner pro-
voketh men
to wel do-
yng then
praise and
commend-
ation

The educa-
tion of
yonge chil-
dren

rise wythoute trouble or disturbaunce of
anye bodie, & go thence into the nurcerie.

THE nurceis sitte severall alone
with theyr younge suckelinges
in a certaine parloure appointed
and deputed to the same purpose, never
without fire and cleane water, nor yet
without cradels, that when they wyll they
maye laye downe the younge infantes, &
at theyr pleasure take them oute of their
swathyng clothes, & holde them to the
fire, & refreshe them with playe. ¶ Every
mother is nource to her owne childe, onles
either death, or sycknes be the let. When
that chaunceth, the wives of the Sypho-
grauntes quyckelye provyde a nource.
And that is not harde to be done; for they
that can doo it, profer themselves to no
service so gladye as to that. Because that
there thys kinde of pitie is muche pray-
sed: and the chylde that is nourished, ever
after taketh his nource for his owne na-
turall mother. ¶ Also amonge the nour-
ceis, sytte all the children that be under
the age of v. yeares. All the other chyl-
dren of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as
girlles, 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 several dynner 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 overthwarte 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 yf there be a church standing in that Syphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth 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 together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequal 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 nothyng

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The yong
mixed with
their elders

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Olde men
regarded &
reverenced

This now a
daies is ob-
served in
oure univer-
sities

Talke at the
table

can be so secretlye 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 knowen) be first served of their meate, & then the residue equally. The olde men devide their deinties, as they think best, to the yonger on eche syde of them.



¶ **T**HUS the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neverthelesse equall commoditie commeth to every one. They begin everye dinner & supper of redyng sumthing that perteneth to good maners & vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greved therwith. Hereof the elders 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-

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 whoſome and healthfull digeſtion. No ſupper is paſſed without muſicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor jonketes. They burne ſwete gummes and ſpices or perfumes, and pleaſaunt ſmelles, & ſprinckle aboute ſwete oyntmentes & waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheringe of the companie. for they be muche inclin'd to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleaſure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this ſort they live together 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 citezens eat and lyve by.

The
ſeconde
booke of
Utopia

This is
repugnaunt
to the opin-
ion of our
phiſitions

Muſick at
the table

Pleaſure
without
harme not
diſcom-
mendable

Of their journeyng or travayling abrode,
with divers other matters cunningly rea-
soned, and wyttilye discussed. ❀❀



AT if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easilie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, onlesse 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 journey, 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 nothing. for whersoever they come, they be at home.

If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly entertained 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 sharpely punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the felde, or into the countrey that belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obtéininge 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 cometh, 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. Observing 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.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

O holy com/
mon wealth,
& of Chris-
tians to be
folowed

Equalitie is
the cause
that every
man hath
enoughe

Now you se how litle liberte 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 lurking corners, no places of wycked counsels or unlawfull assembles. 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 seying they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether, as I said, every citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, assone as it is perfectly knowen 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 fill-

ed up with the aboundance of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom that thinges is given; but those cities that have geuen of their store to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing 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 provided 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, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lvyng beasts. 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
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A common
wealth is
nothing
elles but a
great house/
hold

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

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

In all
thinges and
above all
thinges to
their com-
munitie thei
have an eye

By what
pollicie mo-
ney may be
in lesse es-
timation

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 have more aboundaunce of these thinges then anye man wyll beleve. Nowe therfore 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 warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes & writinges made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come & expired, 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 profitable: 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 theyr debte: or when they have warre. for the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure which they have, to be holpen and socoured by it either in extreame jeopardyes, or in suddaine daungers. But especiallye & chiefelie to hiere therewith, & that for unreasonable greate wayges, straunge soldiours. for they hadder rather put straungers in jeopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowinge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themselves many times may be boughte & solde, or elles through 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 difficultlie and hardelye I meselfe would have beleved an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not presentlye sene it with mine owne eyes.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

It is better
either with
money or by
pollicie to
avoyde
warre, then
with muche
losse of
mans bloud
to fight

O fyne
wytte



OR it muste needs 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. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent estimator of thynges, will not greatlye marveill perchance, seynge all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the use also of gold and sylver amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themselves, 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:

Golde
worse then
yron as
touchynge
the neces-
sarie use
therof

if that the foliye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and lovyng mother, hathe placed the beste & mooste necessarie thinges open abroad: 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 foolishelie ymagininge) intended by some subiltie to deceave the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselves. 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 delite in.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

O wonder-
full contu-
melie of
golde

Golde the
reprochful
badge of in-
famed per-
sons

CO remedie all this they have founde
oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agre-
able to all their other lawes and cus-
tomes, so it is from ours, where golde is
so much set by and so diligently kept,
very farre discrepant & repugnaunt; and
therfore incredible, but onelye to them
that be wise. for where as they eate and
drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles,
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 vesselles,
that serve for moste vile uses, not one-
ly in their common halles, but in every
mans private house. **¶** furthermore, of
the same mettalles they make greate
chaines, fetters, and gieues wherin they
tie their bondmen. **¶** finally, whosoever
for anye offense be infamed, by their
eares hange rynge of golde: upon their
fynge they weare rynge of golde, and
aboute their neckes chaines of golde: &
in conclusion their heades be tied aboute
with gold. **¶** Thus by al meanes possi-
ble thei procure to have gold and silver
among them in reproche & infamie. And

these metalles, which other nations do as greuously & sorowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne lives: if they should altogethers at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing.

THEY gather also pearles by the sea side, and diamondes and carbuncles upon certen rockes, & yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infants. 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 litle more growen in yeares & discretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them awaye even of their owne shamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddyng of their parentes: even as oure chylidren, 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 diuers fan-


The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Gemmes
& precious
stones,
toyes for
yonge child-
ren to playe
withall

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia


A very pleasaunt
tale

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

THESSE Ambassadors came to
Amaurote whiles I was there.
And because they came to entreat
of great and weightie matters,
those three citizens a pece oute of everie
citie were comen thether before them. 
But all the Ambassadors of the nexte
countreies, 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 reprochful, were
wont to come thether in verie homelye &
simple araie. But the Anemolians, because
they dwell farre thence, and had
very litle aquaintaunce with them: hearinge
that they were all apparelled 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 apparel to repre-

sente verye goddes, & wyth the brighte shynynge 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 Ambassadours themselves (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, trimmed & adourned with al those thinges, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels 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 paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they set forth and advaunced them selves, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell

with the poore rayment of the Utopians. for al the people were swarmed forth in to the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceived, 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 countreys for some resonable cause, al that gorgeousnes of apparrel semed shamefull and reproche-ful. In so muche that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for lordes: passing over the Ambassadors themselves 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 upon the Ambassadors cap-pes: digge & pushe their mothers under the sides, sainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor do the yet were peerles and precious stoones, as though


O wittie
head

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 their 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, he myght
 cast them of, & runne away at libertye,
 whether he woulde. But when the Am-
 bassadoures hadde bene there a daye or
 ii. & sawe so greate abundaunce of gold
 so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse re-
 proche, 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 beganne to abate their
 courage, and for very shame layde away
 al that gorgyouse arraye, whereof they
 were so proud. And specyally when they
 had talked familiarlye with the Utopians,
 and had learned al their fassions and
 opinions.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Doubtful
he calleth
it, either in
consideration and re-
specte of
counterfeite
stones, or
elles he call-
eth doubt-
ful very lit-
tel worthe

A true saing
and a wittie

FOR they marveyle that any men
be so folyshe, as to have delite &
pleasure in the doubteful glister-
inge of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which
maye beholde annye of the starres, or
elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anye man
is so madde, as to count him selfe the
nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of
wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in
never so fyne a sponne threde) 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 unpro-
fytable, 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 muche lesse
estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so
muche that a lumpyshe blockehedded
churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte
then an asse, yea and as ful of noughty-
nes as of follye, shall have nevertheles
manye wyse and goodmen in subjectyon
and bondage, only for this, bycause he
hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf
it shoulde be taken from hym by anye

fortune, or by some subtyll wyle & cautele 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 shortely after he shal goo 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 bicause 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.

THESSE 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 literature 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
heades of
the Utopi-
anes then of
the common
sorte of
christianes

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

empte and discharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to saye: suche in whome even from their 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 throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo bestowe in learninge those spare houres, which we sayde they have vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in their owne natyve tong. for it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare: and for the utteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and sure.

The studies
& literature
amonge the
Utopianes

THE mooste parte of all that syde of the worlde useth the same langage, savinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneste and pureste, & accordinge to the dyversytye of the contreys it is dyverslye alterede.

Of all these philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to us knowen, before oure cummyng thether, not as-

muche as the fame of annye of them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they have founde oute in a manner, all that oure auncient philosophers have tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe logiciens, in subtyl inventions have farre passed & gone beyonde them. ¶ For they have not deuyssed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, verye wittelye invented in the small logicales, whyche heare oure children in every place do learne. furthermore they were never yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: insomuche that none of them all coulde ever see man himselfe in comen, 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 moynges of the heavenly spheres verye expert and cunnynge. They have also wittelye excogitated & diuised instrumentes of diuers fassions: wherin is exactly

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Musike
Logike
Arithem-
tike
Geometrie

In this place
semethe to
be a nipping
taunte

Astronomie

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Yet amonge
christians
this geere is
highly es-
timated thies
daies

Naturall
philosophie
is a know-
ledge most
uncertein

Moral phi-
losophie

The order
of good
thinges

comprehended and conteyned the moy-
ynges and situations of the sonne, the
mone, and of al the other starres, which
appere in their horizon. But as for the
amities & dissentions of the planettes,
and all that deceytfeful divination by the
starres, they never asmuch as dreamed
therof. Raynes, windes, & other courses
of tempestes they knowe before by cer-
teine 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-
lye of the original begynnyng & nature
of heaven and of the worlde, they holde
partelye the same opinions that oure olde
philosophers hold, & partely, as our phi-
losophers varye among themselves, so
they also, whiles they bringe newe rea-
sons 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, their reasons and
opinions agree with ours. They dispute
of the good qualities of the soule, of the
body, and of fortune. And whether the

name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onely to the endowmentes and giftes of the soule.

THEY reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is, in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almoste to muche geuen 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 their grave, sharpe, bytter, and rigorous religion. for they never dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they joyne unto the reasons of philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche, to the investigation 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 bountifull 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 felycy-
tie consist-
ethe in hon-
est pleasure

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

The theolo-
gie of the
Utopianes

The
seconde
booke of
Atopia

The immor-
talitie of the
soule, wher-
of these
dayes cer-
taine Chris-
tians be in
doubte

As every
pleasure
ought not
to be im-
braced, so
grefe is not
to be pursu-
ed but for
vertues sake

and good deades, rewardes be appointed
after this life, & to our euel deades pun-
ishmentes. ¶ Though these be perteyn-
ing to religion, yet they thincke it mete
that they shoulde be beleved & graunted
by profes of reason. But yf these prin-
ciples were condempned and dysanulled,
then without anye delaye they pronounce
no man to be so folish, whiche woulde not
do all his diligence and endeoure to ob-
teyne pleasure by ryght or wronge, onlye
avoydyng this inconveniencie, that the
lesse pleasure should not be a let or hin-
derance to the bigger: or that he labour-
ed not for that pleasure, whiche would
bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and
sorrow. for they judge it extream mad-
nes to folowe sharp and peynful vertue,
and not only to bannishe the pleasure of
life, but also willingly to suffer grieffe,
without anye hope of proffit thereof en-
suinge. 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 plear

sure that is good and honeste, and that hereto, as to perfect blessednes our nature is allured & drawen even of vertue, whereto onely 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 ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusinge thinges is ruled by reason. *¶* furthermore that reason doth chiefly & principallye kandle in men the love and veneration of the devine majestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, & that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicitie. *¶* And that secondarely it bothe stirreth 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 obtaine and enjoye the same. *¶* for there was never man so earnest and paineful 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,

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians

The worke and effecte of reason in man

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

praying the same as a dede 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?

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyllinglye procure unto themselves paine, full griefes, as though they therin rested some hiege pointe of religion, where as rather they religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought pacientlye to receive and suffer them.


FOR a joyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt 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, withdrawe 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 chieflye to thy selfe? To whome thou art bound to shew asmuch favoure and gentelnes as to other. for when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other

she commaundeth the not to be cruell & 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 oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that, that nature dothe allure and pro- uoke men one to healepe another to lyve merily (which suerly she doth not without a good cause: for no man is so farre above the lotte of mans state or condi- tion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye favoureth all that be comprehended under the com- munion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to use dili- gent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities.

Bargaynes
and Lawes

WHEREFORE their opinion is, that not only covenantes and bargaynes made amonge pri- vate men ought to be well and faytheful- ly fulfilled, observed, and kepte, but also commen lawes, which either a good prince hath justly publyshed, or els the

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceived by fraude & gyell, hath by their 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 retourne 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-

The mutual
recourse of
kindnes

dye *¶* finallye (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. Therefore 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, wherein 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 pleasaunt, for that it may be gotten without wrong or injurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painfull labour, even so those thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (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

The defini-
tion of
pleasure

false and
counter-
feate plea-
sures

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 plesauntnes: yea the moste parte of them muche grieffe & sorrowe. And yet throughe the perverse & malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and unhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and soveraigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. ¶ In this counterfeat kinde of pleasure they put them that I spake of before; whiche the better gownes they have on, the better men they thinke them selves. In the which thing they doo twyse erre. for they be no lesse deceived in that they thinke their 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?

The errour
of them
that esteme
themselves
the more for
apparelles
sake

Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, auance themselves, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly increased. *¶* 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 madnesse to take a pryde in vayne & unprofitable honours? for what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of another mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie 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 suche auncetoures, whose stocke of longe tyme hath bene counted ryche (for now nobilitie is nothinge elles) speciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote

folish
honore

Vaine no-
bilitie

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Pleasure in
precious
stones
most foolish

The opini-
on & fansie
of people
doth aug-
ment and
diminishe
the price &
estimation
of precious
stones

oflande, or els they themselves have p^rysed it agaynste 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 excellent 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 warraunte & assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. ¶ Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceave their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take even asmuche pleasure in beholdynge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye cannot discern 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 kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, 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, & perchance 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 theft, shouldest dye tenne yeares after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyvedest after thy money was stoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken away or elles safe as thou lefteste it? Trewlye bothe wayes like profytte came to thee.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Beholders
of treasure,
not occupi-
yng the
same

Hyders of
treasure

A pretie
fiction and
a wittie

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Dice playe

Huntinge &
hawkinge

Hunting the
basest parte
of bouchers
among the
Utopians,
and yet this
is now the
exercise of
most noble
men


TO these so foolyshe pleasures they
joyne dicers, whose madnesse they
knowe by hearsay, and not by use.
Hunters also, & hawkers. for what plea-
sure is there, saye they, in castinge 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
verie thereof? Or what delite can there
be, & not rather dyspleasure in hearynge
the barkynge 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, runnyng, yf thou haste plea-
sure therein. But yf the hope of slaugh-
ter, and the expectation of tearynge 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 fearece, the innocente of
the cruell and unmercyfull.

THEREFORE all thys exercyse
of huntynge, as a thynge unwor-
thy 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 bryngyngemuchemore commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie; where as the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the see/lye & wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be changed in continuance of time into crueltie, by longe use of so cruell 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 no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to have no affinity with trewand right pleasure. ¶ For as touchinge that they do commonlye move the sense wyth delectation (whiche semeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothyng diminishe their opini-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

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 no mannes judgemente depraved and corrupte, either by syckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thynges.

The kindes
of tref pleasures

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 commethe of the contemplation of trefth. Hereunto is joynd 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

The plea-
sures of the
bodye


thynges be expulsed, and voyded, wher
of is in the body over great abundaunce.
This pleasure is felt, when we do our nar
tural easement, or when we be doying the
acte of generation, or when the ytching
of any part is eased with rubbyng or
scratchyng. Sometimes pleasure ris
eth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng
that it desireth, nor takyng from it any
paine that it feeleth, which neverthesse
tikleth and moveth oure senses wyth a
certeine secrete efficacie, but with a mani
fest motion turnethe them to it. As is
that whiche commeth of musicke.



THE seconde parte of bodely pleas
ure, they say, is that which con
sisteth and resteth in the quiete
and upryghte state of the bodye. And
that trewlye is everye mannes owne pro
pre health entermingled and disturbed
with no griefe, for this, yf it be not let
ted nor assaulted with no greif, is delect
able of it selfe, though it be moved with
no externall or outwarde pleasure. for
though it be not so plain and manifeste
to the sense, as the gredye luste of eat
yng and drynkynge, yet neverthesse

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Bodily
health

manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right soveraigne 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 pleasaunt. 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 unseñsibilitie, and not pleasure.

THE Utopians have long ago reject-
ed and condempned the opinion of
them, whiche sayde that stedfaste
and quiete healthe (for this question al-
so hath bene diligently 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 al-
mooste all in this, that healthe is a moost
soveraigne pleasure.  for seyng 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 grieffe, or that in sickenes is grieffe, 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 can not be withoute 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 therefore, whiche in the conflict is joyefull, shall it not be mery, when it hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coveted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealth 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
seconde
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 stonische insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleeping sickness, that he will not graunt health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure?

THEY imbrace chiefly the pleasures of the mind. for them they counte the chiefist & most principall 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 delite of eating and drinking, & whatsoever hath any like pleasauntnes, they determine to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake. for suche thinges of their own pernature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sicknesse priuely stealing on. Therefore like as it is a wisemans part, rather to avoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, & rather to drive away & put to

flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort : so it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie grieffe. The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he live that life which is led in continuall hunger, thurste, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, 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 accompanied with their contrarie griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is joynd hunger, and that after no very egal sort. for of these ii. the grieffe is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. for it beginneth before the pleasure, 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 thankfulli knowledge that tender love of mo-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
second
booke of
Utopia

The giftes
of nature

ther nature, which with most pleasaunt 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 thurst coulde not be driven away, but with bitter potions, & sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherwith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make much of.

BUT those pleasures that be receaved by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willet to be proper & peculiar to man (for no other 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, neither perceaveth the concordante and discordant distaunces of soundes and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasaunte rejoyssinges 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 bodilie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do injurie to health, and to rejecte the pleasure motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a fervent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the commen profite, 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 disdainig to be in her daunger, that he renounceth & refuseth all her benefites.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Marke this
well

The wealth
& descrip-
tion of the
Utopians

THIS is their sentence and opinion
of vertue and pleasure. And they
beleve 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 ordinaunces, and
not to defende them ¶ But this thyng
I beleve verely: howe soever these decrees
be, that there is in no place of the world,
neyther a more excellent people, neither
a more flourishyng 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 thoughe theyr soyle be not
verie frutefull, nor their aier very whol-
some, yet againste the ayer they so de-
fende them with temperate diete, and so
order and husbände 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. There, therefore, a man maye see well and diligentlie exploited and furnished, not onely those thinges whiche husbandemen do commenly in other countreis, as by craft & cunninge to remedie the barrennes 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 an other 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, & fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide & suffer much bodelie labour. Els they benot 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 allow, besides historiens & Poetes) they made

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The utilitie
of the greke
tonge

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A wonder-
full aptnes
to learninge
in the Uto-
pians

But now
most block-
heded asses
be sette to
learninge,
and most
pregnant
wittes cor-
rupt with
pleasures

wonderfull earnestest & importunate sute unto me that I would teach & instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade unto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they would anything profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, 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 marvelled at it, savinge that the most parte of them were fine and chosen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute 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, undertoke to learne this language. Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute any staye, if the booke were not false. This kynde

of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so
muche the sooner, bycause, it is sum-
what 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 cittyes, & of their
magistrates. ¶ They have of me (for
when I was determyned to entre into my
iiii. 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) un-
perfecte. for whiles we were a shipborde,
a marmoset chaunced upon the booke,
as it was negligentlye layde by, which
wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked
oute certeyne leaves, and toore them in
pieces. ¶ Of them that have wrytten the
grammer, they have onelye Lascaris. for
Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Phisike
hieghly
regarded

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 Sophocles in Aldus small prynte. Of the Historians they have Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus, caried with him phisick boke, certein smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they have in greate estimation. for though there be almost no nation under heaven that hath lesse nede of phisicke than they, yet this notwithstanding, phisicke is no where in greater honour. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste, and most profytable partes of philosophie. for whyles they by the helpe of this philosophie searche oute the secrete mysteres of nature, they thinke themselves to receave therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obtaine great thanks and favour of the autour and maker therof.


WHOME they thinke according to the fassion of other artificers, to have set furth the marvelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentively to beholde. Whom only he hath made of witte and capacitie to considre and understand the excellencie of so great a work. And therefore he beareth, say they, more goodwil and love to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his work & 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 inured and exercised in learninge, be marvelous quycke in the invention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the advantage & wealthe of lyffe. Howerbeit ii. feates they 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 themselves.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The con-
templacion
of nature

FOR when we shewed to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, & told them of the stuffe wherof paper is made, & of the feate of graving letters, speaking sumwhat more then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of us that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely 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 thoughe 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 cotypes 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 multiplied & increased the same into manye thousandes of copies.

WHOSOEVER cummethether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte,

or throughemucche and longe journienge
wel experiensed and sene in the knowe-
ledg 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, how-
beit verye fewe marchaunte 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 thinges 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 fetcheit, to then-
tente 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

A marvel-
ous equitie
of this na-
tion

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke,
and diuers other matters ❀❀



THEY neither make
bondemen of pris-
oners taken in bat-
taye, oneles it be
in battaylle that
they foughte them
selves, nor of bond-
mens children, nor
to be short, of anye
suche as they canne

gette oute of forreine countries, though
he were there a bondman. But either
suche as amonge themselves for hein-
ous offences be punyshed with bond-
age, or elles suche as in the cities of
other landes for great trespasses be con-
dempned to deathe. And of this sort of
bondemen they have mooste stoore.

FOR manye of them they bringe
home, sumtimes payinge very ly-
tle for them, yea mooste common-
lye 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 punisshement, bycause they being so godlye broughte up to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refrained from misdoing. ¶ An other kinde of bondemen they have, when a vile drudge, being a poore laborer in an other country, doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as their owne free cytyzeins, sayvng that they put them to a lyttle more labour, as thereto accustomed. ¶ Yf annye suche be disposed to departe thens, whiche seldome is seene, they neither holde him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes.

THE sycke, as I sayde, they see to with great affection, & letten nothing at al passe concerning either physycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, & to be shorte, with

Of them
that be
sicke

all maner of helpes that may be. ¶ But yf the disease be not onelye uncurable, but also full of contynuall payne & anguise: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort 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 & peineful 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 payneful 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 commoditie, 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 their lives will,

ynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in their sleape without anye feelinge of death. But they cause none suche to dye agaynste his wyll, nor they use no lesse dilygence 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 consumed, they caste unburyed into some stynkinge marrish.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

THE woman is not married before she be xviii yeres olde. The man is iij yeres elder before he marrye. If either the man or the woman be proved to have actually offended before their marriage, with an other, the partye that so hath trespassed is sharpely punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden ever after in all their lyfe to marrye: ones the faulte be forgiven by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man & the good wyfe of the house, where that offense was committed, as beinge slacke & neglygent in lookinge to their chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and in-

Of wed-
locke

famye. That offense is so sharpely punyshed, bicause they perceave, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll joyne together in the love of marriage, wherein all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the griefes & displeasures comming therewith patiently be taken and borne.

FURTHERMORE in chuesinge wyfes & husbandes they observe earnestly & straytelye a custome, whiche semed to us very fonde and folysh. for a sad and an honest matrone sheweth the woman, be she mayde or widowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, & disalowed it as foolishe. But they on the other part doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, where as a lytle money is in hasarde, be so charye and circumspecte, that though he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaste under those coverynges be hydde som galle or soore. And yet in

Though
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 esteeme 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 chauce to offend and myslyke them, for all men be not so wyse, as to have respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded: yea even in the mariages of wysemen. 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 lawful for their bodies to be separate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chauce after the mariage is consummate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Every man muste take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Divorce-
ment

were made wherebye all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and advoyled 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 infamy, & out of wedlocke. Howebeit the husbände to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myshap is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. for they judge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken, & 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 themselves, both of them fyndinge other, withwhome they hope to lyve more quiet/lye & merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be divorced a sonder and married again to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell, whiche agreeth to no divorces, before they and their wyfes have diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, because they know this to be the next way to break love betwene man & wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste grevous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then the parties whiche in that behalfe have suffered wrong, beinge divorced from the avoutrers, be married together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust. But if either of them both do styl continewe in love towardes oun kinde a bedfellowe, the use of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faultles be disposed to followe in toylinge &

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The decern-
ing of pun-
ishment
putte to the
discretion
of the ma-
gistrates

drudgerye the person, which for that of-
fence is condempned to bondage. And
very ofte it chaunceth that the repent-
aunce of the one, & the earnestediligence
of the other, do the so move the prince with
pytie & compassion, that he restoreth the
bonde persone from servitude to libertie
and fredom again. But if the same partie
be taken eftsones in that faulte, there is
no other waye but death. To other tres-
pases no prescript punishmente is ap-
poynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to
the heynousenes of the offense, or con-
trarye, so the punishemente is moder-
ated by the discretion of the counsell.
The husbandes chastice theire wyfes: &
the parentes theire children, oneles they
have done anye so horryble an offense,
that the open punyshemente thereof
maketh muche for the advauncement of
honeste maners. But moste commenlye
the moste heynous faultes be punyshed
with the incommoditie of bondage. for
that they suppose to be to the offenders
no lesse grieffe, & to the common wealth
more profit, then yf they should hastely
put them to death, & so make them quite

out of the way. for there cummeth more profit of their laboure, then of their death, and by their 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 coulde restraine and kepe under. But they whiche take their bondage pacientlye, be not left all hopeles. for after they have bene broken & tamed with longe miseries, if then they shewe such repentaunce, as thereby it maye bee perceaved that they be soryer for their offense then for their punysshement: sumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyve, & sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgiven. He that moveth to advoutreye is in no lesse daunger and jeopardye, then yf he hadde committed advoutreye in dede. for in all offenses they counte the intente & pretended 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.

Motion to
advoutreye
punished

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Pleasure
of fooles

THEY have singular delite and pleasure in foles. And as it is a greater reproche to do to annye of them hurte or injury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolyshnes. for that, they thinke, dothe 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 wytte to be in him that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlinessse; so to helpe the same with paynt-

inges, is taken for a vaine 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.

THEY do not onely feare their people from doying evil by punish-mentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therefore they set up in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as have bene great and bounteful benefactors to the comen wealth, for the perpetual memorie of their good actes: & also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre & provoke their posteritie to vertue.

HE that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for ever atteining any promotion as long as he liveth. They lyve together lovinglye. for no magistrate is

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Counter-
feite bewtie

Sinne pun-
ished and
vertue re-
warded

The inordi-
nate desire
of honours
condemned

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Magis-
trates hon-
oured

fewe lawes

The multi-
tude of law-
yers super-
fluous

eyther hawte or fearfull. fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they use themselves. The citezens, as it is their dewtie, willynglye exhibite unto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowen 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 litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, wherby onely he is knowen.

THEY have but few lawes; for to people so instructe and institute, very fewe do suffice. ¶ Yea, this thing they chieflye 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 matter, & 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 beareth out simple wittes 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 Utopia every man is a cunning lawier. for, as I said, they have very few lawes: and the plainer and grosser that anye interpretation 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 remembrance of his dewtie. But the craftye & subtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remem-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The intent
of lawes

braunce, where as the simple, the plaine,
& grosse meaninge of the lawes is open
to everye man.

GILLES 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 fyndyng 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.

THESSE vertues of the Utopians
have caused their nexte neighbours
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
yeres 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-
trei. These nations have undoubtedlye
very well and holsomely provided for
their common wealthes. ¶ for seyng
that bothe the makinge and marringe 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 honestye
by bribes (for to them that shortly after
shal depart thens into their own coun-
trei, money should be unprofitable) nor
yet be moved eyther with favoure or
malice towardes 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 countrye &
countrye be so ofte concluded,

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Of leagues

broken, & renewed, they never make none with anie nation. for to what purpose serve leagues, say they? As though nature 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 chiefely, 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 reprochfull 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 scaseliē so farre frome us be-
yond 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 craftelie
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

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¶ 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 coun-
tenaunce, as an offense moste detest-
able, and worthy to be punnyshed with
a shamefull deathe: yea even very they
that avaunce themselves authours of
lyke counsell geven to princes. Wherefore
it may wel be thought, either that al jus-

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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 crepyng lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on every side with many bandes, bycause it shall not run at rovers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher majestie then the other pore justice, so also it is of much more libertie, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after.

THESSE maners of princes, as I said, whiche be there so evell keepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would change their minde if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues be never so faithfullie observed and kepte, yet the custome of makynge leagues was very evell begon. for this causeth men (as though nations which be separat 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 encrease, but the license of robbing and stealing doth styll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of foresight and advisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therein sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no injurie. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league: and that men be better and more surely knit together by love and benevolence, then by covenantes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

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MARRER or battel as
a thing very beastly,
and yet to no kinde of
beastes in so much use as
to man, they do detest
and abhorre. And con-
trarie to the custome
almooste of all other
nations, they counte
nothyng so muche
against glorie, as glory
gotten in warre. And
therefore though 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 injurys 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 restooore 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 praies & booties be driven awaye, but then also muche more 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.

NEITHER the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelotes against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time, was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelote marchaunt men, as the Utopians

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
thought, suffred wrong of the *Alaopolitans*, 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 puissaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharpely beaten, the mischeves wer not finished nor ended, until the *Alaopolitans*, at the last were yelded up as bondemen into the jurisdiction of the *Nepheletes*. for the *Utopians* fought not this war for themselves. And yet the *Nepheletes* before the warre, when the *Alaopolitans* flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them.

SO egerlye the *Utopians* prosecute the injuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. for if they by coveyne 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 bicause they set lesse stoore 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 plentiful 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 & tryng out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered unto them in recompence of the injurie, they will not be appeased: but inconti-

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nent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death or with bondage.

THEY be not only sory, but also ashamed to atchieve 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 in deede, when they have so overcommen, 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 obtaine

that thynge, whiche if they had before
obtained, they woulde not have moved
battell. But if that be not possible, they
take so cruell 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 imme-
diatlie and first of al prosecute and set
forwarde. But yet so, that they be more
circumspecte, in avoidinge and eschew-
ynge jeopardies, then they be desierous
of prayse and renowne. Therefore imme-
diatly after that warre is ones solemne-
lie denounced, they procure many procla-
mations signed with their owne commen
seale to be set up privilie at one time in
their enemies lande, in places moste fre-
quented. ¶ In these proclamations they
promisse greate rewardes to hym that
will kill their enemies prince, and some-
what lesse giftes, but them verye greate
also, for everye heade of them, whose
names be in the saide proclamations con-
teyned. They be those whom they count
their chiefe adversaries, next unto the
prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto
him that killeth any of the proclaimed

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persons, that is dubbed 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 par-
done, & 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 knowen, that divers times the most
part of them (& speciallie the prince him
selfe) hath 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-
membring & considering into how great
hasarde and jeopardie they cal them, en-
deuoure themselves to recompence the
greatnes of the daunger with like great
benefites. And therefore they promise
not only wonderful greate abundaunce of
golde, but also landes of great revenues

lieng in most safte places among their
 frendes. And their promisses they per-
 fourme faythfully withoute annye fraude
 or covyne.

THIS custome of byinge and sel-
 lynge adversaryes among other
 people is dysallowed, as a cruel
 acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde.
 But they in this behalfe thinke them-
 selves muche prayse woorthy, as who
 lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche
 greate warres withoute anny battell or
 skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede
 of pytye and mercye, bicause that by the
 deathe of a fewe offenders the lyves of a
 greate numbere of innocentes, aswel of
 their ounemen as also of their enemies,
 be raunsomed and saved, which in fight-
 ing shoulde have bene sleane. For they
 doo no lesse pytye the basse and com-
 mon sorte of their enemies people, then
 they doo their owne: knowing that they
 be driven and enforced to warre againste
 their willes by the furyous madnes of
 their princes and heades.

If by none of these meanes the mat-
 ter goo forward, as they woulde
 have it, then they procure occasy

ons of debate, & dissention to be spredde amonge their enemies : as by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Vf this waye prevaile not, then they reyse up the people that be nexte neygheboours and borderers to their enemies, & them they sette in their neckes under the coloure of some olde tytle of ryghte, such as kynges doo never lacke. To them they promysse their helpe and ayde in their warre. And as for moneye they gyve them abundaunce. But of their 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 wealthyly, if they hadde bestowed it everye penny. Yea & besydes their ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei have also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their



debte. Therefore they hire soldiours
oute of all countreis and sende them to
battayle, but cheifly of the Zapoletes.

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THIS people is 500 myles from Uto-
pia eastwarde. 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 sus-
teine heate, colde, & labour, abhorrynge
from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge
no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground,
homelye & rude both in buildinge of their
houses and in their apparrel, geuen unto
no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge
and bringyng up of cattel. The mooste
parte of their lyvinge is by huntynge &
stealyng. They be borne onelye to warre,
whyche they diligentely and earnestelye
seke for. And when they have gotten it,
they be wonders glad thereof. They goo
furthe of their countreye in greate com-
panyes together, & who soever lackethe
souldyours, there they proffer their ser-
vice for small wages. This is onelye the
crafte that they have to gette their liv-
yng by. They maynteyne their lyfe, by

sekinge their 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-
eth that nye kynsefolke whyche
were hiered together on one parte,
and there verye frendelye and familiar-
lye used themselves one wyth another,
shortely after beinge separate in con-
trarye partes, runne one agaynste ano-
ther envyouslye and fyercelye: and forget-
tinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe,
thruste their 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-
lye regarde & esteame, that they will ease-
lye be provoked to chaunge partes for a

halfe peny more wayges by the daye. So
 quykelye they have taken a smacke in
 covetesenes. Whyche for all that is to
 them no proffyte. for that they gette by
 fyghtyng, immediatlye they spende
 unthryftelye & wretchedlye in ryotte. 
 This people fighteth for the Utopians
 agaynste all nations, bycause they geve
 them greater wayges, then annye 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 jeopardyses. 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 promised faithfully,
 that they maye be the more willinge to
 put themselves 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.

NEXT unto thies they use the soldi-
ours 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, goouernaunce, & 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. succedeth hym, as it were by inheri-
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 chuese soldy-
ours out of every citey, those whych putte
furthe themselfes wyllyngely for
they thruste no man forthe into warre a-
gaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleve,
yf anny man be fearefull & fainte harted
of nature, he wyll not onely doo no man-
full and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be
occasyon of cowardenes to his fellowes.

BUT if annye battell be made a-
 gaynste their owne countreye,
 then they putt these cowardes (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 their enemies be at hande,
 & what for bycause they be without hope
 of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere.
 And manye times extreame necessitie
 turnethe cowardnes into prowes & man-
 lynes.

BUT as none of them is thrust for the
 of his countrey into warre againste
 his wyll, so women that be wyllynge
 to accompany their 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 their owne hus-
 bandes syde. Also every man is compas-
 sed next aboute with his owne children,
 kinsfolkes, & aliaunce. That they, whom
 nature chiefly moveth to mutual suc-
 coure, thus standynge together, maye
 healpe one another. It is a great reproche,

and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe without her husbände, or the sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battell 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 needs 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 continuauce by litle & lytle their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne & obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyve back an ynche.

FOR that suertye of lyvinge, whiche everye man hath at home, beinge joyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how their posteritie shall lyve after them (for this pensifnes

oftentimes breaketh & abateth courageous stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreover their knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope.

FINALLY the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherein they were brought up even from their childehode, partely through learnynge, and partelye throughe 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 lewde & 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 their adversaries capitaine. Whome they invade, now with privy wieses, now by

The capitane is chieflie to be pursued to thintente the battell maye the soner be ended

open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a continuall assaulte, freshe men styll commynge in the weried mens places. And seldome 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 wyne the fylde, they persecute not their 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 pursute of their enemies, but they leave behinde them one parte of their hoste in battaile arraye under their standardes. In so much that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and overcum, saving the rerewarde, and that they therewith achieve the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. for they remembre, it hath chaunced unto themselves 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 small companye of their men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, have sodainely rysen upon them thus dispersed and scattered oute 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 victorie, being a litle before conquered, have for their parte conquered the conquerers.

Tis 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 numbere, 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 their enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softely, that it

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is no lesse jeopardie to medle with them when they geve backe, then when they preese on. They fence and fortifie their campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. 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 selves. All the whole armye worketh upon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harnes before the trenche for sodeine adventures. Therefore, by the labour of so manye, a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde, is made in lesse tyme then anye man woulde beleve.

Their
armour

THEIR armour or harnes, whiche they weare, is sure and strong to receive 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 their warefare, amonge other feates thei 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 forwarre they devyse & invent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made, they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knownen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at & serve to no purpose. But in makynge 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.

THEY doe not waste nor destroy their enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not up their 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 their owne use and profit. 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 wyne by force of assaulte,

Of truces

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they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the yeldyng up of the same, they put to deathe, the others souldiours they punnyshe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched. If they knowe that anye 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 frelye amonge them whose helpe they had in the same warre. for none of them selves taketh anye portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finished & ended, they put their frendes to never a penny coste of al the charges that they were at, but laye it upon their neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of their expenseis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in monie 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 rysinge of dyvers and sondry causes be increased above vij. hundrethe thousand ducates by the yere.

WHETHER they sende forth some
 of their citezeins as lieuetenautes,
 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 the money. Which
 many times they do so long until they
 have nede to occupie it. And it seldome
 happeneth that thei demaund al. Of these
 landes they assigne part unto them,
 which at their request and exhortacion
 put themselves in such jeoparddies as I
 spake of before. If anye prince stirre up
 warre agaynste them, intending to invade
 their lande, they mete hym incontinent
 oute of their owne borders with greate
 powre & strengthe. for they never lyghte-
 ly make warre in their owne countrei. Nor
 they be never brought into so extreme
 necessitie as to take helpe out of forreyne
 landes into their owne Ilande.



HERE be diuers
kindes of religion
not only in sond-
rie partes of the
Ilande, but also in
diuers 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 (rejectyng al these) beleve,
that there is a certayne godlie powre
unknowen, everlastinge, incomprehen-
sible, inexplicable, farre above the capa-
citie and retche of mans witte, dispersed
throughoute all the worlde, not in big-
nes, but in vertue and power. Him they
call the father of al. To him alone they
attribute the beginniges, the increas-
inges, the procedinges, the chaunges,
and the endes of all thinges. Neither they

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 togethers with the wisest sorte, in beleving that there is one chiefe 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 counted 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 agre 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 unprosperous thynge happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse 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, would re-venge 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 wyl-linglye shedde broughte a great numbere of nations throughout 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 secreete inspiration of God, or elles for that they thought it nieghest unto that opinion which among them is counted the chieffest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe & furtherrance in the matter, that they harde us say, that Christe instituted among his, all thinges commen: & that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongst the rightest Christian companies.



VERELY howsoever, it came to passe many of them consented together in our religion, & were washed in the holy water of baptisme. But because among us foure (for no mo of us was left a live, two of our companie 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 perceiue 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 priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuese one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none.



THEY 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 sharpely punished. He, as soone as he

was baptised, began against our willes, 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 folowers of them wicked and develish, and the children of everlasting dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him, and condempned him into exile, 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 ancientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for resoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion.

FOR 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 countrey) 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 fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking & invehing 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 fervently in this cause strive and contende, was decreed banishment or bondage.



THIS lawe did kynge 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-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Seditious
reasoners
punished

advisedlie, as douting whether god, desiering manifelde and diverse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men with sondrie kindes of religion. And this suerly he thought a very unmete and folish 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 thoughe there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason, & sober modestie) that the trueth 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 aud 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 overgrown and chooked. Therefore all this matter he lefte undiscussed and gave to

everye man free libertie and choise to beleve what he woulde. Saviage that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man shoulde conceive 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 adventures, governed by no divine providence.

AND therefore thei beleve that after this life vices be extreameleye punished & vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbere of men, as one that hath availed the heighe nature of hys soule to the vielnes of brute beastes bodies: muche lesse in the numbere of their citizeins, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteme.  for you maye besuer 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.  Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, ex-

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

No vile opinion to be
conceived
of mans
worthy nature

Irreligious
people se-
cluded from
all honours

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

A very
straung
sayinge

Deceit and
falshod
detested

cluded from all offices, and reiecte from all common administrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all sortes despised, as of an unprofitable, & of a base & vilenature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleve what he list. No, nor they constraine hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde, and shew countenaunce 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 comen 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.

THERE be also other, and of them no small numbre, which be not forbidden 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 beimmortall & everlast-
ing. But nothyng to be compared with
oures in dignitie, neither ordeined & pre-
destinate to like felicitie. for al they be-
leve certainly & sewerly that mans blesse
shal be so great, that they do mourne &
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 dis-
spaire, and vexed in conscience, through
some privie and secret forefeiling 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 draw-
en by force & sore against his will. They
therfore that see this kinde of deathe, 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 infir-
mities therof, they cover the dead coorse
with earth. Contrariewise 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 un-
willyngly an
evel token

A willing
and a merye
deathe not
to be lamen-
ted

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 bourn the bodies. ¶ And in the same place they sette up a piller of stone, with the dead mans titles therin graved. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous manners 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 remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead, doeth vehemently provoke & enforce the living to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt & 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.

FOR it were an unconuenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate 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.

Whiche in good men, after their deathe, they counte to be rather increased then diminished.

The
second
booke of
Utopia

THEY beleve therefore that the deade be presentlye conversant amonge the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their wordes & deedes. Therefore they go more corragiously to their busines as having a trust and affiaunce in such overseers. And this same belefe of the present conversation of their forefathers & auncetours among them, feareth them from all secrete dishonestie.

THEY utterly despise and mocke sothsayinges and divinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and all other divinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreis be in greate observation. But they highlye esteme and worshyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes & witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chauce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by commen intercession & prayers, they procure & obtaine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast belefe.

Sothsayers
not regard-
ed or credit-
ed

Miracles

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The life con-
templative

The life
active

THEY thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. 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 thinges. But ydelnes they utterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten & obtained by busie labors & good exercises. Some therefore of them attende upon the sicke, some amende high waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, gravell, & stones, fel & cleave wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, & serve not onely in commen woorkes, but also in private laboures as servauntes, yea, more then bondmen, for what so ever unpleasaut, 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 woorke & labour themselves, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glorie in their owne.

THESSE 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 chaste, absteyning not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, & some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye 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 labour, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisyng the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged 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 nothing hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of foure footed beastes, because they beleve that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to worke.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

It is not all
one to be
wise and
good

THE Utopians counte this secte the
wiser, but the other the holier. Which
in that they preferre single life be-
fore matrimony, and that sharp life be-
fore an easier life, if herein they ground-
ed upon reason they would mock them.
But now forasmuch as they say they be
led to it by religion, they honor and wor-
ship them. And these be they whom in
their language by a peculiar name, they
cal Buthrescas, the which woord by inter-
pretation signifieth to us, men of religion
or religious men.

Priestes

THEY have priestes of exceding
holines, and therefore very few.
for there be but xiiij. in every citie,
accordinge to the number of their church-
es, sayng when they go furthe to bat-
tell. for than vij. 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 time as they suc-
cede into the places of the other at their
dyinge) be in the meane season continu-
allie 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 avoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. 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.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

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 & punish the offenders, saving that the priestes, whome they find excedding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having anye interest in divine matters. And there is almoste 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 quicke repentaunce approve the amendement of their lives to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious.

Excommu-
nication

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

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 opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them all their life after, & be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenance of the state of the commenwelth. Which neuer decaieeth but throughe vices risinge of evill opinions.

Women
priestes

THE priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthooode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I saye, take to their wives the chiefest 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

The majes-
tie and pre-
eminence of
priestes

themselves. for thei thinke it not lawfull
to touch him with mannes hande, be he
never so vitious, whiche after so singular
a sort was dedicate & consecrate to god
as a holly offering. This maner may they
easely observe, bicause they have so
fewe priestes, and do chuse them with
such circumspection. for it scasey ever
chaunceth, that the moste vertuous a-
monge vertuous, which in respect only of
his vertue is avauced to so high a dig-
nity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And
if it should chaunce 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 dam-
mage by them should happen and ensue
to the commen wealthe.

THEY have so rare & fewe priestes,
least if the honour were commu-
nicated to many, the digniti of the
ordre, which among them now is so high-
ly esteemed, should runne in contempt.
Speciallye bicause they thincke it hard to
find many so good, as to be meet for that
dignity, to the execution and discharge

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

whereof it is not sufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. *¶* furthermore these priestes be not more esteemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein & 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 litle beside, not farre of, knele upon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding up their handes to heaven: praing first of all for peace, nexte for vycctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy vycctory. If their host gette the upper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, & restrayne their owne men from sleying & cruelly pursuinge their vanquyshed enemies. Whiche enemyes, yf they doo but see them and speake to them, it is ynoughe for the savegarde of their lyves. And the touching of their clothes defendeth & saveth al their gooddes from ravine and spoyle. This thinge hathe avauanced them to so greate wourship & trewe majesty among al nations, that manye times they have as wel preserved their own citizens from

the cruel force of their enemies, as they have their enemies from the furious rage of their own men. for it is well known, that when their own army hath reculed, & 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 bene made & concluded 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 such reverence, that they counted their bodies halowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently & unreverently 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 their language Cynemernes, & the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeste & finifest, or els in our speache,

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The obser-
vation of
holy daies
amonge the
Utopians

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

Their
churches

Churches
of dimme
light and a
reason why

first feaste & last feast. Their churches be verye gorgious, & 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. Bicause 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 bicause it is not there of one sort among all men, & yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they 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 indifferently 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 ordered, that they be no derogation nor

prejudice to anye of the private sacrifices & religions. Therefore no ymage of anye god is seene in the church, to the intent it maye bee 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 majesty, whatsoever it be. No prayers bee used but suche as every man maye boldly pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte.

THEY come therefore to the church the laste day of everye moneth & yeare in the evenynge yet fastinge, there to gyve thanks to God for that they have prosperouslye passed over the yeare or moneth, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornynge, to praye to God that they maye have good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or moneth whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye.

AT in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

The confes-
sion of the
Utopians

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

churche, the wives fall downe prostrat before their husbandes feet at home, & the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowleginge themselves offenders, either by some actual 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 overblowen, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. for they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselves to beare anye hatred or grudge towards anye man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they have reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for feare of greate vengeance & punyshement for their offense.

An order for
places in the
Church


WHEN they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churche, & the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselves in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in every household sitte before the goodman of the house,

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 beinge joyned together, they should passe over that time in childish wantonnes, wherein they ought principally to conceave a religious and devoute 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 given liffe to beastes to the intent they should live. They burne franckensence, and other sweet savours, & light also a greate numbred 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 feele themselves secretlye lifted up and encouraged to devotion with more willynge and fervent hartes.

THE people weareth in the church white apparell. The priest is clothed in changeable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stuffe not verye pretious. for their vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely & conningelye 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 their setting, they saye is conteyned certaine diuine misteries. The interpretation wherof knowen, whiche is diligentelye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembrance of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them: and of the love & honoure whiche of their behalfe is dewe to God: and also of their duties one towarde another.

WHEN the priest first commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent everye one reverentlye to the ground, with so still silence on everye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they have lien a litle space on the ground, the priest gevethe them a signe for to ryse.

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

GHEN they sing prayes 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 sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours.

Theire
church
musike

BUT in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding 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

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Prayers

whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournyng, or of anger; the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye move, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes.

AT the laste the people & the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expreslye pronounced so made that every man maye privatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers, everye man recognisethe 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 publyque weale, which is moste happye and welthye, 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 desierethe 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 fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, & his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyr- ethe God to gyve hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, & too brynge all other people to the same ordre of lvyng, & to the same opinion of God, onles there bee annye thinge that in this diversitey 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 dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lvyng in worldlye prosperitey to bee a- waye from him. When this prayer is said, they fal doune 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.

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NOWE I have declared & described
unto you, as truely as I coulde,
the fourme & ordre of that com-
men 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 commen wealth or
publique weale. for in other places they
speake stil of the commen wealth. But
every man procureth his owne private
gaine. Here, where nothinge is private, the
commen affaires bee earnestlye looked up-
on. And truely on both partes they have
good cause so to do as they do.

FOR in other countreys who know-
eth not that he shall sterve for
honger, onles he make some sev-
erall provision for himselfe, though the
commen wealth 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 barnes be sufficientlye stored. for therenothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe sorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And though no man have anye thinge, yet everye man is ryche.

FOR what can be more riche, then to lyve joyfully and merely, without al grieve & pensifenes: Not caring for his owne lyving, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complainynges, nor dreadynge povertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea, they take no care at all for the lyvyng & wealth of themselves and al theirs, of their wyfes, their chyldren, their nephewes, their childrens chyldren, and all the succession that ever shall followe in their posteritie. And yet besydes 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, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equitye, the justice of other nations. Among whom, I for-

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sake God, if I can fynde any signe or to-
ken of equitie and justice. for what jus-
tice 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 commonwealth,
should have a pleasaunte and a welthie
lyvinge, either by idlenes, or by unneces-
sarye busines: when in the meane tyme
poore labourers, carters, yronsmaythes,
carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate
and continual toyle, as drawing and bear-
inge beastes be skant hable to susteine,
and agayne, 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 continu-
all labour, nor their lyvinge is not muche
worse, yea to them muche pleasaunter,
takynge no thoughte in the meane season
for the tyme to come. But these seilye
poore wretches be presently tormented

with barreyne & unfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of their poore indigent & beggerlye olde age kylleth them up. for their dayly wages is so lytle, 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, whyche gyveth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, & to goldsmithes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle persones, or els onlye flatterers, and devysers of vayne pleasures, and of the contrary parte maketh no gentle provision for poore plowmen, coliaris, laborers, carters, yronsmithes, & carpenters: without whome no comen wealth can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of their lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age & syckenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth

& acqyrteth 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 snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily living. So where as it semed before unjuste to recompense with unkindnes their paynes that have bene beneficiall to the publike weale, nowe they have to this their wrong and unjuste dealinge (which is yet a much 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 flourish, so God helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certain 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 labour of the poore for as litle money as

may be. These devises, when the riche men have decreed to be kept & observed under coloure of the comminalltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes.

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BUT these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their unsatiabile covetousnes devided among them selves al those thinges, 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 seclused & banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away. How great an occasion of wickednes & mischief is plucked up by the rotes, for who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, ravine, brauling, quarrelling, brabbling, striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather revenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth? And also that feare, griefe, care, laboures, and watchinges, do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth?

Contempte
of money

VE A poverty it selfe which only
semed to lacke money, if money
were gone, it also would decrease
and vanishe away. And that you may
perceave this more plainly, consider with
your selves some barein and unfruteful
yeare, wherein manye thousandes of peo-
ple have starved for honger: I dare be
bolde to say, that in the endof that pen-
ury, 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 pesti-
lence then consumed, no man at al should
have felt that plague & penuri. So easely
might men gette their living, if that same
worthy princessse, lady money, did not
alone stop up the way 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 perceave
this, nor they be not ignoraunte
how much better it were too lacke
noo necessarye thing, then to abunde
with overmuche 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 sauvioure Christe (which for his great wisdom 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 wernot that one only beast, the princesse & mother of all mischief, Pride, doth withstande and let it. She measureth not wealth & prosperity by her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddess, yf there were no wretches left, over whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities mighte shyne, whose povertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by gorgiouslye settinge furthe her riches. 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.

The
second
booke of
Utopia

A marvelous
sayinge

Pryde

The
seconde
booke of
Utopia

THIS fourme & 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 folowed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal 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, whiche 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 thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people semed to be insti-


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tuted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their cheualry, 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 al their ordinaunces, 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, wourshippe, honour, and majestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, utterlye be overthrowen & destroyed: yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thyng should 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

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find some fault in other mens inventions: therefore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, & led him into supper: sayinge that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, & to talke with him moore at large therein. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe, ¶ In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly & profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse and graunt 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 



MOMMS MORE, the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslyde) can wisse, to whome he is perfectly wel known, sent unto me

this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knowen, but most worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, 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 somewhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke as well 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 plainly 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 wherin 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 travailer 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 onely hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace and singular dexteritie, to discriue & set furth a mat-

ter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges
as ofte as I beholde and consider them
drawen and painted oute with master
Mores pensille, I am therewith so moved,
so delited, so inflamed, and so rapt, that
sometime me think I am presently con-
versaunt, even in the ylande of Utopia. ¶
And I promise you, I can skante beleve
that Raphael himselfe by al that five
yeres space that he was in Utopia abid-
ing, saw there somuch, as here in master
Mores description is to be sene and per-
ceaved. ¶ Whiche description with so
manye wonders and miraculous thinges
is replenished, 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 welniagh worde by woorde re-
hearse so manye thinges once onely
heard: or elles at his singular prudence,
who so well and wittily marked and bare
away al the originall causes and foun-
taynes (to the vulgare people commenly
most unknowen) wherof both yssueth
and springeth the mortall confusion &
utter decaye of a commen wealth, & also


the avauncement and wealthy state of the same may rise 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 together & comprised so many and diuers matters, speciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique and private, as he is.

NO WBEIT all these thinges cause you litle to marvell (righte honourable Buslid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea, almost diuine witte of the man.

BUT nowe to procede to other matters, I suerly know nothing needefull or requisite to be adjoyned unto his writings: onely a meter of iiij. 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 reserve 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 hereof: insomuche that I will behable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude 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 Hythloday be in safetie & alive  for we heare very uncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his jorney homeward. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his countrey, but partly for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde & affection was altogether set & fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hath taken his voyage thetherward agayne.

NOW as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde & ancient cosmographers, this doubt Hythloday 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: forasmuch as now in our time divers landes be found which to the olde geographers were unknowen. Howbeit, what needeth 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 com- mende, and also knowledge the mannes modestie.

NO WBEIT 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 youre name to be pub- lished to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of Master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicause no man is more fitte and meete then you, with good coun- selles to further & avaunce the commen wealth, wherin you have many yeares al- ready continued and travailed with great glory & commendation, bothe of wise- dome and knowledge, & also of integritie & uprightnes. Thus O liberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time, I byd you moste hartely well to fare. At Antwerpe, 1516, the first daye of No- vember.

A meter of iiii. verses in the Utopian tongue, briefly touchinge as well the straunge beginning, as also the happie & wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe. ❀ ❀



TOPPOS ha Boccas peula
 chama polta chamaan,
 Bargol hemaglomí Baccan
 soma gymnosophaon,
 Agrama gymnosophon la/
 barem bacha bodamílo mín
 Voluala barchín heman la lavoluala
 dramme pagloní.

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



U kinge and conquerour
 Utopus by name,
 A prince of much renowne
 and immortall fame,
 Hath made me an yle that
 earst no ylande was,
 ful fraught with worldly welth, with plea-
 sure and solas.
 I one 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 Ane-
molius, poete laureate, & nephewe to Hy-
thlodaye by his sister* ❀ ❀



E Utopie cleped An-
tiquitie,

Voyde of haunte & herbor-
oughe,

Nowe am I like to Platoes
citie,

Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.

Yea like, or rather more likely

Platoes platte to excell and passe.

for what Platoes penne hathe platted
briefely

In naked wordes, as in a glasse,

The same have I perfourmed fully,

With lawes, with men, & treasure fyttely,

Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely

My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

Gerarde Noviomage of Utopia. ❀ ❀



OTH pleasure please? then
place the here, and well the
rest,
Most pleasaunt pleasures
thou shalte 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 fraight with both bounte-
ously.
To still thy gredie intent, reape here in-
comparable 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 im-
mortal glorie.

Cornelius Graphey to the Reader ❁ ❁



WILT thou knowe what
wonders straunge be in the
lande that late was founde?
Wilte thou learne thy life to
leade, by diuers ways that
godly be?

Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, under-
stande 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 **T**homas **M**ore,
With witte diuine 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 ❁ ❁

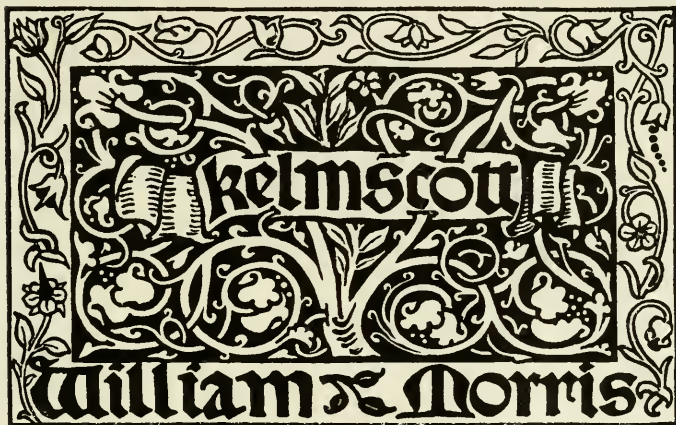


THE Utopian Alphabete,
good Reader, whiche in the
above written Epistle is
promised, hereunto I have
not now adjoyned, because
I have not as yet the true
characters or fourmes of the Utopiane

letters. And no marveill: seyng it is a tongue to us muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabike, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Ciprian, the Scythian etc. Which tongues, though they be nothing so straunge among us as the Utopian 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.

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